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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINETY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 29 November 1985, at 3 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. MAKEKA (Vice-President)	(Lesotho)
later:	Mr. OYOUE (Vice-President)	(Gabon)
later:	Mr. MARINESCU (Vice-President)	(Romania)

- Organization of work
- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [18] (continued)
 - (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
 - (b) Report of the Secretary-General
 - (c) Draft resolutions
 - (d) Report of the Fifth Committee

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Makeka (Lesotho), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: I should like to bring the following matter to the attention of the General Assembly.

Representatives will recall that a mandatory deadline of not later than 1 December was fixed by the Assembly for the submission to the Fifth Committee of all draft resolutions with programme budget implications. The President of the General Assembly has received two formal requests for an extension of that deadline.

The Chairman of the First Committee has requested an extension until 6 December in connection with the consideration of agenda items 66, 71, 72 and 73. The Chairman of the Special Political Committee has also requested an extension until 6 December in connection with items 76, 78 and 81. Furthermore, I understand that the draft resolution to be considered in the plenary meeting in connection with items 33, 34, 35 and 39 have programme budget implications and that therefore an extension of the deadline would be required in this case as well.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to extend the deadline as indicated?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 18 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/40/23, A/AC.109/801 and Corr.1, 802-807, 808 and Corr.1, 809-815, 816/Rev.1, 817-820, 827 and Corr.1, 832 and 834)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/40/692 and Corr.1)

- (c) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/40/23 (PART II), para. 42, A/40/L.21, A/40/L.22)
- (d) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE

Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): Forty years have elapsed since the inception of our world Organization. During that period the peoples of the world have looked to this Organization, sensing that it embodies the hope of ridding the world of injustice and oppression. Many peoples have thus shaken off the yoke of colonialism. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the twenty-fifth anniversary of which we celebrated this year, has contributed greatly to the practical application of the principles of the Charter.

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

The success achieved since the adoption of the Declaration encourages us to continue this march forcefully so as to enable the international community finally and decisively to eliminate all vestiges and remnants of colonialism. The Special Committee with regard to the Situation of the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has played, and continues to play, a major role in the intensification and direction of international efforts towards the full implementation of the Declaration.

My delegation has had the honour of membership of that Committee since its inception. I was personally gratified to work under the chairmanship of Ambassador Koroma, whom I congratulate on the excellent manner in which he conducted the business of the Special Committee. I also congratulate him on the expertise and wisdom which enabled us to crown the efforts of the Committee with the success that is reflected in the report before us, which I had the honour to introduce to the General Assembly this morning. We are confident that the Committee will continue to fulfil its task until the last remnant of colonialism is eliminated from the face of the earth, and we hope that this is going to happen very soon.

Despite the wonderful achievements made, the best testimony of which is the large number of States that have acceded to membership of this Organization, I say that there are millions of people in more than 20 Territories who still do not enjoy autonomy and independence in their homelands. More than four million Palestinians continue to be denied their right to self-determination in their land and in their home. Likewise, millions of Africans in Namibia and South Africa continue to be subjected to different kinds of discrimination, suppression and racist military occupation. They live in their homelands deprived of their right to citizenship in conditions of suppression and humiliation. The region continues to be the most dangerous flashpoint of traditional colonialism in its worst forms.

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

The alien, colonialist domination of the peoples is doomed to failure. It is impossible to suppress the aspirations of peoples to freedom and independence.

The destiny of any colonial territory cannot be decided without taking into account the real wishes of the population of that territory's wishes, which are freely expressed. The will, commitment and struggle of the people were the factors that enabled the former colonial territories to achieve their independence. Likewise, they will enable the peoples of colonial territories to rid themselves of the shackles of colonialism.

When we talk about the colonial phenomenon, we cannot ignore the fact that the two major problems suffered by the world today are the denial of the Namibian people and the South African people of their basic rights in their homeland, as well as the deprivation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to return to self-determination and to the establishment of their independent State.

The General Assembly was seized a few days ago of the question of Namibia, and before that the Security Council was considering the same question. But the misuse of veto prevented the Security Council from shouldering its responsibility towards that oppressed people and that occupied territory.

One of the basic facts concerning the situation in southern Africa is the fact that the Pretoria régime could not have survived, could not have continued its occupation and its defiance of the international community had it not been for the complete support it receives from some Western States which have committed themselves to supporting it, to endorsing its aggression and to protecting it from the wrath of the international community. The close co-operation and alliance between that régime and the aggressive régime in Tel-Aviv, particularly in the nuclear and military fields, plays a dangerous role in the co-ordination of the

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

imperialist schemes to subjugate the peoples of the Middle East and Africa to aggressive domination.

The political freedom which was a fruit of the struggle waged by the colonial peoples has led those peoples to their independence which was not always accompanied by economic freedom. Imperialist interests are attempting to return to dominating peoples and their destinies through economic pressure. Some territories continue to be subject to a system of colonial dependence as well as the fact that some of them are being used for military purposes so as to guarantee the military and strategic interests of the colonial Powers. Some States, particularly the United States of America, continue to do their utmost to delay the decolonization process in those territories, under different names and forms such as free association and political union. These are but a screen to perpetuate the domination and to legitimize the annexation of those territories.

The American military measures in Micronesia are a source of serious concern because in addition to the fact that they aim at transforming the Territory into a colonial dependent and a strategic, military bridgehead, they are also based on the denial of the rights to sovereignty of the people of the Territory, as well as ignoring their free will.

Concerning the question of Puerto Rico, the Syrian Arab Republic reaffirms anew its full support for the Puerto Rican people's right to self-determination in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). The Puerto Rican people cling to their national identity, despite all attempts and pressures which have continued for more than 85 years since the beginning of the foreign occupation.

The question of the full implementation of the Declaration continues to be an important matter. It is inevitable that we continue to make our efforts and intensify those efforts so as to achieve that goal. The struggle of the Syrian

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

Arab Republic against colonialism and racism proceeds from its belief that the cause of freedom is indivisible from our feeling that we are in the front line against the common enemy. Be it colonialism, racism, apartheid or Zionism, the enemy is one and the same. We have to shoulder our responsibility until the régimes of oppression, colonialism and racism fall and until the dawn of freedom and dignity breaks on all peoples.

Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania): The Assembly this year is commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) embodying the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That historic Declaration proclaimed the subjection of any people to alien domination and exploitation as constituting a denial of the most fundamental human rights. It was a Declaration that such practices were contrary to the Charter of our Organization and an impediment to the generation of a climate of peace and co-operation.

(Mr. Foum, United Republic
of Tanzania)

Colonialism as a system has visited humiliation and horror on peoples. By suppressing peoples and negating their freedom and their humanity, colonialism has degraded people both in concept and in practice. Colonialism, being a system for the exploitation of man by man, was thus an abomination to which an end had to be put. Hence, the adoption of the Declaration was an affirmation of the determination by this Organization to ensure the elimination of the system of colonialism. That act, therefore, must be considered not only as signalling a new epoch in international human relations but, indeed, as being one of the highest moments in the history of the United Nations.

In adopting the Declaration, the Assembly committed this Organization to ensuring the enjoyment by all peoples of their natural, inherent and inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Such a goal not only is enshrined in the Charter but is, indeed, a reflection of the higher ideals of humanity, of human decency and human justice. Tanzania, having won its independence just in the wake of the adoption of the Declaration, has remained firmly committed to the pursuit of those principles and the fulfilment of the purposes of resolution 1514 (XV).

Looking back over the last 25 years, we find that a great deal has changed. The establishment of the Special Committee of 24 as an instrument to further the objectives of the Declaration and its diligent pursuit of its mandate have played an important role in sensitizing international public opinion to the existence and evil nature of colonial oppression and exploitation. Once stubborn and recalcitrant colonial empires have been crushed, and the less notorious have given way to the demands of peoples for self-determination.

Those changes, however, were brought about only through the courageous and protracted struggle waged by the oppressed peoples and their national liberation movements. And supreme sacrifices were paid by some of the most illustrious

(Mr. Fom, United Republic
of Tanzania)

leaders of several nations. The names of Eduardo Mondlane, of Amilcar Cabral, of Herbert Chitepo are deeply imprinted on the pages of the struggle for freedom. There are the thousands upon thousands of fighters - men, women and children - who laid down their lives so that the larger family, that of the nation and the wider international community, might advance in freedom and independence. The fire of freedom motivated them all; and the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) was a source of encouragement to most.

It is against that historical backdrop that the continued existence of colonialism today demands our heightened awareness and efforts. Nowhere are the evils of colonialism more evident now, and the effects more drastic, than in the case of Namibia. Only a few days ago the issue of South African colonialism in Namibia was the subject of a special debate in the Assembly. It is an issue that has exercised our collective mind for far too long. It is an issue whose continuing existence not only is an affront to the will of the international community but has far deeper ramifications.

It will be recalled that, following concerted efforts, the Security Council adopted in 1978 resolution 435 (1978) embodying the plan for the peaceful transfer of power to the Namibian people. Yet today, seven years after the adoption of that plan, the people of Namibia continue to suffer under the colonial domination of the South African racist régime. South Africa's defiance and continued intransigence is not mere colonial obstinacy. The colonial condition in Namibia represents a combination of factors that, in their totality, are a phenomenon fraught with the most dangerous consequences. It is a case of institutionalized racism supervising the suppression of the Namibia people and the abject plunder of their natural resources. It is a case of double-dealing, with Namibian freedom held hostage to the ideological and strategic dictates of foreign Powers. I refer here

(Mr. Foum, United Republic
of Tanzania)

specifically to the introduction by South Africa and the United States of America of issues extraneous to the decolonization of Namibia. The introduction of those extraneous issues not only has impeded the decolonization of Namibia but is, indeed, a cause of serious concern. For they are manoeuvres that have spawned surrogates, bandits that are in the service of imperialism, seeking to reverse the gains made by neighbouring countries. Colonialism in Namibia is thus a direct threat to the peace and security of the region.

The responsibility of this Assembly on this issue is clear. We must reject totally and unambiguously any and all machinations contrived to impede the enjoyment by the people of Namibia of their natural and inalienable right to freedom and independence.

Our commitment, the commitment of this Organization, to ensure the decolonization of Namibia is total. That was the essence of the Assembly's decision when it revoked South Africa's Mandate over Namibia - and it was at the core of the decision of the Security Council when it adopted the plan in resolution 435 (1978). That commitment is a trust - a trust that will be fulfilled only when the people of Namibia, led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative, attain the goal of freedom as set out in the Declaration and enshrined in the Charter of our Organization.

The existence and practice of colonialism, which denies the freedom of the colonized, detracts from the freedom of all of us. For, as I have said, colonialism debases humanity. It is thus incumbent upon us to exert all our energies to ensure the elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, wherever it may exist. In doing so, we not only would ensure the attainment of freedom by those subjected to alien domination but would, in fact, extend our own freedoms.

(Mr. Foun, United Republic
of Tanzania)

Our Organization can be justly proud of the role it has played in the field of decolonization. But, as I stated earlier, we must not allow the progress made to cause complacency or to lower our guard. The Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) asserts, unambiguously, the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence.

(Mr. Fom, United Republic of Tanzania)

Consistent with the purposes of the Declaration, we have pursued the cause of freedom with firm resolve. This resolve must remain undiminished when we turn to the so-called small Territories located in the Indian Ocean, in Micronesia, and in the South Pacific as well as in the Caribbean and the South Atlantic. As in the case of Namibia, Tanzania's position with regard to these Territories remains consistent and unequivocal. We continue to be guided by the principles of the Charter and by the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV).

Admittedly, most cases pertaining to these small Territories, because of their special features and environment, may require special solutions in implementing the wider aims of the principles of decolonization. It is important to note, however, that the Declaration underlines that regardless of their size or the physical size of their territory, the peoples of these Territories have a right to self-determination. By virtue of that right, they should be free to determine their political status and pursue their chosen economic, social and cultural options.

The vast experience accumulated by our Organization should be of immense value in that regard. In its efforts to carry out the mandate given to it under the Declaration, the Special Committee of 24 has indeed been innovative while adhering to the principles and respecting the wishes of peoples directly involved and those concerned. We submit that any attempt, either by the Administering Authority concerned or by allied authorities to force these Territories to conform to pre-conceived models is contrary to the spirit of the Charter and the purposes of the Declaration. Such moves are unacceptable. In this regard, we express our concern at the attempts by some Administering Authorities to make use of the mechanics of demography with a view to maintaining in perpetuity their control over the Territories concerned. Recent history in the South Atlantic and in the

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Pacific has shown how dangerous and futile are such practices. In this respect we must urge the United Kingdom and France to heed the call of history and the dictates of the natural environment of the Territories concerned to desist from demographic manipulation to perpetuate the colonial status in those areas.

Of equal concern to us has been the readiness of some Administering Authorities to dismember some of the Territories for use in the strategic and military concerns of the colonial Powers and their allies. The Organization should emphatically condemn such practices, which are a misuse of trust and involve innocent peoples in the monstrous machineries of war of the colonial Powers.

In conclusion, may I reiterate that the principles enunciated in the declaration refer to all peoples, without distinction or distortion. There can be no set of principles which recognize the freedom of some peoples and not of all, or a set of principles which recognizes the territorial integrity of some countries and not of all countries. In that perspective, we find it repugnant that some Territories remaining under foreign and colonial subjugation are still excluded from the purview of our tasks. It is my delegation's view that the exclusion of such Territories from the mandate of the Special Committee of 24 is contrary to the intent of the Declaration and to the spirit of the Charter. Our concern that all peoples should attain their right to self-determination and the enjoyment of their inalienable right to freedom and independence must not be selective. Human freedom is indivisible.

It is my delegation's hope that this Assembly will take the necessary steps to correct the anomaly whereby application of the universally accepted Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is not allowed in the case of certain colonial situations. As we commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration we must not only redouble our efforts in

(Mr. Fom, United Republic of Tanzania)

those areas with which we have been currently involved, but we must also review the overall picture of colonial domination wherever it may exist. Our commitment must remain a commitment to total decolonization.

Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted 25 years ago by the General Assembly, is a document of truly historic significance. It has helped to change the fate of many colonial peoples and became an international anti-colonialist manifesto, providing a specific moral, political and legal basis for the struggle of oppressed peoples for their liberation.

Relying on the Declaration, these peoples, with the support of the socialist and non-aligned countries, began new activities against the imperialist colonial system. Today, at a time when there is wide commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of this document by the United Nations, the Soviet delegation finds deep satisfaction in the fact that the initiator of the Declaration on decolonization was the Soviet Union.

Drafted by the collective efforts of many States, the Declaration on decolonization helped to combine the efforts of freedom-loving forces of all continents and to mobilize them in decisive action for the elimination of the shameful colonialist system and to ensure the rights of peoples to self-determination and independence.

Over the past 25 years, the imperialist colonial system has been dealt a decisive blow. Far-reaching changes have taken place in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. After the year 1960, more than 70 new independent States were established on the remains of the one-time powerful empires; these States became full-fledged members of the United Nations. Today, the growing role of these States in the international scene has become a reality. Their full-fledged voice

(Mr. Oleandrov, USSR)

has been heard throughout the world from the United Nations rostrum, in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement and in other international forums. That is a great historic achievement of our time, an achievement of the United Nations. The successes achieved in implementing the Declaration are not in doubt. However, we cannot say today that the objectives of the Declaration have been met in full or that the process of decolonization has been completed; a great deal remains to be done so that colonialism, racism and the policy of apartheid no longer poison the international atmosphere and disappear from the face of the earth forever.

Quite recently, the Security Council and the General Assembly considered the situation in Namibia. The struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) for its independence against the racist colonialism of South Africa is now exceptionally urgent. For more than two decades the United Nations has tried in many ways to put pressure on the Pretoria régime to compel it to grant independence to Namibia. They have all proved unsatisfactory. Therefore, the non-aligned countries submitted a draft resolution in the Security Council proposing more positive measures against the South African colonialists, including selective mandatory sanctions.

(Mr. Oleandrov, USSR)

Unfortunately, two permanent members of the Security Council, two colonial Powers, used their right of veto against that draft resolution of the non-aligned countries. Thus it is that the joint forces of international colonialism have once again placed an obstacle in the way of the people of Namibia's achieving their freedom and independence. In such circumstances, for the anti-colonial, anti-racist struggle to succeed, joint, determined action by the African and other non-aligned countries, together with all those who favour the liberation of oppressed peoples, is essential in order to isolate politically the forces of colonialism, increase pressure on South Africa and its protectors and, in the final analysis, force colonialism into retreat.

The Soviet Union staunchly supports the demands of the African countries, and the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement and the appeal of the United Nations General Assembly to the Security Council to impose on South Africa comprehensive binding sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. This is now the wish of the entire world public and their desire is being impeded only by the votes of two colonial Powers, which openly vote to save the racist Pretoria régime. We must ensure that those that claim to be democratic societies heed the appeal of the overwhelming majority of States and peoples of the world and compel their historical racist ally to grant independence to the suffering people of Namibia. The United Nations must give all possible support to the national liberation movement of that country, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). No manoeuvres on the part of the colonizers designed to achieve a neo-colonial solution of the problem of Namibia, can change the situation - that SWAPO has always been and remains the sole, authentic representative of the struggling people of Namibia.

(Mr. Oleandrov, USSR)

In another part of the world, the Pacific Ocean, a neo-colonial status is being forced upon the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Micronesia, under such slogans as "free association" or "commonwealth status", the people and territory of Micronesia are being annexed by the administering Power and the territory of Micronesia is being turned into a military-strategic springboard for the emplacement and testing of the most dangerous types of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear and chemical weapons. These activities of the United States are in contradiction with the purposes of trusteeship, the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on decolonization. The United Nations bears responsibility for Micronesia under the United Nations Charter and changes in the status of strategic Trust Territories, which include Micronesia, can take place only through a decision of the Security Council and cannot be made unilaterally by the administering Power.

The United Nations Special Committee on decolonization has been discussing the situation in Puerto Rico for many years and has reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on decolonization. The colonial Powers continue to turn Territories dependent on them into military-strategic bulwarks and springboards for aggression. An example of this is the military presence, bases and testing grounds in Micronesia, Guam, Puerto Rico, Diego Garcia, Bermuda and the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.

The nuclear militarization of the dependent Territories is especially dangerous for the peoples of those Territories and is contrary to the aspirations of many States and peoples to establish zones of peace and nuclear-free zones in their respective geographic regions, in particular in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

(Mr. Oleandrov, USSR)

At the root of the stubborn opposition of the colonial Powers to the complete and final implementation of the Declaration on decolonization, is the very nature of colonialism and, first and foremost, their military-strategic and economic interests. The maintenance of colonial and neo-colonial systems in dependent Territories ensures the most favourable conditions for transnational corporations to continue to earn enormous profits through the unlimited plundering and exploitation of the natural and human resources of colonial Territories. Colonialism and the policy of neo-colonialism are undermining international peace and security. The colonial Powers are trying to retain their possessions, even going so far as to carry out wide-ranging colonial wars, as was the case in the conflict over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands. They openly carry out armed attacks on small dependent Territories in order to restore colonialism, as happened in Grenada.

The complete elimination of colonialism would help to improve the international climate and strengthen international peace and security.

It would be simplistic to state that the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization is limited to the formal proclamation of State independence or to administrative autonomy for colonial, Trust and dependent Territories. The peoples of the former colonies and dependent Territories must also achieve economic independence. They must free themselves from the colonial structure in the economic sphere as well as in the cultural, educational and information spheres. It is precisely for these reasons that the Declaration on decolonization demands the elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

The Soviet Union staunchly supports the just demands of the developing countries that the process of the elimination of colonialism be extended to the economic sphere. In a message to the participants in the special meeting of the

(Mr. Oleandrov, USSR)

General Assembly of the United Nations to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, emphasized in particular that:

"It is the duty of the United Nations to participate fully in efforts to speed up the process of economic decolonization and to restructure international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. The Organization should raise its voice against the exploitation of developing countries by transnational monopolies, the plundering of their natural resources, and the stifling of their economies with the stranglehold of debt, and should support their protests against 'cultural', 'informational' and other forms of neo-colonialism." (A/40/757, p. 6)

The colonial Powers and the countries supporting them are now arguing that colonialism no longer exists, except in Namibia, and that discussing colonialism in United Nations bodies is really not useful and there is nothing to say about it. Therefore, they say, we should curtail and put an end to anti-colonial activities in the United Nations. In that way, they wish to end all discussions in the United Nations of problems of decolonization, at the same time not only retaining the classic forms of colonialism, but - and this is especially dangerous - developing various forms of neo-colonialism.

One of the many ways of masking colonialism and neo-colonialism is by Western propaganda to the effect that today the problem of decolonization primarily reflects the East-West conflict. That is a fallacious argument. The problem of decolonization has been and remains a conflict between national liberation movements in Africa and other parts of the world on the one hand and the united forces of colonialism, racism and imperialism on the other. Only those that are

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accustomed to thinking in terms of spheres of interest can reduce decolonization problems to rivalry between East and West. In these days that is an anachronism, a throwback to imperialist thinking, something which denies the right of the majority of States to think, decide independently and fight for their rights.

We should like to emphasize the positive role played in anti-colonialist activities in the United Nations by the Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which in recent years has been presided over by the representative of Sierra Leone, Ambassador Koroma. That Committee has done a great deal of work in examining situations in colonial and dependent Territories and has prepared decisions which should find broad support here in the General Assembly.

(Mr. Oleandrov, USSR)

The Committee has also drafted a resolution in connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which would serve as a programme for the further United Nations struggle for the complete elimination of colonialism.

Guided by its policy of principle, the Soviet Union has lent and will continue to lend all possible support and assistance to national liberation movements and peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. Our country will in the future continue to do its utmost for the full and earliest possible implementation of the Declaration and will actively promote the activities of the United Nations in the final elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid in all their forms and manifestations.

Mr. KRISHNAN (India): My delegation had occasion last month to present its views on the item under consideration in the Fourth Committee and it is not my intention to inflict upon this Assembly a cumbersome reiteration of those views.

This debate is somewhat more special than those in previous years, because we find ourselves at a special juncture in history in so far as United Nations decolonization activities are concerned. That special character is of course imparted to the debate by the fact that we are in the twenty-fifth year of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by this Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV) on 14 December 1960. My delegation did not have a chance to participate in the debate on the solemn occasion organized by the Assembly on 16 October this year to commemorate that anniversary. We would therefore like to take this opportunity to salute the vital and commendable role played by the United Nations in the realm of decolonization, particularly in the wake of the adoption of the Declaration and the establishment of the Special Committee of 24.

(Mr. Krishnan, India)

From the 51 Members who signed the United Nations Charter at San Francisco in 1945, the strength of this Assembly has today grown to 159. That two thirds of this Organization should have emerged from under the colonial yoke into sovereign nationhood in the past four decades - the bulk of them since 1960 - is itself perhaps the most eloquent testimony to the revolutionary transformation in international relations wrought by the process of decolonization. The United Nations has come ever closer to its cherished goal of universality.

Though colonialism is, happily, a nightmare of the past, it is far from extinct. Vestiges remain in various parts of the world, the most glaring in Namibia where an arrogant and obstinate racist régime continues to ride roughshod over the will of the international community. My delegation addressed itself to the Namibian question during the debate thereon in this Assembly a few days ago. Suffice it to reiterate that the continuing inability of the United Nations to hasten the dawn of Namibia's independence - after nearly two decades of direct responsibility over the Territory - is hardly a happy reflection on its credibility and authority. The same intransigent régime in Pretoria also keeps the vast majority of its own people in shackles.

In the Middle East, the valiant people of Palestine remain deprived of the homeland that is their right. Efforts to promote the decolonization of Western Sahara also continued to be frustrated. All that is ample evidence that the colonial phenomenon persists in many areas, even if it does not flourish, and that decolonization remains a challenge.

The Special Committee of 24 deserves a tribute for its dedicated endeavours to promote the interests of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to uphold their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Our tribute extends also to Ambassador Koroma, Chairman of the Special Committee, who follows in a long line of distinguished chairmen of that prestigious body and who has directed the Committee's affairs with dignity and competence.

(Mr. Krishnan, India)

The report of the Special Committee provides us with a comprehensive picture of the situation prevailing in the various Non-Self-Governing Territories on its agenda. It conveys a clear impression of the complexities of each situation - the distinct identity of each territory and people, their peculiarities of history, geography and resource endowment, their problems and concerns, their wishes and aspirations. It follows logically that decolonization does not envisage the application of uniform formulas across the board. The people of each Territory must determine freely and from a well-informed standpoint what is in their own best interests, particularly their future political status. It is the duty of all concerned, in particular the administering Powers, to facilitate such unfettered expression of their wishes.

I should like to conclude by reiterating my country's long-standing principled support for the struggle against colonialism - an affinity rooted in our own struggle for freedom and predating our own independence. Speaking before the General Assembly in 1948, a year after India attained its freedom, Prime Minister Jawaharal Nehru said:

"We in Asia, who have ourselves suffered all the evils of colonialism and of imperial domination, have committed ourselves inevitably to the freedom of every other colonial country ... Any Power, great or small, which in that way prevents the attainment of the freedom of those peoples does an ill turn to world peace.

"Great countries like India who have passed out of that colonial stage do not conceive it possible that other countries should remain under the yoke of colonial rule."

Those words are an eloquent expression of our belief that our own freedom is incomplete without the freedom of all colonized peoples everywhere. That is the spirit that has conditioned our approach to decolonization. That is the spirit

(Mr. Krishnan, India)

that will continue to inspire us until the last vestiges of colonialism are obliterated from our world.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): The delegation of Papua New Guinea welcomes this opportunity to take part in the decolonization debate. We take this opportunity to denounce colonialism and appeal to those who perpetuate it to free the peoples who are burdened by this outdated legacy. Colonialism degrades, exploits and above all deprives the colonized peoples of their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. Papua New Guinea deplores colonialism wherever it occurs.

Colonial policies characterized by self-interest are common features in many of the Territories under colonial domination today. Where there seem to be moves towards decolonization they are often accompanied by conditions or frameworks that will perpetuate neo-colonialism.

It cannot be denied that at the heart of colonialism lies the self-interest of the colonial Powers, and that is often accompanied by racial and cultural discrimination. How long are these people going to continue to suffer the indignities and burdens of colonialism inflicted by the few for their own economic, political and strategic interests?

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

It is most unfortunate that in this day and age and especially when 25 years have elapsed since the General Assembly's proclamation in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there are still countries which continue to pursue their narrow interests at the expense of the well-being of our fellow human beings.

Papua New Guinea subscribes fully to the spirit of the 1960 Declaration which states that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, contrary to the Charter and an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation, and that:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other Territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those Territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom".

(resolution 1514 (XV), para. 5)

In order for the people under colonial domination to exercise fully their inalienable right to self-determination and independence the colonial Powers should demonstrate their genuine desire to see those people decolonized by unreservedly upholding the universally accepted principles of the 1960 Declaration.

The plight of the people of Namibia, New Caledonia, Western Sahara, Micronesia and elsewhere who wish to take their rightful place among nations must be respected without reservation. Why should they not progressively move towards that end?

There are those who take every opportunity to have us believe that their presence in those Territories is desirable and that the right to self-determination and independence is negotiable or can be bought or sold. Should the people under

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

colonial domination have lesser claim to the human rights we all so eloquently talk about? What is good for us is good for them, too. Sincerity on everyone's part is much needed to help us put an end to all forms of colonialism; and it is unfortunate that we have had evasive rhetoric for far too long.

The situation in Namibia stands out in the world community as the worst form of colonialism. The irony of it is that 158 countries have denounced South Africa, and have adopted measures and resolution after resolution and yet South Africa continues to defy the desire of the international community. Why, because some of us are gamblers, as a distinguished African statesman said in his statement during the general debate marking this Organization's fortieth anniversary. How very true that many gamble in this Organization for their parochial interests.

The Papua New Guinea delegation believes that just about every avenue has been explored to complement the commendable efforts of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), but so far to no avail because of the intransigence of this régime of South African racism. There is no time for rhetoric and for more resolutions. Now is the time for those who have the capacity to influence South Africa directly to show some genuine respect for the Namibian people's patience and suffering by demonstrating the necessary political will to effect changes that will meet the aspirations of the people of Namibia.

My delegation believes the situation in the Western Sahara remains a case for a genuine act of self-determination. We are, therefore, a sponsor of a draft resolution which calls for the self-determination of the Western Sahara in the full spirit of the 1960 General Assembly proclamation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We urge all parties concerned to see their way clear to enter into a dialogue which will facilitate an early

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

settlement of differences that now exist to guarantee a genuine exercise of self-determination and independence for the people of the Western Sahara.

Like other Pacific Island countries, Papua New Guinea is particularly concerned with the remaining dependent Territories of the Pacific region.

We are indeed happy to note that after years of protracted negotiations between the United States, the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia, appropriate measures are being taken for ratification of a "Compact of Free Association", agreed to between the parties. We urge the United States Government to honour the originally agreed arrangements under the Compact which was negotiated and accepted by both parties.

In contrast to the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia, a third political entity in the Trust Territory of the Pacific - Palau - has yet to agree an appropriate Compact of Free Association with the administering Power. We trust this impasse is only temporary and that both parties will soon find a mutually agreeable formula whereby Palauans will be allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination at the earliest time possible.

Another Territory of particular concern to Papua New Guinea is New Caledonia. Papua New Guinea is pleased to note that the New Caledonia issue was discussed at the meeting of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in Luanda and we view that as an important development. It is also noteworthy that an increasing number of United Nations Member countries are showing interest in the need for decolonization of New Caledonia and such international solidarity on important matters of principle is not only commendable but worthy of our commitment to the United Nations Charter to which we all have subscribed. Furthermore, the communiqué of the recently concluded meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in the Bahamas acknowledged the need for decolonization in New Caledonia.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

The members of the South Pacific Forum are fully committed to see the people of New Caledonia exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The call for New Caledonia's independence has been on the forum agenda for many years and all the countries in the South Pacific would like to see New Caledonia gain independence peacefully as soon as possible.

I wish to draw representatives attention to General Assembly document A/AC.109/847 which contains some important information on the unfortunate colonial situation in which New Caledonia finds itself today.

New Caledonia was on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories up until 1947 when France unilaterally withdrew it from the United Nations list. The historical resistance to colonialism of New Caledonia by indigenous inhabitants began in 1878 and the struggle continues to this day.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of France on a point of order.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): The French delegation feels compelled to note that the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea is dealing with a question which is not on the Assembly's agenda. The lack of restraint in his words and the inaccurate nature compel me to intervene. This was not the case this morning with the representative of New Zealand, to whom I shall reply this evening. To be quite clear, I should like to recall that New Caledonia is not on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories; it is therefore not on the agenda of the General Assembly and has not been included in statements of delegations taking part in this debate.

In these circumstances, I ask you kindly, Mr. President, to remind the representative to stick to the agenda.

The PRESIDENT: I am sure that the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea has listened attentively to the remarks of the Permanent Representative of France, and I ask him to continue his statement, bearing those remarks in mind.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): We are debating the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which, in my view, covers all dependent Territories, wherever they may be.

The colonial policies of the Administering Authority have been such that the Kanak people's right to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence is very much compromised. The Kanak people has become a minority in its own land and number fewer than at the time of colonial contact. However, the Kanak people as an ethnic group is a majority in New Caledonia and, as such, an important factor to be considered.

The PRESIDENT: I apologize for having to interrupt the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea, but the representative of France has again asked to speak on a point of order. I call on him.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): I note, with regret, that the representative of Papua New Guinea has not taken account of your remarks, Mr. President, and continues to deal with the substance of an item which is not on the agenda. Perhaps that representative has forgotten the rules of procedure and competence to which we are all committed. In that case he should be reminded of them. Suffice it to recall two simple facts which have already been mentioned: New Caledonia is not on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories and speakers inscribed in the debate on decolonization are not authorized to speak of Territories which do not appear on that list.

In those circumstances, Mr. President, I request you once again to remind the representative of Papua New Guinea of his duty and ask him once again to stick to the agenda, that means, to change the subject or end his statement.

The PRESIDENT: I remind the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea in making his statement to take into account the remarks made by the Permanent Representative of France.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): I should like to remind the representative of France that New Caledonia came under General Assembly resolution 66 (I), adopted by the Assembly on 14 December 1946, which included New Caledonia. In 1947 France, by a letter, unilaterally withdrew New Caledonia from that list. To date, I have seen no resolution of this Assembly deleting New Caledonia from the list.

If I may, I should also like to remind the Assembly that the International Court of Justice also has observed that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) applies to all peoples and Territories which have not yet attained independence. Thus, it is as applicable to New Caledonia as to any other Trust or Non-Self-Governing Territory.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

The Kanaks, through their liberation front, the FLNKS, have already clearly demonstrated their determination to reaffirm their territorial sovereignty and to restore their integrity and identity as a people.

Papua New Guinea would like to see electoral reforms take place immediately in New Caledonia, before an act of self-determination is conducted. In particular, Papua New Guinea supports the view that only those whose fathers or mothers were born in New Caledonia should be entitled to participate in elections and the proposed referendum along with the Kanaks, the indigenous people of New Caledonia. Under the current proposal anyone who has lived in New Caledonia for three years will participate in the proposed 1987 referendum on the future of the Territory. The majority of the indigenous people are opposed to such an absurd concept.

The PRESIDENT: I must apologize again to the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea for interrupting him.

I call on the representative of France on a point of order.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): Once again, I regret that I am compelled to interrupt the representative of Papua New Guinea, who refuses to comply with the rules and continues to interfere in the internal affairs of a Member State. I might be tempted to do the same with regard to his country, and he would not be pleased.

Actually the internal situation in Papua New Guinea is seeing some harsh times. There have been protests by groups fighting for human rights, all sorts of scandals, drugs, a situation of complete insecurity leading to a state of emergency, not to mention the state of affairs in the highlands, with herds decimated and villages destroyed. I could quote Mr. Julius Chan, the former Prime Minister and leader of the People's Progress Party, who denounced those scandals; instead I shall say no more in order to comply with the Assembly's rules of procedure.

(Mr. de Kemoularia, France)

All that should lead my colleague to restraint in his remarks. I suggest that he should first take a look at the internal situation in his own country before giving lessons to France, which has taken courageous steps in New Caledonia and for which the Government of New Zealand paid a tribute this morning.

The PRESIDENT: The Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea may conclude his remarks.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): I hope that New Caledonia has not been declared to be part of France, as stated by the Permanent Representative of France, because the question would then become even more serious.

I also want to remind the Assembly that it is a Territory that is culturally very different, its people speak a different language, and it is about 13,000 nautical miles from France. In those circumstances, I find it very difficult to see an island-country with an indigenous population of some 70,000 now declared to be part of France, when those people do not enjoy the same rights as the French people.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

For genuine acts of self-determination to be realized, it is important that the Administering Authority act as an honest broker in trying to resolve the differences between the major interest groups in New Caledonia. Since November last year, more than 20 lives have been lost as a result of the continuing struggle for independence. The potential for political and racial confrontation is real, and it is the administering Power's responsibility to ensure that more lives are not lost and that we keep peace and security in the South Pacific region.

Papua New Guinea acknowledges that the present French Government has made some attempts to accommodate the political mood in New Caledonia. However, almost parallel to that, the Administering Authority pursues some policies which raise serious doubts as to its real intentions, for instance, its military build up: there are now 7,000 soldiers and, in three years' time - in 1987 - these people will be eligible to vote to determine the future of New Caledonia.

Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): This year marks the fortieth anniversary of the bloodiest war in human history; 40 years have elapsed since the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. The victory of the anti-Hitler coalition contributed to the adoption of a new approach to international relations, and to an understanding of the fact that another war must not be allowed to break out, and that all peoples must be guaranteed the right to self-determination. As a consequence of the enshrinement of the right of peoples to self-determination in the basic document of our Organization, its Charter, the groundwork was laid for the development of the activities of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. Twenty-five years ago, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union. That instrument, which was of great historical significance, further elaborated the provisions of the Charter concerning decolonization and simultaneously proclaimed the need for the earliest

(Mr. Kulawiec, Czechoslovakia)

possible and unconditional liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The Declaration served as a powerful impetus that further stimulated the colonial peoples in their struggle for self-determination and independence. This is demonstrated by the fact that, during the past 25 years, more than 50 countries have been freed from the colonial yoke. Consequently, we are fully justified in believing that the adoption of the Declaration on Decolonization was an important landmark in the decolonization work of the United Nations.

The successes achieved by our Organization in the struggle against colonialism are among its most important achievements. Today, only an insignificant portion of former colonial empires remain on the political map of the world.

Through the destruction of the colonial system, one of the basic requirements of the international labour movement was met: the principle of the self-determination of peoples. This confirmed Lenin's prediction that the peoples, who "were the objects of the international policy of imperialism and who, for capitalist culture and civilization existed only as fertilizer ... will take part in deciding the fate of the world". In this connection we must constantly bear in mind that the final goal has not yet been attained. Colonialism, racism and apartheid continue to poison the international atmosphere, continue to be a dangerous source of tension and conflicts, are a serious threat to international peace and security, and have an unfavourable effect on the equitable economic and social development of peoples. It is precisely for that reason that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 25 years after its adoption, remains fully valid and continues to be an international instrument of the utmost timeliness.

The fewer Territories and peoples there are to which the Declaration on Decolonization applies, the more feverishly the colonial Powers attempt to hang on

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to the last remnants of their dominions. In doing so, they present the most varied arguments, such as the small size of the dependent Territories, the smallness of their populations or the low level of their social and economic development, by which they attempt to justify postponing the granting of independence to them. As we observed during the course of the meetings in the Fourth Committee, they are attempting even to convince the international community that their activities in the Non-Self-Governing Territories are supposedly having a beneficial effect.

Let us take a closer look at the so-called "beneficial" activities of the colonial Powers. As can be seen from United Nations documents, cruel exploitation of the natural, mineral and human resources of the colonies continues. Contrary to their obligations under the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the colonial Powers are taking steps to increase the economic dependence of the colonies. This is their practice in Micronesia, Puerto Rico, the Non-Self-Governing British Caribbean Territories and in other regions. They are opposing the development of viable national economies, as a result of which the colonies would be less economically vulnerable and pre-conditions would be created for the independent adoption of political decisions and the realization of the right to self-determination and independence. In analysing the economic situation in the colonies, we note not only the unsatisfactory fulfilment of the colonial Powers of their obligation to ensure the economic and social development of colonial peoples with a view to granting them self-determination and independence, but in a number of cases we also find economic activities which clearly hamper this process.

(Mr. Kulawiec, Czechoslovakia)

Economic exploitation is being accompanied by attempts to incorporate the colonies into a system of strategic bulwarks of imperialism. In a number of dependent Territories the colonial Powers have set up military bases, the presence of which has nothing to do with the interests and aspirations of colonial peoples. A flagrant example of such practices is the militarization of Puerto Rico or of Micronesia. Colonial Territories are being used as a testing ground for nuclear weapons, as a result of which serious harm is being done to the environment or to the health of the population of the dependent Territories. Military installations are used in pursuing a policy of open interference in and aggression against sovereign States, as was the case in the attack of the United States against Grenada which was carried out from bases located on the territory of Puerto Rico.

Especially alarming from the standpoint of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is the situation in the southern part of Africa, where the racist apartheid régime still holds sway and where the illegal occupation of Namibia by that régime continues.

In spite of the fact that 20 years have elapsed since the time when the General Assembly, pursuant to its resolution 2145 (XXI) ended the mandate of South Africa over Namibia, it continues to flout the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to freedom and independence. South Africa refuses to end its military presence in Namibia and on the contrary, has been steadily increasing it. At the present time, the army of 100,000 it maintains there possess the most sophisticated military equipment and its task is to suppress the national liberation movement of the Namibian people. The Pretoria racist régime, in co-operation with the forces of imperialism, has, moreover, turned the Territory of Namibia into a springboard for acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, and particularly Angola.

(Mr. Kulawiec, Czechoslovakia)

As the documents of the United Nations show, cruel exploitation of the natural and human resources of Namibia by the apartheid racist régime continues. Over 80 transnational corporations with head offices in South Africa, the United States, the United Kingdom and some other Western States operate in the Territory of Namibia where they obtain enormous profits that are sent abroad without the least benefit to the Namibian population. This is completely unlawful and contrary to Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia, as well as a number of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Government of South Africa not only continues to reject the United Nations plan for the independence to Namibia, set out in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), but has imposed upon Namibia its own neo-colonialist alternative for the solution of this problem.

Czechoslovakia, together with other socialist States, resolutely condemns South Africa and its allies for that policy. Our position of principle, in accordance with which an end must be put to the illegal occupation of Namibia, the apartheid régime and the aggressive policy of South Africa with regard to neighbouring countries, was quite clearly reflected in the recent Sofia Declaration of the Political Advisory Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

We are also concerned over the situation in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The results of 40 years of United States administration of Micronesia show that the United States is not complying with and has no intention of complying with its obligations under the United Nations Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. The administration of the Trust Territory has led to a deterioration of the economic situation. Instead of achieving economic self-sufficiency, the Territory is even more dependent on the administering Power. The absence of an infrastructure, the high level of unemployment among the able-bodied population,

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poor water and energy supplies and the absence of a system of transport and communications, are all concrete results of the policy of the administering Power in that Territory.

The catastrophic situation is also evident in the social sphere. There is a high level of alcoholism and criminality in the Territory. Health care and education are in a sorrowful state.

The military activities of the United States in Micronesia are especially dangerous for world peace and security. Washington is using that Territory as a testing ground for ballistic missiles, building naval and air bases, and stockpiling nuclear and chemical weapons there. Such military activities are quite clearly at variance with an administering Power's primary task under the Trusteeship System, in accordance with Article 76 of the United Nations Charter and in particular with the provision that international peace and security must be strengthened. Furthermore, it is a serious threat to the security of peoples and countries in the region and can lead to the creation of a new centre of tension.

In recent times we have seen how the administering Power is trying completely to exclude Micronesia from the Trusteeship System and impose upon the population a neo-colonialist variant of further development.

The dismemberment of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands into artificial state groupings and the conclusion of inequitable agreements on so-called free association with the United States are clearly aimed at the annexation of the Trust Territory and are in violation of the obligations of the administering Power. The fact that such activities are contrary to the interests and aspirations of the inhabitants of Micronesia is something we saw quite clearly in the statements of representatives of those inhabitants in the Fourth Committee during the consideration of items on decolonization.

(Mr. Kulawiec, Czechoslovakia)

A number of small colonial Territories are still in a state of colonial dependency. Despite the fact that they have their own special features, including geographical isolation and small size, they are fully within the purview of the Declaration on decolonization and their peoples should be granted the opportunity of enjoying their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

Czechoslovakia calls on the colonial Powers to stop trying to justify their colonialist policy, in violation of their obligations under the Declaration on decolonization, and to adopt a more constructive position, including the taking of steps to ensure the enjoyment by the peoples of the Territories of their right to self-determination and independence.

Reference has been made to the collapse of colonial empires, but we still have not witnessed the elimination of the negative influence of colonialism. With regard to economic relations in the former colonies, the complex social conditions, the low standards of living of the broad masses of the people, the marginal status of these countries in the world capitalist economy, there have been no real changes of principle. Indeed, since the liberation of these countries, the consequences of many centuries of backwardness and poverty and the economic and social vestiges of colonialism have been felt even more keenly.

The French economist Coeur quite rightly pointed out that "if political independence is to be achieved, a programme of economic independence must be established, and that is much more complicated". Mr. Markowitz, a professor of political science at New York University, has emphasized that "political independence is hardly synonymous with economic independence in the case of the liberated African States". Vladimir Ilich Lenin drew attention as long ago as 1912, in connection with the question of the liberation of the Balkan countries, to the fact that "bourgeois newspapers discuss national liberation in the Balkans

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but disregard economic liberation; and in fact it is the latter that is the most important". In analysing the right of peoples to self-determination, Lenin stressed that "this can be understood either in the absolute economic sense or in the relative political sense".

What trends do we observe in regard to the genuine implementation of the peoples' right to self-determination? The American economist Rosenstein-Rodana has calculated that the ratio between the per capita income of the industrially developed countries and that of the backward countries at the beginning of the nineteenth century was 2 to 1. After the establishment of the colonial system, the ratio became 11.3 to 1 in 1913. Since the collapse of the colonial system, the situation in the developing countries has become even worse. The American futurologist, Kahn, has stated that the difference in per capita income is continuing to increase, and the ratio for the period 2025 to 2027 will be 40 to 1.

That trend should serve as a warning to our Organization. At least, it should serve as an impetus to the immediate and responsible quest for ways and means to ensure the achievement of true decolonization. The United Nations system does have bodies which must more firmly promote the complete elimination of colonialism and oppose attempts to modernize colonialism. We must still do a great deal to ensure the fulfilment of the noble goals proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Mr. FOURATI (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): By again considering the question of decolonization, which, unfortunately, at the end of the twentieth century is still on its agenda, the General Assembly is again demonstrating its continuing interest in the completion of the process of decolonization, in keeping with the legitimate aspirations of the peoples. In so doing, it is responding to the deep concerns of the entire international community at the perpetuation of

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some colonial situations that still exist in the world and that pose a challenge to the authority, the dignity and the prestige of our Organization. In so doing, it is also emphasizing that the attention of the world remains focused on any question affecting freedom and justice, that our Organization cannot indefinitely allow one of the fundamental principles of the Charter - the self-determination of peoples - to be trampled under foot.

That is illustrated in a remarkable way in the report presented to the Assembly by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV). That report testifies to the constant efforts exerted by that Committee to shoulder the responsibilities entrusted to it and, at the same time, to cast light on the state of the movement for the liberation of peoples, wherever centres of colonization still exist in the world. It sets forth recommendations that deserve all our attention, for they seem capable of helping to overcome the obstacles to the free exercise by the colonized peoples of their right to independence.

May I, therefore, express our gratitude and our esteem to the Committee of 24, whose excellent work deserves all our praise and which should be encouraged to continue that work until the colonial phenomenon disappears completely.

(Mr. Fourati, Tunisia)

In paying tribute to the Committee, my delegation would like to express its deep appreciation of the personal contribution by its Chairman to the success of its work. At a time when Ambassador Abdül Koroma is leaving us to take up other functions, we should like to stress the dedication and confidence which he has shown as the head of that Committee, and once again we extend our best wishes for his success in other fields.

Whatever form it may take, colonialism is a contradiction of the principles of the Charter and is a major obstacle to the success of so many efforts continuously undertaken by the United Nations to bring about freedom, justice and equality.

Each of the colonial Territories on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories presents specific problems that are analysed in the relevant chapters of the report of the Committee of 24. If the solutions and the means of achieving them vary a great deal from one Territory to another, the principles of action involved nevertheless cannot be divorced from the fundamental rights of peoples freely to determine their own fate under the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV).

This year marks the fifteenth anniversary of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV). This celebration should not be merely a simple commemoration, it should also be an occasion for deep reflection, for an analysis of the real causes of the continuation of the colonial phenomenon, and for a realistic assessment of whatever prospects there are for United Nations action.

When we refer to the problems of colonialism, South Africa comes immediately to mind, because in a way it is the most tenacious and the most hideous symbol of colonialism. One could rightly wonder why the South African people has not succeeded in freeing itself from this anachronistic, inhuman and oppressive system. Why is it that the Namibian people has not been able to free itself from

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foreign domination, despite the strong resistance of those courageous peoples and the international support which they have received?

The answer to those questions may be found on the one hand in the obstinate and negative South African attitude, as shown by its systematic negation of the universally recognized principles of law and justice, and by its disregard of United Nations resolutions and, on the other, in the inability of the international community to impose respect for its decisions. That negative and defiant attitude would not be possible without the complacent and lenient attitude towards Pretoria demonstrated by certain Powers. That leniency at times acquires the air of complicity in our Organization, a complicity leading to the blocking of any initiative or action towards decolonization. It is curious, if not incomprehensible, that such complicity or complacency should be the work of the very same people who defend human rights and freedom throughout the world. Freedom, we reiterate continuously, is indivisible and non-selective.

The time has come for the complicit allies of apartheid to stop this behaviour and whole-heartedly to join the international community in its efforts to safeguard the right of peoples to self-determination. Declarations of good intent are no longer sufficient unless backed by specific measures. The time has come to settle the terrible problem in southern Africa. The system of apartheid must be destroyed for all time. Namibia must achieve its independence without delay. The framework for the solution of that problem has already been designed; the principles have been determined and the interlocutors appointed.

Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the corner-stone of any solution to the Namibian problem. It remains the clear and unchangeable framework for any action for the restoration to the Namibian people of its full rights, which at present have been illegally abrogated by Pretoria.

(Mr. Fourati, Tunisia)

The continuous evasion of the South African régime, accompanied by an impressive and increased military aggression against the Namibian and South African peoples, as well as neighbouring countries, demonstrates, if it were necessary, that Pretoria remains impervious to the language of reason and that it has no intention of following the peaceful means of negotiation advocated to settle the Namibian question.

Our Organization should therefore change its method and approach to find ways and means under the provisions of the Charter to prevail upon South Africa to respect the resolutions which have been adopted and not yet implemented. The situation is clear and the necessary measures have been established and are known. Chapter VII of the Charter sets out the methods of procedure.

In particular, we appeal to the Powers with a right of veto in the Security Council. The veto was recently exercised twice, once again saving South Africa from the verdict of the international community. It is not possible to view these vetoes as a means of promoting and strengthening the purposes and ideals of the Charter. They can be viewed as a means of safeguarding immediate material interests. What they really do is to consolidate the Pretoria régime and encourage it to persist in its policy of defiance.

We see all too clearly the results achieved through what is called the "moral persuasion", which is said to be exercised over the South African régime: the shameful practice of racial segregation continues; the illegal occupation of Namibia continues; and the means of repression and oppression of the peoples of southern Africa is further developed and increased.

Since its inception, the United Nations has actively concerned itself with dependent territories and peoples. Through the important debates it has held, and by the many decisions and recommendations it has adopted, the Organization has made a considerable contribution to freeing colonial peoples through peaceful means.

(Mr. Fourati, Tunisia)

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) and the fortieth anniversary of the Organization, it behooves our session to give the decolonization process a firm and decisive boost so that it may pursue its objectives. Peoples still under colonial domination expect from us specific decisions leading to the realization of their legitimate aspirations, in keeping with the principles to which we are supposed to have subscribed when we joined the United Nations.

Mr. AL-ANSI (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): Those who have faith in the importance of the United Nations will, as they go through the records of this international Organization, doubtlessly come across outstanding landmarks represented by those great achievements in the field of human endeavour. Among those prominent achievements, of course, we find the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), dated 14 December 1960. That Declaration truly represents one of the paramount and outstanding accomplishments of the international community, by which it charted the road to peace, harmony and co-operation among nations and peoples in our contemporary world.

It is a good omen that the fortieth session of the General Assembly, which takes place at a time when our Organization has attained maturity and effectiveness, coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This great gathering bears witness to the fact that the United Nations continues to see in that achievement one of its greatest accomplishments. The United Nations has therefore reaffirmed its determination to ensure the implementation of that Declaration wherever a territory is still subject to foreign domination and wherever a people is deprived of the exercise of its right to self-determination.

Since the adoption of the Declaration 25 years ago, more than 100 countries have acceded to independence and millions of people have been emancipated from the foreign yoke. The United Nations has played a prominent role in all that has happened in this respect, thereby achieving in great measure the concept of universality as one of the basic components of its existence, a concept and principle from which it derives its legitimacy and international character. It therefore represents the expression of the will of everyone to belong to the same world, however large, where no one can live in peace and security unless we have sincere co-operation among the various peoples and countries.

(Mr. Al-Ansi, Oman)

Needless to say, during our celebration of this anniversary we do not find a bright and rosy picture with regard to this planet and all its people. Some peoples are still subjected to the cruelest forms of oppression and occupation. In the Middle East, the Palestinian people and the inhabitants of other Arab territories occupied by Israel, the Namibian people, the black majority in South Africa under racist minority rule, not to mention the existence of peoples and countries in different parts of the world, all desire liberation and independence. Their problems are considered by the Special Committee on decolonization, the Trusteeship Council, the Security Council, the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations. The annals of the United Nations abound with resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee on decolonization, dealing with these questions in particular. We believe that there can be no better commemoration of this anniversary than for us to persevere in our hard and creative work to achieve the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions so that those peoples may attain their inalienable rights, including their right freely to express their wishes, without distinction of race, creed or colour, and thereby ultimately enjoy freedom and independence. Until then, it is incumbent upon the international community to remain faithful to its responsibilities and to the decisions that have been adopted.

The international community must take measures against those who refuse to implement United Nations resolutions so that respect for the principles and norms of international law may be imposed, even if such actions may lead to the imposition of sanctions as set forth in the United Nations Charter, in particular in Chapter VII, which has been implemented only once. This has led some to disregard totally international legitimacy, which must be consolidated without any

(Mr. Al-Ansi, Oman)

qualifications, in order to reassert the principle of peace and security in every part of the world, without any exception.

The importance attached by Oman to questions related to freedom and peace stems from our firm and unwavering belief in the right of peoples to independence and freedom and to the choice of their social, economic and political system without coercion or any outside interference. Our Arab and Islamic identity and our membership in the Non-Aligned Movement are but an unequivocal and realistic expression of such a conviction. In our national, Islamic and non-aligned march forward, we unequivocally support every step which leads to the liberation of people from colonialism in all its forms. We must state here, in the name of truth and history, that the Non-Aligned Movement has, since the Declaration of Bandung in 1956, greatly contributed towards galvanizing the efforts of the United Nations in the service of the realization of the rights of colonized peoples and countries. It is therefore no surprise that most of the countries that have attained independence have chosen to join the Non-Aligned Movement.

We have closely followed the work of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was established at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, a body which seeks the best ways and means speedily and completely to implement the granting of independence to all territories which do not yet possess it. In so doing, we have come to appreciate the outstanding efforts exerted by that Committee, and especially by the activities of its Chairman, Ambassador Koroma, the former representative of Sierra Leone. We hope that it will pursue its effective endeavours and complete its work in such a way as to serve the objectives of the international Organization in this respect until we achieve the total elimination of any remaining vestiges of the abhorrent system of colonialism.

(Mr. Al-Ansi, Oman)

In conclusion, we shall all be joyful and happy when we see the day when, looking at the map of the world, we note that there are no places remaining that do not enjoy independence, that there are no people that have not attained their full rights and freedom. Only then can we take pride in what we have done and declare that we have fulfilled our pledge in the Charter:

"To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace."

Mr. POSTOWICZ (Poland): Twenty-five years ago the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV), known as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By this act, the world community recognized its direct responsibility towards those who were deprived of their freedom and self-government. Since the adoption of that historic Declaration, the great majority of former colonial peoples have achieved national independence, recovering their proper place within the community of nations.

Naturally, independence has never been handed to colonial peoples as a present. The most important and decisive factor has been the will of the peoples under colonial yoke and racist domination and their determination and persistence in the struggle for liberation and self-determination.*

*Mr. Oyoue (Gabon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Postowicz, Poland)

In this regard we value highly the outstanding role played by the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization and by a number of specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system which have contributed to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration.

We welcome with satisfaction the progress already achieved, but we cannot overlook the fact that several million people are still subjected to colonial rule. This means that despite impressive achievements, colonialism and neo-colonialism still exist. For that reason our efforts should be continued and speeded up so that the peoples of Namibia, Micronesia, Guam and other Territories may exercise freely and without any interference their inalienable right to self-determination.

Foreign economic interests, foreign bases and military presence imposed on the people of those Territories contrary to their interests impede the process of decolonization and constitute sources of tension and serious threats to peace and security in the Caribbean, Pacific and Indian Ocean regions.

It is the responsibility of the United Nations to guarantee that those Territories shall freely determine their own future and territorial unity, without the hypocritical practices and interpretations of the administering Powers, as those practices are contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

We hope that this Organization, now in its fortieth year, will fulfil its moral duty and political obligation and that the neo-colonial military and economic interests of some North Atlantic Treaty Organization Powers will not prevail over the inalienable rights of the peoples of those Territories. The sooner we achieve this goal, the better will be the conditions created for internal peace and security.

(Mr. Postowicz, Poland)

My delegation feels it has reason to reiterate that the sympathy, understanding and support of my country for liberation struggles will continue until the complete elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid has been achieved.

We are convinced that the whole international community will redouble its efforts to complete the process of decolonization. At the same time, all States should respect the right of all peoples, be they large or small, in Asia, Africa and Latin America to self-determination and independence. We are sure the United Nations will continue to make sustained efforts to secure the speedy and full implementation of its resolutions and decisions concerning the elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid and that the specialized agencies will increase their assistance to national movements and to the peoples of all colonial Territories.

My delegation fully endorses the work of the Special Committee of 24 and supports its draft resolutions (A/40/23 (Part II), A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22).

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Over a month ago we commemorated here the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. In the past 40 years tremendous changes have taken place in the international situation, of which the disintegration of the colonial system and the emergence of the third world constituted indeed a leap in the development of contemporary history.

Inspired by the victorious war against fascism, the oppressed and enslaved peoples held high the torch of independence and freedom and launched continued attacks on the colonial system after the Second World War. The upsurges in the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania formed an irresistible historical tide that washed away one colonial stronghold after another. Country after country shook off the yoke of centuries-old colonialism and became independent, and the colonial system collapsed from its very foundation.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

By entering into the world political arena, the large group of newly-independent countries has brought fresh vigour and vitality to international political life. Those countries first challenged the old international political order based on power politics, demanding the acceleration of the process of decolonization and standing for the termination of oppression, enslavement, aggression and interference in international relations. They advocated a new type of international relationship built on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and mutual benefit. Their common lot in the past and the similar tasks confronting them made the newly-independent countries united step by step and consequently the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity and other regional organizations came into being one after another. Those organizations have supported one another in their struggles, continued to grow in strength and played an increasingly important role in the international arena.

The emergence and growth of the third world greatly strengthened the forces in the world fighting against imperialism, racism and hegemonism in defence of world peace and promoting social progress, thus bringing about changes conducive to peace and progress in the pattern of international relations. This development has also been reflected in the United Nations. Over 80 newly-independent countries have successively joined the United Nations, which has greatly enhanced the universality and representative character of the Organization. In this world body, the third world countries demand peace and progress, stand for equality among all countries irrespective of their size, uphold the principle of independence and oppose power politics, thus bringing a fresh look to the proceedings of United Nations affairs. Gone are the days when a few big Powers could monopolize and manipulate the affairs of this Organization. This constitutes major progress in the United Nations.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

The disintegration of the colonial system is attributable mainly to the mutli-formed independence struggles by the peoples of all the colonies. Without the dauntless struggle of the indigenous people, the colonialists would not easily have stepped down from the stage of history. However, the peoples of the colonies also needed in their struggles the sympathy and support of the international community.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

In this regard, the United Nations has played an important role in accelerating the process of decolonization. Ever since the founding of the United Nations, the United Nations Charter has clearly provided for the "... respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". In the ensuing years, as large groups of newly-independent countries were admitted to the United Nations, the call for decolonization grew stronger and stronger inside the Organization. In 1960, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (1514 (XV)) sponsored by 43 Asian and African countries, which:

"Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations."

(Resolution 1514 (XV), eighth preambular para.)

This document of historic importance inspired the national liberation fighters who were engaged in arduous struggles and greatly promoted the process of decolonization. In 1961, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the establishment of the Special Committee on decolonization, making a remarkable contribution to the implementation of the Declaration. In the 25 years following the adoption of the Declaration, over 80 million people in the world achieved independence or self-governing status and over 50 newly-independent countries were admitted to the United Nations. Thanks to the efforts of the third world countries and all the other justice-upholding countries, the United Nations has acted in line with the current of history and made significant contributions to the process of decolonization.

While celebrating the great victories in the cause of decolonization, we should soberly recognize that though colonialism as a system has disintegrated, the lofty goal of decolonization is yet to be completed and the Declaration on Decolonization has not been implemented to the full.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

It should be pointed out that Namibia remains the largest colony in the world, and at present the achievement of Namibian independence at an early date is the most important and urgent issue in the process of decolonization. The Chinese delegation maintains that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the basis for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question and the international community is fully justified in imposing effective sanctions against the South African authorities which have refused to comply with United Nations resolutions. We are convinced that under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) the Namibian people will persist in their struggle, overcome all difficulties and win independence and liberation.

With regard to the other Non-Self-Governing Territories that are yet to achieve self-determination, we believe that there should be a speedy implementation of the principle as contained in the Declaration that:

"All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (Resolution 1514 (XV), para. 2) so that the peoples in the Non-Self-Governing Territories can truly act in conformity with their own aspirations and achieve self-determination at an early date without outside interference.

In the world of today the rivalry between big Powers for world hegemony constitutes a major obstacle to the realization of decolonization. Out of their own strategic interests, certain big Powers have tried hard to bring decolonization issues into the orbit of East-West confrontation, adding to the process of decolonization extra difficulties and complicating factors. Therefore, such interference has to be removed in order to facilitate the smooth implementation of the process of decolonization.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

Here I wish to point out further that today, 25 years after the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization, acts of wilful aggression and occupation of other's territories by relying on one's military supremacy have not been checked, and as a result independent countries are deprived of their right to national independence and self-determination. We deem these acts to be in total contravention of the spirit of the Declaration on decolonization. In order to prevent a comeback of colonial rule, the international community should resolutely defend the basic norms guiding international relations and support the just struggles against foreign aggression in defence of national independence.

The termination of colonial rule and the attainment of political independence by numerous countries are indeed decisive victories for the cause of decolonization. However, a large number of third world countries that have already won independence are still faced with the heavy task of developing their national economies and consolidating their political independence. It is hard to imagine that countries that are subjected to prolonged economic dependence can enjoy genuine political independence. Though there may be different reasons behind the various difficulties the third world countries have run into in their present economic development, these difficulties are rooted partly in the lingering effect of the colonial economies of the past and partly in the existing inequitable international economic order. People with vision have all realized that in today's world, where the international political pattern has undergone fundamental changes, the old practice of building the prosperity of a few countries on the poverty of the majority of the developing countries should not be pursued any more. The promotion of equal and mutually beneficial international economic co-operation will help the developing countries overcome their difficulties and contribute to the economic stability and growth of the developed countries as well.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

To the third world countries, it is of course important to formulate development strategies that suit the specific conditions of their own countries while striving to win fair and reasonable external conditions so as to build a solid economic foundation and embark step by step on the road to prosperity.

In this respect, we believe that the road to economic development in different countries should be decided by the peoples of these countries in light of their actual circumstances. To copy blindly a particular model will often prove to be unsuccessful. After prolonged efforts of study and exploration, my country has started gradual but comprehensive economic reforms in the countryside and cities. These reforms are measures for the self-perfection of the socialist system and they have promoted the growth of productive forces and resulted in a series of profound changes in various aspects. This shows that China is beginning to find a road that is suited to China's conditions in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Since the founding of new China, the Chinese Government and people have all along deeply sympathized with and resolutely supported the national liberation struggles of the people in the colonies. The Chinese Government always gives prompt recognition to the newly independent countries and works to promote friendly relations and co-operation with these countries in all fields on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The Special Committee on decolonization was the first subsidiary organ of the General Assembly that China joined following the restoration of the legitimate seat of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations in 1971. China belongs to the third world. We consistently stand by the third world countries and are ready to work with all the countries that oppose imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and make joint efforts for the lofty goal of the total realization of decolonization and for a better world.

Mr. SKOFENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): In October of this year there was widespread celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The adoption by the United Nations, following an initiative of the USSR, of that historic document signalled a new stage in the process of the liberation of peoples from the chains of colonial slavery. The Declaration promoted greater solidarity among all anti-colonial, anti-imperialist forces whose selfless struggle led to the collapse of the last colonial empires. From their ruins arose dozens of new, independent States.

The Declaration, which solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, are found such extremely important provisions as the right of all peoples to self-determination, and independent economic, social and cultural development and the inadmissibility of the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation and of any attempt at the disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country. Emphasis is placed on the need to grant full independence and freedom to Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is the obligation of all States to observe the provisions of the Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples.

Unfortunately, we must note that, in spite of the significant successes of the national liberation movements throughout the world, colonialism has not yet been finally eliminated. The sacred right to self-determination and independence still remains but an aspiration for the peoples of some 20 countries and Territories. At the root of the stubborn resistance by the colonial Powers to the full

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

implementation of the Declaration on decolonization lies the very nature of imperialism, and its political, economic and military-strategic interests.

One of the most acute and pressing problems of the day is the liberation of Namibia from the colonial yoke and oppression. The Ukrainian SSR advocates the exercise by the Namibian people of their inalienable right to genuine self-determination and independence, with the maintenance of the unity and territorial integrity of the country, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands. The Ukrainian SSR advocates the immediate and complete withdrawal of the South African occupation forces and colonial administration and the transfer of all powers to the people of Namibia as represented by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which has been acknowledged by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement as the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people.

As pointed out in a note verbale on the question of Namibia from the Permanent Mission of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, dated 17 September 1985:

"The Ukrainian SSR is in full agreement with the reiteration by the General Assembly ... that the continuing illegal and colonial occupation of Namibia by South Africa, in defiance of repeated General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people and a challenge to the authority of the United Nations, which has direct responsibility for Namibia until independence. This responsibility for the political fate of Namibia makes it incumbent upon the United Nations to play a decisive role in the Namibian settlement, the whole process of which must be under the constant and effective supervision of the Security Council."

(A/40/654, p. 2)

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Recently the South African racists, together with the so-called interim government of Namibia, the establishment of which the Security Council declared to be illegal and null and void, put forward a plan for elections, through which they intend to falsify the will of the Namibian people. The Pretoria régime is attempting by deceit and through the back door, so to speak, to install its own puppets and to prevent the accession to power of SWAPO, which for many years has been waging a struggle against the colonial yoke.

The Ukrainian SSR condemns and rejects all the manoeuvres of the South African régime to perpetuate its domination over Namibia through the establishment of a pseudo-independent, neo-colonialist order imposed upon the Namibian people.

Responsibility for the policy of delay and trickery lies also with those in imperialist circles that are actively co-operating with South Africa in attempting to settle the Namibian problem behind the scenes, through manoeuvres and bypassing United Nations decisions. The United States, some of its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and South Africa have torpedoed all steps by the United Nations, the non-aligned countries and, in particular, the front-line States to bring about a peaceful and just settlement of conflicts in that hotbed of our planet.

Recently, in the Security Council, during discussion of the Namibian question, the United States and Great Britain blocked the adoption of a draft resolution which provided for the imposition of certain mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Although they condemn the Pretoria régime's policy and support the decolonization of Namibia in their words, those countries in fact demonstrate their unchanging, unswerving support for the racist régime of South Africa and their desire to maintain it in power as the last bastion of colonialism on the African continent.

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The Ukrainian SSR has consistently advocated, in the Security Council and elsewhere, the immediate granting of independence to Namibia in keeping with all the United Nations decisions on this question, and that includes Security Council resolution 435 (1978). As a Council member the Ukrainian SSR voted for resolution 566 (1985), which rejected the linking of the independence of Namibia with irrelevant and extraneous issues.

We fully support the demand of the African countries and the Non-Aligned Movement and the General Assembly's appeal to the Security Council for the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

An inalienable part of the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism is the exercise of the right of self-determination by peoples in small colonial Territories, regardless of their geographical situation, size and population.

Serious concern has been caused by the policy of splitting up the United Nations strategic Trust Territory in the Pacific Ocean. I refer here to Micronesia. In completing the process of fragmenting Micronesia and annexing parts of it by imposing the colonial status of a "commonwealth" or "free association", the United States is striving to remove that Territory from United Nations supervision and transform it into a military-strategic springboard for its own use, thus guaranteeing control over huge expanses of the Pacific Ocean. Those plans, whereby Micronesian territory is being militarized and used to test nuclear missiles and other types of weapons, represent a threat not only to the people of Micronesia but to many other peoples of the region, and run counter to the objective of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean.

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The Ukrainian SSR feels that such actions, carried out in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Trusteeship Agreement between the Security Council and the United States are illegal and have no legal force. The United Nations is called upon to take all necessary measures without delay to ensure the fulfilment by the Administering Authority of all its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Agreement, and to prevent attempts to present the world with the fait accompli of the colonial enslavement of Micronesia. The United Nations should continue to bear the responsibility for this Territory until its people have a chance to exercise unhindered their legitimate right to genuine self-determination and independence.

The military activities of the colonial Powers in Territories under their administration, and in particular their military preparations and the construction of military bases on Guam, Diego Garcia, Puerto Rico, Bermuda and the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), are especially dangerous. The Ukrainian SSR supports the decisions of the United Nations which call upon the colonial Powers to put an end to such activities in Trust and dependent Territories, to eliminate immediately and unconditionally all military bases and installations, and to refrain from involving colonial Territories in any type of aggressive actions or conflicts with other States.

At the present time, the achievement of economic independence by young sovereign States is assuming increasing importance in the national liberation struggle. With the collapse of the world colonial system, the economic exploitation of liberated countries by the former metropolitan Powers did not end but, in a number of instances, was intensified. Therefore the struggle against all forms of neo-colonialism and the elimination of inequality and injustice in

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

international economic relations, which were discussed some 30 years ago at the Bandung Conference, have again assumed great timeliness.

We fully support the demands of the developing countries for the extension of the process of the elimination of colonialism to the economic sphere, the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, and the establishment of a new international economic order. These just demands are being blocked by the imperialist Powers, who are carrying out a policy of undermining equitable international co-operation and using diktat in international economic relations. This has adverse effects on the economic development of the non-aligned States and is prejudicial to all countries of the world.

The Ukrainian SSR condemns the activities of the imperialist monopolies and transnational corporations, which continue to exploit the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories and of many independent developing countries, thereby accumulating and exporting huge profits, and in this way hindering the implementation by those peoples of those territories and countries of their inalienable right to genuine self-determination and independence in various spheres, including the economic sphere.

We would like, in this connection, to refer to what the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, had to say at the press conference held after the Soviet-United States summit meeting in Geneva:

"Today's world is a varied collection of sovereign countries and peoples who have their own interests, their own aspirations, their own policies, their own conditions, their own dreams. Many of them have just embarked on the road of independent development. Their first steps are taking place in

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unbelievably difficult conditions created by colonialism and foreign dependency. The wish of every people to realize its own sovereign rights in the political, economic and social sphere is completely natural."

The Ukrainian SSR has consistently advocated the elimination of the vestigial remains of colonialism and racism and the implementation by all peoples under colonial and foreign domination of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. We shall continue unswervingly to support the efforts of the international community to bring about the full and final elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. On the basis of this position of principle my delegation has become a sponsor of the draft resolution on this item which is contained in document A/40/L.21.

Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia): In the year of the fortieth anniversary of the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition over fascism and militarism and of the creation of the United Nations, we celebrate yet another event of great importance to this Organization - the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

That historic Declaration marked a turning-point in the struggle for national and social liberation. It demonstrated the will and resolve of the United Nations to put a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

United Nations efforts to implement the Declaration continue to contribute significantly to the struggle of colonial peoples for self-determination and to mobilize international and national action in support of the national liberation movement. This can be seen from the fact that, during the period of application of the Declaration, more than 50 States have attained their freedom and independence. Newly independent countries now constitute about two-thirds of the membership of the United Nations.

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

The United Nations is doing much to help young States in their struggle for the attainment and consolidation of their economic independence and the establishment of a new international economic order on a just and democratic basis.

In spite of this, vestiges of colonialism still exist and the problem of their elimination is still on the agenda of the world community. Colonialism, racism and the policy of apartheid still deprive many peoples of their right to self-determination and equality. The actions of colonial and racist forces in defiance of the clearly expressed will of the peoples and the United Nations create dangerous sources of tension and increase the threat to international peace and security.

The racist régime of Pretoria and its imperialist protectors persistently sabotage the granting of independence to the Namibian people and of equal rights to the indigenous population of South Africa. They pursue a policy of state terrorism against neighbouring countries.

The imperialist Powers have in reality annexed many dependent Territories and turned them into military and strategic outposts.

It is against this background that the Mongolian delegation considers it to be of particular importance to intensify the efforts of the United Nations for the complete eradication of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

In this connection, my delegation commends the activities of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and supports the recommendations contained in its report.

We express our hope that this anniversary session of the General Assembly will give a new boost to collective efforts towards the comprehensive implementation of the Declaration. My country, Mongolia, will actively support efforts to that end.

Mr. RAMANDRAIARISOA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): The present session of the General Assembly coincides with the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Hence, the significance and importance of our discussions and the historic nature of this meeting, which we hope will lead to a new impetus in our struggle against colonialism.

Few of the forces in history have had such a decisive and negative influence on world affairs over the last centuries as the phenomenon of colonialism. At the same time, in the course of the last decades of this century, few elements have contributed to so many revolutionary changes in the world order as the decolonization process.

The blossoming of incipient nationalisms in the former colonies and the accession of the latter to the community of nations as sovereign and equal Members has transformed the political map of the world and has had fundamental repercussions on international politics and the world economy. The impressive results of the process of decolonization are without any doubt due to the irrepressible spirit of man, his innate desire for freedom and his desire to obtain freedom by all the means at his disposal.

Those results are also largely due to the efforts of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries which, since its founding, has been the champion of the cause of peoples under colonial domination. Since its adoption in 1960 of resolution 1514 (XV) in the General Assembly, which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations has made every effort to maintain decolonization in the forefront of the concerns of the international community, and the Organization can be proud of impressive achievements in this area throughout the world.

(Mr. Ramandriarisoa, Madagascar)

Some 50 former colonial territories, with a population of more than 150 million people have achieved independence, and most of them are sovereign Member States of the United Nations, thus giving additional force to their goals and their principles by making them part of the system of international relations.

A particular tribute must be paid to the Special Committee which has made constant efforts over the last 25 years to safeguard the inalienable rights of peoples to self-determination and independence, and to speed up the process by which dependent peoples attain self-government and independence.

We have dwelt at some length on the success of the process of decolonization, because that is an area where we are justified in feeling a special satisfaction about the results achieved. But this does not mean that the task has been completed and that we can now rest on our laurels. Despite the remarkable successes of the Organization in the process of decolonization, at a time when the community of sovereign States has become much larger and at a time when the traditional form of colonialism has been relegated to history, there are still forces at work trying to hold up the irreversible march of progress.

The last reports of the Special Committee show that there are still almost 20 territories that are still not self-governing. The main obstacle to the application of the Declaration in those Territories is the absence of the political will on the part of the Administering Authority to grant independence to those countries immediately and unconditionally, as stipulated in the Declaration.

The Administering Authorities have not always abided by the principles of the Charter and the goals of the Declaration. They have refused to fulfil their obligations, set out in Article 73 (e) of the Charter.

The Non-Self-Governing Territories have become elements of strategic rivalries, indispensable in maintaining the struggle for spheres of influence among the major Powers. Certain activities pertaining to foreign interests, the military

(Mr. Ramandraiarisoa, Madagascar)

activities of certain Administering Authorities, and the installation of military bases on Non-Self-Governing Territories, have become obstacles to the application of the Declaration and perpetuate policies of hegemony and expansionism.

The basic international problems are for the most part direct or indirect results of colonialism: the situation in southern Africa, and in Namibia in particular, the conflict in Western Sahara, the equally alarming situations in Asia, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, the Caribbean and the Middle East are proofs of an obvious desire to ignore the march of history.

In Namibia an attempt is being made to impose upon the Namibian people a spurious form of independence which would perpetuate political domination, strengthen the existing strategic positions, and stamp an ideological orientation on the area. Foreign elements are being introduced into the process of decolonization, and there is interference in the internal affairs of front-line States, with the aim of destabilizing them. We have already had the opportunity, when making our statement to this Assembly, to reaffirm the position of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar on this issue, and in particular on the urgent need to apply Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

(Mr. Ramandraiarisoa, Madagascar)

With regard to Western Sahara, the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations have already established machinery to ensure the effective enjoyment by the Sahraoui people of their legitimate and sovereign rights. The problem of Western Sahara stems in fact from the difficulty that the Kingdom of Morocco seems to be having in facing the facts.

The consideration by the Special Committee of the situation in the various Non-Self-Governing Territories has made it possible to identify those questions that specifically concern various Territories, as well as the measures that the African countries should take to encourage the rapid implementation of the Declaration, especially in regard to those Territories.

While we recognize that no single formula can automatically be applied to all the Territories, the people of each of them must determine the nature of their future status and the type of schedule they wish to follow in order to achieve it. The most important thing is that the will of the populations concerned should be expressed freely and in an untrammelled fashion, and that this will should be respected.

The experiences and the lessons of the past should encourage the administering Powers to accept the fact that the aspirations of the peoples cannot be indefinitely stifled and that one cannot swim against the tide of history. It is important for those countries at present responsible for Non-Self-Governing Territories to take a sound view of the future and agree to start without any further delay the peaceful process of the decolonization of the Territories for which they are responsible.

The role and mandate of our Organization, and in particular of the Special Committee, are clearly set out in the Special Committee's report, in particular concerning its future work, and we fully agree with that.

(Mr. Ramandraiarisoa, Madagascar)

The Government and people of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar have always given their unshakeable support to the cause of decolonization. This is a commitment that stems from our fundamental belief in man's freedom and dignity, as well as from our own experience under the colonial yoke.

In conclusion, we pay a tribute to the Special Committee, and in particular its Chairman, Ambassador Koroma, for their efforts to speed up the decolonization process. Once again, my delegation expresses its support for the Committee and its recommendations.

Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): Today, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of that remarkable day in December in 1960 when, at the initiative of the Soviet Union, the international community adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Assembly is called upon to consider the implementation of that document. As the Chairman of the Committee of 24, Ambassador Koroma, said, an integral part of this discussion is the measures which the international community is taking and should take for the speedy and final eradication of all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid.

Allow me to express the appreciation of the Bulgarian delegation for the unflagging efforts of the Committee of 24, which, as one of the principal organs of the General Assembly, has been making its contribution to the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and to the implementation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the Organization and in the Declaration. And, as we speak about this outstanding Committee, we should like to express our appreciation also to its Chairman for his contribution to the struggle to eliminate colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

If we take a really good look today at various parts of the world, we have to note with regret that there are still colonial Territories in existence. That is an anachronism. In spite of the substantial efforts of the international community, Namibia and its heroic people continue to suffer under the colonial oppression of South Africa. Encouraged by the sizeable assistance and support of its strategic ally, Pretoria remains adamant, refusing to comply with United Nations resolutions and withdraw its occupying forces and administration from Namibia. There are now fresh manoeuvres and new initiatives within the framework of the well-known policy of constructive engagement, the aim of which is to circumvent the decisions of the United Nations and to exclude the World Organization from the resolution of this colonial problem which poses an increasing threat to international peace and security.

Among the basic reasons for the continuing existence of colonial Territories are the vital geo-strategic, economic, military and other interests of colonial Powers. No efforts or resources are spared to maintain control over the regions where colonial Territories are located, such as southern African, the Caribbean and the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. For some time now, imperialism has been exerting stubborn efforts, under the guise of humanitarian assistance, to reverse the tide of history and to arrest the progress and sovereign development of a number of countries that ventured upon the road of non-alignment and independent development in the wake of their liberation from colonialism. Such actions are a violation of the United Nations Charter and numerous resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria demands the cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa and the immediate granting of genuine independence to Namibia, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The People's Republic of Bulgaria condemns and rejects

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

the attempts of the Pretoria authorities to channel the solution of the Namibian problem along neo-colonialist lines by means of an internal settlement and the creation of a puppet régime. It is the duty of the United Nations to put an end to the manoeuvres of South Africa and the imperialist forces designed to impede the achievement by Namibia of genuine independence. The whole Namibian settlement must be placed under the permanent and effective control of the United Nations, including of course the Security Council.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria strongly condemns the inhuman policy of apartheid practised by the racist régime of South Africa against the majority of that country's population. The People's Republic of Bulgaria joins the overwhelming majority of Member States that firmly believe that the apartheid policy of the Pretoria régime is a crime against humanity and that it is incompatible with the United Nations Charter and thus constitutes a breach of international peace and security.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

The People's Republic of Bulgaria believes that the United Nations must ensure full compliance by all States with the embargo established by Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on the provisions of arms-related material and military vehicles, as well as on the granting of licences for their manufacture to South Africa, and on any co-operation with the racist régime in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons.

My country supports the call of the African and other non-aligned countries and also the call of the General Assembly for the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, including the imposition of an embargo on supplies of oil and oil products to the Pretoria racist régime.

One of the main obstacles impeding the process of decolonization is the maintenance of military bases and military arrangements of the colonial Powers in the colonial Territories. It is unprecedented that in spite of the persistent calls of the international community - the latest one being resolution 39/91 adopted by 138 votes in favour, 2 against and 6 abstentions - the bases continue to exist. Paragraph 10 of that resolution

"Calls upon the colonial Powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories, to refrain from establishing new ones and not to involve those Territories in any offensive acts or interference against other States".

It is evident from the report of the Committee of 24 this year that the colonial Powers have not complied with this appeal. Quite the contrary: a number of steps are being taken to impose solutions on certain colonial Territories allegedly abolishing their colonial status but making sure that military bases and installations on those Territories are maintained and ready for use.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

Not only are these actions in contravention of resolution 39/91 and 35/118 containing the plan of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, they are in violation of the United Nations Charter, in particular Article 73.

Rhetoric hardly conceals the true intentions of those responsible for the continued existence of colonial Territories. We are quite right to draw the attention of the United Nations to the plans for the deployment of nuclear weapons on certain colonial Territories - the excuse being the protection of the vital interests of imperialism.

A serious threat to international peace and security is posed by the growth, with the decisive assistance of certain western States, of South Africa's aggressive military power and nuclear capability. The military bases and installations in Guam, Puerto Rico and Micronesia constitute another threat to regional and international security. What must the international community do to implement the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations relating to decolonization? In the view of the Bulgarian delegation, any attempt at procrastination in implementing the United Nations decisions designed to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism should be exposed by the positive actions of all United Nations bodies. Such an approach would no doubt speed up the process of decolonization.

A good number of colonial Territories still remain in the list of the Committee of 24 which are prevented in various ways from exercising their right to self-determination and independence. Colonial Powers owe the United Nations an explanation as to when they intend to grant that right to the colonial peoples.

In concluding my statement, I should like to assure the General Assembly that the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as a long-standing member of the Committee of 24, will continue to make its contribution to the speedy and unconditional

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. At the same time, true to its consistent foreign policy of principle, my country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, will continue in the future to give unqualified support for the legitimate struggle for independence of the colonial countries and peoples and their national liberation movements, as well as to newly liberated States in their political consolidation of economic development against the encroachments of imperialism and attempts to halt the march of history.

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): In its first article, the United Nations Charter begins with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people, a natural and inalienable right. This right to self-determination is indeed the first among the rights of peoples. Fulfilment of and respect for that right are pre-conditions to the elimination of conflicts, the preservation of peace and the maintenance of freedom. For that reason, since the end of the Second World War, decolonization was designated a primary task to which the United Nations was to devote itself with determination and perseverance.

No other course was possible, because the United Nations, an Organization of universal calling, was called upon to measure up to a demanding search for world peace, and it has, since its inception, been challenged in its very being by peoples committed to struggle to regain their self-determination and independence. Thus once the war ended in Europe, several scenes of struggle became fronts against colonialism, a colonialism which thereafter was viewed by subject peoples as an anachronism.

The peoples of Africa, which had contributed actively to the overthrow of fascism and nazism, thereafter were to pursue their quest for freedom in an irreversible movement towards their independence, a movement which was most often,

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

if not systematically opposed by persistent repression which today constitutes the first denial of a proposition that thus far has been looked upon as a positive step in the essential maintenance of peace and international security.

Although for 15 years until the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) colonial wars had been conducted against peoples of the third world, increasing in ferocity in an international climate of cold war, today these conflicts in the Middle East and South Africa, which have been with us since the inception of the United Nations, persist; they persist in a climate of international détente and of its vicissitudes. Permanent local conflicts against a background of world peace are just as intolerable as a major conflict in so far as it concerns sacrifices that are imposed on the peoples who are the victims.

It took 15 long years of anti-colonial struggle for the community of nations seriously to deal with the intolerable situation in the colonial countries. Mainly due to the struggle of oppressed peoples, the Declaration on the Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted as a valuable complement to the United Nations Charter. By its adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, our Organization consolidated its authority, better defined its role and spelled out the action it should take for decolonization throughout the world.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

Moreover, because it derived from the very principles of the Charter and because it was inspired by the impetus of the claims of peoples, the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) marked the beginning of a process of codifying the right of peoples to self-determination.

First, the United Nations became the interpreter of the passionate desire of all dependent peoples by proclaiming the need for them to liberate themselves by gaining independence. Here it is sufficient to recall the first operative paragraph of resolution 1514 (XV), whereby the General Assembly declares that:

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

Next, the United Nations acknowledged that colonial people to whom the dominant Powers denied independence by force had the right to gain their independence by using force, and at the same time acknowledged that other States had a duty to aid them.

Finally, the United Nations raised the principle established by resolution 1514 (XV) to one of the major rules in the conduct of international relations. The right to self-determination was thus included in the list of examples of peremptory rules provided by the International Law Commission in its report to the Vienna Conference on the Law of Treaties, and the commentary on its draft articles relating to international responsibility states that the maintenance of colonial domination by force is "an international crime".

The United Nations has gone beyond the mere statement of principles, and has resolutely committed itself to action to eradicate colonialism completely.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

This is an appropriate occasion for paying a tribute to the important work of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Ever since its establishment that body has had an impact at the highest level of the international community on the fight of peoples under colonial domination and on their aspirations to freedom and independence. The contribution of the Committee of 24 has set its seal on the historic task of the United Nations in eliminating colonialism and freeing the peoples of the world.

Although when the balance sheet is drawn up the United Nations can congratulate itself on the expansion of its ranks, through the national liberation struggle and the implementation of the principles contained in resolution 1514 (XV), unfortunately colonialism is still with us. At a time when free peoples have been invited this year to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, which coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, other peoples in many parts of the world must continue to make heavy sacrifices to regain their rights. That is true of the people of Namibia, who are still struggling to free themselves from the domination of the racist South African régime, which works to perpetuate its illegal occupation of that Territory, in spite of the unanimous condemnation of both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

In the constant appeals of the international community to bring about rapid and genuine independence for Namibia, the Pretoria régime continually resorts to delaying tactics designed to perpetuate its domination over that Territory, which

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

has been transformed into a base for repeated aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent States of the region.

That is also true of the oppressed Palestinian people, who are still fighting against the Zionist entity in order to regain their legitimate national rights, especially their right to build a national home on the soil of their homeland.

Finally, it is also true of the people of the western Sahara, who are determined to pursue a national liberation war in order to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, which necessarily involves putting into operation the international consensus which has been reached on the peace plan defined by the Organization of African Unity and endorsed by the United Nations. Those situations dim the glory of the successes gained in the work of decolonization, and also reduce the scope of the work done by the United Nations to maintain peace. As Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement, stated:

"Since peace and freedom are indivisible, the denial of freedom anywhere necessarily endangers freedom everywhere else and causes ... conflict and instability."

In speaking at the beginning of this year, at the opening of the work of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Secretary-General of the United Nations stated:

"The United Nations can be proud of having aroused international awareness of the imperative nature of decolonization and of having mobilized political and moral support in favour of non-self-governing peoples in their efforts to exercise their right to self-determination and independence."

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

The United Nations Secretary-General, speaking at the beginning of this year at the opening meeting of the Special Committee of 24, stated:

"The United Nations can take pride in the fact that it has made the international community aware of the imperative nature of the task of decolonization and has mobilized political and moral support for non-self-governing peoples in their efforts to exercise their right to self-determination and independence."

At a time when this General Assembly is again dealing with the study of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples it is our hope that our Organization will redouble its efforts to eliminate colonialism once and for all and to realize one of the major goals assigned to it by the Charter.

For its part, Algeria has not forgotten that it was here in the United Nations that its struggle for freedom received one of the most encouraging displays of support, and it was here also that the recognition of the martyrdom of its people and the justice of its struggle was writ large.

Thus it is no more than a fitting testimony of loyalty for Algeria to pay a tribute here to those everywhere who are making the supreme sacrifice for their freedom.

Similarly, it is no more than a sign of devotion to its own past for Algeria to renew here its unfailing support for those who are still fighting to regain their inalienable right to independence and dignity.

Mr. NZALA (Zambia): Last month the General Assembly commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. It also held a special meeting for the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of

(Mr. Nzala, Zambia)

Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which came into effect with the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1514 (XV) on 14 December 1960.

During both the commemoration and the special meeting I have mentioned, the achievements of the United Nations, particularly with regard to decolonization, were hailed. And rightly so. For who can deny the fact that over two thirds of the States Members of this body owe their independence to that momentous Declaration and to the efforts of the United Nations in ensuring the implementation over the years of the objectives which are embodied in it? Indeed, who can deny the fact that due to its untiring and commendable work the United Nations has today attained near universality?

While there is cause for rejoicing, I regret to say our joy is tainted with some degree of sadness and by great disappointment. I say this because, despite the adoption a quarter century ago of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there are to this day countries still under colonial domination. And one need not ponder for long to come up with a situation where colonial rule is still manifest. The glaring question of Namibia is a case in point.

(Mr. Nzala, Zambia)

It is not my intention to give a detailed account of the history of the Namibian question. Suffice it to say that almost 20 years ago, in 1966 to be exact, the General Assembly decided by the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) to terminate the Mandate of South Africa over the Territory of Namibia. That decision placed Namibia under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, with the United Nations Council for Namibia as the administering authority. However, as we all know, South Africa has defied that decision and continued illegally to occupy Namibia against the will not only of the Namibian people but also of the international community as a whole.

Over the years, other resolutions aimed at putting an end to South Africa's stranglehold over Namibia have been adopted, but South Africa has not complied with any of them. The people of Namibia have thus continued to be denied their inalienable right to self-determination and independence; and as if that were not enough they have even been subjected to the indignities of the abhorrent system of apartheid, which South Africa has had the audacity to extend to Namibia. The plunder of the resources of Namibia has also continued unabated.

The adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) brought a ray of hope that the cause of decolonization would be advanced, at least where Namibia was concerned. That, however, was not to be and now seven years later the decolonization and subsequent independence of Namibia are no nearer. True to type, South Africa has been intransigent on the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). At every turn the racist authorities have erected obstacles to block its implementation, not least of such obstacles being the irrelevant and extraneous issue of the linkage of Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The reason why South Africa has had the courage so arrogantly to disregard the decisions of the international community on the decolonization and independence of

(Mr. Nzala, Zambia)

Namibia is quite obvious. What can we expect when there is talk of "constructive engagement"? What can we expect indeed if, by their attitudes and actions, some influential Member States of the United Nations implicitly give support to South Africa? Two weeks ago this implicit support was once again evident. The veto was used - or should I say abused - to impede the Security Council from adopting measures against South Africa that would have made the authorities in Pretoria take the international community seriously with regard to Namibia's independence.

Like the independence of other countries before it, that of Namibia is inevitable. It is in fact long overdue. The exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination should not be delayed any longer. The answer lies in the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In this connection my delegation would like to urge those countries in a position to do so to bring the necessary pressure to bear on South Africa, including the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, for the realization of Namibia's independence.

It is difficult to speak of the question of Namibia without making reference to the situation in South Africa. The majority in that country continue to be denied the most basic human rights, including the right to participate in the running of their affairs and their country. All this is due to the universally condemned policy of apartheid practised by the Pretoria régime. Recent events have shown that apartheid simply cannot exist in our time. It must be dismantled and eradicated completely. We hope and pray that the call of the international community in this regard will be heeded by the racist minority Government of South Africa and its backers.

I have spoken at some length on the question of Namibia because it is for us in Zambia an issue close to our hearts. However, this does not diminish the

(Mr. Nzala, Zambia)

the importance we attach to the other cases of colonial rule wherever they occur. It is our view that the process of decolonization will be complete only when all the peoples of the entire world are free to exercise their right to self-determination. We continue to hold that any non-self-governing territory, regardless of its size, population and economic status, should accede to independence.

It is our hope that the administering Powers of the non-self-governing Territories will not stand in the way of the aspirations of the peoples of those Territories to freedom and independence for whatever reason, be it strategic, military or economic. We believe it is the responsibility of the administering Powers to ensure the smooth accession to independence of the non-self-governing Territories.

I should like to end my brief statement by paying tribute to the Special Committee on decolonization, under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Abdul G. Koroma of Sierra Leone, for the commendable work it has carried out and continues to carry out in furtherance of the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. My delegation is convinced that, through the continuing efforts of the Special Committee of 24, the objectives of the Declaration will one day be fully realized for all peoples of the world.

Mrs. ARLAND (Sweden): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries - Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and my own country, Sweden. This year we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, as well as the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The decolonization process that has taken place over the last 40 years is one of the most important developments in the history of our Organization. The emergence of almost 100 new, sovereign and independent

(Mrs. Arland, Sweden)

States has made the United Nations a truly universal organization, and this has been crucial to the efforts made to realize the purposes of the Charter, and in particular the promotion of human equality and social and economic progress.

The relatively peaceful transition to independence of the former colonies, although often after a slow and painful process, is today generally accepted as one of the lasting achievements of the United Nations. These results are, above all, due to the efforts of the colonial peoples themselves, often in peaceful and constructive co-operation with the administering Power. The Special Committee of 24 has undoubtedly played a significant role as an agent of change. Through the General Assembly, the Committee has called on Member States to support the process of decolonization and has reconciled conflicting parties, prodded the recalcitrant and encouraged the oppressed.

While the principle of decolonization was set down in the Charter, the sense of action and urgency was codified in the Declaration.

The Nordic countries have for a long time actively supported the decolonization process. Our support preceded the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) in 1960. We have, on a basis of rotation, served on the Special Committee of 24 since its inception.

(Mrs. Arland, Sweden)

The Nordic countries attach paramount importance to the inalienable right of all people in Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. The serious duty of the United Nations, in particular the Special Committee of 24, is to safeguard these rights regardless of the options for the future that these peoples may freely choose.

Within the United Nations system we have called for the active involvement of the specialized agencies within their respective spheres of competence to assist the peoples of the colonial Territories, and in particular their liberation movements in southern Africa.

The Nordic countries, for their part, have bilaterally provided humanitarian, technical and educational assistance to these peoples, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations

This anniversary should also be an occasion for considering the tasks ahead. The process of decolonization has not yet been fully completed. The Nordic countries share the view that size, geographical location and availability of natural resources should not be used as an argument against allowing peoples in Non-Self-Governing Territories to exercise their inalienable rights - their rights freely to choose their own constitutional arrangements. All socio-economic models for the solution of their problems must be respected and not forced upon them from outside.

It is a fact that many of these Territories suffer from the specific disadvantages just mentioned. These Territories therefore require support from the international community to address their specific problems. We are under obligation to render technical, educational and economic assistance to these Territories in support of the decolonization process.

(Mrs. Arland, Sweden)

The Nordic countries have consistently condemned the activities of foreign economic interests which in any way impede the process of decolonization. At the same time, it is our view that foreign economic activities may be beneficial to the economic and social development of the Territory concerned and its population. In many cases, for example, foreign investments might be an important element in promoting industrial development and providing employment, depending on the conditions laid down for such activities and the involvement of the population.

The Nordic countries deeply regret that there are still Territories where the people have not yet been allowed to exercise its right to self-determination. It is our hope that this right will soon be realized and that the often inherent conflicts pertaining to these Territories can be solved without undue delay. In the view of the Nordic countries, some of these Territories require our particular attention and the direct involvement of the United Nations, including, in some cases, its Secretary-General.

The Nordic countries hold the view that the independence of Namibia is a most important and urgent colonial issue to be resolved. This question is a unique and direct responsibility of the United Nations. We are deeply concerned about South Africa's continued and illegal occupation of Namibia. We wish to reiterate our firm conviction that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) constitutes the only international acceptable basis for bringing about independence for Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. We maintain that the settlement of extraneous issues should not be a pre-condition for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).*

* Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mrs. Arland, Sweden)

Time and again optimism has faded and given way to pessimism regarding the independence of Namibia. The fundamental responsibility for this situation rests with the South African Government which has consistently frustrated the efforts aimed at implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

Recently the South African Government consented to the establishment of the so-called interim Government in Namibia, in clear violation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978).

The Nordic countries agree with the Security Council that this decision is unacceptable and does not confer any legal status on this so-called Government.

The recent South African aggression against neighbouring States, in particular against Angola, does not indicate any willingness to co-operate in implementing the United Nations plan for Namibia. The Nordic countries strongly condemn these attempts to circumvent the United Nations plan.

The international community has a special responsibility to support the Namibian people. The Nordic countries favour increased international pressure against South Africa and call on the Security Council to consider further effective measures without delay.

The Nordic Governments have for many years rendered their active political support and humanitarian assistance to the people of Namibia, inter alia, through bilateral assistance to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia.

The Nordic countries welcome Security Council resolution 566 (1985) adopted on 19 June, in which the Security Council once again reaffirmed its obligation to secure the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Our Governments fully support the various measures called for in Security Council resolution 566 (1985) to increase the pressure on South Africa to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

(Mrs. Arland, Sweden)

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate the Nordic countries consistent and active support for the decolonization process. We recognize the special responsibility of the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We take this opportunity to renew our commitment to the continued efforts of the United Nations to eradicate colonialism and to assist the peoples of colonial Territories.

The Nordic countries finally pledge to continue their moral and material support to colonial peoples, with a view to helping them obtain their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to 5 minutes for the second and should be made by representatives from their seats.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): I shall not once again refer to the statement made by the representative of Papua New Guinea which contained fallacious statements showing a total ignorance of facts.

The New Zealand delegation referred to the situation of New Caledonia in the statement it made this morning. The French delegation wishes to recall that New Caledonia is not on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is therefore not on the agenda of the General Assembly under item 18 and should not be referred to in statements made by delegations participating in the debate.

(Mr. de Kemoularia, France)

As a matter of courtesy, my delegation has not requested that speakers be prevented from expressing their views. None the less, we hope that the members of the Assembly will follow the agreed agenda.

For its part, the French delegation will respect the rules of procedure and, therefore, will not reply to the substance of those statements. On the other hand, my delegation is quite ready to hold an open dialogue with any delegation which so wishes.

Mr. McDOWELL (New Zealand): The representative of France has just questioned my delegation's right to make reference to New Caledonia in this Assembly under this item.

I have two points to make by way of response. The first is that we would not have embarked on making that statement if we had not been sure of our ground. The fact is that there are several precedents for such references in these debates. If the Permanent Representative of France wishes, I would be happy to supply him with the relevant references, documents and proceedings of this Assembly.

Secondly, I draw the attention of the representative of France to the largely supportive nature of my comments this morning. New Zealand wishes to encourage France to proceed along the broad lines it is now pursuing in New Caledonia. We spoke accordingly.

Mr. ANGGO (Papua New Guinea): The Papua New Guinea delegation wishes to reserve its right of reply for a later date. In particular we shall address an issue with regard to a domestic situation which the representative of France has used this occasion to bring to the attention of this body.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.