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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

AGENDA ITEM 18

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of
Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples**
(continued):

- (a) **Report of the Special Committee on the Situation
with regard to the Implementation of the Declara-
tion on the Granting of Independence to Colonial
Countries and Peoples;**
- (b) **Report of the Secretary-General**

1. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation
from French*): It was 20 years ago that, as a result of
the irresistible momentum gained by the struggle of
peoples under colonial domination to recover their
freedom and to assert their sacred right to determine
their future and to establish their own independent
States, the General Assembly adopted the historic
Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Co-
lonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

2. The remarkable developments which have taken
place since then in the field of decolonization have
led to the liberation of more than 70 million human
beings and to the emergence of new independent
States, which have joined the great family of the
United Nations, thus considerably increasing the
Organization's contribution to the resolution of the
problems facing mankind.

3. The decolonization process in fact represents
one of the most fruitful chapters in the activities of
the United Nations. It bears witness to the role and
the contribution of our Organization and its un-
swerving devotion to the principle of self-determi-
nation and independence for all peoples under colonial
or foreign domination.

4. Mention of those important achievements, which
have substantially reduced the sphere of colonialism,
leads us to pay a deep tribute to the peoples of the

former colonies and the liberation movements, who
have won their independence through heroic struggle
and great sacrifices, and to honour the memory of
those who have fallen in the struggle for freedom,
emancipation and social justice.

5. By the same token we must note that, in spite of
the fact that a number of colonial countries and peo-
ples have achieved their national independence, the
decolonization process has not yet been completed,
and situations of colonial domination and dependence
continue in various parts of the world.

6. The continuation of such situations, of racist
systems and *apartheid*, especially in southern
Africa, and of colonialist and neo-colonialist practices
and policies is an affront to the lofty goals of the
Charter of the United Nations and demonstrates
flagrant disregard for the most elementary standards
of international relations, primarily the sacred right
of peoples to decide their future in full freedom.

7. The final elimination of colonialist rule, of the
policy of domination and oppression, of *apartheid*
and racial discrimination, is part and parcel of the
activities designed to establish a new type of interna-
tional relations, to build a better and more just world
with the active participation of all the States of our
Organization.

8. For its part, through its international activities
and through the tireless efforts of its President, Ro-
mania has stood and continues to stand by the peoples
struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-
colonialism in order to fulfil their aspirations to free-
dom, independence and social progress.

9. My country's consistent position, one of militant
solidarity with and active support for the struggle for
the final elimination of foreign oppression and the
liberation of all colonial countries and peoples, has
been reasserted with the greatest authority by the
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,
Nicolae Ceaușescu, in the message he addressed to
the General Assembly on the twentieth anniversary
of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of
Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,
a message that I am honoured now to read to the As-
sembly:

“On the twentieth anniversary of the adoption
by the United Nations General Assembly on 14 De-
cember 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of
Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,
I take great pleasure in conveying on behalf of the
Romanian people and on my own behalf to you and
to all those taking part in the special Meeting of the
General Assembly devoted to this event a warm
message of friendship and best wishes for peace
and economic and social progress for the peoples
of the countries Members of the United Nations.

“That document, of a scope exceptional in the annals of the United Nations, was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly following the intensification of and the strides made in the struggle waged by peoples still under colonial domination to gain their freedom and independence and to establish their own national States.

“Reflecting as they do the determination of peoples to put an end to imperialist and colonialist policies and to establish among States relations based on the principles of independence and national sovereignty, on equality of rights and mutual respect, the elimination of foreign oppression and the attainment of freedom by colonial countries and peoples are part of the broad process of revolutionary change, both national and social, that has taken place the world over and has led to far-reaching changes in the balance of power in the world.

“By adopting that historic Declaration, and above all by its subsequent activities, the United Nations, especially the General Assembly and other bodies concerned, have helped to support the struggle for national liberation and to speed up the decolonization process. As a result, 50 peoples and countries that were under colonial domination have achieved national independence and become sovereign States, and are today full-fledged Members of the United Nations.

“The Romanian people welcomed the proclamation this year of the independence of the Republic of Zimbabwe, which is the crowning achievement of the heroic struggle of the people of that country and a further victory in the campaign finally to eliminate colonialism. The victory of the Zimbabwean people, like other successes in the struggle for national liberation, quite clearly demonstrates that the peoples are determined finally to liquidate colonial and neo-colonial domination and to ensure their independence and build a free life of their own choosing.

“But in spite of all the undeniable successes achieved in the decolonization process, there remain peoples subjected to colonial domination. That situation continues to threaten international peace and security. Hence there is an ever greater need to intensify the efforts of all States and peoples and all progressive forces the world over to ensure that the right of every people to decide its own future is recognized. We must now urgently undertake energetic measures to ensure the exercise of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination. We must act firmly to impose strict respect by South Africa for United Nations resolutions on Namibia and to prevent the continued illegal occupation of that Territory by the South African régime.

“The anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is of special significance for the Organization and for all States and peoples the world over when international life is being subjected to a growing tendency to consolidate and divide spheres and zones of influence, thus increasing the danger of intervention in the internal

affairs of other States and peoples and of other activities likely to restore relationships of domination and subordination in flagrant contradiction of the principles of the Declaration.

“The Romanian people, which has realized its right to be master of its own destiny at the cost of a struggle waged at considerable sacrifice over a period of several centuries, has offered and continues to offer its moral political and material support to the struggle of peoples to realize their right to free and independent life and to eliminate all forms of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination. The Romanian people fully supports the struggle being waged by the national liberation movement of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO to win its national independence, gives its full backing to the struggle of the people of South Africa against the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* practised by the Pretoria régime, and resolutely condemns all acts of aggression committed by South Africa against neighbouring independent States. Romania has lent and always will lend its support and be a steadfast friend of all peoples struggling to develop in full freedom and to defend and consolidate their national independence and sovereignty. We attach particular importance to strengthening co-operation with newly independent States, with all developing countries, and with non-aligned countries in their struggle to eliminate imperialist and neo-colonialist policies of division and consolidation of spheres of influence and to defend independence and freedom; to eliminate underdevelopment and to establish a new economic and political international order based on true equality and equity. We are in favour of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament and the allocation of a substantial portion of the resources thus released to the economic development of countries that have fallen behind in that sphere.

“Like other States, Romania is deeply concerned by the continuance and worsening of states of tension and conflict and by the appearance in various parts of the world of areas of war and armed confrontations, in which young independent States, the developing countries, are involved. As sincere friends of the young independent States, we are consequently in favour of the settlement of their disputes, as well as of differences among any other States, solely by peaceful means, through negotiations among all the parties directly concerned, for the strengthening of the solidarity and the unity of the developing countries, the non-aligned countries, in the struggle they are waging to resolve certain complex problems inherited from the period of colonial oppression in order to devote their efforts to social and economic development so that they may lead a free, dignified and prosperous life, protected from all outside pressures and interference.

“We feel that in the present conditions of serious tension in the international situation it is absolutely imperative to combine our efforts and co-operation ever more closely to prevent the worsening on the international situation, so that the course towards

détente, peace and co-operation can be resumed and pursued.

"This anniversary, two decades after the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization, should, we believe, stimulate the United Nations and all States Members to intensify their efforts to eradicate all manifestations of colonialism, all policies of oppression of one people by another; to eliminate completely imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies and to defend the independence and freedom of peoples.

"By the same token, the Organization, its specialized agencies and all States Members should act more vigorously to eliminate under-development and to establish relations of equitable co-operation among all countries, to further the economic, technological and social progress of all mankind and especially of the less developed countries and to establish a new international economic order." [A/35/726, annex.]

10. In concluding his message, Nicolae Ceaușescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, says:

"I should like to reaffirm, on this occasion also, the determination of Romania to co-operate closely with other States and other peoples, within the United Nations as elsewhere, to resolve by political means, in the interest of all nations, the major problems facing mankind, today, so that the aspirations of the peoples to live in full freedom and independence and in peace, security and prosperity, in order to build a better and more just world, may be fulfilled." [Ibid.]

11. Mr. RASON (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Twenty years ago the Assembly adopted a resolution which was rapidly to take its place among the most important texts adopted by the United Nations. Resolution 1514 (XV) on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples owes its importance to the fact that it responds to the aspirations of peoples that are still dependent and that it reflects the just aspiration and the active struggle of those peoples to affirm their dignity and ensure recognition of their rights to independence and full international sovereignty.

12. The background to that Declaration is familiar enough to all the Members of the international community so that it is not necessary to dwell on it. None the less, in order to avoid any confusion, it is appropriate to recall once again the basic principles of that Declaration. The most important among them concern the liberation of colonial peoples from all forms of alien subjugation, domination and exploitation; the right of peoples freely to determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development; the need to refrain from any armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples that are struggling to exercise their right to independence; the immediate granting of independence and the transfer of all powers without any conditions or reservations, and without any distinction as to race, creed or colour; respect for national unity and territorial integrity when a State does accede to independence; and, lastly, the obligation for all States strictly to observe the provisions of the Charter, of the Universal Declara-

tion of Human Rights [resolution 217 A (III)] and of the decolonization Declaration itself.

13. Since they form a coherent whole and respond to a well-defined goal, those indissociable principles proclaim a body of political, economic and social rights which cannot be fragmented or interpreted in a restrictive manner, much less challenged. And the main merit of the Declaration is that it establishes the right of peoples to self-determination as an imperative norm of international law, unanimously recognized, the implementation of which has led to deep change in the composition of international society.

14. In fact, these past 20 years have seen the accession to independence of almost 50 States, which we have been pleased to welcome to the Assembly as Members of the Organization, where they have made and continue to make enormous contributions to the intensification of the struggle against colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and imperialism and to the strengthening of peace through the establishment of more equal, just and humane relations.

15. In spite of the progress achieved, the total elimination of colonialism, racism and foreign domination in all its forms and manifestations has not yet been achieved.

16. Attempts at colonial reconquest and other forms of neo-colonialism or domination have been made under cover of the policy of spheres of interests and influence. More than 20 Non-Self-Governing Territories, not to mention countries such as Puerto Rico, the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands and other small islands in the Indian Ocean still remain under colonial or foreign domination.

17. The defence of well-defined strategic points, the preservation of political balance, the desire to perpetuate ideologies and economic domination, the attempts to confer power on minorities in the pay of imperialism, of foreign economic interests, of racism and of *apartheid*—these are all reasons that drive some to delay the application of the Declaration and to justify the maintenance of the *status quo*.

18. Hence the desire for independence of many colonial peoples has been subordinated to the requirement and the laws of the confrontation among the major Powers. Instead of taking effective steps to grant independence and transfer power to the populations concerned, certain Powers have been endeavouring to perpetuate their colonial domination by putting forward considerations already rejected by the United Nations, such as the smallness of certain territories, the small population or the economically unfavourable geographical situation.

19. Dozens of military bases exist in the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic and the Caribbean. These are clearly attempts to perpetuate the military presence of the administering Powers in regions that are far from the metropolitan territories.

20. Where the administering Powers had been compelled to grant independence they have resorted to subterfuge in order to evade the obligation defined in paragraph 6 of the Declaration according to which any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a

country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

21. On that point, my delegation wishes once again to draw the attention of the Assembly to the case of the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India, which were arbitrarily detached from Madagascar before the proclamation of the independence of our country.

22. The steps we have taken in the United Nations to open negotiations concerning the return of those islands have been given the support of the non-aligned movement and the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

23. Our position concerning the decolonization of Western Sahara was already expressed at the time of the adoption of resolution 35/19. We should therefore like at this time merely to express our hope that the principles accepted by the United Nations and the OAU will be faithfully applied, as they are the only guarantee that the rights of the Sahraoui people will be respected.

24. As far as Puerto Rico is concerned, we support the appeal of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979, concerning the decolonization of that territory. We also welcomed the resolution adopted on the same subject by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, on 20 August 1980 [A/35/23/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 78]. That text contains positive elements upon which the Committee might draw when it prepares the specific recommendations requested by operative paragraph 12 of draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1 in order to obtain the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

25. We wish now to refer to the question of Namibia. The main causes of tension in that region reside in the forces of racism, imperialism and foreign economic interests which exert pressure and engage in all forms of manipulation in order to delay, indeed to prevent, for their own profit the political and economic emancipation of the Namibian people.

26. Our delegation has never accepted the idea that solely negotiations with South Africa—a party whose good faith is not one of its most striking qualities—can suffice to break the Namibian deadlock. Could the preliminary meeting designed to create the atmosphere of trust needed for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council justify a postponement of our debates on the question of Namibia, or will it be but another delaying tactic by the racist régime of the kind we have become only too accustomed to? Only the future will tell.

27. In our view, the decolonization of Namibia must involve the withdrawal of all troops, police forces and administrative machinery installed by the illegal régime in the Territory. It must be based on the effective transfer of power to the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people, and the territorial integrity of that country must be maintained. Any negotiations outside that framework are

likely to lead us to go back on the consistent position of the United Nations concerning the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa.

28. The position of Madagascar on decolonization is clear. It was delineated by Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, as follows:

“Our policy of independence, sovereignty and dignity and our choice of socialism all lead us naturally to side with the progressive countries in assisting the just national liberation movements that are fighting for independence, sovereignty, liberty and dignity, and we shall continue to do so regardless of the objections of some or the political ambitions of others.”

29. It is in that spirit that we firmly support the plan of action for the complete implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which we hope will be adopted unanimously.

30. Before concluding, we should like to convey to the Chairman and to the members of the Special Committee on decolonization our sincerest congratulations for the competence, the spirit of self-sacrifice, the sense of responsibility and the dedication with which they have been discharging their responsibilities. We are convinced that the Committee will continue, as it has done up to the present, to be in the forefront of the efforts made by the United Nations to eliminate colonialism and that in its future work it will be inspired by the new resolve which has crystallized during this debate in favour of the full liberation of all peoples.

31. Mr. TKACHUK (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): This year, the year of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union of the historic resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has been marked by a new and outstanding success in the national liberation movement of African peoples. As a result of the many years of selfless struggle of the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe to throw off the colonial racist yoke, the people of that country have achieved independence. A new State has appeared on the map of the world—the Republic of Zimbabwe. Another great step has been taken for the final liberation of Africa from the shackles of racism and colonialism. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, like the delegations of other countries, warmly welcomes the victory of the people of Zimbabwe in its heroic struggle against the colonial racist régime for its right to a life of freedom and dignity.

32. Twenty years is a relatively short period, historically speaking, but over that time truly enormous positive results have been achieved in eliminating the system of colonial oppression. Colonial empires have been toppled and on their ruins approximately 100 young, sovereign States have been formed which have embarked upon independent and self-sufficient development. In practical terms, the question of the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism has come to the fore.

33. The voices of the young, sovereign States of Africa have been heard ever more clearly on the international scene and the non-aligned movement is assuming a growing role in complex international problems and has become a significant positive factor in international life.

34. The struggle for the final elimination of colonialism and racism is directly linked to the struggle for the strengthening of international peace and security, for the normalization of the international political climate opens further prospects of achieving the full and final elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations from the face of the earth.

35. In this noble cause, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has played and continues to play an essential role. The Declaration not only was one of the basic United Nations documents in the sphere of decolonization but has virtually defined the ways and means for specific action on the part of the international community to achieve the final elimination of colonialism from the world. The timeliness of the provisions of the Declaration regarding the struggle of colonial and dependent peoples and countries for their self-determination and independence is self-evident. The United Nations—all States Members of the Organization—must increase their efforts in promoting the attainment of the final objectives of that Declaration.

36. However, the colonialists have never and will never give way willingly. The establishment of a free Africa is taking place against the background of a sharp collision between the forces of national liberation and progress and the forces of imperialism and reaction, which are attempting to hold back that irreversible process.

37. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Brezhnev, in his statement in the Kremlin on 17 November of this year at a state dinner in honour of the Chairman of FRELIMO¹ and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Mr. Samora Moisés Machel, stated:

“We have been able to achieve a great deal over the past two decades. Now almost all of Africa is independent. Only in the southern part of the continent is there still a springboard for colonialism and racism, a sort of anachronism in international present-day historical circumstances, but an anachronism which is an aggressive and dangerous one.”

38. South Africa continues to be the last bastion of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* on the African continent. The Pretoria racists, in spite of the many decisions of the United Nations and the demands of the international community, continue to pursue their criminal policy of *apartheid*, oppression and cruel repression against the indigenous African population of the country and to carry out systematic acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States, first and foremost Angola and Zambia. The purpose of the aggressive policy of the South African racists

vis-à-vis the neighbouring independent States is evident: it is to intimidate the progressive African countries and to compel them to deny their support to the national liberation movements, and in particular to SWAPO, so as to hold back or slow down the irreversible process of the national liberation of peoples in the southern part of the African continent, to destabilize the situation in that region of Africa and to direct developments there along neo-colonialist lines. In that policy they are relying on their Western protectors—first and foremost, the major members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]—which are furthering their economic, political and military-strategic interests in southern Africa, and regard South Africa as the last bulwark against the victorious struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for self-determination and independence. They also see that country as a potential ally in carrying out military-strategic concepts of the aggressive NATO bloc in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

39. The continued policy of *apartheid* in South Africa, the acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the very existence of the racist régime would be impossible and unthinkable without the constant and comprehensive assistance and support given the Pretoria régime by major Western Powers.

40. There is no particular need to dwell here on the solid, multifarious and ever-growing links of co-operation between the major imperialist Powers and their transnational corporations with the racist régime of South Africa; they are known to all of us. Many hundreds of Western companies—primarily English and American—are closely collaborating with the South African *apartheid* régime. Western investments in South Africa amount to tens of billions of dollars, and the volume of trade operations there is most impressive. Most of the important sectors of the South African economy—including the nuclear industry and the repressive military police apparatus and military régime of the aggressive Pretoria racists—have been established with the direct support of major Western Powers. Moreover, the major Western transnational oil corporations—Shell, British Petroleum, Caltex, Mobil and Total—invariably supply the South African racist régime with the necessary oil.

41. The Pretoria racist régime's policy of *apartheid*, its aggression against neighbouring sovereign States and its continued illegal occupation of Namibia are incompatible with the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and pose a real threat, not only to the security of African peoples, but to international peace and security.

42. The activities of the South African racist régime in Namibia are impeding implementation of the Declaration as regards that country. The racists' tactics with regard to Namibia amount to an attempt to undermine United Nations efforts at a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem. Under cover of talk of negotiations and with the connivance of the Western five, the Pretoria racists are attempting to play for time in order to set up and consolidate a puppet neo-colonialist régime in Namibia. At the same time, they

¹ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

are using Namibian territory as a springboard for aggression against neighbouring sovereign States.

43. In these circumstances, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, like delegations of other countries, believes that the only way to force the Pretoria racists to cease their criminal policy and show respect for United Nations decisions and world opinion is the immediate adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive, binding sanctions against racist South Africa, pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter.

44. The Byelorussian SSR continues to support the immediate implementation of the inalienable rights of the peoples of southern Africa to self-determination and independence; we advocate the transfer of all power in Namibia to its people, as personified by its sole, legitimate representative, SWAPO and the elimination of the shameful system of *apartheid* from South Africa. Furthermore, we resolutely condemn the manoeuvres of the neo-colonialists in southern Africa and the aggressive actions of the racists against the forces of national liberation and neighbouring sovereign African States.

45. At this as at previous sessions of the General Assembly, concern has quite rightly been expressed about decolonization of the so-called small territories. The problem in this respect is, first and foremost, the continuation of the essentially colonialist exploitation of those Territories by imperialist monopolies and the use of those Territories as military bases by the Administering Authorities. Furthermore, for example, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands—Micronesia—is being threatened with virtual absorption by the Administering Authority, the United States of America.

46. In this connexion, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like to emphasize once again that the solution of the issue of the future of Micronesia is part and parcel of the over-all problem of decolonization and the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. To confer any status upon Micronesia other than that of a Trust Territory under the Charter is something that can be done only pursuant to a decision of the Security Council. Unilateral actions by the Administering Authority vis-à-vis that Trust Territory or any of its various parts cannot be recognized as legal or binding.

47. A great deal has been accomplished and many positive results achieved in implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, the United Nations must undertake new efforts in order to achieve full and speedy implementation of the final objectives of decolonization in accordance with the historic resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the Declaration.

48. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR expresses its firm conviction that the just cause of the liberation of Namibia will triumph and that inevitably a final end will be put one of the most shameful manifestations of our time, *apartheid* in South Africa. The historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must be fully implemented.

49. Mr. KRYSOSIK (Poland): In the long history of the United Nations efforts there are very few reso-

lutions whose significance and influence could be compared with that of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly in 1960 on the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Speaking on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of that truly historic Declaration, the Polish delegation would like to stress both its enormous achievements and its everlasting value.

50. The adoption of the Declaration has greatly accelerated the pace of decolonization and indeed has contributed to changing profoundly the map of the world. Out of the 72 Territories listed as non-self-governing in General Assembly resolution 66 (I), only 14 became independent during the period 1946-1959. Since the adoption of the Declaration, the process of decolonization has attained new impetus and given independence to dozens of new countries. Whole colonial empires have collapsed one after another.

51. Naturally, the most important and decisive factor in this regard has been the will of the peoples under colonial and racist domination and their determination to persist in the struggle for self-determination and independence. With the adoption of the Declaration the struggle conducted by the national liberation movements against the colonial yoke achieved important additional moral and political support. For the first time the world community recognised its direct responsibility towards those who were still deprived of their freedom and of self-government.

52. The adoption of that historic Declaration has greatly strengthened the role of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. The very concept of the inalienable right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence has been expanded to include the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle waged by the colonial peoples to achieve the effective exercise and enjoyment of those rights. The United Nations also exposed the role played by foreign economic interests and military bases as factors impeding the decolonization process.

53. In the last few years further progress has been made in the field of decolonization through the struggle waged by the national liberation movements, in particular in the southern part of Africa. The most recent example is the glorious victory of the people of Zimbabwe, won after a long and protracted struggle.

54. There is an obvious interrelationship between the progress in the field of decolonization and the general state of international relations. The final liquidation of colonialism would eliminate one of the serious sources of tension in international relations and would therefore constitute an important contribution towards the strengthening of international peace and security. As stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, Mr. Jozef Czyrek, during the general debate a few weeks ago:

“On the twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], we could not stress more emphatically the need for immediate and final eradication of the remnants of colonialism in southern Africa and of its particularly abhorrent form, *apartheid*. The elimi-

nation of the vestiges of colonialism and of all forms of neo-colonial dependence is also an essential prerequisite for ensuring world peace, justice and the security of nations.” [10th meeting, para. 85.]

55. While stressing the progress already achieved, we cannot forget that much remains to be done and that several million people are still subjected to colonial rule and that even more are subjected to the most oppressive rule of *apartheid*. The question of Namibia is of particular concern for the international community, for its people still suffer under a racist and repressive régime. The situation in Namibia has been seriously aggravated by the endless manoeuvres of the South African régime to deprive the Namibian people of its long-overdue independence. A matter for serious concern must be South Africa's intensified policies of repression and terror in Namibia, combined with the further expansion and escalation of its military forces used both against the Namibian people and for repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States, in particular the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia.

56. In view of the dangerous situation that now prevails in Namibia, urgent and effective measures are necessary that would directly affect the South African régime and make it obey the United Nations resolutions on Namibia. In order to overcome and counteract the South African manoeuvres and delaying tactics, the international community should intensify its support for the Namibian people and its sole and authentic representative, SWAPO.

57. There are still many other territories that are awaiting their chance to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. There are still outstanding problems and difficulties in that regard that are created by some Powers in order to preserve their own interests, in particular in the economic and military fields, or to impose neo-colonial solutions contrary to the principles embodied in the Declaration.

58. In our considered opinion, on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples the United Nations should reinforce its actions to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and to eliminate the last strongholds of colonialism and racism all over the world.

59. We attach great importance to the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration. As we have already informed the Secretary-General on 17 September 1980, this important anniversary will be properly commemorated in Poland.²

60. Solidarity with the colonial peoples that are still fighting for their freedom and with newly liberated countries is one of the basic principles of my country's foreign policy. Those principles are reflected in the message of the President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Mr. Henryk Jablonski, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. His message reads as follows:

“On behalf of the authorities of the Polish People's Republic and the Polish people, I wish to extend through you to the session of the General Assembly expressions of deep satisfaction and cordial congratulations on the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the General Assembly.

“We rejoice at the fact that this Declaration—being an offspring of the fundamental principles of the United Nations, a manifestation of the loftiest aspirations of the whole of mankind and a response to the immediate interests of the oppressed nations—has become a powerful weapon for those who want to wipe out colonialism, which was and still is the disgrace of the twentieth century. Poland, true to its traditional ideals of freedom and sovereignty of nations, together with other States of the socialist community, actively participated in the adoption of the Declaration and continues to contribute to its implementation. My country develops comprehensive economic, scientific and technical co-operation with new African, Asian and Latin American States; also, *inter alia*, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, it actively participates in actions aimed at the final elimination of any remnant of colonialism.

“On the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, which has become one of the most important and fruitful United Nations documents, we reaffirm our resolute will to co-operate further in favour of full and urgent implementation of all its objectives.” [See A/35/752.]

61. From the very inception of the United Nations, Poland has consistently pursued a policy of assisting in all actions aimed at the national liberation of colonial countries and peoples. Guided by this spirit, Poland served for a long time on the Special Committee on decolonization and is at present a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

62. Mr. LAI Yali (China) (*translation from Chinese*): This is the year of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. First of all, let me, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, pay high tribute to the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions which have won freedom and independence by waging heroic struggles for national liberation, and to the peoples of the world that are today standing at the frontline of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism in order to save and safeguard their national independence and State sovereignty. In the past year, Kiribati, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Zimbabwe, and Vanuatu have joined the ranks of the independent countries. The Chinese delegation would like to take this opportunity also to congratulate them and to welcome them warmly.

63. Since the Second World War, the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions have launched a series of earthshaking and heroic struggles for their independence, freedom and liberation. They have shattered the old colonial system and have won great victories. In the last 35 years, nearly 100 countries have attained independence,

² See A/AC.109/641.

one after another. This large number of new-born countries not only took over the control of their own national destinies but also brought about a momentous change on the international scene as a whole. The numerous countries of the third world have become, in the world of today, a powerful force that fights against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism and safeguards world peace. They are playing a consequential and decisive role in international affairs.

64. Victory has not come easily. Undeterred by brutal suppression, the people of these new-born countries have carried on an unrelenting struggle in the course of which they have used all political, military and economic means at their disposal and have accumulated rich experience. Thanks to the extensive, long-standing solidarity and co-operation among them, they have been able to launch a full range of powerful united actions. This spirit of unity against the common enemy has been an important factor guaranteeing their victory. Today, the numerous third-world countries are continuing, with boldness and resolution, their effort to consolidate their political independence, safeguard national security, protect their national rights and interests, develop their national economies and elevate their standards of living, and they have already achieved gratifying results.

65. At a time when past achievements are cited and victories joyously celebrated, one cannot ignore the fact that although the old colonial system has collapsed, colonialism has not stepped down from the historical arena. It is still waging a deathbed struggle. The case in point is southern Africa. In order to preserve its reactionary rule, the South African racist régime is resorting to the dual tactics of intensified military repression and political deception. This has become more apparent recently, in its use of military force in ruthless suppression of the peoples of Namibia and Azania and in its frequent military incursions into neighbouring sovereign States in an attempt to cut off aid given to the Namibian people. Moreover, it has continued brazenly to defy the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations, refusing to end its illegal occupation of Namibia or relinquish its criminal racist rule over the Azanian people. The doings of the South African régime have aroused great indignation among the African people and the other peoples of the world. At the thirty-fifth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, held at Freetown from 18 to 28 June 1980, many resolutions which strongly condemned the South African authorities [see A/35/463, *annexe I*]. It was decided that support given to the liberation movements in southern Africa would be further strengthened and that an oil embargo and sanctions would be imposed on Pretoria. This was powerful support shown to the peoples of Namibia and Azania and yet another stern warning to the South African régime.

66. The people of Zimbabwe waged a protracted and arduous struggle, including armed struggle, before winning independence in glory. In the course of establishing the national régime, they have adopted a correct policy suited to their own national interests. By their great victory and precious experience, they have written a new chapter in the history of the south-

ern African people's struggle for freedom and independence. It was a heavy blow dealt to the South African racist régime and its supporters and a great encouragement to the peoples still to be liberated in southern Africa and other regions. Under the leadership of SWAPO, the Namibian people are stepping up the struggle against the racist régime of South Africa and for national independence. The heroic Azanian people are waging a relentless mass struggle against the brute force of racism and *apartheid*. This has dealt telling blows to the racist régime there. We believe that the just cause will finally prevail over the evil force. The dark racist rule of South Africa will certainly be smashed. The day is not far off when the African continent will win its complete independence and total national liberation.

67. At present, the people in the third world are faced with the common problem of defending their hard-won freedom and independence. Hegemonism, trying hard to replace the old-line imperialism and colonialism, is attempting by all possible means to infiltrate and carry out aggression and expansion in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as in other regions. Flaunting the banner of "supporting national liberation movements" and using economic and military "assistance" as a camouflage, it is engaging in subversion, control, exploitation and pillaging. It capitalizes on the contradictions among some countries, creates differences and sows dissent, thus fishing in troubled waters. What merits particular attention is that it continues to use surrogates or mercenaries to carry out armed invasion or even dispatches its own forces to invade and occupy sovereign States and foster puppet régimes. There is no essential difference between the present-day hegemons and the "*conquistadores*" of old times who carried out colonial subjugation abroad by means of fire and sword, except that the former are more devious and more deceptive. This kind of neo-colonialism is one manifestation of contemporary hegemonism. Dealing with this fresh threat is a serious task for those countries which have just overthrown colonial rule. All those people who have been directly or indirectly exposed to threats or invasion by neo-colonialism and hegemonism should close ranks and wage a resolute struggle to safeguard the fruits of their victory. It is also self-evident that only by simultaneously waging a determined struggle against hegemonism can the fight against colonialism be brought to a final conclusion.

68. Thirty-five years have passed since the founding of the United Nations. Numerous newly independent countries have successively joined the United Nations, doubling the membership and bringing about tremendous changes in the balance of power within the United Nations. The days are gone forever when a few Powers could manipulate United Nations affairs. In the past three decades and more, the United Nations has adopted quite a few good documents which have supported national liberation movements, opposed colonialism and racism, and exerted positive influence in the international arena. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is a reflection of the vigorous development of the just struggle waged by the peoples of various countries for national indepen-

dence after the Second World War. Its adoption dealt a blow to imperialism and colonialism and bolstered anti-colonial forces as well as all those peoples who were still under colonial rule. We should further efforts towards full implementation of the principles and provisions of the aforementioned fine documents and strive to have the United Nations play a greater role in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

69. The Chinese people themselves, long subjected to imperialist and colonialist oppression, have always sided with all oppressed nations and peoples. We rejoice over their victories in the struggle for freedom and liberation. China has always firmly supported all the oppressed nations and peoples in their resolute fight against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and racism. Ours is a developing country, with a limited economic capability. However, we have tried our best working with third-world countries on a basis of mutual support. In our relations with third-world countries, we have been consistently faithful to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ten principles contained in the final communiqué of the Conference of the Countries of Africa and Asia, held on Bandung from 18 to 24 April 1955³. China will always stand on the side of all countries and peoples victimized by imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. We are strongly convinced that the just cause will prevail.

70. In conclusion, I should like to read the message of congratulation from the Vice-Premier of the State Council and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, Huang Hua, to the President of the General Assembly, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The message reads as follows:

“On the occasion of the meeting convened by the General Assembly to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I wish to express, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our warm congratulations to the meeting, and our high respects to the countries and peoples fighting to win or safeguard their national independence.

“Since the end of the Second World War, nearly a hundred colonies and semi-colonies as well as Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories have shaken off the yoke of colonialism and declared independence after waging a heroic and arduous struggle over a long period of time. This has greatly changed the face of the world. In 1960, acting on the proposal of many Asian and African countries, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, solemnly declaring that an end must be put to alien subjugation, domination, exploitation and armed repression and that the territorial integrity of the colonial countries and their right to independence shall be respected. It has thus significantly helped to advance this historical process.

“At present, the old colonial system has collapsed, but colonialism and racism, particularly in southern Africa, have not yet died out. Moreover, that late-coming super-Power is trying to replace the old-line imperialism and colonialism in an attempt to carry out infiltration, expansion and aggression in the third world countries. This is a form of new colonialism and also of hegemonism. Opposing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations remains the important task of the United Nations. The countries that have won independence are faced with an arduous struggle to consolidate independence, safeguard sovereignty, develop the economy and defend world peace and security. We are sure that the increasingly awakening third world countries and peoples, relying on their own strength and unity and supported by the people of all countries, will be able to resist any outside force that is trying to control and interfere in their affairs, and win complete victory for their national liberation. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly stand on their side and work in concerted efforts to oppose imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism and to safeguard world peace.

“May the meeting be crowned with success.”
[See A/35/752.]

71. Mr. IVANICHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The discussion of this item this year is of special significance. Twenty years ago, on 14 December 1960, the General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, of which the Soviet Union was the initiator. If we take a look back at the period of time that has elapsed since then, it is easy to observe the enormous positive results achieved in the elimination of the colonial system of imperialism. An important role in this was undoubtedly played by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It has become a powerful stimulus for decolonization. During those 20 years more than 50 countries have thrown off the shackles of colonialism and have undertaken independent development.

72. Young sovereign States are trying to consolidate their political and economic independence. They are in favour of peace and they are against aggression and foreign oppression. There has been a noticeable increase in their role in and influence on international life. Many of the liberated States have had an active part in the solution of important international problems. There has been a strengthening of their solidarity in their campaign against imperialism and the remnants of colonialism. All this is especially important now, when the forces of international imperialism, reaction and hegemonism are trying to turn the world back to the times of the cold war, are stepping up the arms race and are trying to pursue their expansionist schemes.

73. The pursuit by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community of a policy of lessening international tension promotes the acceleration of the process of national and social liberation and the further combining of the efforts of all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 533rd meeting, para. 146.

74. The world has arrived at the culmination of a historical process: the final sweep against the shameful slavery of colonialism. A case in point is the continent of Africa. Only recently its map bore all the colours of the metropolitan Powers, but the powerful wave of national liberation movements has led to a situation in which the dawning of the 1980s witnessed the birth of the fiftieth independent African State, the Republic of Zimbabwe. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe is an important step towards the final liberation of Africa from the yoke of racism and colonialism.

75. There are still, however, vestiges of colonialism and racism in the world and they constitute a challenge to the ideals of freedom and human dignity; they poison the international atmosphere and are a dangerous source of tension and conflict.

76. There is special concern over the situation prevailing in southern Africa, where the colonial racist régime of Pretoria, rejecting wholesale the principles and ideals of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, flagrantly flouting the Charter and disregarding the numerous resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and the protests of world public opinion, endeavours by all means possible, ranging from brutal repressive action to demagogic manoeuvres and the use of puppets, to retain power over Namibia and to maintain the heinous régime of *apartheid* in South Africa itself.

77. The South African racists have turned South Africa, including Namibia, into an enormous concentration camp where there is an unending campaign against those fighting for freedom and independence, where there is bloody police repression against the African people and where there is complete disregard for basic human rights, including the right to life.

78. Illegally occupying Namibia, the South African racists are using its territory as a staging ground for armed attacks against neighbouring sovereign independent States and are trying to hold back the process of the free, progressive development of those States.

79. While brazenly sabotaging the implementation of Security Council resolutions on the granting of independence to Namibia, the advocates of *apartheid* are contriving to put forward conditions and demands with the purpose of indefinitely postponing a solution to that problem. With the connivance and direct support of the Western imperialist Powers they are trying to impose on Namibia their "internal settlement" policy, which is designed to establish a puppet régime in Namibia and to isolate SWAPO and prevent its participation in decisions on the future of the country.

80. Speaking in the United Nations the Ukrainian delegation has on more than one occasion emphasized that a rapid and just political solution of the problem of Namibia is only possible on the basis of the exercise by the people of Namibia of its inalienable right to self-determination and independence with the assurance of the unity and territorial integrity of that country; the immediate, unconditional and complete withdrawal from Namibia of the South African troops and administration; and the transfer of power to SWAPO, which is recognized by the United Nations

and the OAU as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. That, our position of principle, remains unchanged today.

81. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR notes with concern that the system of violence and repression established in southern Africa by the South African racist régime, the increasingly frequent acts of aggression against sovereign African States, the feverish build-up of military potential by Pretoria and the attempts by the South African racists to obtain nuclear weapons have created a situation in southern Africa which is a serious threat to international peace and security. The many years of ardent struggle for the liberation of that region would long ago have resulted in victory had it not been for the comprehensive covert and overt support for the racists provided by certain Western Powers and first and foremost the NATO States and Israel, as well as by various international monopolies. Frustrating the grim designs of the enemies of Africa is not only a task for the African States but the duty of all people of goodwill.

82. The people of the Ukrainian SSR, like all progressive peoples, resolutely condemns the shameful policies of connivance with the South African racists followed by imperialist States in the West; this makes them direct accessories in the bloody crime of the Pretoria rulers.

83. The activities of the Western protectors of the South African racists are designed, first and foremost, to perpetuate the colonial racist order in southern Africa and to whip up tensions in that area and strengthen the position of reactionary forces. In the view of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, the efforts of all States must be united to achieve the complete international isolation and boycott of the racist régime of Pretoria so as to eradicate as soon as possible the shameful remnants of colonialism and racism. The oppressed peoples of Africa must be enabled to exercise the right to freedom and to decide their own future without outside interference in accordance with the terms of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

84. Unfortunately, the provisions of the Declaration are not being complied with, and not only in southern Africa. Colonial domination persists in small Territories spread out in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean. The colonizers use these island Territories primarily as military bases and are trying in every way possible to perpetuate such use. In this connexion, contrived arguments are put forward in an attempt to obstruct the decolonization of those Territories. References are made to their "small size" or "small population" or "low level of social and economic development"; this is in direct contravention of the provisions of the Declaration, with the plan of action for the full implementation of that historic Declaration and with other decisions of the General Assembly.

85. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to emphasize once again that it fully supports all the resolutions and decisions on decolonization adopted by the United Nations and that it believes that their immediate implementation would put an end to one of the most important problems of our time: that of

the full and final elimination of the remnants of the shameful colonial system of imperialism.

86. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): I should like, before making my statement, to read out the message sent by our Prime Minister, Mr. Pham Van Dong, addressed to the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The message reads as follows:

“on the occasion of the observance of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, on behalf of the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and on my own behalf, I have the honour to address warm greetings to you and to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

“Since the Second World War, mankind has witnessed unprecedented progress in the history of the struggle for national liberation. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted at the very heart of that struggle, was fully in conformity with the interests and ardent aspirations of thousands of people who rose up to struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for national independence, democracy and social progress.

“During the past two decades, the national liberation movement has won the most glorious victories in history. Many countries have reconquered their national independence and have become masters of their own fate and Members of the United Nations, playing an active part in the political life of the international community. However, the enemies of independence cannot resign themselves to accepting their defeats. They have intensified their collusion in order to create tension and revive the cold war so as to create favourable conditions in which they can continue their aggression and intervention in the affairs of independent countries, pillage natural resources and cling to their remaining colonies.

“Looking to their past experience, the peoples of the world are resolutely intensifying their solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism, *apartheid*, expansionism, hegemonism and all the forces of oppression and exploitation, so as to reconquer and consolidate their national independence, thus contributing to the defence of international peace and security and to the establishment of a new, just and progressive international economic order. That cause will undoubtedly prevail.

“The Vietnamese people resolutely support the struggle for national independence being waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and hopes that after this solemn observance, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly, will be fully implemented as soon as possible in order to respond to the aspirations and desires of the peoples of the world, in the in-

terest of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.” [See A/35/752.]

87. Two decades have elapsed since, upon the initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a historic document of the greatest importance.

88. That Declaration emerged in the very midst of the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their national liberation. That awakening of oppressed peoples led to the massive collapse of the colonial system and pointed to the inevitable end of colonialism. During that period also, within the socialist system established after the Second World War, new relations were formed among independent peoples and States and strengthened day by day, constituting solid support for the movement in favour of peace, national independence and social progress.

89. The outcome of the struggle of those peoples, that Declaration and other relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations that were adopted subsequently constitute a legal foundation for the battle being waged by oppressed and dependent peoples by all means, including armed struggle, in favour of basic human rights, the right to independence and self-determination, and the right to economic, social and cultural development in their own sovereign territories.

90. During the past two decades, the colonial and dependent peoples, aware of their basic national rights, inspired by the Declaration, and enjoying the esteem and support of progressive forces the world over, have waged an intense and heroic struggle to break the chains imposed upon them, to drive back and crush, step by step, little by little, colonialism and imperialism.

91. The upsurge of the national liberation movement since the adoption of that historic Declaration constitutes the second important event of our time, following the formation of the world socialist system. More than 50 sovereign countries have joined the United Nations after having won victory in their struggle for national independence. Just recently we had the great joy of welcoming the accession to independence of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Vanuatu and of welcoming the Republic of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to our Organization.

92. In the present international situation, while colonialism has basically been abolished, the colonialist régime and its vestiges remain visible in a small part of the world, in particular in South Africa, where an anachronistic régime is most strikingly evident, demonstrating that colonialism is not at all resigned to total defeat. It persists in using every means possible, and above all violence, to oppose the struggle for the complete independence of peoples in the hope of prolonging domination over and exploitation of natural and human resources.

93. Moreover, since they are unable to continue to impose colonialism in its former brazen form, reactionary forces throughout the world have resorted

to another, covert, form of colonialism—neo-colonialism—in order to counter the offensive of revolutionary and progressive forces of the world and to take over the markets and raw materials of countries that are politically but not yet economically independent, in order to maintain those countries within their orbit.

94. Hence the General Assembly in its resolution 2621 (XXV), on the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, firmly declares that

“the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations represents a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law”.

95. At this very moment millions of people in southern Africa still live under the brutal yoke of oppression of the racist minority administration of Pretoria. The people of Namibia continue to suffer the illegal occupation of its territory, while South Africa unabashedly sabotages all the efforts of the international community to arrive at an equitable solution on the basis of the principles and provisions of the aforementioned Declaration as well as Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

96. Peace and security in southern Africa and throughout the world are seriously threatened by the militaristic policies of the South African régime, and above all by its nuclear collusion with certain Western countries and Israel in defiance of firm condemnation by world public opinion and by the United Nations.

97. World peace and security are even further imperilled by the establishment and strengthening of the military bases of imperialism in many small colonial Territories that have not yet acceded to independence.

98. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples explicitly states that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible. That is a truth of our time, and that truth is further confirmed in present conditions, in which the struggle for liberation and national independence is gaining strength together with the development of scientific socialism. The world socialist system and the national independence movements are decisive factors that make it possible to safeguard international peace and security and to prevent the outbreak of another world war. The Non-Aligned Movement, which was born during the liberation process of peoples, is playing an increasingly important role in the political and economic struggle of peoples for the establishment of a new international economic order as well as in the shared struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

99. In the course of the many thousands of years of its history, the people of Viet Nam has experienced long periods of foreign domination and brutal exploitation by colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism from the North, and millions of its heroic sons and daughters have sacrificed their lives so that Viet Nam could regain total independence and the complete

unification of the country. The immortal statement of our late President Ho Chi Minh that “Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom” has become part of the national conscience and an invincible force for our entire people, which is resolved to overcome all obstacles and difficulties, to fight for the freedom of its homeland and at all costs to defend it against the aggressive and oppressive designs of imperialism and hegemonism.

100. Having emerged recently from that long and arduous struggle for its national cause, and inspired by its ideals of independence and freedom, the Vietnamese people understands full well the suffering, and fully respect the deepest aspirations, of the peoples that still live under the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

101. It is for that reason that the people and the Government of Viet Nam firmly support the just struggle of colonial and dependent peoples for national emancipation and consider this decision one of the fundamental principles of our foreign policy.

102. In the spirit of the message of our Prime Minister Pham Van Dong which I have just quoted, the Vietnamese delegation is pleased at the outstanding results of 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 during the past year and would like to endorse the recommendations contained in its report [A/35/23/Rev.1] as well as its resolutions and decisions adopted during meetings held in 1980, such as those adopted in August 1980 concerning Namibia [*ibid.*, chap. VIII, para. 13], Western Sahara [*ibid.*, chap. IX, para. 5], Puerto Rico [*ibid.*, chap. I, para. 78], Belize [*ibid.*, chap. XXV, para. 4], and other small Territories, with a view to the implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

103. It is in the same spirit that my delegation joins the sponsors of draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and Add.1 and A/35/L.36 and Add.1 which were submitted yesterday to the General Assembly for consideration. This is why we hope they will be adopted by the members of the Assembly.

104. Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted 20 years ago by the General Assembly by virtue of its resolution 1514 (XV) has played an important role in the achievement by more than 40 States of their independence since that time. The United Nations, by adopting that Declaration in application of the objectives and principles of the Charter, played a fundamental role which helped mankind, first, to become acquainted with the sufferings of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories and to become aware of the oppression, injustice and persecution and the denial of their fundamental rights. Secondly, it helped our international Organization to follow the events in those territories and to examine the reports submitted by the colonialist countries in implementation of the Declaration and the Charter and also assisted in the granting of independence to populations of those territories and

the elimination of the persecution and suffering and denial of fundamental rights they were suffering.

105. My country, since the establishment of the United Nations and particularly since Syria became a founding member of the Special Committee on decolonization, has declared its support of the struggle waged by all peoples fighting against colonialist and racist régimes for the elimination of all forms of domination. My country has also contributed, and still contributes towards the liberation of peoples throughout the world from the yoke of imperialism.

106. Tomorrow we celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration at a time when there are still numerous regions of the world under colonialist domination, which is defying the will of the peoples of those territories and the will of the international community. For example, the racist régime in South Africa is perpetuating its aggression and its denial of the right of the people of Namibia to liberation and independence. It still exploits the resources of that Territory and plunders its riches, ignoring General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, and continues to practise the policy of *apartheid* against the population.

107. The practices of that racist régime in Namibia have been the subject of numerous international debates on a lengthy and profound scale, and of condemnation by the international community. Instead of resorting to logic and reason, that régime has escalated the operations of oppression and persecution against the vast majority, and continues to plunder their riches and resources by the use of military force, with the assistance of foreign institutions and elements in order to conduct military manoeuvres and adventures against the people of Namibia and neighbouring countries.

108. There is still a whole people whose population exceeds 3 million—the people of Arab Palestine—denied the simplest and most basic human and national rights.

109. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which was adopted in 1960 ushered in a new chapter in the efforts to eliminate colonialism, and it is the duty of the international community to seek the implementation of that Declaration throughout various parts of the world in order to eliminate every obstacle standing in the way of world peace and effective international co-operation.

110. My country declares its solidarity with all peoples struggling for independence and self-determination.

111. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries—Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and my own country, Denmark.

112. The Nordic countries welcome the holding of the special plenary meeting tomorrow to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We do so because of our long-standing and well-known support for the process of decolonization and for the important role of the United Nations in that process.

113. Our support preceded the adoption in 1960 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) but has since then been founded on the Declaration, which remains the cornerstone of all subsequent efforts by the international community to bring about an end to colonialism and all forms of colonial domination.

114. The Declaration established the rights of all peoples in non-self-governing territories to self-determination and independence without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire and without any distinction as to race, creed or colour. It also recognized the obligation of the international community to assist actively the peoples in those territories in their efforts to achieve the full implementation of those inalienable rights, thereby enabling them freely to determine their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

115. Since the adoption of the Declaration 20 years ago it has been the responsibility of the United Nations to ensure that those rights are fully respected at all times and that those aspirations are fulfilled. The emergence during the past two decades of almost 50 new sovereign and independent members of the community of nations—Zimbabwe, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Vanuatu being only the most recent examples—is striking proof that the United Nations has lived up to this responsibility. It underscores the important accomplishments of the United Nations in securing concrete progress towards the effective and complete implementation of the Declaration. It is a direct reflection of the role that the international community has played through the United Nations in supporting and speeding up the decolonization process and in assisting the peoples of the colonial territories throughout the world in their efforts to recover their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. Finally, it provides further justification for commemorating, indeed for celebrating, the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, for without that fundamental document and the efforts of the United Nations to implement it the world would not have witnessed the progress we also commemorate today.

116. Although the international community is entitled to feel some measure of satisfaction, this anniversary should not only be an occasion for looking back and commemorating results achieved in the process of decolonization. It should also be an occasion for looking towards the tasks still ahead of us in this process, which has unfortunately not been completed as yet. There remain several Territories the peoples of which have not had an opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination.

117. Foremost among them is Namibia. Despite the continuing efforts to bring about an internationally acceptable solution of the Namibian problem, the settlement plan adopted by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978) still awaits implementation. The Nordic countries have consistently condemned South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. We deem it imperative that that occupation be brought to an end and that the Namibian people without further delay be enabled to determine their own future and to exercise their right to self-determination and inde-

pendence by means of free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

110. The principle of self-determination applies also to the remaining so-called small Territories the highly complex problems of which should be recognized but should not be allowed to have any bearing whatsoever on the rights and privileges of the peoples concerned, in particular the right to make their own decisions in respect of their future.

119. Much of the credit for the accomplishments achieved so far in the process of decolonization should go to the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to which the General Assembly assigned the task of preparing its work in this important field. Similarly, the Special Committee will be the organ responsible for carrying out future United Nations decolonization efforts. The Nordic countries have been privileged to serve on the Special Committee on a rotating basis and look forward to continued, active participation in its work.

120. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate the Nordic countries' consistent and active support for the decolonization process. The Nordic countries recognize the special responsibility of the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. They take this opportunity to renew their commitment to the continued efforts of the United Nations to eradicate colonialism and to assist the peoples of colonial Territories in the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence. The Nordic countries, finally, pledge to continue their moral and material support to all colonial peoples with a view to helping them obtain that inalienable right.

121. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Twenty years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples the problem of decolonization still weighs upon the world as heavily and as insidiously as ever.

122. Today, colonialism as such and in its traditional form can apparently be considered as a closed chapter in the history of mankind. In the face of the indomitable and irreversible movement of peoples towards independence and freedom, colonial régimes of an overt nature no longer exist outside southern Africa, except in a few isolated islets, where violent crises are harbingers of their forthcoming and inevitable demise.

123. The time has come for the administering Powers to change their policy. They must understand at last that the general liberation movement of peoples is part of the tide of history and that any direct or indirect attempt to resist that legitimate movement not only is immoral but also is doomed to failure.

124. In its programme of action contained in its report [A/35/23/Rev.1, chap. II, paras. 15 and 16], the Special Committee has recorded its desire to conduct a special commemoration.

125. The recommendations contained in that report which were adopted by the Special Committee give us a framework for the commemoration of that anni-

versary by the United Nations, the specialized agencies, national Governments and concerned non-governmental organizations. Those recommendations deserve our attention and our support.

126. The Tunisian delegation takes this opportunity to express its heartfelt congratulations to all the members of the Special Committee, who over the past 20 years have so outstandingly fulfilled their noble task of overseeing the implementation of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) and the work of decolonization.

127. The contribution of the Special Committee has been on more than one account historic in initiating a vast process for the emancipation of peoples and has made it possible for decolonization to be successful in a great number of Territories in Africa and the world over. Moreover, the efforts made by the Special Committee have made it possible year after year, thanks to the mobilization of international public opinion, to isolate further the minority racist régime of Pretoria which survives in southern Africa.

128. The twentieth anniversary of the Declaration should be not only a commemoration but also an opportunity for an examination of conscience and deep reflection of the genuine causes of the persistence of the colonial phenomenon, so that we can realistically guide the future work of the United Nations.

129. A brief look back at the evolution of colonial questions can serve as a basis for our assessment of the work accomplished, and can help us to determine what remains to be done and to design a new strategy.

130. The drafting of Chapter XI of the Charter, the adoption of the Declaration and its subsequent implementation through resolution 1654 (XVI), pursuant to which the Special Committee was established, are three links forming the foundation upon which rests the dynamics of the United Nations in respect of decolonization.

131. In the evolution of action aimed at the elimination of the system of exploitation, it is undeniable that the United Nations has played a decisive role, joined by the effective contribution of public opinion in colonial countries favouring the emancipation of peoples.

132. We are pleased that colonial countries have, since 1960, been acceding to sovereignty; none the less, it is a deplorable fact that two vast African territories remain subjected to colonial dominion, with no apparent prospects of self-determination and independence for the time being.

133. We have particularly in mind the tragic situation prevailing in southern Africa. It is with a sense of revulsion that we see peoples being subjected today to colonial domination, arbitrary action, injustice and humiliation. Millions of oppressed human beings who cherish freedom and dignity and are fully aware of their legitimate right to self-determination are fighting courageously to recover their dignity.

134. The situation in southern Africa is a distressing problem facing the international community. Problems in that part of Africa have reached crisis proportions today. Indeed, unrelenting colonialism—the

effective domination by a white minority which unceasingly strengthens its odious policy of *apartheid*—is opposing the inevitable emancipation of Namibia and South Africa.

135. The questions of Namibia and *apartheid* are closely linked, and the development of each necessarily goes hand in hand with the other. Any progress achieved towards settling one problem has repercussions on the other and can facilitate its solution. This also means that it would be dangerous to treat these problems separately. In other words, a solution to the problem of Namibia provides no breathing space to the practitioners of *apartheid*. In the final analysis, the survival or disappearance of that system is at the very heart of the actual crisis that has gripped Africa for so long.

136. The independence of African States will remain precarious until the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism. In fact, international peace and security cannot be safeguarded, nor can the provisions of our Charter be fully implemented and respected, until the peoples of southern Africa have recovered their dignity as free human beings.

137. If we truly wish to restore peace to that region and enable the Organization to play its full role in the world, appropriate responses must be given to the grave questions of decolonization, and the Pretoria Government must be induced to comply with United Nations decisions and resolutions.

138. To this we must add the accommodating attitude of certain Member States which, while declaring their support for the objectives of the United Nations, refuse to co-operate in the implementation of its resolutions. Above all, it is important that those countries—particularly the major Powers—demonstrate their goodwill by prevailing upon South Africa, their ally and partner in more than one way, to put an end to its policy of racial discrimination, colonial repression and defiance of the United Nations.

139. The time has come for settlement of the distressing problem of Namibia to enter its decisive stage and for the current negotiations to lead to the formulation of the final procedures by which the Namibian people can at last exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Any failure in those negotiations would deal a severe blow to the prestige not only of the United Nations but also to that of the original architects of the Namibian settlement plan. It is high time that the international community reacted effectively to impose peace on South Africa and thus enable the South African people to recover its dignity and to build a State based on freedom, justice and equality.

140. Whether by force or by persuasion, with or without South Africa's consent, there will be no more subjugated peoples in southern Africa. No force on earth can stem the tide of history. Pretoria must therefore reverse its course and spare Africa further suffering and comply with the imperatives of history and accept, as a lesser evil, the compromise solution based on the sacred principles of self-determination and freedom. We must convince it that decisive victory is impossible and that it must recognize forthwith the right of the subjugated peoples of Namibia

and South Africa freely to decide on their own future. It is in combat that mutual esteem and respect are born.

141. It is therefore our duty to strengthen our own moral and material support for the liberation movements until the peoples they represent win their freedom, realize their legitimate aspirations and take their place among the nations that cherish peace and justice.

142. But at the same time we must curtail the unleashing of passions and encourage the parties concerned to understand their mutual positions in order to create conditions conducive to dialogue and negotiation, leading to ultimate freedom.

143. Direct action and armed struggle, in fact, do not suffice to resolve the colonial problem; there comes a time when negotiations are necessary. In the end, such negotiations take place, with all that this implies in terms of mutual concessions and give and take. But we must recognize that there are areas, such as national sovereignty, where no concessions can be made.

144. In that connexion, we should like once again to pay a tribute to the understanding, wisdom and far-sightedness of SWAPO, which has demonstrated political maturity by taking into account only the genuine interests of our brothers, the Namibian people.

145. We appeal to the entire international community, and in particular to the major Powers, steadily and sincerely to exercise upon South Africa all the influence of which they are capable so that the voice of reason and wisdom, which has already made itself heard on a similar problem barely a year ago, may once again be raised and heeded.

146. The future of Africa depends on that approach. We should apply firmness and determination, but also patience, ingenuity and flexibility. In so doing, we shall have at last restored to millions of human beings the notion of dignity, honour and freedom.

147. It is in this light that we conceive the final phase of the colonial era. If we are successful, we shall have not only reduced the threats of a general conflagration with unforeseeable consequences in southern Africa, but also helped to give the world stability and security in addition to the peace which it desires so much.

148. Mr. MANGAL (Afghanistan): Twenty years have elapsed since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Thanks to the heroic struggle of the peoples previously under colonial and alien domination and to the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, a great number of colonial peoples and territories have attained their national independence in conformity with the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Declaration—territories that have emerged as sovereign States and have joined the community of nations and its common struggle for peace, freedom and international social and economic development.

149. The comprehensive support and assistance of peace-loving countries and forces for the legitimate struggle of the colonial peoples and their liberation

movements have played a decisive role in the victory of the oppressed and colonized peoples and in speeding up the process of decolonization.

150. Regrettably, however, in spite of all those victories scored by peoples in their liberation struggles, there still exist millions of peoples who have not yet exercised their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. At this juncture, as we commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we still see peoples around the world deprived on their inalienable right to self-determination because of the persistence of the abhorrent policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and because of colonial economic, military and strategic interests, primarily of certain Western countries.

151. It goes without saying that the subjugation of peoples to alien domination by the threat or use of force or in any manner inconsistent with the Charter, including the perpetuation of exploitative economic and other interests in colonial territories, constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights and is a serious impediment to the maintenance of international peace and security as well as to the development of peaceful relations among nations.

152. As the Organization marks the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration tomorrow, we urge the United Nations to take more effective necessary measures aimed at the speedy and complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations without any further delay.

153. If we make a realistic assessment of the present status of the decolonization process in the world, we note welcome and brilliant victories in the colonial people's struggle against policies and systems based on *apartheid* and racial discrimination, occupation and alien domination, while at the same time we continue to be confronted with major problems

and obstacles in the way of expediting the process of decolonization. Some of those obstacles can be summarized as follows: first, colonial, economic, military and strategic interests remain paramount with certain colonial and administering Powers and more important than the interests and well-being of the inhabitants of the colonial territories, contrary to the provisions of Charter, and particularly its Article 73. Secondly, within the framework of an over-all military build-up and arrangements, the continued presence of military bases in some colonial territories is considered more important than contributing to measures aimed at eliminating the final vestiges of colonialism and the early application of the Declaration to the remaining colonial territories. Thirdly, the exploitation and abuse of the natural wealth and resources of colonial territories, particularly in Namibia, by foreign economic and other interests continue to impede the speedy implementation of the Declaration in the remaining colonial territories.

154. Those major obstacles in the way of the implementation of the Declaration have also adversely affected the efforts aimed at a peaceful settlement of the problem of Namibia and Namibia's early attainment of independence under the leadership of SWAPO.

155. In conclusion, I should like, on behalf of the people and Government of Afghanistan, to reaffirm our support for and solidarity with the liberation struggle of all colonial and oppressed peoples. We believe that the co-ordination of the ongoing international efforts for the emancipation of all colonial and oppressed peoples within a plan of action such as that formulated by the Special Committee, of which Afghanistan is a member, would pave the way for the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.