



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

### AGENDA ITEM 18

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

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

1. Mr. RAZANAKOTO (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): We do not intend to discuss once again the spirit that prevailed when the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] was drawn up. Its adoption, 22 years ago, was an important event in the application of one of the fundamental principles of the Organization—that of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples. It was an act dictated by the conscience of the international community. Even more important, by describing colonialism as a major obstacle to the achievement of the principal objective of the United Nations—the strengthening of peace and international security—the Declaration committed the Organization to a central, active role in the process of decolonization. Finally, the adoption of the Declaration was the beginning of an unequivocal commitment to the liberation movements by the United Nations itself. Therefore, it is with legitimate satisfaction that we note that over the past 22 years the international community has developed in a positive way, with the attainment of independence by more than two thirds of the present membership of the United Nations.

2. Recalling these important achievements gives us an opportunity to pay a tribute to the national liberation movements which have won independence through a heroic struggle and at the cost of great sacrifice.

3. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar, as a progressive, non-aligned country has always given its full support to the liberation movements struggling for freedom from foreign control, for it was itself born of such a struggle and it fully understands the value of freedom obtained at such cost. Our relations with the national liberation movements have always been very sound, firmly based and strong. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar has always given its political, moral and material assistance to the liberation movements.

4. In spite of the undeniable successes of the decolonization process, there are still peoples subject to colonial domination. Colonialism has not yet been entirely eliminated, and the forces that are trying to preserve it have not the least intention of yielding. Therefore, it is important that we should not rest content with past results. We must turn our attention to the problems that remain.

5. This debate is taking place because vestiges of colonialism remain in various parts of the world. The Declaration remains meaningless for a number of peoples and countries which are still fighting for their right to self-determination and independence. South Africa continues to be the bastion of colonialism and *apartheid* on the African continent. Notwithstanding the many United Nations resolutions and decisions and the demands of the international community, the Pretoria régime persists in its criminal policy of *apartheid*, oppression and cruel repression of the indigenous inhabitants of the country and systematically carries out acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent States.

6. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar, like the vast majority of other countries, is convinced that the only way to force the racists in Pretoria to end their criminal policy and respect the decisions of the United Nations would be for the Security Council immediately to adopt binding, mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

7. The problem of Namibia rightly remains one of our primary concerns. The forces of colonialism, racism and foreign economic interests are exerting pressure and engaging in manipulations of all kinds to delay and turn to their own profit the political and economic emancipation of the Namibian people. The racist régime continues to rely on its strength and that of its allies to maintain the *status quo* of its illegal occupation of the Territory, to strengthen its strategic positions and to impose its ideology on the region.

8. The implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has been blocked by the introduction of a foreign element into the decolonization process in Namibia. In this regard we support the decisions of the heads of State of the front-line States, who said in a communiqué issued on 4 September last at the end of their meeting at Lusaka:

“A new element has been introduced... which attempts to link the negotiations for the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. In this connection, the summit unequivocally emphasized the importance of separating the decolonization process in Namibia with the existence of Cuban troops in Angola. The insistence on taking this issue is against the

letter and spirit of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and can only impede the process of negotiations. Such an insistence also constitutes an interference in the internal affairs of Angola.”

9. We endorse the position of the non-aligned countries that the United Nations has primary responsibility for resolving the Namibian question for the speedy transition of the Territory to independence. Should this transition prove too slow, we believe that the Organization must assume its responsibilities and declare the independence of Namibia, with all the consequences that may entail.

10. While the search for a peaceful settlement of the problem of Namibia is a major concern of the Assembly and, indeed, of the international community as a whole, we must not forget that there remain about 20 small Territories whose peoples still await the implementation of the Declaration.

11. Our position with regard to the situation in Western Sahara was set forth when the question was considered 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. We shall not return to the subject now, except to reaffirm that the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic as the fifty-first member of the Organization of African Unity is an important step in the struggle of the Sahraoui people. The definitive solution of the question of Western Sahara depends essentially on the beginning and the success of negotiations between the parties concerned, Morocco and POLISARIO.<sup>1</sup>

12. With regard to the other small Territories, we wish to repeat once again that special factors such as size, geographic location, population or limited natural resources must not be allowed in any way to prevent or delay the full application of resolution 1514 (XV). As we have stated, the results already achieved, important though they may be, in no way diminish our common responsibility in this matter, for the requirements of a more just and democratic new international order have increased and deepened this responsibility and compel us to persevere until equality among all men and all nations has become a living, irreversible reality. In our opinion, the United Nations must reaffirm its authority and insist on the strict and full implementation of its resolutions. It must on no account permit any watering-down of the principles of the Declaration or any diversion from its goals. Faithfulness to our principles and our recognition of the struggle of colonial countries and peoples demand that the Organization move more resolutely forward in the process already begun on the international level of the elimination of colonialism.

13. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its deep gratitude to the Special Committee which throughout the year has mobilized international support for the legitimate aspirations of colonial peoples. We wish in particular to express to its Chairman, Mr. Abdulah, our great appreciation of the competence, selflessness, conscientiousness and devotion with which he has carried out his task.

14. Mr. KALINA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Although we are witnessing the concluding stages of the process of the elimination of

the colonial system, colonialism continues to exist in different forms and manifestations and constitutes a source of tension and conflict. Imperialist forces are doing their utmost to perpetuate their colonial domination, which in one way or another suits their political, economic and strategic interests. More than 20 million Africans in southern Africa are still subjected to ruthless racial discrimination and exploitation. Quite a number of islands, primarily in the Caribbean and the Pacific, remain under colonial domination. Today, in one form or another, a total of approximately 0.3 per cent of the world's population is still subject to colonial oppression, as is almost 1 per cent of its territory. These dark patches on the political map of the world confirm the idea that the fundamental provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted 22 years ago on the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, continue to be as valid as ever. The indisputable progress achieved within the framework of the process of decolonization should not be allowed to satisfy us fully, because the ultimate goal of the Declaration still remains unimplemented.

15. The Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which was adopted two years ago [*resolution 35/118, annex*], gives more precise and concrete form to the task of the United Nations in taking forthwith all necessary measures for the speedy elimination of the last remaining vestiges of colonialism.

16. It is typical of the situation today that the smaller the number of Territories and peoples to which the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) are applicable becomes, the more grimly do the former colonial Powers and their allies cling to the vestiges of their territories, so as to strengthen and expand their positions, plunder the national resources and use these Territories for various kinds of military activity.

17. In attempting to equate the national liberation struggle of the peoples with international terrorism and in declaring various parts of the world spheres of their vital interests, the most aggressive forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism have shown us what the ultimate goal of their policy is. Their overt or covert manoeuvres are designed to consolidate, in defiance of the Declaration, the *status quo* and to prevent colonial and dependent peoples from implementing their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. It would be simply a negation of the progress made by the United Nations in the field of decolonization were such a situation allowed to persist because of the indifference of the international community.

18. A hotbed of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* still remains in southern Africa. The Pretoria régime, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Organization's resolutions and the fundamental norms of international law, maintains its criminal system of *apartheid* in South Africa itself and continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. Of course, Pretoria would not be able to pursue its *apartheid* policy, which has been condemned by the whole international community and which is a crime against humanity, were it not for the comprehensive

support of imperialist forces. It is precisely the interests of Western monopolies and the comprehensive co-operation of certain Western States in the political, economic, military and diplomatic fields that underlie the very existence of the *apartheid* régime and the illegal occupation of Namibia. These circles are directly promoting the deterioration of the situation in southern Africa, and this constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. In playing the role of the policeman in southern Africa, the Pretoria régime is successfully exploiting its strategic co-operation with its protectors. In persisting in its illegal occupation of Namibia, South Africa has turned that country's territory into a springboard for aggression against independent African States, in particular against Angola.

19. It is easy now to see who is putting a brake on the attainment by Namibia of its independence, and why. More than four years have elapsed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), but we still hear talk about restraint, so as to leave room for all kinds of procrastination and delaying tactics, thus ensuring a neo-colonialist solution of the problem of Namibia. This is also the goal of the recent attempt by South Africa and the United States to link the presence of Cuban troop detachments to the question of the independence of Namibia. Such a link, without any doubt, is a basic obstacle to any settlement, and we are of the firm conviction that the question of the presence of Cuban forces in Angola is a subject for bilateral agreement between two sovereign States, Angola and Cuba, and is in no way connected with the illegal occupation of Namibia by a foreign State, South Africa. The road to the solution of the Namibian problem is a clear one; it has been laid down by Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and confirmed by the General Assembly at its special session on Namibia. Any attempts to stray beyond the framework of this settlement are doomed to failure. In our view, we must ensure the isolation of the *apartheid* régime in international life by consistently implementing United Nations decisions on the cessation of all ties with South Africa and by the application against it of effective sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

20. The efforts which have been consistently directed towards achieving recognition of the lawful right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must also apply fully to the so-called small Territories, which constitute the remnants of the former colonial domination of imperialism. No reference to the insignificant size of these Territories, their tiny populations or their low level of economic and social development can possibly justify any delay in granting them independence. Although the economic factor remains and plays a very important part in these territories, the most conspicuous feature is the military factor. The preservation and expansion of the network of military bases and facilities in these territories create one of the most serious obstacles to the full implementation of the Declaration. There can be no doubt that such a practice is entirely in keeping with the plans of the United States for rapid deployment forces.

21. Particular concern has been caused by the policy of the illegal dismemberment of Micronesia that is being pursued by the Administering Authority in violation of the obligations assumed under its trusteeship and in disregard of the Security Council. The military activities of the United States in Micronesia clearly point to the intention of the Administering Authority to preserve and tighten its control over a vast area of the Pacific Ocean and to strengthen its military and strategic position in this part of the world.

22. Increasing concern has been caused among the world community also by the presence of military bases and facilities and the carrying out of military activities on Guam, Bermuda, Puerto Rico and the Turks and Caicos Islands—and now too, in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). The Special Committee and the Fourth Committee have at this session achieved some very positive results in this area. In recommending to the General Assembly for adoption a draft decision on the military activities and measures being carried out by the colonial Powers in Territories under their administration [see A/37/624, para. 11], the Fourth Committee reconfirmed that this kind of activity is detrimental to the interests and rights of the colonial peoples in question, in particular their right to self-determination and independence. In this draft decision the colonial Powers are called upon to cease such activities and to eliminate such military bases in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and in particular paragraph 9 of the Plan of Action annexed to resolution 35/118.

23. The Czechoslovak delegation appreciates highly the work done by the Special Committee this year. The Committee succeeded in producing a number of positive results, which are a legitimate reflection of the active and constructive efforts of most of its members as well as of its new working procedures this year. Whether it be the question of Namibia, the question of economic or military activities, the question of Micronesia, the question of the dissemination of information on decolonization or the mobilization of world public opinion in support of decolonization, the Committee has, in our view, taken a step forward in its work. The Czechoslovak delegation has a high opinion of the contribution made to the work of the Committee by its Chairman, the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Frank Abdulah, to whom we shall shortly be saying farewell. We would like from this rostrum to thank him for the work he has done and to wish him new success in his future responsible tasks. Our delegation would also like to express its gratitude to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Djermakoye, who is now concluding his many years of work in the United Nations and his many years of work in the field of decolonization. We wish him every success.

24. The current situation in southern Africa and in a number of small colonial Territories demonstrates that there still exists a number of obstacles to the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Therefore we attach particular importance to seeing that all anti-colonialist forces mobilize support for the national liberation struggle and the efforts to eliminate all the remaining vestiges of colonialism. Czechoslovakia also, as a member of the Special Committee,



is for its part ready to continue to take an active part in the performance of this collective task of all the Members of the United Nations.

25. Mr. ENKHSAIKHAN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Twenty-two years ago, at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, a document of historic importance was adopted, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. With the solemn adoption of that document the United Nations placed on the agenda the solution to one of the most important problems of the day—the total elimination of the colonial system of imperialism. The Declaration proclaimed the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of colonial Territories for their national liberation and called upon all States to afford material and moral support in that struggle. In this way the national liberation movement of the peoples entered a qualitatively new stage and achieved historic successes. In the year of the adoption of that historic Declaration, 18 colonies in Africa attained their independence, and in the course of the next two decades hundreds of millions of people threw off the colonial yoke and more than 60 countries attained their independence.

26. However, today colonialism has still not been entirely eliminated in all its forms and manifestations. According to the list of the Special Committee, about 20 Territories in Africa, Latin America and the Pacific region remain in a state of colonial dependence.

27. The situation in the south of Africa has aroused particular concern. Today more than 20 million indigenous inhabitants of South Africa are being subjected, in their native land, to the inhuman policy of *apartheid*, which is a crime against humanity. In spite of the many decisions of the United Nations, South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, ruthlessly plundering the natural resources and barbarously exploiting the human resources of that Territory. Furthermore, the racist régime in South Africa is committing barbarous acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States. In order to perpetuate their domination in South Africa and Namibia, and in order to carry out their aggressive designs against African countries, the racist authorities are building up their military and nuclear potential, thus creating a dangerous source of tension both in southern Africa and throughout the world. On the basis of their political, strategic and economic interests, the imperialist Powers, first and foremost the United States, are not only conniving with the racist régime in Pretoria but also providing it with every possible support in strengthening its military and economic potential and are assisting the racist régime in preserving a state of colonial subjugation in Namibia, which it illegally occupies.

28. The latest example is the decision of IMF, which is dominated by a handful of imperialist Powers, to grant to South Africa a loan of more than 1 billion dollars. According to the report on IMF relations with South Africa, in the past South African drawings from IMF “helped to pay increases in South African defense expenditures” [*see A/37/568, annex*].

29. The IMF decision to grant a huge loan to South Africa, adopted despite warnings and the request of the United Nations General Assembly not to do so,

is leading to the strengthening of the economy of the *apartheid* régime and lessening its vulnerability to international economic sanctions, and in that way it is in practice promoting the perpetuation of this inhuman régime. As is most clearly indicated in the report, these funds will also be used for further strengthening the military machine of South Africa, which is being used to suppress the indigenous population, to extend the colonial dependence of Namibia and its indigenous population and to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

30. In order to preserve the racist system in the changing circumstances, South Africa has been forced to have recourse to various manoeuvres, including so-called constitutional reforms. However, everyone understands that the essence of these so-called reforms consists in the attempt to expand the social basis of *apartheid* and in the future to strengthen the existing order. In an attempt to perpetuate their domination of Namibia the South African authorities resort to neo-colonialist tricks. Thus, in defiance of numerous decisions of the United Nations, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978), South Africa has gone so far as to put into effect a so-called internal settlement, the essence of which would be to prevent at any price the achievement by the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] of political power in Namibia. The mediation of the so-called contact group has not only failed to bring closer any political settlement but actually has delayed and made more difficult a solution to this problem.

31. In order to curb the process leading to the independence of Namibia, the United States and South Africa have been attempting to link the solution to this problem with the withdrawal from Angola of Cuban troops, which are in that country at the request of the Angolan Government. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic rejects this unsavoury manoeuvre as crude intervention in the internal affairs of the sovereign State of Angola. The Mongolian People's Republic, faithful to the provisions of the historic Declaration, has consistently supported the just struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa against colonialist and racist oppression. The Government and people of Mongolia have resolutely condemned, and continue to condemn, the criminal activities of the racists and the intrigues of the imperialist Powers. We whole-heartedly support the demands of the overwhelming majority of delegations for the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

32. The declaration should be made fully applicable to all other Territories that still retain the status of colonies or semi-colonies. On the basis of their selfish interests and goals, the imperialist Powers are doing everything they can to resist total self-determination for the Non-Self-Governing Territories. For example, the United States, which under the Charter has assumed international obligations towards Micronesia, is using that Mandate for the administration of the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall Islands in its own military and strategic interests, imposing upon those Islands various kinds of status. “free association”, “political union” and other forms of what in practice amounts to annexation.

33. Elsewhere, in the Caribbean region, the United States has turned Puerto Rico—which it annexed in 1898—into an outpost of aggression in the Caribbean and Central America. Today, Puerto Rico has a special place in the plans of the United States Administration with regard to exercising control over the Caribbean. As far as the economic and social situation of the Puerto Ricans is concerned, every third inhabitant suffers from unemployment, and 60 per cent of the people live below the official poverty line.

34. Recent events in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) once again most strikingly illustrate the dangerous consequences that could ensue from the preservation of colonial possessions and Territories.

35. The Mongolian People's Republic remains on the side of all peoples waging a just struggle for the ultimate elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations—the struggle to overcome the consequences of colonialism, consolidate independence and ensure economic and social progress in the liberated States.

36. In conclusion, I take this opportunity to assure the Assembly once again that the Mongolian People's Republic will always continue to promote the policy of implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

37. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Both the report of the Secretary-General [A/37/570/Rev.2 and Corr.1] and the statements made during the general debate confirm that this is a particularly serious time in the history of post-Second World War international relations. While many do not hesitate to compare the present world economic crisis with that of the thirties and note with alarm a possible repetition of its dire consequences, others hasten to stress, with unassailable logic, that if history were to repeat itself we would now be facing a qualitatively new fact: the probable destruction of mankind.

38. Without sharing their extreme pessimism, one must acknowledge that, today as then, the resurgence of a certain obsolete irrationalism and the senseless desire of certain reactionary and imperialist circles to turn back the clock of history have placed the world in one of the most dangerous situations it has ever faced in the past few decades. To that must be added the aggravation of the situation in the Middle East, with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the unspeakable massacre of Palestinian civilians in Shatila, Sabra and elsewhere in the country; the acts of aggression of racist South Africa against Mozambique and Zambia and against Angola, part of whose territory remains under occupation; the repeated attacks against other front-line States and the attempts to destabilize their Governments; the serious events in the South Atlantic and attempts to maintain colonial domination over the Malvinas Islands of the Argentine Republic; the manoeuvres against the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua, using neighbouring Honduras as a staging area for the daily acts of aggression perpetrated by mercenary bands of one-time followers of Somoza in the pay of Yankee imperialism; as well as the growing threats of intervention in Central America aimed at thwarting and drowning in blood the necessary, just and inevitable process of economic and social trans-

formation undertaken by its peoples, not to mention the persistence of hostile and aggressive policies against Cuba and Grenada.

39. Meanwhile, the decolonization process has ground to a halt since our meeting here a year ago to welcome Antigua and Barbuda, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Belize to United Nations membership. A new pall has been cast over the Organization's efforts to bring about the independence of Namibia, despite the fact that the talks in New York between the front-line States and SWAPO, on the one hand, and the five Western countries of the so-called contact group, on the other, clearly pointed the way to a speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and of the United Nations plan for the independence of that Territory.

40. It is obvious today that the only obstacle to the completion of that process is the agreement between the United States Government and its allies, the Pretoria racists, to impose as a condition for Namibian independence the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola. That condition—repeated just yesterday in Kenya by the Vice-President of the United States, George Bush—is not only intolerable interference in the internal affairs of two independent and sovereign States, which has been rejected by them, by the front-line States and by all of Africa, as was appropriately conveyed to the Yankee envoy by President Arap Moi, but is also a new ploy to prevent the genuine independence of Namibia and make it possible for the United States' South African allies to impose an "internal solution" in keeping with its interests and contrary to the will of the Namibian people and its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, and the desires of the international community.

41. The former head of the shady CIA, the Central Intelligence Agency, and his Government must realize once and for all that their policy of blackmail and imposition is doomed; that the Governments of Africa and the entire world are demanding the speedy, genuine and effective independence of Namibia; and that until that is achieved those of us who are true advocates of freedom, independence and sovereignty for peoples will continue to accord the necessary solidarity and support to the Namibian patriots and their national liberation movement, SWAPO.

42. The survival of the abominable system of *apartheid* in South Africa is also a real threat to the sovereignty and independence of the States of southern Africa, as well as to peace and security in the region. Its eradication is closely linked to the possibility that one day that part of the world may become a stable, prosperous region, free of the scourge of war, aggression and imperialist penetration.

43. In this connection, it is imperative that the United Nations be able to implement its resolutions aimed at stopping foreign economic and financial interests from supporting the Pretoria régime. The number of monopolies and transnational corporations that make funds available to the South African racists, far from decreasing, increased from 1,883 companies in 1978 to 3,035 in 1981, with 80 per cent of the investments being made by five Western countries including, first and foremost, the United States and the United



Kingdom. Imperialist collaboration with the Pretoria racists, in addition to being in line with strategic concepts of domination over the African continent, is, of course, closely related to the exploitation of the rich mineral deposits in Namibia, the systematic plundering of which has yielded vast profits to these transnational corporations.

44. From this base collaboration with the racist régime of Pretoria came the decision of IMF, an institution controlled precisely by Herr Botha's closest allies, to lend Pretoria over \$1 billion in flagrant disregard of the General Assembly resolution in this respect, which was adopted—and this is significant—with only the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany voting against it [resolution 37/2]. That is why it is relevant, even essential, that effective sanctions be applied against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, to bring about its international isolation and to destroy once and for all the foundations of its despicable system of racist oppression.

45. As a Latin American and a sponsor of General Assembly resolution 37/9 on the question of the Malvinas Islands, I must refer on this occasion to the recent conflict between the United Kingdom and the Argentine Republic, with its dramatic toll in loss of life and property. We wish to reaffirm our unwavering support for Argentina's sovereign and inalienable rights over this indivisible part of its territory. In keeping with the General Assembly resolution, we urge the parties to resume negotiations which, with the good offices of the Secretary-General, should lead as early as possible to the elimination of an unacceptable colonial presence on our continent.

46. Although the questions of Namibia, East Timor, Western Sahara, the Malvinas Islands and the activities of foreign economic interests obstructing the normal development of peoples towards independence are undeniable priorities on the decolonization agenda, it is no less important to stress the need for swift implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in relation to the other colonial Territories in Asia, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean and to denounce the intensification of military activities by the colonial Powers in certain Territories, especially in Micronesia, Guam, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the United States Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico, which are obstacles to their self-determination and independence and threats to international peace and security.

47. In the particular case of Puerto Rico, a Latin American country under United States occupation since 1898 and today allegedly "freely associated" with that country, I should like to reiterate the historic commitment of the Revolutionary Government and people of Cuba to defend the right of our Puerto Rican brothers to self-determination and independence, in keeping with the ideals of our founders.

48. Let no one be deceived. While the colonial case of Puerto Rico cannot be debated openly in this forum because of the threats and pressure of those who wish to culminate their colonial plundering by annexation, the authentic voice of the Puerto Rican people will never be silenced, nor can they ever be wrested from our America, where they rightly belong.

49. There have been immature men in our lands, like those coming now, who, trotting behind their foreign masters, have acted with the servility of lackeys. They have not lasted long because they have not been bred from the same stock as our peoples, a breed of liberators. Only the people—the genuine people of Puerto Rico, who do not speak in terms of "yes" and "well" or of "USA", but of Bolívar, Martí, Betances, Hostos and Albizu Campos—can decide on their future. In their century-long struggle for freedom and to preserve their heritage and their Latin American roots, the Puerto Rican people will always enjoy the encouragement, support and solidarity of the Cubans.

50. The Special Committee has done good work during the year now drawing to a close. That is clear from the report presented to the General Assembly for consideration [A/37/23/Rev.1] and the resolutions adopted during the course of its work and those adopted by the Fourth Committee at the behest of the Special Committee.

51. I should like to express our appreciation to the Committee for its work and in particular to its Chairman, Mr. Frank Abdulah, the Permanent Representative of our brother country, Trinidad and Tobago. Mr. Abdulah, who will be leaving us soon to take up other diplomatic functions, has been a worthy successor to Salim Ahmed Salim at the head of the Special Committee. He is a man of great human qualities and a staunch defender of the anti-colonialist ideals at the basis of the Organization, and he led our work without once deviating from its principles, always exercising good judgement and a sense of balance in the interests of achieving the best results in the cause of decolonization. As we pay tribute to him, we assure him that we shall continue our modest efforts to ensure that the Special Committee will carry out its historic mission, as indeed it has done thus far.

52. I should like to say a few words now as Chairman of the Fourth Committee.

53. We concluded our work on 16 November after 24 working meetings. Altogether, 127 delegations took part in the general debate, 50 on item 98 and 77 on the remaining items, and we heard 18 petitioners. The Committee adopted 10 draft decisions and 15 draft resolutions, which the General Assembly will have to consider. We hope that, as in past years, it will reaffirm and ratify our resolutions and decisions.

54. I should like to express our appreciation in this forum of the ability, dedication and efficiency of the members of the Secretariat, especially to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Issoufou Djermakoye, the head of the Department, Mr. Najmudine Rifai, the Committee Secretary, and Mr. Thomas Tanaka and all his associates, without whose assistance we would not have been able to complete our work successfully.

55. Despite all the obstacles, manoeuvres, pressures and desires of the imperialist and colonialist Powers, the era of colonial domination is drawing to a close. The radiant dawn of man's freedom is inevitable in the collapse of the injustice, exploitation and oppression of the world which is coming to an end.

56. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We are happy to note that colonialism is beating a retreat, after most of the peo-

ples of Africa, Asia and Latin America have rid themselves of foreign colonial occupation. That victory was won thanks to the struggle of those peoples against exploiters from the West who came with misleading slogans to exploit the third world countries, to plunder their resources and to divide their countries. They exerted their domination in order to transform those countries into zones of influence and to enable them to obtain raw materials and labour at low prices, transforming those countries into exclusive markets for their manufactured goods. The result was the impoverishment of those peoples.

57. The economic and social under-development from which the developing countries suffer are the result of the exploitation practiced by the colonialist countries through their monopolies and their greedy corporations. Those countries have spoken of the white man's mission and under that slogan have subjugated the black man, especially in Africa, the yellow man in Asia and many others of different colours in several continents. The colonialist countries have made war on a world scale, resulting in millions of victims in Europe, in a competitive battle to control the destiny of others and to impose their hegemony and exploitation. Thus Europe progressed while our advance was retarded. They plundered our heritage and have even denied the existence of any civilization outside the European continent.

58. Today we see that colonialism in new forms is attempting to return to our countries, particularly through economic domination and military bases. Furthermore, millions of human beings in the third world are suffering from hunger, disease and ignorance, although their countries are rich and could have achieved rapid development had not neo-colonialism deprived them of the most elementary means and essential aid necessary for their development.

59. The process of decolonization has entered an advanced stage, and credit for that must go to the efforts undertaken by our own countries through the United Nations, which has kept abreast of the struggle of the popular liberation movements, which are the vanguard of the armed struggle. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has certainly played a fundamental role in heightening public awareness and co-ordinating international efforts, and today the peoples which have recently become independent believe that the United Nations is the ideal organization for international co-operation and common action for the achievement of the aspirations of the peoples. That is what upsets some Western countries, headed by the United States, which miss no opportunity to cast doubt on the ability of the Organization and to wage a psychological war against it in an attempt to restrict liberty, especially freedom of speech within the Organization. There are many flagrant examples of that but we do not have time to deal with them now.

60. In spite of the achievements of the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration, we regret to note that more than 4 million people in more than 20 countries are still deprived of autonomy and independence in their homeland. Four million Palestinians are still denied self-determination in their own land.

More than 20 million Africans in South Africa and Namibia remain subject to all kinds of discrimination, persecution, military occupation and racism; they live in their own country in oppression and humiliation. That part of the world remains the nucleus of traditional colonialism in its worst form.

61. Some of the small Territories which do not yet enjoy autonomy remain dependent on colonial régimes. They are used by the imperialist countries for military purposes through the establishment of military bases to safeguard the strategic and military interests of those colonialist and imperialist countries. The colonialist countries, in particular the United States, spare no effort to delay the decolonization of those Territories in order to preserve their military interests there in various forms and under various names such as "free participation" and "political union", which in practice are nothing but devices to perpetuate colonialist domination and legitimize the annexation process.

62. Among these entities is Puerto Rico. A quick look at the nature of the relations between Puerto Rico and the United States clearly confirms the following facts, which we mentioned last year. First, the United States occupied Puerto Rico by force of arms in 1898. Secondly, the colonial political situation was imposed on the Puerto Rican people by force of arms, and of course it goes without saying that colonialism *per se* is a denial of the rights of peoples to dignity, freedom and self-determination. Thirdly, all the treaties which bind Puerto Rico were imposed on it by the United States. Puerto Ricans have been forced to join the United States armed forces and to participate in wars which do not concern them and which bring them no benefit. Fourthly, the United States has exploited the territory of Puerto Rico for military purposes, establishing bases and carrying out weapon tests, particularly on the island of Vieques, where the environment has been endangered and people's lives threatened by those tests. Fifthly, it has been reported that the United States Government is stockpiling nuclear weapons on that island; it is a matter of concern that there is no way of verifying such reports. Sixthly, the United States has subjected the people of Puerto Rico to foreign domination and economic exploitation and has created an economy in the island which does not serve Puerto Rico's needs. Seventh, the United States has attempted to destroy the culture and identity of the Puerto Rican people and to turn it away from its mother tongue. I feel obliged here to express our great respect and admiration for that people, which remains attached to its national identity, its culture, its civilization and its language in spite of all the attempts and pressures to which it has been submitted. Eighth, United States nationality has been imposed on the people of Puerto Rico in spite of its determination to reject it. Ninth, without going into the legal and constitutional situation in Puerto Rico in detail, we cannot disregard one fact: the United States Congress alone can decide on the destiny of the people of Puerto Rico, which cannot determine its own future on the basis of sovereignty and can only ratify what is decided for it by the United States Congress. Tenth, the inevitable result of all this is that the constitutional situation in the island of Puerto Rico is colonial in the fullest sense of the word. The



colonial nature of the situation imposed on that island has been recognized and confirmed by the most senior officials in the United States Administration.

63. While the General Assembly is not in a position this year to consider the question of Puerto Rico, many countries, including my own, are determined to follow up that question. We wish to affirm our wholehearted support for the exercise by the Puerto Rican people of its right of self-determination, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), which applies to Puerto Rico. We support the request made by the representatives of the people of Puerto Rico that the General Assembly consider the question of Puerto Rico as a separate item on the agenda of its next session.

64. Although the colonial administration of Puerto Rico, embodied in this country by the richest and most influential of countries, has been able to thwart the international will by means of pressure and blackmail, we hope that we shall very soon see the end of the anachronistic situation prevailing in the island and see the people of Puerto Rico fully exercising its right to self-determination and independence.

65. All Member States, except past colonial Powers and those with neo-colonialist ambitions, have expressed their indignation at what is taking place in South Africa. Pretoria is practising the policy of colonial implantation in the African soil and in Namibia in order to divide that country and its people and to dismember Namibia. Yesterday we heard some representatives say how damaging the South African administration is to the indigenous population. We all know that that population is being ill-treated, driven from its homes and herded into special zones of the country in accordance with the policy and philosophy of *apartheid*.

66. There are those who claim that the situation is improving in South Africa and in Namibia, which aspires to independence. But the fact is that the actions we see belie such claims. South Africa has become a hotbed of tension which poses a threat to international peace and security.

67. We can also see a constantly intensifying collaboration between the two bastions of racism, Israel and South Africa, the more firmly to implant colonialism in those two strategic parts of the world, so that both hegemonism and interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Africa and the Middle East can be practised. There is nothing strange or surprising about the collaboration between Israel and South Africa, for the two régimes have the same origin and share similar goals in the service of imperialism and colonialism. Because of their strategic locations, the two régimes are natural allies against the peoples of Africa and the Middle East.

68. The Tel Aviv and Pretoria régimes share racist, Nazi and Zionist doctrine—and I repeat, Nazi doctrine, an expression which is not pleasing to the United States representative in the Second Committee, who attempted to muzzle our representative in that Committee but who, when he himself spoke, presented an official declaration defending the racist Israeli régime. These régimes make terrorism, sabotage, destruction, murder, occupation and racial discrimination the official policy of their Governments, attempting to justify their crimes as “legitimate” acts.

69. We note that Pretoria complains that the world does not understand the sacrifices it has made in the face of the “black peril”. As for Tel Aviv, that Government justifies its expansionism and acts of aggression as a divine mission, as if God had commanded it to kill Arabs in the service of mankind. The two régimes of Tel Aviv and Pretoria have indeed a mission: to practise domination and hegemonism and to control the destinies of the African and Arab peoples. They are in the service of the interests of the West at the expense of the national interests of our peoples. African and Arab blood flows to serve the strategic, financial and economic interests of world imperialism. That is the truth about the collaboration of the two racist régimes in all areas, particularly in the military, nuclear and economic spheres.

70. We are convinced that Israel represents colonialism, while zionism is the doctrine which impels colonialism to serve promptly the interests of imperialism. There are 4 million Palestinians subjected to the yoke of the colonialist, Zionist and Nazi settlement policies. I repeat the word “Nazi”.

71. We must tackle the elimination of colonialism in Palestine with the same spirit and strength with which we put into effect the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to colonial Countries and Peoples. We are convinced that we shall succeed.

72. In conclusion, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to my friend, Mr. Frank Abdulah, Chairman of the Special Committee, for his efforts. He is one of the representatives who, through their wisdom and devotion to their work and their understanding of the sufferings of our people, have made it possible for the United Nations to accelerate the decolonization movement with the support of international co-operation. We express our regret at seeing Mr. Abdulah’s mission on the point of termination, but we believe that the Special Committee will continue to discharge its functions until a definitive end has been put to colonialism. We hope that this will happen soon so that we can actually witness this result. We note with regret that the path will not be an easy one because there are more than 24 million human beings deprived of their right to liberty. We nevertheless remain convinced that these peoples will eventually triumph.

73. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

74. Mr. TANÇ (Turkey): The question of Cyprus, to which the Greek Cypriot representative referred this morning [74th meeting], is not related or pertinent to the sensitive and pressing questions of decolonization on our agenda. The reference to this question by the Greek Cypriot representative for narrow and sectarian purposes does a disservice to the efforts of the international community in the field of decolonization. The untrue claims made in this respect, being also out of context, merit no answer. They have been fabricated to disguise the narrow and sectarian purposes lying behind this attempt.

75. Mr. CONSTANTINOU (Cyprus): I invite the representative of Turkey to look at the hundreds of articles written on Turkish actions and which can be found in the Turkish, Turkish Cypriot and foreign



press all over the world. I said in my statement this morning that Cyprus was the victim of a new form of colonization, and I believe I spoke within the context of this agenda item. I should also like, in an effort to convince the representative of Turkey that what I said this morning was not a mere groundless allegation, to invite him to look at an article written by Mr. Fazil Küçük, the former Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus, which appeared in his newspaper, *Halkin Sesi*, on 25 May 1978. It says:

“We warned the officials once again. We told them that these newcomers would be a nuisance to our decent citizens. We told them to halt them before it becomes too late. They turned a deaf ear to us and did nothing. On the contrary, the newcomers were given houses, land, food and money. They were even given bonuses amounting to tens of thousands of Turkish lira under the cover of settlement credits. They told the Turkish Cypriots: ‘We saved you. Get out of here. These places belong to us.’ However, all demands to expel these castaways were left unanswered. Moreover, new officials emerged who would protect these persons. They said: ‘You cannot touch citizens of the Turkish Republic’.”

76. In another article the following day, Mr. Fazil Küçük said the following:

“All these people were put together, and Oriental Sultanates were established in many of our villages. Mixing these untrained and Oriental settlers with the Turkish Cypriot community, which is so civilized, is the main cause of the painful situation today.”

Then Mr. Küçük ended his article by appealing to the Turkish Government not to turn the island into a grave.

77. Mr. TANÇ (Turkey): As I pointed out before, these allegations are out of context and do not merit an answer from my delegation.

*The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.*

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NOTE

<sup>1</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.