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*Special meeting to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*

1. The PRESIDENT: I feel privileged and honoured to address this solemn meeting of the General Assembly on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. There are, indeed, few fields in which our Organization can look back to as important a record of concrete achievements as that of decolonization. The era of the end of the Second World War which gave birth to the United Nations was also that of the beginning of the revolt of underprivileged nations against foreign domination. The new world order which the founders of the Organization wanted to build was firmly based on the belief that subjugation of one people by another must lead to hatred and conflict and that only equal rights and free self-determination for all nations can guarantee peace and prosperity for future generations of mankind.

2. In Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations they therefore specifically defined as one of the purposes of the United Nations:

“To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples...”

3. Chapters XI and XII of the Charter concerning the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories described as a sacred trust those responsibilities and obligations which the administering Powers accepted by joining the Organization.

4. It can therefore be said without over-dramatization that the Charter of the United Nations formally ushered in the era of decolonization. But it was not until 1960, the great year of African independence, that the winds of change were felt on the continent most widely affected by the colonial system. It was not until the adoption of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) that the spirit of national liberation from alien domination found its full expression in an international document specifically adopted for that purpose. It probably

needed the presence of a sufficient number of representatives from countries which had themselves only recently gained their independence to put the whole force of their experience and convictions into that text, which was proposed to the General Assembly by a group of 43 African and Asian delegations.

5. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is indeed a masterpiece of lively and forceful language, expressing the aspirations of real human beings and of real nations, free of bureaucratic or propagandistic routine, and I would recommend its study to all new delegates to the United Nations. I am sure that the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly would be adopting fewer, shorter and better resolutions if we had always been inspired by the example of that historic Declaration.

6. Of course, the end of the era of colonialism was bound to come even without the Charter of the United Nations, and most or even all the countries represented here today would have gained their national independence also without the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV). It should not be forgotten either that in many instances the administering Power was itself enlightened enough to encourage the process leading to the free exercise of self-determination and, eventually, independence. Nevertheless, during all these years the peoples in the colonial countries were looking to the United Nations as the guarantor of their national right to freedom and self-determination.

7. For all peoples suffering under foreign domination, resolution 1514 (XV) was and is still not merely a text of historic reference but a source of inspiration and an expression of their hopes. In many cases the debates and resolutions of the Fourth Committee, of the Trusteeship Council and of other United Nations bodies created the necessary political climate that made possible or at least accelerated the accession to independence. In this context, we owe a special tribute 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 and to all the delegations that have served in that important body for the work that they have accomplished.

8. On this twentieth anniversary, we cannot, and we should not, limit ourselves to looking back to the struggles and the achievements of two decades. The question of Namibia still remains to be resolved; the intensive efforts of the United Nations over many years to promote the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence have met with stronger resistance than probably in any other case of decolonization. The coming weeks and months may be of particular importance for further development towards a solution of that problem. There should be

no doubt that the United Nations will do everything in its power to live up to its special responsibility towards that Territory and its people, and that the international community will not rest until the Namibian people have freely exercised those rights proclaimed in the Declaration which we are commemorating today.

9. One day—which, I believe, cannot be very far ahead—Namibia will have gained its rightful place in the community of independent States, and the peoples of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories in other parts of the world will have freely chosen the political and legal status corresponding best to their particular geographic, economic, cultural and social conditions and aspirations. Will the historic Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) then have achieved all its objectives and, at the same time, have lost its practical importance for the work of the United Nations? I believe that the political and moral significance and impact of the Declaration point far beyond the historic phenomenon of colonialism.

10. It may indeed surprise many readers of resolution 1514 (XV) that in the operative text of the Declaration itself the words “colonial” or “colonialism” do not even appear. Although the struggle for an end to colonialism was, of course, their very concrete motivation, the authors of the Declaration also formulated the basic principles of equal rights among nations and self-determination.

11. I therefore propose that we should, even after Namibia's independence and after all other colonial Territories have reached a full measure of self-government, continue to keep resolution 1514 (XV) very much in our minds, because I am convinced that we shall need that historic Declaration as a major source of inspiration for a long time to come.

12. On this solemn occasion I should like to announce that messages have been received from the Heads of State or Government of the following countries: Bangladesh, Bulgaria, China, Democratic Kampuchea, Egypt, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Mali, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zambia [*A/35/752 and Add.1*].

13. I now call on the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

14. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Twenty years ago, on 14 December 1960, the General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It solemnly proclaimed the necessity of bringing a speedy end to colonialism and declared that the subjection of peoples to alien rule is contrary to the principles of the Charter and an impediment to the promotion of world peace and security.

15. Coming at a time when more than 140 million people in vast areas of the world were still living under colonial rule, that Declaration, adopted without a single dissenting vote, constituted a landmark in the application of one of the basic principles of our Organization—the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The adoption of the Declaration was an act of conscience on the part of the international

community. More importantly, by identifying colonialism as a major obstacle to the attainment of the principal objective of the United Nations—the strengthening of international peace and security—it committed the Organization to playing a central and active role in the process of decolonization.

16. Viewed in retrospect, the Declaration marked a turning point in the evolution of the United Nations. It greatly enhanced the capacity of this Organization to serve as an agent of peaceful change. The germ of the aspiration towards the self-determination and freedom of peoples was, of course, already contained in Article 1 of the Charter. However, it required the endorsement of the Declaration by an overwhelming majority of Member States to translate this into a political programme, which the General Assembly and the various organs of the United Nations have since pursued with unremitting determination. To colonial peoples everywhere, the Assembly's action conveyed the promise of a new world order based on justice and equal rights for all peoples. This was especially so for the millions in southern Africa who, subjected to intolerable conditions of oppression and exploitation, were already beginning a desperate struggle for freedom.

17. In the 20 years which have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration, the world has witnessed one of the most remarkable developments of modern times: no less than 136 million people in 59 Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories have emerged from dependent status, and the vast majority are represented here in the Assembly. The admission this year of Zimbabwe, after so many years of bloodshed and suffering, was a fitting climax to a period which will no doubt be remembered as the era of decolonization.

18. I think that the international community has every reason to be proud of the important role which it has played in helping the peoples of former colonial Territories to win their freedom. In this context, we must express our deep appreciation to the Special Committee, which over the years has succeeded in mobilizing international support for the legitimate aspirations of the colonial peoples. Let me pay a tribute to the great contribution made to these endeavours by Mr. Salim A. Salim in his eight years as Chairman of the Special Committee and to the continuing efforts of his successor, Mr. Abdulah.

19. Today, as a result of the ongoing process of decolonization, the United Nations is far more representative, far closer to the goal of universality and hence a stronger body than it was two decades ago. As such, it is better equipped to provide a collective approach to the other urgent tasks which still confront the international community.

20. As we celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, it is important that we should not merely dwell on past achievements: we have to address ourselves to the problems which still remain unresolved. While it is not over-optimistic to envisage that the goal of complete decolonization may be reached in the not-too-distant future, the time has not yet come when we can relax our efforts. The problem of Namibia, to which the President referred a moment ago, rightly remains one of our major preoccupations. Our special responsibility for this international Terri-

tory and its people imposes an obligation on us to ensure that they exercise their right to self-determination and independence without any further delay. It is my sincere hope that this goal may be attained through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

21. While a peaceful solution for Namibia is a foremost concern of the Assembly and, indeed, of the whole international community, we must also bear in mind that there are 21 other Territories for whose peoples the Declaration is yet to be implemented. For many of these Territories the process of decolonization involves complex problems, whose solution requires the co-operation of the parties concerned in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration.

22. As we reflect on the historic phenomenon of decolonization, we must be mindful that it needs to be followed and supplemented by the establishment of an equitable international economic order. Dependable economic arrangements need to be instituted which will help the developing countries in their fight against poverty and ignorance. This is an imperative for completing the great process of human emancipation which has been the outstanding achievement of our age.

23. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General for this statement. I call on the Chairman 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, Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago.

24. Mr. ABDULAH, Chairman 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: It is indeed a great honour and privilege for me to participate in this special meeting today to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

25. It is a day to symbolize the solidarity of the States Members of the Organization in their determination to hasten the unconditional attainment of freedom and national independence by all Territories under foreign rule. It is a day for Member States to rededicate themselves to the principles embodied in the Declaration: principles which demand the liberation of colonial Territories from foreign domination; principles which stem from the purposes and tenets enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It is a day for looking back at past achievements, not in any self-congratulatory way but rather in order to be better able to lay firm ground for future action with respect to the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

26. It is self-evident that the Declaration has had a wide-ranging effect on many aspects of international life, particularly on the evolution of the United Nations itself. The importance of the United Nations as the standard-bearer in this realm of endeavour was strengthened by the assignment to it of a central role in the achievement of one of the fundamental purposes set out in the Charter, namely, to uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. Moreover, the progressive implementation of the Declara-

tion has resulted in the Assembly's becoming a more truly representative world forum. Adopted by the overwhelming majority of Member States—indeed, without a single dissenting vote—the Declaration was both an expression of the determination of the community of nations to speed up the process of liberation of colonial peoples and a signal of new hope for freedom and independence to the millions who were still living under colonial and alien rule.

27. During the 20 years which have elapsed since resolution 1514 (XV) came into effect there have been remarkable developments in the struggle of the colonial peoples to achieve self-determination and independence. In these two decades these embryonic beginnings have culminated in the attainment of independence by more than 50 dependent Territories, with a population of many millions. The composition of the membership of the United Nations today is eloquent testimony to this outstanding achievement—over one third of the 154 Members are former colonial Territories which have joined the community of nations as sovereign States since 1960.

28. During the decade that has passed since the Assembly celebrated the tenth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) we have witnessed a quickening of the pace of the implementation of the Declaration with the emergence of some 20 Territories as free and independent States. Notable among these are the former Portuguese Territories—Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe—and, most recently, Zimbabwe, which attained, after a long, relentless and courageous struggle, their hardwon independence. These positive developments clearly demonstrate the fact that neither repression, nor violence, nor murder can arrest the historically irreversible tide of the liberation struggle and that colonial and alien domination of colonial peoples is doomed to irrevocable failure. The unceasing aspirations of the colonial peoples to freedom and independence can never be suppressed. Ultimately, it is on the basis of the freely expressed wishes of its inhabitants that the destiny of a colonial Territory will be decided. Where the way to peaceful solution is denied, where the peoples concerned are confronted with arrogant and recalcitrant régimes, it is finally the will, the commitment and the persistent struggle of these gallant peoples which will enable them to free themselves from the shackles of colonialism.

29. The recent admission to membership of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, as well as the attainment of independence by the New Hebrides and the Republic of Vanuatu, constitute a fitting historical coincidence with the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration. For in those cases, as indeed in the case of many of the new nations in Africa and in the Caribbean and Pacific regions that joined the community of nations after 1960, the role played by the United Nations in support of the inalienable right of the peoples concerned to self-determination and independence has been considerable and at times crucial. This important role played by the international community reflects the continuing commitment of the United Nations, which the Declaration symbolizes. But the world community can no longer be satisfied with enunciating the principle of decolonization; it must, rather, be prepared to

adopt concrete measures to achieve the goals set forth in resolution 1514 (XV). Thus, although the increase in the membership of the Organization has brought us closer to the ideal of universality and there has been tangible progress in decolonization, the work of the Special Committee, as indeed of the United Nations as a whole, including in particular the Security Council, can hardly be considered complete.

30. Notwithstanding the positive developments that we have witnessed, it is indeed distressing that, 35 years after its creation and 20 years since the adoption of the historic Declaration on decolonization, today the United Nations is still considering how best the rights of more than 3 million people of the remaining colonial Territories can soon be brought to parity with those of the rest of the world. This anomalous situation can no longer be tolerated if we are to live up to the pledge of the Assembly in paragraph 5 of the Declaration that

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

31. In this respect, the most critical situation is without any doubt that pertaining to the international Territory of Namibia. Earlier hopes that this last bastion of colonialism in southern Africa would be speedily eliminated have not been fulfilled. The threat to the peace and security of the region which this delay occasions is becoming more and more ominous.

32. It is in this context that, at the 92nd meeting, the vast majority of the members of the Assembly, many of which, I must emphasize, consist of countries which were formerly Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, approved a series of recommendations designed to expedite the final emancipation of the peoples still under colonial and alien rule. Such an unequivocal commitment on the part of our Organization is clear testimony to the fact that the United Nations cannot and will not coexist with or tolerate the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

33. The adoption of the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration [resolution 35/118] represents a notable contribution to the process of decolonization. In the Plan, the General Assembly recommends, among other things, that all Member States should render all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples under colonial domination in their struggle to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and should also intensify their efforts to promote the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council relating to Territories and countries under colonial domination. In this connexion the General Assembly will intensify its efforts to enlist the active support and involvement of the Security Council in the field of decolonization, particularly in respect of the situation obtaining in Namibia. Thus the Assembly recommends that the Council consider imposing com-

prehensive sanctions against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter.

34. I shall not attempt here to enumerate all the measures envisaged under the Plan of Action, but it should be manifestly clear that the aim and resolve of the Organization is the ultimate achievement of societies free of any political system which condones any form or manifestation of colonialism.

35. On behalf of the members of the Special Committee, I wish to reiterate to the Assembly the Committee's resolute commitment and determination, in accordance with the terms of the resolutions adopted at yesterday's meeting and of other related resolutions of the Assembly, to continue its search for the most suitable ways and means of fully and speedily implementing the Declaration. In that endeavour, the full co-operation of the administering Powers, particularly with respect to the sending of visiting missions to the Territories concerned, is an indispensable factor in the success of the work of the Special Committee, as was clearly demonstrated by the series of such visiting missions dispatched to a number of Territories in the recent past. Mention must be made here of the commendable action of the Governments of Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States for their co-operation with the Special Committee, as well as for their readiness to receive further visiting missions to the Territories concerned. The Special Committee derives a deep sense of confidence from the assurances of, and pledges for, continued co-operation in its work by the administering Powers concerned.

36. Today's commemorative meeting would have been more edifying had it not been necessary to proclaim a new Plan of Action in order to attain the goals of the Declaration—for the fact remains that today, as I mentioned earlier, there are still more than 3 million people in 22 dependent Territories who still live under alien rule. Many of these, it is true, inhabit small and often isolated Territories, where the realization of the goal of decolonization presents difficulties of a technical and economic nature requiring special solutions in each case. However, these special factors should in no way serve as a pretext for preventing the peoples of those Territories from exercising their right to self-determination and independence. Colonialism in any form, in any Territory, must be eliminated.

37. As we move closer to the day when the last vestiges of colonialism will be eradicated from the face of the earth, it is now more than ever necessary that we at the United Nations rededicate ourselves to ensuring that the genuine interests of the inhabitants of those remaining Territories continue to be of paramount concern. In so doing, we must continue to do our utmost to bring about the completely free and unrestricted conditions which would enable the peoples concerned to express their true aspirations and to take steps to ensure that the national unity and the territorial integrity of those Territories are fully respected and safeguarded. Any violation of this sacred principle will clearly constitute an open breach of the obligations which Member States undertook in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Clearly, as we commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, we must not only pledge ourselves to overcome the traditional obstacles to the liberation of

colonial peoples but also, with no less vigilance, guard against any new obstacles.

38. Let us therefore find reinforcement in the Plan for further action to step up the attainment of the objectives of the Declaration. Let us concentrate our energies to work for the full implementation of the Declaration and for the realization of the goals embodied in that historic document.

39. Finally, I should like to pay a particular tribute on this occasion to the Secretary-General for the active and effective efforts he has undertaken and continues to undertake in order to assist in the fulfilment of the aspirations of the peoples of the colonial Territories. The positive initiatives that the Secretary-General has undertaken in a number of instances, including in particular those regarding Namibia, and the close attention he continues to pay in that connexion, are a source of encouragement and inspiration. On behalf of the Special Committee, I wish to reiterate to the Secretary-General the assurances of the continuing readiness of the Committee to work closely with him towards the full implementation of the Declaration.

40. I cannot conclude my address at this special meeting commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration without paying a tribute to the thousands of known and unknown heroes who have sacrificed their lives so that others can live as free men. Our tribute also goes to those in many countries who have been subjected to persecution in their struggle for freedom and justice, to the realization of which we all aspire. Let us take this opportunity to pledge ourselves to their cause, so that the sacrifices made by those courageous people shall not be in vain—for their cause is that same cause to which we gave our undertaking and our commitment when as Member States we accepted the obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

41. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Lusaka of Zambia.

42. Mr. LUSAKA, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia: The United Nations Council for Namibia is greatly honoured to be one of the organs of the United Nations participating in the deliberations of the General Assembly to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Indeed, it is only fitting that the Council for Namibia should be closely identified with this momentous day, because it was seven years after the adoption of the Declaration that the General Assembly gave vivid expression to the decolonization of Namibia through the establishment of the Council for Namibia.

43. Since the adoption of the Declaration by the General Assembly, which is contained in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, the long-delayed aspirations of many of the colonial peoples of the world have been met and their thirst for freedom from colonialism has been quenched. No less than a score of countries have moved from the backyards of other nations and have since taken their rightful places amongst the community of nations as members of this Assembly. Their presence here today, as marked by their contributions in session after session, has not only changed the complexion of the Organization but also

added a new dimension to the political tone of the Organization.

44. The peoples of the world, as a result of the increase in the membership of the Organization, have become more broadly represented than hitherto. That, we hope, will bring the Organization measurably nearer to the goals and ideals for which it was founded—that is to say

“... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”.

45. As we look back 20 years to the period of the adoption of the Declaration, we see that many nations and peoples were then locked in a bitter and colossal conflict in their struggle for freedom. That state of affairs threatened the very existence of peace and security, as well as the stability of the world communities. These regional conflicts and the struggle for freedom were fraught with dangerous implications of wider conflict that could have engulfed everybody else.

46. The General Assembly adopted the Declaration as a preventive measure against conflict and, in its words, saw the necessity of “bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations”. It is indeed beyond any shadow of a doubt that the genesis of conflict is primarily and most fundamentally colonial domination. Oppression has always evoked resistance from the oppressed. The oppressed masses of the world have always held the view that there can never be any form of peaceful coexistence between the oppressed and the oppressor, between the colonial subject and the colonial master—indeed, between the forces of darkness and the forces of light.

47. It has become imperative, therefore, that the pursuit of peace always be inextricably linked with the pursuit of justice, freedom and independence. It is for that sole reason that the United Nations Council for Namibia, because of its abiding faith in freedom and justice, has since its establishment striven for the freedom and independence of Namibia. It must be clearly understood that there can never be peace in that Territory unless the people of Namibia accede to freedom and genuine independence. Many nations have gone to war for the right to be independent. The independence of a people is not negotiable; independence is its birthright. What can be negotiated are the modalities of achieving a people’s right to independence.

48. Many countries have now gained their independence, and we see no reason why the people of Namibia should continue to be denied its birthright of freedom and independence. The people of Namibia also is entitled to its independence.

49. This commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration must remain a painful reminder to all of us that long before its adoption, the question of Namibia’s occupation by South Africa had been on the agenda of the Assembly [*see resolutions 65(I) and 141(II)*]. Yet Namibia is still not free. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa



and that racist régime's persistence in defying the resolutions of the United Nations and its arrogance and contempt for the Organization should evoke feelings of outrage within the international community. The time is long overdue for the international community to stand firm and resolutely demand that South Africa should withdraw from Namibia without delay.

50. Although the aspirations of the people of Namibia to freedom and independence have been long delayed by the intransigence of the illegal occupation régime of South Africa, it is still yearning for the pendulum of justice to swing its way—a yearning frustrated by the vacillation of South Africa. The Council for Namibia is convinced that Namibia will be free and independent. We are, further, convinced—even in the midst of all the political manoeuvres and delaying tactics by South Africa—that the independence of Namibia is as inevitable as it is inescapable. No force can be mightier than a people determined to be free—and the people of Namibia has amply demonstrated the will and desire to be a free nation, even against the most powerful military force in southern Africa: the South African army.

51. I would be remiss if I concluded my statement without paying a tribute to all the freedom fighters everywhere who have laid down their lives for freedom, justice and independence, who have by sacrificing their lives made the Declaration of the General Assembly a reality for many countries assembled here today. I should also congratulate the Special Committee for a job well done and, in doing so, I must quickly add that a number of colonial dark spots still remain to be cleaned up in Africa, Asia and the Pacific region. Hence, the Committee's job is yet to be completed.

52. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Abdalla of the Sudan, who will speak on behalf of the African States.

53. Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan): I am indeed honoured to address this gathering of the General Assembly, on behalf of the African States and on behalf of my own delegation, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

54. The historic adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) by the General assembly in December 1960 was indeed a landmark in the history of all the people who had borne the heavy brunt of colonialism. The resolution is particularly dear to the hearts of all Africans, who are among the few to tell the story of the evils and the sufferings under colonialism. Resolution 1514 (XV) is close also to the hearts of Africans, because Africa constituted the centre of the global struggle against colonialism and the spearhead of the quest for self-determination and independence.

55. Africa is indebted to the authors of this important resolution for the crucial role that the Declaration has played in its struggle for freedom and independence, and also in mobilizing world public opinion for the complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

56. In that connexion, and while celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, it might

perhaps be fitting for us to recall what was stated in paragraph 5:

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

57. Thirty-five years have elapsed since the Charter called for the development of friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principles of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples. Twenty years have passed since the historic Declaration on decolonization was adopted by the General Assembly. Despite the progress achieved in the field of decolonization since then, Africa deems it deplorable and unacceptable that several million people of the remaining colonial Territories have not yet achieved self-determination and independence.

58. In Africa, colonialism is coupled with the abhorrent system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. Southern Africa is still a part of the world where global peace and security are being deliberately and stubbornly threatened because of the persistence of the racist régime in imposing its will on the majority. It is from that part of the world that the sentences of capital punishment and the imprisonment of vigilant freedom fighters come to ring loudly in the ears of the family of nations.

59. All the military might of the racist régime of Pretoria cannot silence the cry for freedom in southern Africa, as Africa is determined to bend events to its own will and shape the future of its own destiny. That determination was expressed in simple and eloquent words by the wife of a freedom fighter, a noble daughter of Africa, who said a long time ago:

“We want our men to come back and work the land. We want the war to end. But we want to win it because this war gives us hospitals, schools and freedom, because this war gives us back the land that belongs to us.”

60. It is the intention of Africa to say in this ceremony that it is high time for these racist, repressive and despotic policies of the minority régime of Pretoria to be checked. Several programmes and measures have been adopted by various United Nations bodies to curb the ugliest form of colonialism practised in southern Africa but none of them has been heeded by the racist régime. What is imperative now is that serious measures must be taken in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. It is also incumbent upon all the States and organizations within the United Nations system to continue to render assistance to the national liberation movements in southern Africa in their just struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination. Moreover, it is incumbent upon all States to refrain from any economic activities in that part of the world if those activities are viewed by the people under colonial rule as impeding their accession to self-determination and independence. In that respect Africa wishes to express its confident hope that Member States which continue to collaborate with the South

African Government will heed the urgent appeals addressed to them in this respect.

61. Through numerous United Nations resolutions the international community is called upon to shoulder its obligations and to exercise heavy pressure with a view to enabling the United Nations to implement the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV), thereby bringing to an end the repressive system of *apartheid* and allowing the people of southern Africa to exercise the inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

62. For its part the African people, guided by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], will spare no effort to bring the lofty principles of the historic Declaration to reality. We in Africa are determined in our commitment to the just struggle of the people of Namibia and Azania, until their freedom is achieved and their national aspirations are fulfilled. In that stance, we are convinced that Africa does not stand alone.

63. The overwhelming majority of the community of nations strongly supports the just cause of the peoples of southern Africa. What is needed is to translate that international support into effective action.

64. In celebrating the anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV), we feel bound to pay a tribute to the men and women whose efforts have contributed to the realization of its important objective, and particularly the Secretary-General and those who have served on the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples since its inception. We pay a special tribute to the Chairmen of that Committee, in particular Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, now Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania. His tireless and tremendous efforts undeniably contributed effectively to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) regarding many territories in various parts of the world. Africa is proud that one of its sons has made a great contribution in a field so closely linked with the aspirations of its peoples.

65. Africa is looking forward to the day when the United Nations celebrates the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) as the anniversary of a historic resolution that has been successfully and fully implemented. That day, we are confident, is not far.

66. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Andreas Marvrommatis of Cyprus, who will speak on behalf of the Asian group of States.

67. Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): It is customary when we commemorate anniversaries to review the past in order to see the present in perspective. It is equally pertinent to survey the road ahead so that we can try in good faith to rectify the shortcomings of the past.

68. Today it is most fitting that we undertake such a task because we are commemorating a landmark in the history of the United Nations. The decolonization Declaration is indeed momentous because it deals with the essence of being human, that is to say, with the fundamental rights, the dignity and the worth of the human person.

69. It was on 14 December 1960, 20 years ago and, incidentally, a few short months after my own country became independent, that the General Assembly took the historic step of adopting the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, are probably two of the most important documents promulgated by the United Nations because, despite the lapse of time, they have retained *in toto* their validity and remain the guiding light, inspiration and hope of the oppressed peoples of the world.

70. The 20 years that have passed since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) have been marked by remarkable progress. Every year—and the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations as well as the attainment of independence by Vanuatu this year bears witness to this fact—new nations attain independence and assume their rightful places as members in their own right of the international community of nations. It should suffice to recall that at the time of the adoption of the resolution the Organization consisted of only 99 Member States; now it comprises 154, mostly former colonial Territories that have attained independence. Well over 100 million people have achieved freedom and independence. That is indeed an impressive record, especially if it is recalled that before the establishment of the United Nations and the adoption of the Declaration colonialism and indeed many forms of foreign domination had been internationally accepted as a political system of administration and as a constitutional legality.

71. This impressive record, however, should not conceal the fact that there are still, in the era of the United Nations and of human rights and, consequently, of reason, many countries and peoples that have not yet exercised their inalienable right to self-determination. This right, as expressly stated in article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI)], encompasses legal, political, economic, social and cultural aspects. The same is also reaffirmed in paragraph 2 of resolution 1514 (XV). The International Law Commission, however, in the course of its codification work went much further by stating on many occasions that the right of self-determination, as embodied in resolution 1514 (XV), has become a peremptory norm of international law which admits of no derogation. The principle of self-determination has, therefore, the characteristics of *jus cogens* and consequently any treaty which conflicts with that principle is void.

72. There are still 24 Territories listed as Trust or Non-Self-Governing Territories. However, the case of Namibia stands out as a haunting example touching the very core of the United Nations system. If South Africa's intransigence and delaying tactics continue, the United Nations should take more resolute measures under the Charter which would allow the indigenous population of that Territory to exercise its right to self-determination and independence. The racist South African régime must not be permitted any longer to make a mockery of the resolutions of the Organization with impunity.

73. There remain also other colonial problems, including those of the small Territories. In this regard we would again underline what has been repeatedly stated by the General Assembly. Special factors such as size, geographic location, population or limited natural resources should in no way impede or delay the full application of the Declaration. It is, of course, for the indigenous peoples themselves to decide freely the modalities by which and at what speed they desire to attain independence, since for various reasons some Territories might opt for a slower pace of constitutional advancement than others. On the other hand, we should never lose sight of the fact that the right to self-determination, being an inalienable right, is not negotiable.

74. We should be remiss if we did not avail ourselves of this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Special Committee for its unstinting efforts to promote the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). Since its establishment in 1961, it has been in the vanguard, successfully promoting the transition to independence of a large number of colonies. In so doing, it has also been instrumental in helping the United Nations to fulfil two of its basic goals: respect for the right to self-determination and equal rights for all peoples, and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

75. We should also like to pay a warm tribute to Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago, the Chairman of the Special Committee, for the ability with which he has guided the Committee's work. Likewise, we extend our thanks to his predecessor and former President of the General Assembly, Mr. Salim, now Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania.

76. Our thanks and appreciation are also extended to the Secretary-General for his efforts to bring humanity closer to the end of the colonial era and the membership of the Organization to near universality.

77. We also express our gratitude to the specialized agencies of the United Nations, which have taken and continue to take laudable measures towards the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization.

78. In concluding, I would express, on behalf of the group of Asian countries, so many of which were former colonies or Non-Self-Governing Territories in the not so distant past, the earnest hope that this twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples marks the beginning of the very end of the anachronism of colonialism.

79. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Zachmann of the German Democratic Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Eastern European States.

80. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): I welcome this opportunity to address the General Assembly in my capacity as Chairman of the group of Eastern European States on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, initiated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This basic document of the United Nations, which is the most important one as regards decolonization, has proved to be of extraordinary significance for the implementation of the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of

the United Nations. The Declaration has formed and still forms the basis for a large number of important decisions and activities of the United Nations and its organs. The great effect its provisions have politically, morally and in terms of international law is proved and undisputed.

81. Over the past 20 years the visage of the world and of the Organization have completely changed. In 1960, to mention but one example, vast areas of the African continent were still under colonial dependence. Since that time more than 60 peoples have gained their national independence. Today we welcome those States as equal members of our international community. In the course of the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), a large number of young independent States have emerged which today in this world Organization exercise a decisive influence on the implementation of the purposes and principles embodied in the Charter. In the international arena they make their voices heard when it comes to safeguarding peace and détente, to taking actions against imperialism, colonialism, *apartheid* and neo-colonialism and to establishing equitable international economic relations. In this context, we wish to recall only such forums of importance to international politics as, for instance, the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979. The socialist countries closely co-operate with those States in implementing the common objectives of their foreign policies.

82. Solidarity with the peoples in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism has for the socialist States never been a matter of tactics, but one of principle.

83. In consistently implementing General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), they have rendered in the past and will render in the future any necessary assistance, both material and moral, to colonially oppressed peoples in their struggle in order to help them to attain their right to self-determination and independence. The countries of our Group have actively supported the process of decolonization, both politically and through diplomatic action within the United Nations and its bodies, as well as in the international arena and in moral and material terms vis-à-vis the liberation movements, the legitimate representatives of those peoples that are struggling for self-determination. Our countries have taken an active part in the elaboration and implementation of the pertinent resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. They have resolutely opposed any obstructions, manoeuvres and intrigues by which imperialist circles have attempted to prevent the attainment of real self-determination.

84. By means of new neo-colonialist methods, those in imperialist circles are seeking to keep those young States dependent. It is the same imperialist Powers which are responsible for the fact that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has not yet been fully implemented. The comprehensive and consistent implementation of that Declaration remains today also a crucial issue for both the peoples in southern Africa and those in the small colonial Territories located in the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans. The remnants of colonialism poison



the international atmosphere and they are a source of tension and conflict.

85. Peoples in southern Africa have achieved significant successes under the guidance of their national liberation organizations. The OAU plays an important role in that struggle. Zimbabwe's accession to independence was a victory for Africa as a whole. The national liberation struggle is now aiming at another concrete objective, namely, the achievement of independence for Namibia and the elimination of *apartheid*.

86. The policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Pretoria régime in South Africa and its illegal occupation and colonial subjugation of Namibia pose a direct threat to world peace and international security. This must be met by effective measures to isolate the *apartheid* régime world wide. South Africa's internal policy of terror and its external aggression must be met by comprehensive coercive measures pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter. All Member States must strictly fulfil their obligations originating from the Charter and the resolutions of the Organization.

87. Those forces which are supporting Pretoria in political, economic and military terms must bear specific responsibility. It has long been an open secret that the collaboration of imperialist States and monopolies with the racist régime in South Africa constitutes a major obstacle to the final decolonization of Africa. It impedes the implementation of the peoples' right to genuine self-determination.

88. We fully support the demands contained in the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 35/118]. That plan demands, *inter alia*, the halting of any form of political, military or other collaboration with South Africa. We are deeply concerned about the manoeuvres launched by South Africa for the purpose of thwarting the decisions adopted by the Security Council with regard to Namibia. A settlement of the Namibia issue can only be arrived at on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions, particularly resolutions 385 (1976), 432 (1978) and 435 (1978). The socialist States support and assist the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

89. As regards the so-called small colonial Territories in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans, it is imperative that the provisions of the Declaration be applied fully and unconditionally to them as well. The right of those peoples to self-determination must not be sacrificed to the military and strategic interests of the colonial Powers.

90. Today, 20 years after the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the struggle for the elimination of all forms and manifestations of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* forms an integral part of the quest by progressive forces in all continents for peace, disarmament and social progress.

91. The twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration is for the Eastern European socialist States an occasion to continue and intensify their efforts aimed at the speedy and final eradication of the remnants of colonialism and racism. They will do

this within the framework of the United Nations and its organs and they will continue to render all-round support and assistance to the national liberation organizations, the legitimate representatives of the peoples struggling for their independence and for the attainment of their right to self-determination.

92. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Piza Escalante of Costa Rica, who will speak on behalf of the Latin American States.

93. Mr. PIZA ESCALANTE (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Both my delegation and I are especially fortunate that, as Chairman of Latin group of the American States, I have the privilege and the responsibility today to represent that Group at this commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, which is known as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

94. It is a privilege because I am joining in the commemoration of one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of the United Nations and of the international community as a whole, a moment which is second in importance only to the adoption of the Charter itself in 1945 and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, documents from which the Declaration we are commemorating today draws and develops crucial principles such as the right to self-determination of peoples, which is both a fundamental right of freedom and a precondition for the other fundamental rights and freedoms of man.

95. It is a responsibility, because I am aware of the great significance, today more than ever, of being the standard-bearer of our Latin American region, whose contribution to the cause of the liberation of peoples is of such historical depth and soundness. The fact is that, from the time of the inspired dreams and glorious deeds of Simon Bolivar and the other Latin American liberators up to the words and actions of the 20 Latin American republics that participated in the founding of the United Nations and the 10 republics that have since joined the Organization, our continent has always devoted its best efforts to the service of men and peoples suffering under subjugation, domination, exploitation, oppression and injustice, as is called for in the Declaration that has now achieved 20 years of existence. It has suffered its setbacks and celebrated its victories, and we are proud to share our table with the 81 new, independent States that have achieved full membership in the Organization during its 35 years of existence.

96. In this connexion, we can never sufficiently recall the decisive and determining role which the Latin American republics played in the inclusion in the San Francisco Charter of the fundamental norms and chapters relating to decolonization and the self-determination of peoples, human rights—of which those norms form an inseparable part—and international action in the economic and social domains, without which the former would be illusory. Nor can we forget the role that they subsequently played in the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) and further resolutions which amplified, applied, and supplemented it and directed its implementation. In this context, we also take pride and pleasure in the deep

involvement of Latin America in the Special Committee on decolonization, the Chair of which is being occupied today in an exemplary fashion by Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago.

97. Much has been said and much more remains to be said with regard to resolution 1514 (XV), but no words could be more eloquent than the facts themselves. When the Declaration was drafted, 12 newly independent States had already become Members of the United Nations. In the year that it was proclaimed as a harbinger of new horizons, 17 additional States became Members—the highest figure achieved at one time. Since the adoption of the Declaration, and thanks both to its influence and the influence of the new spirit which it embodies, 52 additional States have become Members, bringing the Organization much closer to the achievement of its goal of universality: 81 new States in all, without counting the original Members and those which were already independent States but only became Members of the Organization at a later stage. However, we should not confine ourselves to a sterile exercise of congratulations or forget the fact that there remain today painful examples, frustrations, despair and even serious setbacks in the process of liberation and the preservation of the independence of many peoples in all continents.

98. Many peoples filled with creative vitality must even today bear the yoke of colonialism, neo-colonialism and other forms of foreign domination, generally accompanied by the most unthinkable violations of the fundamental human rights and freedoms of their citizens. All of this is dealt with in the Declaration which we are commemorating.

99. Many peoples clearly compartmentalized within multinational States are even today deprived of their rights of citizenship including the right freely to determine their political status, whether it be free association, incorporation or independence, and the right to preserve and strengthen their social and cultural identity. This, too, is dealt with in the Declaration which we are commemorating.

100. Many peoples which are themselves sovereign and independent are even today subjected to the humiliation and provocation of colonial, imperialist or military enclaves within their territory. This, too, is dealt with in the Declaration.

101. Many peoples are even today paying the price of hegemonistic interests of one brand or another which intervene and cynically invade them under the pretext of the same right of self-determination, which is thus being distorted to disguise aggression, almost always with the complicity of traitorous, puppet Governments. This is also dealt with in the Declaration.

102. Many peoples, too many in fact, have been left by the international community to the despots who oppress them, sacrilegiously invoking the principle of self-determination and usurping the rights of self-determination and independence, which belong to the people and not to them. Resolution 1514 (XV) deals with that, and with the continuous exercise of the democratic, inalienable and non-negotiable rights of men and peoples.

103. National and international injustice, poverty, ignorance, disease, insecurity and lack of freedom

continue even today to render illusory the apparent self-determination and independence of many peoples. This is also dealt with in the document we are commemorating today.

104. Many peoples are still being persecuted, displaced and humiliated by racism, *apartheid* and the whole gamut of forms of discrimination which keep vast majorities and even entire peoples subjugated under thinly disguised systems of slavery. And this, too, is dealt with in our Declaration.

105. Let us therefore celebrate the progress that has been made on the road to the full realization of the universal right of self-determination of peoples, which serves as the *leitmotif* of resolution 1514 (XV). Let us celebrate the fact that the United Nations, armed with its Declaration, has contributed so much to those accomplishments. But let us also recall the long road that remains to be travelled, and let us take this opportunity to pause along the way to examine our conscience in the light of the principles embodied in the Declaration which we are commemorating and reaffirm our commitment to them.

106. That, in our view, is the wisest, most useful and most human way of commemorating this twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

107. That is what I respectfully propose to my Latin American colleagues and, thanks to the way the calendar has fallen, what I as their representative today would venture to propose on their behalf to the international community, represented by the United Nations.

108. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Futscher Pereira of Portugal, who will speak on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

109. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): When the Charter of the United Nations was adopted in 1945 it was the hope of the international community that the new Organization would contribute to the establishment of a new international world order whose primary goal would be to promote peace, justice, prosperity and freedom among peoples and nations. It was indeed obvious that, once the tragedies caused by war were overcome, there were other situations affecting a great part of mankind which also required the attention of the international community.

110. A typical example of such situations was the case of peoples that had not yet been able to exercise their right to self-determination—in short, the case of colonial situations—and it was but natural that the United Nations should take the initiative of launching a large-scale campaign in favour of self-determination by the colonial peoples. It should not be forgotten that this action was prompted by solidarity and sometimes by political interests which were not always directly related to the degree of justice, or injustice, prevailing in each colonial situation; but unquestionably those situations constituted a field in which the intervention of the United Nations was morally just, politically viable and in conformity with the aims of the Charter.

111. The action of the United Nations in the field of decolonization is not yet completed. Situations still prevail which require the combined efforts of the international community. But the end of the road is

none the less in sight. Thus, it is our belief that, as passions subside and the events of the past decades begin to recede or advance to take the place history has reserved for them, decolonization will undoubtedly be viewed as one of the major achievements of the United Nations.

112. We are gathered here today to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of an instrument, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which played a significant role in that process, and therefore it is appropriate to praise and give it credit for its contribution towards the advancement to self-government and independence of peoples and Territories under colonial rule.

113. In my capacity as Chairman of the group of Western European and other States for the month of December, I should like to stress once again the deep commitment of the members of the Group to promoting the ideals and objectives of that Declaration, and to seeking the implementation of the principle of equal rights and self-determination among all peoples, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

114. We welcome the progress that has been achieved in this field since the adoption of the Declaration and we note with satisfaction that in the last 20 years 46 former Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories have attained independence and joined the Organization, which is now much closer to attaining its goal of universality.

115. But, as we gather to commemorate this event, we cannot lose sight of the fact that, unfortunately, there are still peoples and Territories that have not as yet been able freely to determine their own future. I have particularly in mind the people of Namibia, who are still waiting for the outcome of protracted negotiations aimed at reaching an agreement on a framework for the implementation of the plan for the independence of that Territory.

116. In this context, may I be allowed to refer to the contribution of five Western Members—Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America—which have been involved in this exercise for four years and which have not spared any effort with a view to expediting the whole process.

117. We sincerely hope that the forthcoming meeting between all the parties involved, scheduled for the beginning of next year and sponsored by the United Nations, will lead to an immediate cease-fire and the holding of free, fair and democratic elections with the participation of all Namibian political forces.

118. We had hoped that on this occasion it would be possible to reach agreement on a text that a broad range of Members from different regional groups would be in a position fully to support. This would perhaps have required long and patient negotiations, but we believed it was certainly worth a try so as to arrive at a consensus text, which would be more appropriate for a commemorative session marking the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV).

119. Whatever reservations and objections members of the group may have expressed on the resolution

and the Plan of Action adopted at yesterday's meeting, they should not be construed as meaning a slackening of the commitment to promote the realization of the principles and objectives laid down in resolution 1514 (XV).

120. Indeed, I should like to conclude by emphasizing that the members of our group strongly believe in self-determination and independence not as a philosophical and abstract concept but rather as a corollary to what we recognize as the right of all peoples everywhere to live in peace and freedom, without extraneous interference.

121. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Kuwait, Mr. Bishara, who will speak on behalf of the group of Arab States.

122. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: On behalf of the group of Arab States, I have the honour to take part in the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of its historic resolution 1514 (XV). It is appropriate to commemorate that occasion, for when we speak of decolonization we should appreciate the major role played by the United Nations in expressing the will of the world to end foreign occupation and alien domination.

123. When we speak of decolonization we must recall certain facts. Europe emerged from the Second World War exhausted and incapable of curbing the nationalist movement, which was led by the middle class in Africa and Asia, to put an end to foreign rule. That middle class led the national movement and was largely influenced by belief in the fundamental human rights and the need to exercise the right to self-determination and Western ideas regarding respect for sovereignty and the concept of statehood.

124. When we speak of decolonization we must go back to the Conference of the Countries of Africa and Asia, held in Bandung from 18 to 24 April 1955. That Conference was attended by the leaders of peoples in the struggle for independence, who inspired the world with their ideas and emerged as the embodiment of the will of nations and peoples to overthrow foreign rule. Present at Bandung were Sukarno, Nehru, Abdel Nasser and Nkrumah. These were leaders whose struggle was not confined to the frontiers of their own countries but extended to encompass the whole world. Their battles were waged against the outside world, and they were the rallying point for the struggle of their peoples and nations. They were giants, and they defied Europe that had emerged from the Second World War weak and exhausted.

125. Regardless of our views of their legacy, it is certain that they were instrumental in eliminating colonialism from Asia and Africa. In this connexion we should not ignore the role played by some leaders of Europe in accepting the inevitable—namely, decolonization. Who can forget the role of Charles de Gaulle? Who can forget the statement of Harold MacMillan in South Africa when he spoke of the winds of change?

126. However, the fundamental role in decolonization was played by the nations and peoples which struggled and sacrificed, and by the thousands who gave their lives because of their faith in the cause of independence, self-determination and sovereignty.

127. Who can forget the struggle of the people of Algeria, who played an important role in decolonization in Africa and beyond? Who can forget the role of Jomo Kenyatta, and Sékou Touré? Who can forget the role of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe under the leadership of Mugabe and Nkomo, or the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania?

128. The role of the United Nations in this struggle has been a positive one, for it extended political and moral support. The United Nations also provided the forum through which the world became acquainted with the problems of oppressed peoples suffering from foreign rule. The adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), the twentieth anniversary of which we are commemorating, was a translation of that will.

129. The record of decolonization is positive and impressive but at the same time we should not forget that there are peoples still suffering under alien domination. We must not forget that the people of Namibia still live under foreign rule. We should support their struggle in order to overcome the domination of South Africa, which is defying the will of the international community.

130. We must also help the people of South Africa itself to rid themselves of *apartheid*, which is an affront to human dignity and fundamental human rights.

131. We must also help the people of Palestine to exercise their right to self-determination in their own homeland and to establish their own independent State under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

132. Undoubtedly, those nations will be victorious one day. No matter how oppressive the forces of evil may be, the will for independence will be stronger than the devices of oppression.

133. The developing countries are now fighting another battle following their victory in the fight for decolonization. The battle has now started for economic decolonization without which political independence would be incomplete. If we focus our attention on each State in Africa, Asia and Latin America, we will witness a struggle within the frontiers

of every single country to rid itself of economic colonization and to attain the means to ensure economic development without total reliance on Western capitals. In every developing capital there is now a cry that can be heard for the eradication of economic colonization. There are also efforts for agricultural development and to exploit national resources in accordance with the needs of the country itself and not those of the colonialists.

134. However, in our efforts for economic decolonization we must be careful not to create strain in the developing societies. We must also warn against cultural colonization in the developing world, which is still suffering from that type of colonialism. We must prepare ourselves to start cultural decolonization.

135. One of the landmarks in the annals of the United Nations in its decolonization efforts is the battle of economic decolonization it is now starting through global negotiations. We should spare no effort to achieve economic decolonization, as we did in the past in our struggle for political decolonization. Dynamism has been created in Europe, in Africa and in Asia, and that has helped the United Nations in achieving its objective of political decolonization. A similar force must emerge in our present struggle for economic decolonization.

136. The battle may be long and may last many years, but in the final analysis economic decolonization will triumph just as did political decolonization before it. In conclusion, it may be appropriate to consider a declaration on economic decolonization akin to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples whose twentieth anniversary we are celebrating today. Let us hope that we will witness the day when we adopt a declaration.

137. The PRESIDENT: May I express my personal gratitude and appreciation to all those who have taken part in this important meeting for their contribution and to those others who agreed not to insist on speaking in order to facilitate the work of the General Assembly.

138. I declare the special meeting concluded.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*