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AGENDA ITEM 73

Review and co-ordination of human rights programmes of organizations in the United Nations system and co-operation with other international programmes in the field of human rights

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/36/692)

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Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance

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- (a) Report of the Human Rights Committee;
- (b) Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: report of the Secretary-General;
- (c) Elaboration of a second optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/36/663)

AGENDA ITEM 91

Torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment:

- (a) Unilateral declarations by Member States against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment: report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Draft Code of Medical Ethics: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/36/685)

1. Mr. FUJII (Japan), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the six reports of the Third Committee on agenda items 73, 75, 85, 86, 87 and 91, respectively.

2. The first report relates to agenda item 73 [A/36/692]. The Committee considered this item together with agenda item 79, but did not take any action on it.

3. The second report relates to agenda item 75 [A/36/684]. Under this item the Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution and

draft decision contained in paragraphs 10 and 11, respectively, of the report. The draft resolution is entitled "Declaration on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and of discrimination based on religion or belief" and was adopted without a vote. The draft decision, which is closely related to the draft resolution and is procedural in nature, was also adopted without a vote.

4. The third report relates to agenda item 85 [A/36/661]. The Committee adopted two draft resolutions and one draft decision which are contained in paragraphs 18 and 19, respectively. The two draft resolutions bear the same title as the item. Draft resolution A was adopted by a vote, and draft resolution B was adopted without a vote. The draft decision, which also bears the same title as the item, was adopted without a vote.

5. The next report relates to agenda item 86 [A/36/662]. The Committee adopted the draft resolution contained in paragraph 7 of the report without a vote.

6. The next report relates to item 87 [A/36/663]. The Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt the two draft resolutions contained in paragraph 10 of this report. Draft resolution I has the same title as the item and was adopted without a vote. Draft resolution II entitled "Capital punishment" was also adopted without a vote.

7. The final report of the Third Committee for this afternoon relates to agenda item 91 [A/36/685]. The Committee, having considered two draft resolutions and one draft decision under this item, recommends that the General Assembly adopt the two draft resolutions contained in paragraph 14 of that report. Draft resolution I, which bears the same title as the item, was adopted without a vote. Draft resolution II is entitled "Draft code of medical ethics" and was also adopted without a vote.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Third Committee.

8. The PRESIDENT: Statements will be limited to explanations of vote. The positions of delegations on the various recommendations of the Third Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

9. May I remind members that, under decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed that, when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is either in the Committee or in plenary, unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee. May I also remind members that, in accordance with the same decision, explanations of vote should not exceed 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats.

10. We shall consider first the Third Committee's report on agenda item 73 [A/36/692].

11. Since the Committee makes no recommendation to the General Assembly on this item, I propose that the Assembly take note of the report. If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided (decision 36/411).

12. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 75 [A/36/684]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendations of the Third Committee contained in paragraphs 10 and 11 of its report.

13. The draft resolution entitled "Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief", recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 10 of its report, was adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/55).

14. The PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to turn their attention to the draft decision contained in paragraph 11 of document A/36/684. The Third Committee adopted that draft decision without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/412).

15. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

16. Mr. WALKATE (Netherlands): It is with a particular feeling of joy, gratitude and relief that my delegation has witnessed the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief without a vote. The history of the long road at the end of which we now stand has often been recalled. It has been a road that was long, arduous and full of obstacles.

17. The Netherlands delegation recalls with respect how the two chairmen of the Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights over the past seven years—Mr. Yvon Beaulne of Canada and Mr. Abdoulaye Dieye of Senegal—have conducted the negotiations of delegations participating actively in the legislative process.

18. Standing at the end of this road, we must at the same time realize that we still have another long and equally arduous road ahead of us, the road of compliance with the principles and rights contained in this Declaration.

19. It would, of course, be naive to believe that as from today all religious discrimination and intolerance will have been eliminated by the mere adoption of this text. All States Members of this great Organization have an obligation under the Charter to promote the observance of human rights, and by adopting the Declaration they have indicated their commitment to comply with that obligation.

20. All individuals under the jurisdiction of the Member States have the right to remind their Governments of that obligation and may avail themselves of the rights set forth in the Declaration.

21. The Declaration is an impressive elaboration of the rights and freedoms contained in article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [resolution 2200A (XXI), annex], both dealing with the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. As article 8 of the Declaration just adopted rightly confirms, those rights and freedoms stand, and cannot be affected by the present Declaration. In particular, the exercise of

the right to maintain, change and manifest one's religion or belief should be seen as a healthy sign of freedom and democracy.

22. My country, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, celebrates this year the fact that 400 years ago, in 1581, the so-called Dutch Declaration of Independence was signed by the representatives of the seven united provinces of the Netherlands. It was an act of rebellion against the sovereign and in favour of political independence. It was, at the same time, an act of rebellion against the policy of religious intolerance and discrimination in favour of ritual independence: the freedom to have and manifest a religion or belief of one's choice. The Declaration the 157 Members of the United Nations have today adopted without a vote underlines the eternal value of such independence.

23. Mr. RIGIN (Indonesia): My delegation supports the general thrust of the draft resolution in document A/36/684, just adopted. However, my delegation has some reservations concerning article 1, paragraph 2. As we made clear in our statement at the 34th meeting of the Third Committee, it is of the utmost importance to draw an explicit distinction between "coercion", which we all abhor and is therefore to be prohibited, and "persuasion" which is dependent upon impermissible material incentives with adverse consequences. It is only through such an approach that we can support and enhance the principles and philosophy of religious tolerance to which we are all committed. And it is for these reasons that my delegation in the Third Committee suggested the insertion of the words "or any kind of persuasion" between the words "coercion" and "which" in article 1 (2), and also, at the end of the paragraph, the insertion of the words "therefore any act which leads to such practices is inadmissible". The inclusion of those words, in my delegation's view, would add further clarity and render our approach to the issue of religious freedom and rights more balanced.

24. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): My delegation wishes to say a few words on behalf of the member States of the European Community on the occasion of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.

25. In the statement which my delegation delivered under item 75 at the 34th meeting of the Third Committee, on behalf of the member States of the European Community, we expressed our view that the adoption of the draft declaration by the Commission on Human Rights and by ECOSOC earlier this year was the major achievement of those two bodies and our hope that the Third Committee would adopt it without further delay—preferably by consensus—and thereby conclude action on this important piece of unfinished business.

26. The member States of the European Community are accordingly very pleased and satisfied that this Declaration has now been adopted by the Third Committee and by the Assembly. Its adoption is a major landmark in the promotion and protection of human rights in this important and fundamental field.

27. We should like to take this occasion to express our gratitude to all delegations and to the Chairman of the Third Committee, who helped to bring about this happy result.

28. Mr. MAHALLATI SHIRAZI (Iran): I should like to express my delegation's reservation to the effect that we accept the draft resolution and the Declaration just adopted in so far as they are in total conformity with Islamic jurisprudence.

29. The PRESIDENT: I sincerely hope the Assembly will understand if I say a few words in respect of this auspicious and extremely gratifying event, the adoption—especially without a vote—of the Declaration on religious intolerance.

30. I am supremely proud to be a former member of the Third Committee, and I retain an extremely keen interest in the matter, being the Chairman of the Human Rights Committee under the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. So it is a matter of extreme gratification for me personally and I am sure for every one of us here, that the Declaration and the decision have been adopted unanimously.

31. May I specifically express our gratitude—and I am sure I speak for all of us—to the current Chairman of the Third Committee and to the chairmen of the two groups, Mr. Beaulne and my dear friend and colleague in the Human Rights Committee, Mr. Dieye, who have spared no effort to ensure this extremely gratifying result, the adoption of this Declaration.

32. We shall now take up the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 85 relating to human rights and scientific and technological developments [A/36/661]. The recommendations of the Third Committee are contained in paragraphs 18 and 19 of its report.

33. The Assembly will take a decision first on draft resolution A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of,

Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 119 votes to none, with 24 abstentions (resolution 36/56 A).¹

34. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution B. The Third Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do so also?

Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 36/56 B).

35. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the draft decision recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 19 of its report. The Committee adopted the draft decision without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to do so?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/413).

36. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn its attention to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 86 relating to the question of a convention on the rights of the child [A/36/662].

37. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. It was adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/57).

38. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 87 concerning the International Covenants on Human Rights [A/36/663].

39. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 10 of its report.

40. Draft resolution I is entitled "International Covenants on Human Rights". The Third Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do so also?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/58).

41. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Capital Punishment". The Third Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to do so?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/59).

42. The PRESIDENT: Allow me to say once again, in my capacity as chairman of one of the organs established under the Covenants, how extremely pleased I am that the Assembly is unanimous in respect of the Covenants. I would add my own hope and plea for complete universality in regard to ratification of these extremely important Covenants.

43. The Assembly will now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 91 relating to torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment [A/36/685].

44. The Assembly will take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 14 of that report. Both were adopted without a vote in the Committee.

45. Draft resolution I is entitled "Torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to adopt that draft resolution?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/60).

46. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to draft resolution II, entitled "Draft Code of Medical Ethics". May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft resolution?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/61).

AGENDA ITEM 19

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 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (PART III) (A/36/677/ADD.2)

47. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider part III of the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 19, concerning some chapters of the report of the Special Committee relating to specific Territories not covered by other agenda items.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

48. The PRESIDENT: Statements will be limited to explanations of vote. The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Fourth Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant summary records.

49. May I remind members that, under decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed that when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in the plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in the plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee.

50. May I also remind members that, again in accordance with decision 34/401, explanations of vote should not exceed 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

51. The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the recommendations of the Fourth Committee. In paragraph 30 of the report, the Committee recommends the adoption of two draft resolutions by the Assembly.

52. We shall vote first on draft resolution I, entitled "Question of Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the

Cayman Islands, Montserrat and the Turks and Caicos Islands”.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 117 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 36/62).

53. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution II, entitled “Question of Guam”.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 119 votes to none (resolution 36/63).

54. The PRESIDENT: I now invite representatives to turn to the draft decisions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 31 of its report.

55. Draft decision I concerns the question of Brunei. The Fourth Committee adopted draft decision I without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft decision I was adopted (decision 36/414).

56. The PRESIDENT: Draft decision II concerns the question of Pitcairn. The Fourth Committee adopted draft decision II without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft decision II was adopted (decision 36/415).

57. The PRESIDENT: Draft decision III concerns the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). The Fourth Committee adopted draft decision III without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft decision III was adopted (decision 36/416).

58. The PRESIDENT: Draft decision IV concerns the question of St. Kitts-Nevis. The Fourth Committee adopted draft decision IV without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft decision IV was adopted (decision 36/417).

59. The PRESIDENT: Draft decision V concerns the question of Anguilla. The Fourth Committee adopted draft decision V without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft decision V was adopted (decision 36/418).

60. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): My delegation has already set out, in the 15th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the guiding principles of United Kingdom policies on our remaining dependent Territories. In the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples last summer, there were more detailed debates on recent developments in those Territories. The General Assembly thus has ample documentation on them.

61. I nevertheless feel constrained to speak in this plenary Assembly debate. It purports to address the whole range of issues connected with decolonization. But the two draft resolutions before us take no account of the reality of decolonization today. In the reports on individual Territories, the Special Committee [A/36/23/Rev.1, chaps. VIII-XXVIII] and the Fourth Committee [see A/36/677 and Add.1 and 2] have sent to the General

Assembly a comprehensive, well-researched and, for the most part, balanced set of papers. But the authors of those draft resolutions seem to live in an imaginary world and to be unaware of what has happened during the 35 years of decolonization. All they have to offer is the shop-worn shibboleths and dogma of yesteryear.

62. Moreover, there seems to be a certain confusion over what subjects these draft resolutions should address. Their authors seem to have their own private language. For them “colonialism” apparently means only the situation in Namibia and the *apartheid* policies of South Africa. I shall not—I repeat not—address those issues. They are separate agenda items and the views of my delegation on them are well known.

63. I shall concern myself only with the remaining British dependent Territories, most of which are small island Territories. My delegation and the Special Committee generally agree on the principles which should govern self-determination for these Territories. When there is such a wide measure of agreement about these principles, would it not be far more effective for the membership of the United Nations to speak with one voice? Would not a consensus resolution make more sense than the prehistoric document before us? Would not a consensus confirm that the United Nations sees man's right to self-determination as one of his most precious and inviolable rights? We know that the differences between us on decolonization are, in fact, differences of nuance rather than substance. Why then should this draft resolution consist of little more than another assault on our patience by grand rhetorical abstractions and polemical clichés?

64. The reason is that certain delegations think that it is in their interest both to keep alive the moribund rhetoric of decolonization and to preserve the decolonization machinery which the United Nations set up in a very different world.

65. But there are no more colonial empires today—or perhaps there is one. When we consider decolonization we are talking about a number of small island Territories with a combined population of under 200,000 people. We discuss regularly with the Special Committee their differing social, economic and political structures, and their prospects for constitutional development in the future. We agree with the Special Committee that we should encourage the Governments and peoples of these Territories to move to independence if that is their wish, and that this should be to the extent and at the pace that their own individual situation requires. We would not force any people to be independent against its will, nor would we hold up independence if that was the clearly expressed wish of the people.

66. So why are we confronted in draft resolution A/36/L.20 with statements such as “the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations . . . is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and poses a serious threat to international peace and security”? Perhaps it is not intended in 1981 that this statement should be taken seriously. But my delegation would be disturbed if such rhetoric were adopted by the General Assembly purely out of habit. The draft resolution speaks of the eradication of colonialism, of violations of the basic human rights of the peoples of colonial Territories, and of the complete elimination of the presence of the illegal occupying régimes in such Territo-

ries. Perhaps such language is not intended for the British dependent Territories. But who is it aimed at? Is it too much to hope that one day the General Assembly will look seriously at the questions relating to the few remaining Territories? It will then find that it has to pass through a door into the hitherto uncharted territory of the real world. In this connection, I might also mention that it is difficult to believe that a serious draft has been submitted, or that it is going to receive proper consideration, when there is only one day between its publication as a document and the vote in the General Assembly. Perhaps this timing has something to do with the fact that it is almost identical to a draft adopted a year ago. But that would prove my point that this draft is a creature of the archaeological past and not of the present reality. Let us not forget the fate of the dinosaur, whose fossil footprints are conspicuous on the documents before us. The United Nations must adapt to new realities if it is to continue to be taken seriously.

67. My second main criticism relates to both of these draft resolutions. As there are fewer dependent Territories to discuss, certain delegations have to look far and wide for new pretexts for attacking the erstwhile imperial Powers. We see this trend in the report of the Special Committee. There is a new obsession with certain minor facilities and installations in dependent Territories. Those are only there because the territorial Governments want them there, but they are seen by certain delegations as forming part of sinister military strategies.

68. I am glad to report that when the Fourth Committee took a serious look at this question it rejected the absurd claim of certain delegations that such installations were preventing independence in the dependent Territories concerned. I hope that on this basis delegations will not be willing to go along with operative paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/36/L.20 or with the consensus on military bases in the report of the Special Committee [see A/36/23/Rev.1, chap IV, sect. B].

69. The report of the Special Committee also includes a section on Puerto Rico [*ibid.*, chap. I, sect. F, paras. 75-87]. It is quite clear that an act of self-determination took place there in the 1950s and that the current popularly elected Government has no desire to proceed to separate independence. The Special Committee is concerned with self-determination, but it should not be egged on to sniff out denials of self-determination where they manifestly do not exist.

70. Turning to draft resolution A/36/L.21, I must make the same point about the activities of the United Nations Secretariat. When the number of dependent Territories has become so few, and those Territories have their own reasons for not proceeding to immediate independence, is it logical that the United Nations should be seeking to expand rather than to contract its activities in the field of decolonization? With a dwindling number of Territories there surely should be less need for the United Nations to allocate portions of its very hard-pressed budget to matters of declining priority. But certain delegations seem to need the imaginary issue of decolonization to fuel their campaigns of vilification against the erstwhile imperial Powers. Are delegations aware, I wonder, that in the report of the Special Committee, which draft resolution A/36/L.21 seeks to approve, there is a proposal to expand rather than run down the Unit on Information on Decolonization? Is the General Assembly keen to see an allocation of \$21,000 for a mission from the Special Committee's Sub-Committee on Petitions, Information and

Assistance to go on a two-week trip to Geneva, Prague, Brussels, The Hague and London to discuss decolonization questions with non-governmental organizations which are not represented in New York? The same Sub-Committee wishes to send members of the Secretariat on speaking engagements around the United States to discuss questions of decolonization on university campuses.

71. At a time when we are determined to oppose growth in the United Nations budget and exercise rigour and responsibility in planning United Nations activities, surely these are areas where the machinery created by decolonization should now be dismantled, and the Committees concerned should direct their attention to the aid and development questions which are crucial for the remaining dependent Territories. I do not think that the limited resources of the United Nations should be put at the service of those whose interest is in breeding conflict and confrontation and keeping outdated animosities artificially alive.

72. My delegation hopes that in the future this debate will be concerned with shorter, more realistic texts. We would like to see a consensus draft defining the common ground between delegations rather than this sterile language which revives useless feuds of earlier times.

73. In conclusion I should like to draw on the words of the famous Anglo-American poet, T. S. Eliot, who, in the last of his *Four Quartets*, "Little Gidding", said:

"We cannot revive old factions
We cannot restore old policies
Or follow an antique drum".

If the poet had lived long enough to see the draft resolutions on decolonization confronting us today, he would have been sadly disappointed to find that he was wrong.

74. Let us do our best next year to prove that he could be, in the longer term, right.

75. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): In 1980, the international community celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. The adoption of that most important document was an historical turning-point in the process of decolonization. Since the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, more than 50 countries have taken the path of independent development and have been admitted to membership in the United Nations. This year we have welcomed the emergence of the new States of Vanuatu, Belize and Antigua and Barbuda.

76. Despite the considerable success of the decolonization process, colonialism, racism and *apartheid* continue to poison the international climate and to be a source of tension and conflict threatening peace and international security. That is why the United Nations attaches major importance to the complete elimination of colonialism and this is expressed in many resolutions and decisions among which an important place must be given to General Assembly resolution 35/118, to which is annexed the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

77. However, despite the will of the international community, which has been expressed by the world Organiza-

tion, colonial domination over many Territories and peoples and the plunder of their natural resources continue.

78. Thus, for many years the illegal occupation of Namibia has continued to be the subject of indignation among the overwhelming majority of States. Under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the Namibian people has for many years continued its just struggle to exercise its right to self-determination and independence. If that struggle has not yet been crowned with success it is because of the support of many kinds given to the Pretoria racists by their Washington allies and other member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. Thanks to their support, South Africa has become a militarily highly developed State, with its own nuclear capability, which now constitutes a real threat to peace and security both in the region and throughout the world. The large-scale aggression perpetrated this year against the People's Republic of Angola and the occupation of important parts of its territory are clear examples of this.

79. It is certainly not difficult to see in the co-operation of the imperialist States with Pretoria the considerable economic, military and strategic interests of the United States and other members of NATO striving to perpetuate the existing situation in southern Africa. That is why this year again the Western countries which are permanent members of the Security Council have prevented the Council from taking the effective measures provided for under the Charter of the United Nations to force Pretoria to comply with the Declaration in respect of Namibia. It is only against that background that the various manoeuvres of the West to ensure a neo-colonialist solution of this problem can be interpreted.

80. In the view of my delegation, a view which has been stated and restated repeatedly, the question of Namibia can be solved only by the immediate withdrawal of the racists from the Territory and by the granting of all powers to its people, of which SWAPO is the sole authentic representative.

81. We believe that the United Nations plan endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978) provides the most appropriate basis for achieving such a solution. That plan must be applied in its entirety and without any amendment.

82. In speaking of the need to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism, we should not overlook the small Non-Self-Governing Territories. The colonialist States are doing everything they can to challenge the implementation of the Declaration with respect to these Territories by invoking certain specific conditions which exist there. Some of those conditions are the direct result of colonial domination—for example, the fact that they have an underdeveloped and unbalanced economy, and the dependence of the indigenous population in many cases on military bases to provide for their needs. The colonialists invoke these facts as justification for their thesis that these Territories are not in a position to develop by themselves.

83. All this seriously contradicts the Declaration, which demands that the administering Powers grant without delay the right to self-determination and independence to the peoples of all the Trust Territories and the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Declaration also states that "inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational pre-

paredness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence" and "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".

84. These explicit provisions of the Declaration are seriously violated by the United States in respect of the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and also in respect of the other Territories under its colonial dependence. Despite Article 83 of the Charter, according to which any alteration or amendment of the status of strategic Trust Territories can be carried out only by decision of the Security Council, the United States is engaging in machinations designed to achieve the fragmentation of Micronesia and its annexation, which constitutes an attempt to confront the world with a *fait accompli*.

85. The situation is similar in respect of Guam, where there is an important United States military base, which that country has already used in the past to serve its aggressive policies. Of course, the strategic and military possibilities which these Territories provide for the colonialist States are a strong impetus to them to oppose by all means the achievement of independence. That is precisely why the United Nations has so often declared in its documents, in particular in resolution 35/118, that military activities in the colonial Territories constitute an obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration.

86. There are other colonial problems in this sphere which will continue to attract the attention of the Organization in the years to come. My delegation would like in this regard to refer to the part of the report of the Special Committee which relates to Puerto Rico. We believe that this question should be examined within the context of the implementation of the Declaration.

87. It is important that all the resources of the specialized agencies and the other international organizations associated with the United Nations be mobilized in the struggle against colonialism. We note with satisfaction the increased activities within this field of such organizations as UNDP, FAO, ILO and WHO.

88. Unfortunately, the part played by specialized agencies and institutions is far from adequate when it comes to national liberation movements in southern Africa and the front-line countries. It is regrettable to see the World Bank and IMF continuing to co-operate with South Africa while refusing to provide assistance to the national liberation movements. This practice entirely contradicts the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

89. The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on questions of decolonization is consistent. We have always supported the aspirations of all peoples to eliminate without delay all the vestiges of colonialism and the oppressive heritage of the colonial past. At the same time, we realize that the establishment of international peace and security, the maintenance and strengthening of international détente and the limitation of the arms race are *sine qua non* conditions for the achievement of this objective.

90. My Government has always supported and will continue to support the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Guided by this principle, we shall continue to give multifaceted support to the struggle of peoples under colonial dependence to achieve their right to self-determination and independence, thereby eliminating totally

and completely the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in all their forms and manifestations.

91. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted in 1960, is one of the most significant and fundamental documents of the United Nations and has become an important component of international law. On the basis of that Declaration, which was achieved on the initiative of the Soviet Union, more than one third of the States now Members of the United Nations attained their independence. We hail the growing activities of the liberated States in Africa, Asia and Latin America in international relations, in the struggle for peace, security and disarmament and against colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism.

92. The youngest members of the international community, Belize, Vanuatu and Antigua and Barbuda, have recently achieved their independence. In spite of this, we cannot overlook the fact that 21 years after the adoption of the historic Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV), the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence has not yet been implemented on a universal scale. Vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* which continue to exist poison the international atmosphere and are a threat to peace and international security. The dangerous situation in southern Africa demonstrates that the implementation of the inalienable rights of the peoples is closely linked with the safeguarding of peace and international security. The misuse of colonial Territories for the expansion of the imperialist system of bases requires increased efforts to implement the anti-colonial, anti-racist decisions of the United Nations. These efforts should focus on the principles that were laid down in the Declaration.

93. The reason the Declaration has not so far been fully implemented lies in the activities of those in imperialist circles that consider the exercise of the right to self-determination of colonially oppressed peoples to be a restriction of their sphere of domination and their profit interests. Above all, they regard South Africa with its *apartheid* régime as an important stronghold of the so-called Western world. There is a direct connection between the arrogant statements claiming whole regions to be their spheres of interest, the establishment of new military bases and efforts to maintain relations of colonial dependence.

94. Territories the peoples of which have so far been prevented from exercising their right to self-determination are today hotbeds of tensions. This is true above all of southern Africa. There, the *apartheid* régime pursues its policy of terror and occupation beyond the frontiers of its own country and those of illegally occupied Namibia by perpetrating acts of aggression against independent African States. There are even plans to include the racist aggressor in a South Atlantic military alliance, further increasing the threat to peace and security in that area. Mention may also be made of the so-called small Territories in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans that are still colonially dependent and misused as military bases to bring pressure to bear on free States and national liberation movements.

95. There is an inseparable link between the maintenance of the vestiges of colonialism and racism and the imperialist policy of aggravating international tensions, of the arms build-up, of threats and boycotts and of suppress-

ing the national and social liberation struggle of the peoples.

96. In accordance with the Plan of Action annexed to General Assembly resolution 35/118, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic appeals in favour of, first, granting all necessary moral and material assistance to oppressed peoples, secondly, discontinuing all political, military and nuclear collaboration with the *apartheid* régime and banning the activities of transnational corporations directed against the peoples' interests and, thirdly, taking action against the military activities of the colonial Powers in colonial Territories and advocating the immediate dismantling of military bases in those Territories.

97. At the 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, one of the German Democratic Republic's foreign policy priorities in the years ahead was defined as "active solidarity with all peoples fighting for national and social liberation, development of broad co-operation with the States of Africa, Asia and Latin America and support for the struggle to establish a new international economic order based on equality". That is why the German Democratic Republic has always stood up, together with the other socialist States and the non-aligned countries, for the adoption of consistent anti-colonial decisions by the world Organization and for their strict implementation.

98. The German Democratic Republic shares with a majority of the States Members of the United Nations a deep concern about the situation in southern Africa. That situation results from the aggressive and terrorist policies of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa and from the support and encouragement given to it by the Member States of NATO. It is open encouragement of the racists of South Africa when the United States declares South Africa to be a "friendly nation" and does not want to do without its co-operation with the *apartheid* régime. The German Democratic Republic resolutely condemns the large-scale aggression of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. In this connection, the representative of the German Democratic Republic, speaking in the Security Council on 28 August 1981, said:

"This time it is our firm conviction that the Security Council must take measures. Chapter VII of the Charter tells us what must be done. Apart from a firm condemnation of South Africa with regard to these new acts of aggression against the sovereignty, stability and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, which constitute a serious violation of international peace and security, the Security Council must, in the proper form, demand that South Africa cease its aggression forthwith and withdraw its troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola."²

99. As is well known, the veto of the United States prevented the Security Council from adopting the necessary decisive measures, just as the Western permanent members of the Security Council blocked the adoption of draft resolutions supporting the liberation struggle of the Namibian people in April of this year.³

100. Only a few days [66th meeting] ago the position of principle of the German Democratic Republic on the Namibian question was expressed here. I do not want to repeat it. I should merely like to stress once again that the German Democratic Republic considers the United Nations plan to be a realistic basis for a speedy and equitable settlement of the question of Namibia. It is resolutely

opposed to any attempts to undercut United Nations resolutions and decisions and to withhold the Namibian people's independence. We will continue, as before, to support the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative, in order to support the exercise of the Namibian people's right to self-determination, just as we support the struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress.

01. As far as the still dependent territories in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans are concerned, my delegation is opposed to all attempts aimed at maintaining the dependence of those Territories by means of military presence and increasing the number of military bases. The militarization of those Territories is in defiance of United Nations resolutions and is a serious obstacle to the national independence and self-determination of the peoples living in them. It adds considerably to the destabilization of the international situation and, at the same time, jeopardizes the security of entire regions.

102. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The momentum on the question of decolonization must continue until we are able finally to put a decisive and early end to all the remaining forms and manifestations of colonialism.

103. Last year, the United Nations celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which has resulted so far in the independence of more than 50 countries. Among the positive developments of the past year were the independence of Vanuatu, Belize and Antigua and Barbuda, crowned by their admission to the United Nations. I am pleased, on behalf of my delegation, to express our joy at seeing the General Assembly discussing the item on decolonization in the presence of the representatives of those three newly independent countries.

104. The Special Committee has played and continues to play a fundamental role in guiding and intensifying the efforts of the Organization to ensure the complete implementation of the Declaration. My delegation, which has had the honour of being a member of that Committee from its very establishment, is pleased to work under the guidance of its Chairman, Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago, and we should like to congratulate him on the excellent way in which he directs the Special Committee's work. We pay a tribute to him for his experience and wisdom, which have made it possible for that Committee's efforts to be successful. My delegation is confident that the Special Committee will continue to accomplish its task until the complete elimination of all vestiges of colonialism—which we hope will take place as soon as possible so that we shall be able to witness these outstanding results.

105. In spite of the accomplishments of the United Nations in implementing the Declaration, we must note with regret that more than 4 million human beings in more than 20 countries are far from enjoying autonomy and independence in their homelands. There are still 4 million Palestinians deprived of their right to self-determination in their own territory and homeland. More than 20 million Africans in South Africa and in Namibia are still subjected to all sorts of discrimination, persecution and military and racist occupation, and are living on their own soil under repression, humiliation and degradation. That

region still constitutes the most dangerous site of traditional colonialism in its most hideous form.

106. We must note also that political liberation has not always been accompanied by economic independence. Imperialistic economic interests still attempt to revert to the domination of peoples and their fate through economic hegemony. A large number of small Territories which do not enjoy autonomy are still in a state of colonial dependence and are used by the imperialists for military purposes through the establishment of military bases aimed at guaranteeing the strategic and military interests of these colonialist countries. The colonizing countries, especially the United States of America, make every effort to curb the process of decolonization of those Territories in an attempt to preserve their military interests there. They use for that purpose various pretexts, forms and names such as "free participation" and "political union", which are only screens to support colonial domination and legitimize the annexation process.

107. The Declaration affirms that the right of all peoples to self-determination and an independent political existence is an inalienable right. The Plan of Action also rejects any unilateral agreements, measures or actions to deny or oppose the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

108. The right of self-determination enshrined in resolution 1514 (XV) has become an imperative of international law and we can never agree to the sovereignty over a colonized country being vested in the colonizing authority instead of the colonized people.

109. As far as Puerto Rico is concerned, we reaffirm our total support for the Puerto Rican people and its self-determination pursuant to resolution 1514 (XV). We also support the request that the General Assembly discuss the question of Puerto Rico as a separate item at its next session.

110. The Special Committee met last August and considered the question of Puerto Rico. It heard a large number of Puerto Ricans representing all the political, cultural and union groupings in the country. They unanimously expressed their desire that the General Assembly discuss this issue as a separate agenda item. We believe that the United Nations cannot but respond to that unanimous desire of the people and support the Special Committee's resolution [*see A/36/23/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 87*] in this connection. It should not be influenced by the fact that the country colonizing Puerto Rico is the richest and most powerful in the world.

111. While the United Nations is trying to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism, we must all oppose the attempts in many regions of the world to revert to a policy of imperialist interests, to threaten the independence and freedom of peoples, to interfere in internal affairs under new slogans, to establish new military bases and to adopt plans aimed at bringing about the domination of our countries by colonialism or by dragging them into confrontation. The declaration on the setting up of "rapid deployment forces" and the concept of "strategic consensus" are only an ugly aspect of the neo-imperialist dialectic used against the independence of our peoples, their freedom, their rights and their natural resources.

112. The celebration by the United Nations of the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was followed by a serious set-back in decoloniza-

tion that dashed all hopes for an early end to colonialism. This year we witnessed the Government of South Africa bringing about the failure, as intended, of the pre-implementation meeting with regard to the United Nations settlement plan for Namibia, held at Geneva from 7 to 14 January 1981. The Reagan Administration has solemnly supported the Pretoria régime and given its blessing to that régime's acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, especially Angola. That Administration has also protected the racist régime against the indignation of the international community and has adopted a blatant policy hostile to countries fighting for their independence and freedom, under the leadership of their liberation movements. We do not think we need go into details, as everyone is familiar with them.

113. This confirms that the question of the full implementation of the Declaration continues to be a fundamental issue. We must continue to exert every effort and indeed to intensify our efforts, especially within the framework of the Special Committee, to accomplish this sacred task.

114. One fundamental fact in this regard is that the tyrannical Pretoria régime could never have continued its defiance of the world without the support it receives from Western countries, headed by the United States. The United States and countries maintaining close relations with it are responsible for South Africa's intransigence and its continued defiance of the will of the international community and the spirit of the times. On the other hand, the close alliance and co-operation between that régime and the racist, aggressive Tel Aviv régime, especially in the military and nuclear fields, play an important part in the co-ordination of the imperialist plan to subjugate the peoples of the Middle East and of Africa to aggressive domination.

115. All that proves that the colonial régimes will never willingly bow to the will of the peoples and that firm efforts must be made to confront those who try to stem the tide of history.

116. We base our struggle against imperialism and racism on our belief in the cause of freedom and on our feeling that we are in the forefront of the confrontation against mankind's common enemy, whether it be *apartheid*, Zionism, imperialism or colonialism. There is only one enemy. The continuation of its aggression and defiance means that we have duties and responsibilities to assume, and we shall assume them unhesitatingly until the régimes of repression, colonialism and racism crumble and the day of freedom and dignity dawns for all peoples.

117. Mr. SOLTYSIEWICZ (Poland): It is a matter of considerable satisfaction to Poland that significant progress has been achieved in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted 21 years ago. Since the adoption of that historic resolution 1514 (XV), the process of decolonization has gained momentum, and the role of the United Nations in that field has been greatly strengthened.

118. The Polish delegation is happy to note that thanks to the common efforts of progressive forces all over the world, the majority of former colonial peoples have achieved national independence and sovereignty and recovered their proper place within the community of nations and are now playing an important role in our common endeavours for peace, progress and development.

119. In this regard, we value highly the outstanding role played by the Special Committee. Similarly, we note with satisfaction the measures taken by a number of specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to provide assistance to the peoples of colonial Territories and to their national liberation movements.

120. The United Nations has also helped to expose the role played by foreign economic and military interests as factors impeding the decolonization process.

121. While welcoming the progress already achieved, we cannot overlook the fact that much is still to be done in that area and that several million people are still subjected to colonial rule—and, indeed, what is far worse, are subjected to the most oppressive rule of *apartheid*. There are still other peoples and Territories which are awaiting a chance to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

122. Such a situation prevails in southern Africa, where the recent aggression by the racist régime in South Africa against Angola has provided yet another glaring example of neo-colonialism. We resolutely condemn that brutal act. We also fully support the decisions taken so far by the United Nations against the policies of *apartheid* and with regard to the question of Namibia, policies which were considered and condemned at the eighth emergency special session [see resolution ES-8/2]. In our opinion, the decision of that session constitutes a powerful tool in the struggle of the international community to isolate and ultimately eliminate the inhuman régime of *apartheid* and urgently to secure genuine freedom and independence for Namibia.

123. We hope that the problems of southern Africa will be solved in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. In this respect, we join those countries which condemn military activities in Namibia as well as in all other colonial Territories, rightly considering them to be a threat to peace and international security.

124. Solidarity with the colonial people still fighting for their freedom is among the basic premises of the foreign policy of my country. In accordance with its position of principle, Poland will give its sustained support to the just struggle of the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements for self-determination and independence, including specific assistance in the field of training and education.

125. There is an obvious interrelationship between progress in the field of decolonization and the general state of international relations. In the view of my delegation, the final elimination of colonialism would remove one of the sources of tension in international relations and therefore would constitute an important contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security.

126. Mr. HAMAMI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): At our last session we duly celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As we all know, the adoption of that invaluable instrument was no haphazard occurrence, but rather the result of the stalwart struggle of oppressed peoples and of the support of part of the public opinion in countries involved in the colonial system.

127. Twenty-one years ago, the colonial system weighed more heavily on the world, and a good number of the representatives of States among us today were not in this hall. We are delighted that from one anniversary to the next the family of the United Nations has grown larger and stronger. Independent and sovereign Vanuatu, Belize, and Antigua and Barbuda have just been admitted as full-fledged Members of the Organization. The irreversible process of decolonization must rapidly be completed. The liberation movement of peoples is an historic need which it is immoral and futile to continue to resist.

128. The Special Committee has done remarkable work. It is carrying out in a worthy manner the noble mission conferred upon it of overseeing the implementation of the Declaration. The Tunisian delegation takes this opportunity to convey its warmest congratulations to all the members of that Committee.

129. In more ways than one, the contribution of the Special Committee is historic. It has made possible successful decolonization in various parts of Africa and elsewhere in the world, as well as the increasingly clear isolation of the *apartheid* régime which prevails in South Africa and which exercises colonial domination over Namibia and commits constant acts of aggression against neighbouring States which are independent and sovereign Members of the Organization. This inadmissible behaviour is an attempt to call into question the decolonization work of the Organization and constitutes constant defiance of the international community. The *apartheid* régime can only be colonialist; this springs from the very logic of the system.

130. The work of decolonization must be continued in southern Africa and elsewhere. The United Nations has the instruments to crush the last bastions of colonialism. Those instruments include Chapter XI of the Charter, the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) and resolution 1654 (XVI), pursuant to which the Special Committee was established.

131. At this stage, while we are pleased at the work achieved in the field of decolonization, it remains clear that more vigorous action must be taken to hasten the process. Such action, carried out realistically by the Organization, should lead to the emergence of other independent States and put an end to the tragic situation prevailing in southern Africa. That situation of serious crisis brings with it great dangers and seriously threatens international peace and security. Millions of persons who cherish freedom and dignity are still denied their right to self-determination, a principle enshrined by the Organization.

132. The forces of oppression in southern Africa daily trample human rights under foot and defy the international community, because they feel safe from any possible implementation of the relevant Articles of the Charter. This situation cannot go on indefinitely. The international community has this alternative before it: successful and peaceful decolonization leading to cooperation among nations or a general conflagration whose unforeseeable consequences would seriously endanger international peace and security.

133. The problem of Namibia is in the forefront of the legitimate concerns of the Organization. So far the United Nations has been able to clarify the situation as far as legality is concerned. For a long time Namibia has had an administering authority, the United Nations Council for

Namibia. Thus, Pretoria, legally stripped of its mandate, must withdraw from the Territory.

134. The time has come for the international community as a whole without reservation to oblige Pretoria to withdraw from the Territory. This would reflect dedication to the principles of law and to the Declaration and provide an opportunity to show a spirit of constructive commitment and enable the Namibian people to build its own State.

135. The United Nations is an instrument for peace and co-operation in the world. That mission can gain further credibility if serious questions of decolonization are solved and if Pretoria is compelled to comply with the decisions and resolutions of the Organization. A Member that adhered to the Charter cannot be allowed to defy the entire international community with impunity. Any indulgence towards Pretoria would be encouragement to future misconduct, a challenge to the Charter which would result in a serious threat to international peace and security. An end must be brought to this situation and the behaviour of the Pretoria régime, which must abandon its inhuman policy of racial discrimination and constant defiance of the United Nations.

136. The right to self-determination and independence of peoples is a natural and absolute right which is not subject to interpretation according to the exigencies of the moment. It is only by the exercise of that right that peoples are able to express their genuine and true aspirations. It is by the exercise of that right that peoples still under colonial domination can express their desire for independence, and therefore it is in that way that the Declaration can be fully implemented. For it is a fact that a partial or biased implementation of that Declaration would not only consolidate certain tenacious strongholds of colonialism but also endanger States that have acquired their independence at great cost.

137. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has its corollary, and that is the preservation of independence that has already been acquired. In order to preserve its accomplishments, the international community must bring the work of decolonization to a rapid conclusion. Until the peoples of southern Africa and elsewhere have realized their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence, international peace and security will be endangered and the provisions of the Charter will remain unimplemented.

138. As we near the end of the twentieth century, 21 years after the proclamation of the Declaration, can we accept the fact that people who have demonstrated their determination in the struggle for freedom and independence and have provided evidence of political maturity and ability to control their destiny are denied their right to self-determination and to a State? I am referring to the people of Namibia but also to the people of Palestine. It is on the realization of their aspirations that peace and stability in two particularly sensitive regions of the world, the Middle East and southern Africa, basically depend.

139. Mr. LOZINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): A third decade has begun since the United Nations adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The resolution containing that Declaration, which was adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and all the progressive countries of the world in spite of the stubborn

resistance of the colonial Powers, solemnly proclaimed the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

140. The Declaration and the decisions which followed it demanded the elimination of all colonial régimes. They proclaimed the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of the colonies for national liberation. They appealed to all States to provide material and moral support in that struggle. The Declaration has played and will continue to play an important part in providing assistance to the peoples under colonial domination in their struggle for freedom and independence, and in mobilizing world public opinion to help in the complete elimination of colonialism. The important part played in that context by the Special Committee must be stressed. The Soviet Union has always approved and supported the anti-colonial activities of that Committee.

141. The emergence in recent years of dozens of young independent countries has been an important event in international political life. This year alone, we have seen the emergence of three new States, Vanuatu, Belize and Antigua and Barbuda. The Soviet Union welcomes their membership in the United Nations.

142. We are witnessing the confirmation of the prophecy many decades ago by the founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, regarding the historic role to be played by the peoples of the colonies; he foresaw that, having rid themselves of the colonial yoke, they would participate actively in deciding the fate of the world. The young countries are being forced into a difficult struggle with imperialism to solve the problems caused by the vestiges of colonialism in all areas of their internal life and also in their international relations. This was pointed out by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev in his report to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

“The imperialists are not happy with the strengthening of the independence of the liberated countries. Using thousands of ways and means, they try to bind those countries to them so as to be able freely to use their natural resources and also to use their territories for their strategic designs. In so doing they widely use the time-honoured colonizers’ method of ‘divide and rule’.”

143. The most important prerequisite for the successful solution of the tasks facing the young States is the securing of lasting peace in the world, the preservation and strengthening of détente and the limitation of the arms race launched by military circles of the Western Powers. Despite the considerable successes of the national liberation movements and the efforts of the international community to implement the Declaration, colonialism has not yet been completely eliminated. The people of Namibia continue to suffer from cruel colonial oppression, aggravated by the inhuman system of *apartheid* instituted by the Pretoria racists. The obvious reluctance of the Pretoria régime to leave that country, so rich in mineral resources, is strengthened by the support of economic and other circles of the Western Powers interested in preserving colonial racist rule in southern Africa.

144. The manoeuvres of the Western Powers are aimed at undermining the implementation of the latest decision of the United Nations on the question of Namibia, resolution ES-8/2, which demanded “the immediate commencement of the unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without any prevarication,

qualification or modification and not later than December 1981”.

145. At a time when the South African racists are trying by violence and terror to preserve their domination over Namibia, the people of that Territory pursue their heroic armed struggle for freedom and independence, relying on the support of the United Nations and of all progressive mankind.

146. The struggle for liberation in South Africa itself is intensifying. The attempts to justify the policy of terror and aggression conducted by the Pretoria régime against the people of South Africa and the neighbouring African States, and the accusation that peoples struggling for their independence are terrorists, can only be regarded as expressions of extreme cynicism.

147. Speaking of the policy of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev stressed:

“Showing utter contempt for the rights and aspirations of peoples, they are trying to describe the liberation struggle of the masses as an expression of ‘terrorism’. They are really trying to achieve the unachievable, to erect a barrier against progressive changes in the world and to resume the role of masters of the destiny of peoples.”

148. The Soviet Union believes that in the area of supporting the national liberation of peoples, the United Nations has no more urgent task at this moment than ensuring genuine independence for the people of Namibia, whose only legitimate representative is in fact SWAPO, and totally eradicating the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. An end must be put to the situation in which the South African racists simply ignore the decisions of the international community. To that end, the Security Council must adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Pretoria, in compliance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

149. Enjoyment of the inalienable right to self-government and independence is still an unsolved problem for many peoples of the smaller colonial Territories. A speedy solution must be found in the interest not only of the social, political and economic development of those peoples, but also of the maintenance of peace and security. For many island colonial Territories are being used by the administering Powers for the establishment of military bases from which they can interfere in the domestic affairs of sovereign countries and suppress struggling national liberation movements.

150. The colonial Powers are interested in the preservation of their military bases and military presence in Guam, Puerto Rico, Diego García, the Pacific Islands, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands and other Territories, independently of the number of soldiers deployed at any moment on this or that island—because even the smallest base can be converted very speedily into a powerful military and strategic installation. That is the main obstacle to the enjoyment by the peoples of those Territories of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The United Nations, in its decisions, has repeatedly and very clearly demanded that the colonial Powers immediately and unconditionally eliminate the bases and military installations on the colonial Territories and refrain from creating new bases and installations.

Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

151. Particular attention must be given to the situation which exists in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Thirty-four years of trusteeship of Micronesia by the United States have shown that the administering Power has not carried out, and does not intend to carry out, its commitments under the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. The situation in that Territory has deteriorated. The population is actually less self-supporting now than it was when the trusteeship began. In recent years, the Administering Authority has consistently been pursuing a policy of the fragmentation of Micronesia and imposing on several parts of that Territory the neo-colonialist Commonwealth—or free association—status, which really means the transformation of those islands into United States possessions.

152. The annexationist activities of the United States with respect to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands have been carried out by bypassing the Security Council and in violation of the Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other decisions of the United Nations. They can in no way be recognized as lawful or having any legal force, since, under Article 83 of the Charter, any changes in the status of Micronesia as a Trust Territory can take place only by a decision of the Security Council.

153. The United Nations and its relevant organs must take the measures provided for in the Charter to counter the attempts of the United States to present the world with a *fait accompli*, namely, the complete absorption of the Trust Territory and its transformation into a colonial possession with the label "Commonwealth" or "free association". We must do everything necessary to ensure that the Micronesian people, in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration, can enjoy without any impediment its inalienable right to genuine freedom and independence.

154. This year the Special Committee has prepared, on the basis of consensus, several useful decisions on the question of the military bases in Guam, Bermuda and the Turks and Caicos Islands, as well as on the question of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The adoption of those decisions by the Special Committee is a step in the right direction, and will contribute to the implementation of the Declaration with respect to the peoples of those Territories.

155. The international community is very concerned about the situation in Puerto Rico. The decisions of the Special Committee have repeatedly confirmed the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration. During the meetings of the Special Committee in August, many representatives of various organizations in Puerto Rico submitted unchallengeable evidence which showed that that Territory is in fact in a state of full colonial dependence on the United States, which is detrimental to the economic, political and social situation of the Puerto Rican people. The statements of members of the Special Committee and the decision which it adopted emphasized the duty of the United Nations, in accordance with the Declaration, to assist the Puerto Rican people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The Soviet Union fully supported that decision.

156. The Soviet Union condemns the predatory activities of the international monopolies in southern Africa and in the small colonial Territories. Those monopolies constitute one of the fundamental obstacles to the full im-

plementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We reject the policy of the imperialist Powers, which encourage the exploitation of the human and natural resources of the colonial Territories, and we support the demands of the African States for the immediate withdrawal of investments from South Africa and Namibia and the immediate cessation of all economic co-operation with the racist Pretoria régime.

157. At its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly adopted the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which sets out new and urgent tasks and targets in the effort to complete the historic process of the liberation of peoples from colonial oppression. It is the duty of the States Members of the United Nations to make every effort to implement that Plan.

158. The Soviet Union has always provided, and will continue to provide, all kinds of assistance to peoples in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence. The Soviet Union consistently supports the full implementation of all resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and its organs aimed at the final eradication of the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The strengthening of the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movements is one of the main objectives of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as was confirmed by the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

159. Mr. SANGSOMSAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The progressive reduction of the number of items on the agenda of the General Assembly in the framework of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples clearly illustrates how decisive the action of the international community has been thus far in working towards the complete and final elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The deletion of those agenda items means that several more sovereign and independent nations have now taken their rightful place in the community of nations.

160. What was a dream just half a century ago has become a reality, and those liberated peoples have happily applied for admission to the United Nations. That is a sign of their recognition of this Organization, which since the adoption of the Declaration, thanks to the happy initiative of the Soviet Union supported by many States of all continents, has seen a constant increase in its membership.

161. This all points to the past and present importance of that document in the process of historical change and it was only fitting that at its thirty-fifth session the General Assembly should solemnly commemorate the twentieth anniversary of its adoption. On that occasion, the General Assembly commended the magnificent results of the Declaration reflected in the accession by millions of human beings to freedom and dignity. It also expressed its conviction that the Declaration would continue to play an important role as a source of inspiration and a spur to action for colonial peoples. It reaffirmed its determination definitively to eliminate colonialism, the great obstacle to peace, progress and international co-operation.

162. This year, thanks to the stimulus provided by the Declaration, three colonial Territories of the Caribbean

have acceded to independence. Upon the opening of this session we warmly welcomed among us Vanuatu and Belize, and today we are pleased to welcome Antigua and Barbuda to the Organization. To sum up, since the adoption in 1960 of the Declaration, almost 69 nations, representing hundreds of millions of people, have been liberated from the colonial yoke and have, as independent and sovereign States, joined the ranks of United Nations membership. The United Nations has seen its membership increase from 100 in 1960 to 157 in 1981. This impressive development clearly attests to the vitality of the Organization, which is working towards its ultimate objective, universality. It also testifies to the powerful and resolute struggle of oppressed peoples against the colonialist empire, the disintegration of which is inevitable.

163. Even so, in spite of the considerable progress achieved in the process of decolonization, almost 4 million persons in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean are still suffering under colonial oppression and domination. This suffering can be clearly seen in the monstrous pillaging of the territories of those colonial peoples and the dangerous continuance of colonial wars in different regions of the world.

164. The recent thorough consideration of this question in the Fourth Committee clearly revealed the magnitude and intensity of the ruthless exploitation of the natural and human resources of several Territories by certain Western capitalist countries through their powerful transnational corporations. This serious situation can be explained by fear of the imminent loss of control over colonial Territories as a result of the increasingly important victories of the national liberation movements. Moreover, while mercilessly intensifying their exploitation, the colonialists and racists have in recent years increased the intensity of their colonial wars in order to stifle and crush the struggle for liberation of oppressed peoples. That is what happened and is still happening in southern Africa, in the Middle East and in other parts of the world. It is clear that these wars could not have lasted without the support and encouragement of those in certain imperialist circles that draw vast profits from maintaining this reactionary colonial system in different parts of the world. This explains why those same elements describe the racist régime of South Africa as a faithful friend and accuse the national liberation movements recognized and supported by the international community of being terrorist organizations, at the same time attempting to distort the struggle of the valiant Namibian people under the guidance of SWAPO for self-determination and national independence by shamelessly depicting it as an ideological conflict between East and West.

165. That tactic clearly fits into the global strategy of imperialism, which is attempting to use the question of the liberation struggle and democracy as a pretext to interfere in the internal affairs of States, especially small States, and to pursue its policy of destabilization and subversion. Hence, we are now witnessing the feverish activities of imperialism, which is attempting to step up its political and military assistance to its colonialist, racist and reactionary protégés in southern Africa and elsewhere. As a result, the South African and Namibian peoples continue to be subjected to increasingly bloody, repressive measures and practices by the *apartheid* régime, which in spite of universal condemnation stubbornly persists in its illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia. The prospects of a peaceful settlement that will enable the Namibian people fully to exercise its right to self-determination in accordance with the United Na-

tions plan seem increasingly grim because of the refusal of the imperialists to adopt enforcement measures against the racist régime.

166. Although the situation in southern Africa receives special attention from the international community because of the explosive tension prevailing there, we must not lose sight of the state of the Micronesian and Puerto Rican peoples and the peoples of small Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Pacific, the Caribbean and other regions of the world. In this connection, my delegation wishes to reiterate its appeal to the administering Powers to fulfil their obligations under the Charter by guaranteeing the economic, social and cultural development of the Territories under their domination and creating the necessary political conditions to enable those peoples rapidly to accede to independence. Factors such as territorial size, geography, population statistics or lack of political maturity should not serve as pretexts to delay indefinitely the exercise by those peoples of their inalienable right to self-determination. Moreover, military bases, which are a genuine obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration, should be rapidly and completely dismantled, and there must be an immediate end to the policy of fragmentation pursued by certain administering Powers in Territories under their domination, in particular in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

167. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Special Committee, which, in spite of the many obstacles created by colonialism, racism and imperialism, has succeeded in leading millions of human beings from colonial domination to freedom. We appeal to the administering Powers and to the other States that continue to show reluctance with regard to the accession to independence of colonial peoples to join in the efforts of the Special Committee to guarantee rapid implementation of the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

168. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): One of the most historic actions of the General Assembly was the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a milestone in the field of decolonization. It has given greater meaning and purpose to the Charter of the United Nations.

169. My delegation wishes also to pay a tribute to the Special Committee. Under the able leadership of Mr. Abdullah, the Special Committee has continued to fulfil in a most admirable and dynamic manner its vital role as the United Nations arm for ensuring the implementation of the Declaration. It has remained dedicated to its mandate and has relentlessly provided an impetus for an accelerated decolonization process.

170. At this session of the General Assembly we have had the pleasure of admitting three new Members into the United Nations, namely, Belize, Vanuatu and Antigua and Barbuda. These new Member States, which I once again welcome on behalf of my delegation, are the latest addition to the ever-growing list of independent and sovereign States. We cannot but rejoice at this trend in favour of liberty, freedom and justice, which also brings the United Nations closer to the much cherished principle of universality of membership.

171. My delegation hopes that the day is not far off when the decolonization process will have been completed. There are millions of our fellow men and women

in this decade of the 1980's who still languish under colonial rule and also under racist minority and oppressive régimes. They yearn for liberty, freedom, justice and independence. These are the same rights and privileges as all our peoples represented in this Assembly enjoy. Some, indeed a significant number, of those people reside in the various small Territories in the Pacific and Caribbean regions, which have particular problems of territorial size, small populations and economic dependence on others. These problems should, none the less, not constitute an impediment to the enjoyment of their inalienable right to freedom and independence. Those people are entitled to self-determination and must be allowed to exercise their right thereto. It is the duty of the colonial Powers and the United Nations to do everything possible to assist them in the search for solutions. This is particularly important with regard to the imperative need to make their economies viable in order to enable them to support themselves after independence. Visiting missions from the Special Committee have served a useful purpose; they should be continued.

172. There are, of course, other areas, such as the Western Sahara, where the right to self-determination must be exercised in accordance with the letter and spirit of resolution 1514 (XV). The United Nations should remain a reliable ally of the people of Western Sahara in their just struggle for genuine self-determination.

173. The problem of colonialism and racist minority rule is most glaring and disturbing in southern Africa. *Apartheid*, that doctrine of white racist supremacy, is ruthlessly practised in South Africa and Namibia. The Pretoria régime has persistently refused to abolish *apartheid* and to share political power with the oppressed black majority in South Africa. It has robbed them of their land and exploited them as a source of cheap labour. The black people toil for the further enrichment of the white community, while they languish in conditions of abject poverty and misery.

174. South Africa persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia and has virtually annexed the Territory as one of its so-called bantustans. So far, South Africa has frustrated all attempts to bring about an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia. Obviously, the pressure on South Africa must be maintained until it withdraws from Namibia. Similarly, the pressure must be maintained until the scourge of *apartheid*, which enslaves the majority of the people of that country, is eradicated. All in all, the United Nations should remain steadfast in its support for the cause of freedom and independence.

175. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): Looking back over the 21 years since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, my delegation, and indeed the entire international community, can justly take pride in the efforts expended in ridding the greater part of humanity of the miseries of colonial oppression and alien domination. It is therefore with great pride that we welcome to our midst the newly independent States of Vanuatu, Belize and Antigua and Barbuda. Their presence is eloquent testimony to the continued commitment of the United Nations to the ideals of freedom and independence.

176. Content as we are with our hard-won achievements, we should not, however, lose sight of what still lies ahead of us. The United Nations and the international community as a whole are still faced with the pressing

problem of the decolonization of Namibia, as well as other, so-called small, Territories which have yet to exercise their right to self-determination.

177. In Namibia today, people continue to suffer the atrocities of *apartheid* and to languish under the colonial oppression perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa. Years after the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, and after the International Court of Justice determined in no uncertain terms that that country's presence in the Territory was illegal, South Africa shows no sign of relinquishing its colonial grip. On the contrary, a scheme both to entrench *apartheid* and to legalize colonialism in the Territory is evidently continuing. These manoeuvres not only hinder the realization by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence, but also facilitate the colonial designs of South Africa. The process of militarization of the Territory, including the establishment of the so-called territorial force, which is based on forced conscription of Namibian youth, is but a process to perpetuate the South African illegal occupation of the Territory.

178. In addition, South Africa has embarked on a deliberate policy of propping up the so-called internal parties and giving them the semblance of legitimacy. My delegation shall continue to deplore vigorously all such evil designs. We still maintain that South Africa is in Namibia illegally and that the United Nations has direct responsibility over the Territory. Accordingly, we firmly reject any attempts to minimize the role of the United Nations in the decolonization of Namibia.

179. The continued illegal occupation by South Africa of Namibia demonstrates persistent scorn for humanity and is an enduring challenge to the international community. The acts of State terrorism and armed aggression unleashed by South Africa against the neighbouring front-line States continue to be a matter of great concern to my country. The use of Namibian territory as a springboard for the most blatant armed aggression against Angola must, as a matter of priority, continue to preoccupy the Organization. In standing firm in defence of the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, this Assembly must continue to call for the total withdrawal of South Africa from that Territory. Equally, the international community must continue to render all necessary support and assistance to SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, so as to ensure the speedy liberation of the Territory.

180. It is a matter of regret that, despite the global consensus against the obnoxious policies of *apartheid* in South Africa, we are reminded almost on a daily basis of the evil nature of that régime by the brutality with which it responds to the demands for freedom by the Namibian people. It is equally regrettable that South Africa continues to demonstrate each intransigence with the active support and understanding of some Western countries. The experiences at Geneva during the pre-implementation meeting in January this year and the subsequent attempts by the international community to contribute to the speedy independence of Namibia serve to underline the root cause of South African arrogance. As we have had occasion to state in the past, we continue to call for the imposition of economic sanctions against that régime under Chapter VII of the Charter.

181. Amid this dismal state of affairs, we have nevertheless demonstrated a spirit of co-operation with regard

to the recent initiative of the contact group to find a negotiated settlement to the problem. We have, however, made it abundantly clear that, should those avenues be blocked, we shall have no alternative but to continue to support the armed struggle.

182. Thus, bearing in mind the importance the international community attaches to the problem of Namibia and the spirit of co-operation with which we have all worked to ensure that the people of Namibia exercise their right to self-determination and independence, my delegation sincerely hopes that these initiatives will bear fruit and that an early solution to the problem of Namibia will be arrived at.

183. With respect to the other dependent Territories, I would like to reaffirm our position that the question of territorial size, geography and resources should in no way be an obstacle to the granting of independence to those small Territories. The right to self-determination is applicable to all. In other words, the inhabitants of all Territories have the right to determine their destiny freely, in conformity with the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration. To this end, we call on the administering Powers concerned to co-operate with the Special Committee to ensure that appropriate recommendations are made. It is evident from the record of the Special Committee thus far that it has always aimed at consensus decisions on matters of direct interest to the people concerned.

184. I should like to join previous speakers in congratulating the Special Committee on its commendable work under the untiring and outstanding leadership of Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago. My delegation reiterates its support for the proposals and recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee and reaffirms my Government's commitment to the total eradication of colonialism, *apartheid* and racism.

185. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has been quite rightly called the Magna Carta of decolonization. Since its establishment, the Special Committee has done commendable work for the freedom and independence of a great many countries and peoples. The work of decolonization is, of course, far from over, as we can see from the continuance of the anti-colonialist struggle in Namibia, in Western Sahara and in Puerto Rico, among other territories.

186. As it does every year, the report of the Special Committee contains a decision specifically relating to the Latin American people of Puerto Rico. Every year, the representative of the United States of America renews before the General Assembly his opposition to consideration by the Special Committee of the colonial situation of Puerto Rico. He alleges, on the one hand, that the General Assembly, by its resolution 748 (VIII) of 27 November 1953, has already recognized that the people of Puerto Rico have exercised their right to self-determination and that Puerto Rico has therefore been removed from the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. On the other hand, he alleges that the Committee violates Article 2 of the Charter when it considers this case, since in so doing it is intervening in the purely domestic affairs of the United States. It is quite true that Puerto Rico ceased to figure on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories in 1953. Nevertheless, that was solely the result of the automatic majority which the United States Government at that time enjoyed in the General Assembly—seven years

before the start of the decolonization process in Africa and other continents and before the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV). Despite this, a significant number of countries opposed or refrained from voting on that resolution.

187. The arguments used by North American colonialists are clearly fallacious, for the following reasons. First, the fact that Puerto Rico is no longer on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories does not and cannot legally prevent the Special Committee from considering its case, since the Committee's mandate empowers it to consider the situation of all those Territories to which the Declaration is applicable. Secondly, the assertion that the people of Puerto Rico has exercised its right to self-determination is historically false, as we shall see later on.

188. In the light of resolution 1514 (XV) itself, all the acts in the alleged exercise of the inalienable right to self-determination by the people of Puerto Rico are null and void because the administering Power did not previously transfer all powers to the people of the Territory so that it could exercise them freely, as operative paragraph 5 of the resolution requires. A brief summary of the facts will demonstrate our case.

189. Puerto Rico was occupied militarily by the United States in 1898 following the so-called Spanish-American War, when Spain ceded the Territory under the Treaty of Paris. On 12 April 1900, the United States Congress adopted the first "Organic Law" relating to Puerto Rico, behind the back and regardless of the Puerto Rican people, which at that time had no voice or vote in the United States Congress. Today, supposedly, it has a voice, but nevertheless it still has no vote. The Foraker Act of 1900 and the Jones Act of 1917, which governed the rights of Puerto Rico in the first decades of the century, affirmed the supremacy of the will of the United States President and Congress over that of the Legislative Assembly in the island. Furthermore, the Jones Act imposed United States citizenship upon the people of Puerto Rico, despite the express wishes of its Chamber of Delegates, which in a memorandum of 12 March 1914 addressed to the Yankee President and Congress stated unanimously:

"We firmly and completely maintain our opposition to the declaration, despite our express wishes and without our consent, of citizenship of any country other than that of our own beloved country, which God has granted to us as an inalienable and inviolable right".

190. In 1921, President Harding appointed Mr. E. Montgomery Reily Governor of Puerto Rico, who, when he took up his office, clearly showed his opposition to the desire for independence expressed at that time by the majority Unionist Party when he said, "If the majority of the people of Puerto Rico wants a change of Government, I would suggest that it calls for statehood and ceases to pursue a lost hope".

191. Halfway through the 1930s, all the Puerto Rican parties, with the exception of the minority so-called Socialist Party—which should not be confused in any fashion with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party of today—combined with Don Pedro Albizu Campos, the President of the Nationalist Party and the legitimate heir to the libertarian thinking of Hostos y Betances, and convened a constituent assembly to proclaim the Republic of Puerto Rico. Nevertheless, in June 1936, the United States District Court of San Juan ordered the arrest of Albizu Campos, and other leaders of the Nationalist Party, sentencing them to six years' imprisonment in Federal gaols

and thereby postponing indefinitely—until the moon turns blue—the convening of the constituent assembly.

192. After a suspicious journey to Washington in 1939—as was customary among the lackeys of the period in order to carry out the instructions of their Yankee masters—Mr. Luis Muñoz Marín founded in July 1940 the so-called Popular Democratic Party which, although it vaguely proclaimed its adherence to the ideals of independence, nevertheless advocated what is still called commonwealth status.

193. When, in January 1946, the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico adopted a law calling for a referendum whereby the people would express its preference for independence, statehood or Commonwealth status, that law was vetoed by Governor R. G. Tugwell. When the veto in the Assembly was overridden by a two-thirds majority, the law was abrogated once and for all by President Harry S. Truman, who argued that it would be unfair to permit the people of Puerto Rico to express its preference for one or other status that the United States Congress might not choose to grant it—I emphasize “that the United States Congress might not choose to grant it”. In other words, the Puerto Rican people could only freely determine what the United States Congress had previously decided for it.

194. Let us look at the famous referendum of 3 March 1952, which has already been mentioned here today and which the United States uses as the basis for stating that the Puerto Rican people has exercised its right to self-determination. That referendum called for the Puerto Rican people to express its approval or disapproval of the so-called Commonwealth Constitution of Puerto Rico. Out of a total 996,726 possible voters, 763,610 Puerto Rican adults were registered to participate in that referendum. Nevertheless, only 463,828—or 46.5 per cent of the total population of voting age—voted, 373,594 voted for the Constitution and 82,877 opposed it. In other words, according to official statistics, 81 per cent voted in favour, and 18 per cent voted against. But, if we look at the total number of potential voters in Puerto Rico—996,726 persons—the real results of the referendum are as follows: 37.5 per cent in favour, 8 per cent against and 53.5 per cent abstaining. This means that 53.5 per cent of the total electorate did not take part in the voting in that referendum.

195. I suppose that the representative of the United States will stress the great triumph of commonwealth status in that referendum. But, considering that in his country the President was elected by only 26 per cent of the voters, the percentage achieved by its colonial puppet in Puerto Rico must seem overwhelming.

196. In 1978, President Carter stated in his proclamation on the legal and political status of Puerto Rico that “any decision which the Puerto Rican people chooses to make—statehood, independence, commonwealth status or mutually agreed changes in status—will be up to the Puerto Rican people, in accordance with its peaceful democratic traditions”.

197. Be that as it may, article IV, section 3, of the Constitution of the United States grants the United States Congress sole authority to dispose of territory and other United States property. Pursuant to that clause, the terms of any specific proposal to alter the relationship with Puerto Rico must be subject to congressional approval. In other words, only the United States Congress has the power to decide the destiny of the people of Puerto

Rico—not the President of the United States, much less the people of Puerto Rico. If Puerto Rico really had, as United States representatives allege, the right to self-determination, the United States Congress would be unable to revoke the decisions of the people of Puerto Rico. If, however, the Congress is able to decide the future of Puerto Rico, as the United States Constitution clearly states, its people has no right freely to determine its own future.

198. The inevitable conclusion—and I do not think that anyone with any common sense can challenge it—is that the people of Puerto Rico has never had the sovereign right to decide its own future, because sovereignty has always been and continues to be exercised by the Congress of the United States of America. The present status of Puerto Rico is purely and simply colonial, and this has been stated even by the annexationist Governor, Romero Barceló—not “Barcela”, as the United States representative called him this morning [72nd meeting], which shows how well they know even their own puppets—who created a committee for decolonization.

199. Moreover, that is not proclaimed only by Mr. Romero Barceló, all the political parties in Puerto Rico and all its social and cultural institutions; this year the majority of the members of the Special Committee reaffirmed by 14 votes to none, with 10 abstentions, the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence, pursuant to resolution 1514 (XV) and the full force of that resolution with regard to Puerto Rico. In addition, by 16 votes to 2, with 6 abstentions, the Special Committee decided to keep the question of Puerto Rico under consideration. Incidentally, there were 11 votes in favour of the resolution as a whole, not 10; we were not credited with that eleventh vote.

200. Lastly, my delegation believes that it is not only relevant for the Special Committee to continue to consider the colonial case of Puerto Rico, but that that consideration is supported by the majority of the people of Puerto Rico. Furthermore, they want the question to be considered at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly as recommended in the draft resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 20 August 1981.

201. In this connection, I should like to refer briefly to the amendment [A/36/L.30], to this draft resolution circulated today by the United States. For the first time in the history of the work of the Special Committee a delegation is proposing an amendment to a draft resolution calling for the adoption of the report on a question already decided by a vote in the Special Committee. The amendment proposed by the United States creates a dangerous precedent for the future work of the Committee and indeed questions its right to take decisions and to make recommendations on questions within its clear terms of reference, as I am quite sure the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Abdullah, and all the other members will not have failed to notice. Therefore I state now the firm opposition of my delegation to this United States amendment.

202. I apologize for the length of my statement but I think it is well worth while for the Assembly really to learn about the question of Puerto Rico.

203. Mr. ADDABASHI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The adoption by the General Assembly in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was an

important stage in the struggle of peoples against colonialism and racism. Each year more countries become Members of this Organization, which confirms that the process of decolonization continues despite the many obstacles placed in its path.

204. My delegation welcomes the efforts that have been made and are still being made by the Special Committee. We support the Committee and we should like to pay a tribute to its Chairman, Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago.

205. Despite the sustained efforts made by the Special Committee in particular and the United Nations in general and despite the good results achieved in the field of decolonization, many people still suffer under the yoke of colonialism and racism, and still suffer from the denial of freedom, particularly in Namibia, South Africa and Palestine.

206. The implementation of the Declaration continues to encounter several obstacles which have slowed down the accession of several peoples to independence. Among those obstacles we could mention, first of all, the activities of foreign economic interests. The imperialist countries with economic interests in colonial Territories do not wish those Territories to accede to independence and do not wish the national régimes to achieve power in those Territories, for this would put an end to the plundering carried out by the transnational corporations and would be detrimental to the interests of those corporations. That is why they resort to every possible means to maintain their hold over those Territories. Even if they are not the ones that colonized the Territories, they enable other countries to maintain their domination over the Territories through the exchange of benefits. The result is that the colonial peoples must confront the forces of colonialism and the forces of the foreign economic interests in the Territories.

207. Secondly, military bases and installations and military activities of imperialist countries in the colonial Territories constitute a means of intimidating the peoples in those Territories and preventing them from expressing their aspirations to freedom and independence.

208. Thirdly, there are several examples of the abuse of the right of the veto in the Security Council, including the use of the veto by three Western countries during the discussion of the question of Namibia in the Security Council in the first half of this year.

209. The international community is facing a brutal challenge from the racist régime of South Africa, which is continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia despite all the resolutions of the United Nations and other international organizations. Not satisfied with continuing its occupation, it goes so far as to carry out a policy of aggression and provocation in Namibia and in southern Africa in general. In Namibia that régime is resorting to every means to impose a puppet régime on the Territory. It mobilizes citizens of Namibia by force, making them serve in the puppet government against their brothers, members of SWAPO, and against neighbouring African countries. The racist régime has not only stepped up its acts of aggression within Namibia; it has expanded its aggression against the front-line countries. Its aggression against Angola has become occupation of a part of Angolan territory.

210. The policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African régime in Namibia as well as within South Africa itself and the bolstering of its military and nuclear capacity, thanks to the assistance of the United States of America, the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine and several Western countries, are a threat to international peace and security. Furthermore, that encourages the racist régime of South Africa to delay the accession to independence of the people of Namibia. The imposition of mandatory economic sanctions by the Security Council is the only measure which can end that situation and allow the Namibian people to exercise its right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

211. As for the small Non-Self-Governing Territories, we are pleased to see that this year the General Assembly has confirmed that the size of a Territory, its geographical isolation, its limited natural resources or the size of its population should not delay the implementation of the Declaration or the exercise by the peoples of those Territories of their right to self-determination. In that respect, we support all the recommendations made by the Special Committee, including its decision to submit the question of Puerto Rico to the General Assembly at its next session.

212. We ask that the imperialist countries refrain from any manoeuvres which would create obstacles to the speediest possible implementation of the Declaration, which is applicable to all Territories under foreign domination. The role of the United Nations in eliminating colonialism is an important one and my delegation hopes that its efforts will culminate in success and that colonialism—this colonialism which represents the occupation of Territories and the domination of peoples, as well as the plundering of their wealth—will soon be eliminated so that the Organization may devote all of its energies to the elimination of neo-colonialism, which takes the shape of political hegemony and economic and cultural dependency imposed on the peoples of small countries. The United Nations could then adopt measures similar to those provided for in the Declaration, the purpose of which would be to liberate the peoples of the entire world from neo-colonialism, whose field is widening with the increase in the number of newly independent countries.

213. The successes gained by peoples fighting in many areas of the world confirm the inevitability of victory, the victory of the will of peoples, and the end of colonialism—however long it may last and whatever the oppression used against the subjugated peoples. The international community is in duty bound to increase its assistance and support to colonial peoples and to their national liberation movements, in order to eliminate colonialism once and for all. The United Nations must not be deceived by the methods used by some imperialist countries which, when they are compelled to withdraw from a Territory, intensify their manoeuvres under the slogan of "peaceful settlement" in a desperate attempt to undermine the genuine national liberation movements and to impose solutions which result in the accession to power of régimes which serve the interests of imperialism and depends on them entirely.

214. My country feels that its own freedom cannot be complete as long as some countries remain subjugated by imperialism. We support the struggle of these peoples, and we shall continue to do so by every means available to us, military or material, until all peoples on earth fi-

nally gain their independence and all their rights are restored.

215. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on agenda item 19. I shall now call on the representative of Egypt to speak on a point of order.

216. Mr. ZAKI (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Although Egypt is one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/36/L.20, my delegation would like to register its complete disagreement with the interpretation given by the Rapporteur of the Special Committee this morning [72nd meeting]—namely, that adoption of the Special Committee's report would mean adopting the recommendation contained in paragraph 87 of chapter I of the report, regarding discussion by the General Assembly of what it calls "the question of Puerto Rico" during the thirty-seventh session.

217. Operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution now before the Assembly does not contain any such recommendation. As members know, the General Assembly has very clearly defined rules of procedure for the inclusion of items on the agenda. Recommendations by the Rapporteur of the Special Committee are not part of the procedure as set out in rules 20 to 24 and such a practice would cause complex problems.

218. Furthermore, the recommendation in no way reflects the consensus reached by the members of the Special Committee. On the contrary, most of its members did not approve this recommendation. The Egyptian delegation does not accept the interpretation of the Rapporteur of the Special Committee. His interpretation is not in accordance with the formulation which is to be found in the draft resolution and is not in accordance with the policy of my country.

219. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States to introduce an amendment to the draft resolution contained in document A/36/L.20.

220. Mr. SHERMAN (United States of America): With the statement of the Rapporteur of the Special Committee concerning paragraph 87 of chapter I of its report, a new draft resolution was, in effect, put before the Assembly. The Rapporteur for all practical purposes introduced an unwritten amendment to the text of draft resolution A/36/L.20, namely, that the Assembly decides to inscribe a new item on its agenda for the thirty-seventh session. There appears to be considerable confusion as a result. We do not believe that the sponsors of that draft resolution really believe that the draft resolution says what it does not say. If they do, they should amend their text and put the issue honestly and squarely before the Assembly. My delegation sees no basis for the Rapporteur's contention that the General Assembly, despite its rules of procedure and its established practices, simply by approving the report of a subsidiary body, could commit itself to include a totally new and controversial item on its agenda.

221. My delegation has submitted an amendment in document A/36/L.30 to clear up this confusion. The amendment makes it perfectly clear that the Assembly, in approving the report of the Committee and its future programme of work, has taken no decision on the controversial recommendation in the Committee's decision on Puerto Rico. It does not attempt to do more than clarify this point and it in no way constitutes a derogation of the Committee's authority or responsibility.

222. The PRESIDENT: Members have heard the statement of the representative of the United States, who has just introduced an amendment. In accordance with rule 78 of the rules of procedure, the voting on draft resolution A/36/L.20 and the amendment thereto contained in document A/36/L.30, and on draft resolution A/36/L.21 will take place on the morning of Tuesday, 1 December. Therefore, statements in explanation of vote before the vote will be heard at that time.

223. I call on the representative of Sierra Leone, presumably on a point of order.

224. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): In view of what the representative of the United States has just said, it is the understanding of the sponsors that draft resolution A/36/L.20 and its possible adoption would not run counter to the rules of procedure.

225. The PRESIDENT: There remains one matter concerning the agenda item under consideration which I should like to bring to the Assembly's attention. Document A/36/626 contains the text of a letter addressed to the President of the General Assembly regarding the decision of the Government of Denmark to withdraw from membership in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as from 31 December 1981.

226. I should like to propose that Norway be nominated a member of the Special Committee, with effect from 1 January 1982, to fill the vacancy caused by the withdrawal of Denmark. May I take it that the General Assembly confirms that nomination?

It was so decided (decision 36/317).

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹ The delegations of Guinea-Bissau and Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution, and the delegation of Malawi subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in that vote.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year*, 2296th meeting.

³ *Ibid.*, 2277th meeting.