



*President:* Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

### 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. RASON (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): A study of the 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 on its work during its last session [A/38/23] shows that the praiseworthy efforts to achieve the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] have continued unremittingly in spite of all the delaying tactics and obstacles which the forces opposed to the emancipation of peoples have resorted to, for reasons that have not been admitted but are obvious to everyone, thus obstructing the smooth implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the Organization relating to the Declaration.

2. This year we have welcomed the accession to independence of Saint Christopher and Nevis, which has just joined the Organization, and we hope, on 31 December, to welcome Brunei with the same pleasure as one of the territories enjoying full sovereignty and independence.

3. We take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the determination of the peoples under colonial domination, which with their respective liberation movements are conducting a tireless struggle at great sacrifice to fulfil their aspirations for freedom, dignity and independence. We should like to take this opportunity also to express our great appreciation to Mr. Koroma, of Sierra Leone, Chairman of the Special Committee, and to the members of that Committee, who have spared no effort to defend and support the just causes of the peoples still under colonial domination. Furthermore, we must not forget the Secretary-General and all the Secretariat staff associated, closely or from afar, with the work of the Special Committee. Without their assistance the Committee would have been unable to carry out its tasks.

4. A quick review of the world situation shows that 23 years after the adoption of the Declaration, notwithstanding undeniable successes achieved in the decolonization process, the crises and stalemates with regard to the major international problems are to a great extent the more or less direct consequences of colonialism. The situation in southern Africa, in particular Namibia, in north-west Africa, in particular Western Sahara, in the

Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and other islands, in the Pacific, of no less concern and in other regions of the world are clearly manifestations of problems that have yet to be solved. There is still resistance to the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration, and in certain Territories the peoples are still fighting for the fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations, their right to self-determination and independence.

5. Namibia remains, quite rightly, one of our primary concerns. We have had occasion to recall at the current session [23rd and 74th meetings] the position of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar on this problem and especially the need for a united Namibia to accede to independence as soon as possible, in conformity with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978); for recognition of the legal and political responsibility of the United Nations concerning that Territory and in particular to bring it to sovereignty and independence; for unconditional support for the armed struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its sole authentic representative; for the unconditional implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia, endorsed in resolution 435 (1978); for categorical rejection of the attempts to link the implementation of this plan to other questions not related to the Namibian problem, which, we would recall, is a question of decolonization; and, finally, for the adoption of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to force South Africa to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

6. The search for a peaceful solution to the question of Namibia is undoubtedly one of the major and most urgent problems of our time, but it does not cause us to lose sight of the fact that there are still almost 20 Territories whose inhabitants are impatiently awaiting the effective implementation of the Declaration.

7. We shall not revert to the situation of Western Sahara, except to reaffirm that a definitive, equitable solution with regard to the decolonization of that Territory depends on the success of the negotiations between the parties to the conflict, namely, Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO,<sup>1</sup> and that the withdrawal of the Moroccan troops and administration from Saharan territory is the only way to guarantee a free, authentic and democratic referendum.

8. As regards the other small Territories, we reaffirm the inalienable rights of all peoples to self-determination and independence, without distinctions as to the location, demographic composition or the economic development of their Territory.

9. We remain convinced that foreign economic and other activities, the permanent presence of military bases in certain Non-Self-Governing Territories, military and nuclear co-operation with the racist régime and *apartheid* are all obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration.

10. History has taught us that the decolonization policy of certain administering Powers has not varied appreciably. That policy has always been to keep control over

the Territories for as long as possible. This negative attitude involves recourse to political, legal and other subterfuges in order to delay independence. The result of all this finally has been that violence has been used against violence. Refusal and resistance to the peaceful process of decolonization in the face of ever more urgent and justified demands of the inhabitants under colonial domination have produced frustration and friction which, as they become worse, inevitably bring on the usual brutal repression by the colonial authorities.

11. The experiences of the past should cause the colonial Powers to realize that they cannot forever stifle the aspirations of the peoples and continue to oppose the trend of history. Will their strategic and economic interests be more secure if built on violence, bloodshed and hatred? Countries which are still responsible for colonial Territories must have a clear view of the future and therefore embark forthwith on the peaceful process of decolonization of the Territories under their authority.

12. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Since 1960, when the General Assembly adopted an historic document, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, really striking successes have been achieved in the decolonization process. The world colonial system as such has ceased to exist. Dozens of liberated States with a population of hundreds of millions have now embarked on the course of independent development and have become Members of this Organization in order to bear their measure of responsibility in world affairs. Together with other peace-loving States, they are now actively struggling to avert the threat of war, to end the arms race and bring about disarmament, to improve the international atmosphere and to develop peaceful co-operation and social and economic progress.

13. Nevertheless, unfortunately, we see today that colonialism in one form or another still exists in some parts of the world. Those forces which try by all means in their power to perpetuate this historical anachronism have not yet desisted in their efforts. Millions of Africans in the southern part of the continent continue to be subject to the cruel racist, colonialist oppression of the Pretoria régime. Several islands, particularly in the Pacific and the Caribbean, have not yet rid themselves of foreign domination. Altogether, around 0.3 per cent of the world's population and about 1 per cent of its territory are in a state of colonial dependency today. These "black spots" on the political map of the world quite clearly confirm that the full and complete elimination of colonialism continues to be one of the priority tasks of the international community. They serve as a constant reminder that the noble aims and principles in the Declaration are relevant even under present-day conditions.

14. The international community is particularly disturbed by the situation in southern Africa. This is shown specifically by the discussions successfully concluded a few days ago on the questions of the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa and on Namibia, an international Territory illegally occupied by the racist régime. The vast majority of Member States of the Organization once again spoke strongly in favour of the swift elimination from southern Africa of this dangerous source of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* which represents a serious threat to peace and security not only for that region but for the whole world. They did not mince words in condemning the unsavoury policies of those States which, in complete disregard of the relevant United Nations resolutions, continue stubbornly to co-operate with the South African régime in various spheres, including the nuclear field, thus encouraging it

to step up further its colonial and racist repression of millions of Africans, particularly in Namibia, and to take an even more adamant position in connection with the efforts being made by the international community to put an end to the illegal occupation of that Territory.

15. A solution to the Namibian problem has long been necessary, and the way to it is known. It has been set forth in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and has been repeatedly reaffirmed at various forums in the Organization. The International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris from 25 to 29 April 1983, once again forcefully demonstrated our firm commitment to the national liberation of the Namibian people and gave a sharp rebuff to South Africa's underhanded manoeuvres to impose a neo-colonialist decision. It also categorically rejected the attempts of the South African racists and their protectors, the United States in particular, to "link" the presence of Cuban troops in Angola with the settlement of the Namibian question as completely unacceptable and a totally unwarranted and artificial obstacle to Namibia's independence.

16. The Mongolian delegation believes that the strongest possible steps should be taken to put an end to the South African racists' and their allies' disregard of the will of the international community repeatedly expressed in United Nations resolutions. In this connection, we support the demand of the majority of Member States to apply against the Pretoria régime the comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Steps should be taken to ensure that all States comply strictly with the embargo imposed by the Security Council on the supply of arms to South Africa and that all co-operation with the criminal South African régime be ended unconditionally.

17. The final objectives of the Declaration on decolonization have not yet been achieved in the case of the so-called small Territories, which are spread over vast areas of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, and also over the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean. The predatory colonial exploitation of dependent and Non-Self-Governing Territories by transnational corporations and the recent sharp increase in their use for the military-strategic purposes of the administering Powers are the main obstacles to the attainment by the populations of those Territories of their inalienable right to self-determination.

18. The United Nations has frequently had occasion to condemn the plundering of these small Territories by foreign economic and other elements and has demanded that the militarization of the colonial Territories be halted and the military bases and installations on them be dismantled. However, unfortunately, those to whom these condemnations and demands are addressed have so far turned a deaf ear to them.

19. At the same time, it should be noted that the continuing colonial system and the further militarization of dependent and Non-Self-Governing Territories represent a serious threat to peace and international stability. The military bases of imperialist Powers on numerous islands in colonial Territories are intended to serve as a means of crushing the national liberation movements of peoples and carrying out aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of other independent sovereign States. For example, the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Ascension Island was used by the British to transfer military forces to restore their supremacy in the Malvinas Islands, which have now been turned into a military base of Great Britain, thus threatening peace and stability in the South Atlantic.

20. The most recent example of the high-handed deeds of the imperialist Powers with regard to the norms of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, although in words they favour freedom, independence, democracy and justice, was the armed intervention by the United States against Grenada, the purpose of which was to impose a social and political régime of its own choice on the people of that small non-aligned country.

21. The ensuring of peace and stability in the region of Asia and the Pacific is a vital concern of our country, the Mongolian People's Republic. For that reason, we cannot but be concerned at the increased militarization of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands by the administering Power, which seriously threatens peace and security in that part of the world and is leading to the formation of a new source of tension there.

22. My delegation believes that the unfortunate actions and manoeuvres undertaken by Washington in order eventually to annex Micronesia fly in the face of the Charter of the United Nations and the trusteeship agreement between the Security Council and the United States. They trample under foot the vital interests of the Micronesians and the relevant provisions of the Declaration and other decisions of the United Nations on granting colonial peoples their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. It is our view that any attempt to alter the status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands by circumventing the Security Council should be resolutely rejected and that the United Nations should assume responsibility for Micronesia, as part of the overall question of decolonization, until it finally attains independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV).

23. We believe that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be fully implemented in the case of all other colonial peoples and dependent Territories, including Diego García, the Malvinas, Puerto Rico and other so-called small Territories. The international community must not acquiesce in colonialism in any of its forms or manifestations. It has long been essential to put an end to the final vestiges of colonialism, and it is time that these peoples were granted the right to take their future and their destiny into their own hands.

24. In conclusion, our delegation would like to compliment the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on the work it has done and to express our complete support for the recommendations in its report.

25. Mr. SOMOGYI (Hungary): The adoption of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) by the General Assembly more than two decades ago gave a new impetus to the process of decolonization. Since then many new States have emerged in the former colonial Territories and have taken their place in the international community as fully-fledged Members of the United Nations. For many countries the colonial period lasted for centuries. The colonial Powers, relying on their superior military force, suppressed any attempt by the peoples under their domination to win freedom and independence. During the centuries of the colonial period millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America were toiling hard for the benefit of the colonizers, whose greed knew no limit. The riches of whole continents were grabbed by a handful of imperialist Powers.

26. The struggle of peoples in colonial Territories began to bear fruit after the Second World War. The socialist countries, including my own, have always been fully in solidarity with the colonial peoples in their struggle for

freedom and independence. We have always considered the process of decolonization to be an inevitable and most important historical development. That is why we support all actions by the United Nations to accelerate this historical process.

27. During the debates in the Fourth Committee attention was focused once again on the last remnants of colonialism. It was pointed out that the most acute case of colonialism today is that of Namibia. The importance of the question of Namibia is shown by the fact that it was taken up by the Security Council last October and by the General Assembly in plenary a few days ago. The record number of speakers in the Assembly was also indicative of the great interest of Member States in the question of Namibia.

28. In connection with Namibia it was emphasized that in spite of all the efforts of the United Nations, colonialism still exists in that Territory. In spite of all the United Nations resolutions and in violation of international law, the racist régime of South Africa continues its military occupation of Namibia, using the same methods as those employed by the former colonial Powers—the brutal repression by military force of any aspirations of the Namibian people and the plundering of the Territory's human and natural resources. South Africa would not be able to continue its policy of colonial domination over Namibia without the support of its Western allies.

29. In the debate on the question of Namibia at various United Nations forums it has also been pointed out that the linkage between the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the independence of Namibia, artificially introduced by the racist régime of South Africa with the encouragement and support of the United States, has been the main obstacle to the independence of Namibia. That linkage was rejected almost unanimously by Security Council resolution 539 (1983), but the racist régime continues to disregard the resolutions of the world Organization. It has become obvious that South Africa will not voluntarily terminate the illegal occupation of Namibia, except under international pressure. The application of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter is the only way to make South Africa respect the will of the international community. The main economic collaborators of South Africa have this leverage; they could prevail on the racist régime to change its attitude and make it respect the resolutions of the United Nations.

30. The military force of the colonizing Powers played a crucial role in the subjugation of peoples in the colonial Territories. Today, military bases and installations are a major impediment to the process of decolonization. The bases in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, the Caribbean and the South Atlantic not only impede decolonization but also constitute a threat to international peace and security and add to the tensions all over the world.

31. Foreign economic interests in the Non-Self-Governing Territories likewise have a negative effect on decolonization. The plundering of human and natural resources of colonial territories out of greed for profits has remained the major motive of the imperialist Powers. My delegation maintains that foreign economic and military interests should stop impeding decolonization and that the process should be completed soon. At the same time, we place on record our firm opposition to neo-colonialism, which in all its forms threatens the sovereignty and independence of former colonial countries. We resolutely oppose any attempts by the imperialist Powers to intervene in the domestic affairs of those countries by economic or any other means. For this

reason we voted for all the resolutions in the Fourth Committee.

32. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) cannot be considered implemented as long as peoples and countries are still under colonial domination. The United Nations should redouble its efforts to eliminate the remnants of colonialism. In these efforts the colonial peoples can count on the support of the vast majority of Member States.

33. My delegation believes that the attitude of individual Member States to the independence of Namibia is a real test of true intentions concerning the most fundamental political and moral questions of our time. What is happening in Namibia today amounts to flagrant violations of the most sacred rights of peoples: the right to independence and self-determination.

34. Furthermore, developments in Namibia constitute the most flagrant violation of democracy and human rights by any political or moral standards. Nevertheless, there are States Members of this Organization which do not use every means at their disposal to put an end to this situation. What is more, they are making attempts to obstruct the independence of Namibia in different ways, direct and indirect. Some States are posing as champions of democracy and human rights while supporting the racist régime of South Africa in maintaining its colonial oppression of Namibia and perpetuating its *apartheid* system. My delegation sees an unacceptable inconsistency in the attitude of these States. The international community rightly questions whether any State can pursue both courses of action without seriously risking its own credibility.

35. My delegation believes that the General Assembly should discuss the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in practical terms, pointing to the need for specific actions. We have an urgent task before us—that of achieving Namibia's independence. The people and government of the Hungarian People's Republic are ready to support all actions by the United Nations to this end. I take this opportunity to assure the people of Namibia and all peoples under colonial domination of the firm support and solidarity of my people and Government.

36. Mr. VERMA (India): Few historical forces have exercised so predominant and negative an influence on world affairs in the last few centuries as the phenomenon of colonialism. By the same token, in the last few decades of this century few factors have been responsible for such revolutionary change in the world order as the process of decolonization. The blossoming of incipient nationalism in the erstwhile colonies around the globe, and their emergence into the comity of nation States as equal and sovereign members, have not merely transformed the political map of the Earth, but have also had a fundamental impact on international politics, the world economy and, indeed, every other aspect of human endeavour. Nowhere is this more in evidence than here at the United Nations, whose membership has grown by leaps and bounds in recent decades. The newest of them is Saint Christopher and Nevis, which we have already welcomed into our midst. Within a few days Brunei will similarly join the community of free nations. We shall also wish a happy and prosperous future to its Government and people.

37. The impressive achievements of the decolonization process are undoubtedly due to the irrepressibility of the human spirit, to man's innate yearning for freedom and his determination to secure it by every means at his disposal. In our own case, the freedom movement

followed the Gandhian path of non-violence; in many others it has adopted a violent and bloody course. Whatever the means, it has been proved most convincingly that mankind's quest for freedom cannot be suppressed.

38. The successes of decolonization are also due, in no small measure, to the efforts of the United Nations and, I might add, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which has since its very inception championed the cause of peoples under colonial domination.

39. Over the years, and particularly since the adoption in 1960 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which embodies the momentous Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations has served to keep decolonization in the forefront of world attention, and it can claim an impressive record in actually promoting it all over the world. Particular credit in this connection must go to the Special Committee on decolonization, which has striven tirelessly for more than two decades to safeguard the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence. Under a succession of distinguished and able Chairmen—the latest being the dynamic representative of Sierra Leone, Mr. Koroma—the Committee has successfully fulfilled its mandate and seen its jurisdiction dwindle significantly over the years. As a founder member of the Special Committee, my delegation has shared the privilege and joy of seeing our agenda items of yesteryear, as it were, transform themselves into free and sovereign States.

40. If I have dwelt at some length on the successes of the decolonization process, it is only to find justifiable satisfaction where it can be found; it is not for a moment to suggest that the task is complete or that we can now rest on our laurels. That is something which we cannot, in all conscience, afford to do. For, even while the community of sovereign States has multiplied rapidly in number and the classical form of colonialism is being consigned to history, forces are still at work which attempt to stem the tide of progress. In southern Africa an arrogant racist régime continues not only to maintain its illegal hold over Namibia, but also to repress the vast majority of South Africans themselves. Similarly, in the Middle East, the valiant people of Palestine remain without the homeland that is their right, buffeted about in a sea of uncertainty and suffering.

41. My delegation has had occasion to address itself to both those issues separately. Suffice it to observe here that the continued bondage of the Namibian people, for which the United Nations bears special responsibility, is an affront to the world conscience. So, indeed, is the persistent failure to resolve the Palestinian issue, which, even if it is not on the decolonization agenda of the United Nations, cannot, we believe, be completely divorced from the colonial context.

42. The report of the Special Committee on decolonization [A/38/23] provides us with the reassurance that continuing efforts are being made to tackle the remaining problems, which, though small in number, are complex in nature. The examination of the situation in various Non-Self-Governing Territories undertaken by the Special Committee has helped to identify the particular issues which relate to different Territories and the measures which the administering Powers should take to facilitate the speedy implementation of the Declaration on decolonization, with particular reference to those Territories. We believe that no single formula can be applied indiscriminately to all Territories. The people of each must determine the nature of their future status and the time-frame within which it is to be achieved. What is of paramount importance is that the will of the people

concerned be freely and fearlessly expressed and that it be respected.

43. It must be recognized that the people of Non-Self-Governing Territories need to be fully informed of the options available to them with regard to their own future. The Special Committee has rightly underscored the importance of this, after examining the situation obtaining in the various Territories by means of assessments gained through visiting missions and a stock-taking on the basis of information supplied by the administering Powers. It is also incumbent upon the administering authorities as long as they function in that capacity to promote the welfare of the local populations and to refrain from engaging in such exploitative economic, military or other activities or arrangements as impede the decolonization process.

44. The Government and people of India have a deep-rooted and unshakable commitment to the cause of decolonization. It is a commitment that pre-dates even our own independence and is born of our fundamental belief in human freedom and dignity as well as our own experience under the colonial yoke.

45. Support for the liberation of colonial Territories and peoples has also been one of the principal tenets of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which India is a founding member and the current Chairman. Permit me to reiterate on this occasion that India's sympathy, understanding and support for liberation struggles will remain unflinching until the last vestiges of colonialism are eradicated from the world.

46. Almost a year before India attained its independence Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the nation, as head of the then Interim Government of India and Prime Minister designate. A short excerpt from that statement still rings in our ears and is of direct relevance for us here today. Nehru said, "We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible, and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war". That profound thought will remain of eternal relevance and should continue to guide us in our efforts.

47. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): At the outset, the delegation of Viet Nam wishes to thank the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for its exhaustive and well-founded report on its work in 1983. The report is of high quality and serves as an excellent basis for our discussions. We warmly congratulate the Chairman and the other officers of the Special Committee.

48. This year the General Assembly is considering the question of decolonization in an international atmosphere replete with threats to world peace and to the independence and freedom of peoples in various parts of the world. Although the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples was inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations in 1945, it was in 1960 that the General Assembly, by adopting the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, resolutely took the responsibility for the application of that principle by proclaiming the necessity, in order to avoid serious crises, of bringing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations to a speedy and unconditional end. Resolution 1514 (XV), containing this Declaration, was a milestone in the movement for the emancipation of colonial and dependent peoples, a movement that had been launched in the midst of the Second World War and which quickly took concrete form in the upsurge of the national liberation struggles which

were vigorously pursued when that war ended and whose success was duly reflected in the Declaration.

49. The Declaration marked a turning point in the process of the collapse of the international system of colonialism and imperialism. It has become a legal instrument of crucial importance, setting forth concrete measures for implementing the Charter principle and at the same time encouraging the colonial peoples and countries to intensify their struggle to liquidate the last vestiges of colonialism and eliminate neo-colonialism.

50. During the 23 years of its existence, the Special Committee has made sustained efforts to settle, step by step, the difficult and complicated problems arising from the decolonization process. My delegation greatly appreciates these efforts of all kinds, which have certainly greatly assisted the struggle of the colonial peoples throughout the period. The emancipation of more than 70 million persons who have acceded to independence since 1960 is closely related to the Special Committee's activities. Equally, the fact that in less than four decades the number of States Members of the United Nations has almost tripled is the result of the struggle of those peoples that have been encouraged by the proclamation in the Charter of the principle of the equal rights of peoples and of their right to self-determination.

51. The success thus achieved by the peoples has demonstrated that the days of colonialism in the world are numbered and that relations between States have undergone great changes, particularly during the past two decades, both within the United Nations system and on the international scene to the benefit of oppressed peoples.

52. Nevertheless, many obstacles remain on the path to the complete liberation of peoples. Imperialism is desperately clinging to its selfish interests, to the old, anachronistic international order, using every means and all its forces, economic and military. In this era, it prefers to have greater recourse to its arsenal of all kinds of neo-colonialist means to maintain its domination over the dependent Territories and even to reconquer those that have slipped from its grasp. To that end, it does not hesitate, when it feels certain of easy success, as was the case recently in Grenada, to bare its teeth and achieve its ends by military means.

53. The report of the Special Committee demonstrates very persuasively, with facts and evidence, that foreign economic, financial and other interests are impeding the application of the Declaration in Namibia and all the other Territories under colonial domination, as well as the efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination. The Special Committee has also concluded that another considerable obstacle to the application of the Declaration is the military activities of the colonial Powers and the military measures taken by them in the Territories under their administration.

54. Namibia is a typical case in this respect. From no matter what point of view — legal, political or moral — the conditions are more than ripe for granting independence to the Namibian people. Yet, despite the fact that the United Nations itself has for a long time now been directly responsible for that Territory and its people, the South African racist régime has succeeded to this very day in maintaining its illegal occupation of Namibia, in defying the authority of the United Nations and in trampling under foot the demands of the international community. It is therefore easy to understand why the Security Council recently had to take the question of Namibia up again and why this question remained the most urgent item on the Special Committee's agenda in 1983.

55. The colonialist and expansionist appetites, so obvious in the Namibian case, are no less tenacious in regard to the other colonial and dependent Territories dealt with by the Special Committee. Using various scenarios—called “internal settlement” in Namibia and “referendum” or “free association” elsewhere—the administering Powers are feverishly seeking to achieve, if not pure and simple integration with the metropolitan countries, at least the establishment of neo-colonies loyal to them. Those Territories’ natural riches and resources of all kinds are plundered by the monopoly interests of the transnational companies, leaving the Territories’ economy in a state of dependence or stagnation which seriously hinders the economic and social progress of their peoples.

56. But what is particularly dangerous is the effort of the colonial Powers to establish in the Territories under their administration military bases and installations and to carry out military activities there. Thus, various dependent Territories are included in the network of the reactionary global strategy of imperialism and hegemonism. Diego García, Guam, Puerto Rico, Micronesia and many other Territories are used in this way for military purposes for the preparation of reckless operations or for the training of rapid deployment forces. It will be recalled that Guam was the departure base for the B-52 flying fortresses that carried out criminal bombing during the American war in Viet Nam. And we all know the role that Puerto Rico played as a training base for the United States Marines who participated in the invasion of Grenada.

57. The international community has a duty to condemn strongly the plundering of the natural resources of these colonial Territories and the exploitation of their people by the imperialist monopolies. It must also condemn all military activities and arrangements made by the administering Powers in these Territories, which represent a fundamental obstacle to their right to self-determination and independence and at the same time a serious threat to world peace and security.

58. Colonialist and neo-colonialist ambitions are not confined to the colonial and still dependent Territories. As is demonstrated by the stubbornness of the Pretoria régime in southern Africa, of the Tel Aviv régime in the Middle East and of the American Administration in Central America, the imperialist and reactionary forces are trying brazenly to retake positions they have lost. On the one hand they are engaged in a process of neo-colonialist reconquest in certain developing countries, which suffer from great economic difficulties because of the relations of inequality, coercion and dependence imposed on them but which are nevertheless determined to fight for their economic liberation and for the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equity. On the other hand, in the developing countries which have undertaken progressive changes in their economic and social structures, the imperialist and reactionary forces are engaged in harmful and subversive activities of all kinds—political, military, economic and diplomatic. The type of war designed to undermine in various ways the three countries of Indo-China, above all the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, is an example. Furthermore, the imperialist forces are prepared to carry out what are no less than brutal operations of colonial reconquest, in total disregard of the principles of the Charter and of international law. The recent case of the invasion of Grenada should alert us to the close collusion among the dark forces of war, which are openly preparing for adventurous counterstrokes and which are ready to provoke explosive crises in different parts of the world in opposition to the independence and social progress of

the peoples of the world, while at the same time they are pressing ahead with a new and headlong acceleration of the arms race and with preparations for a nuclear war of extermination. Mankind must guard against the strengthening of the strategic co-operation which is taking form between Washington, Tel Aviv and Pretoria and which the United States is seeking to establish in the Far East with Tokyo, Peking and Seoul. More clearly than ever we can see the salient features of the danger threatening the independence of peoples and world peace.

59. No matter how great this threat, the peoples will win in the end; their victory is certain because, as affirmed by resolution 1514 (XV), the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible. That victory rests on a very sound foundation, as the resolution clearly states: the decisive role of the dependent peoples in the attainment of their independence, and the important role of the international community in assisting them.

60. The lessons that Viet Nam has learned from its many decades of struggle against colonialist, imperialist and hegemonist aggression fully bear out the two above-mentioned affirmations in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Above all, it was through the stubborn resistance of its people, united as one man and ready to make any sacrifice to win, that Viet Nam won its hard fight for its independence, freedom, national unity and territorial integrity. At the same time, international support and aid, including aid from the peoples of those countries which were responsible for the aggression, were an important factor in our victory.

61. In the present international situation, in which reactionary forces are opposing the process of decolonization even more violently and treacherously, it is more than ever necessary to remind ourselves of these truths and to find effective means of applying them. In particular, in order to help the peoples of the colonial and dependent Territories, including Namibia, to strengthen and intensify the struggle on all fronts, especially the armed struggle—as strongly emphasized in connection with Namibia by the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries at their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March—the General Assembly should vigorously reiterate its appeal to all States to increase their moral and political support and their material, financial, military and other assistance to the various liberation movements such as SWAPO, the African National Congress and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO].

62. The Vietnamese people, recently released from the colonial and neo-colonial yoke, stands by its principle of unfailing support for all peoples fighting for their independence and freedom. The delegation of Viet Nam believes that the United Nations, together with all the specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies, must redouble its efforts in support of the noble cause of the liberation of the dependent and colonial peoples. Circumstances require this more than ever before if these people are effectively to face the growing threat of the joint forces of collective colonialism and the intensified strategic co-operation between the United States and its major allies in southern Africa, the Middle East, the Far East and elsewhere.

63. In accordance with our stand of support for the liberation struggle of peoples, the delegation of Viet Nam has sponsored the draft resolutions A/38/L.33 and L.34.

64. We would like to conclude our statement by reaffirming our full support for the joint commitment of the non-aligned countries, solemnly set forth in the Political Declaration of the recent Conference at New Delhi,

a commitment "to world peace, justice and co-operation, to the elimination of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to the eradication of *apartheid*, racism, including zionism, and all forms of foreign domination, aggression, intervention, occupation and pressures, to the acceleration of the process of self-determination . . . and the consolidation of the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and to the social and economic development of their peoples" [A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 9].

65. This common commitment of the non-aligned countries, representing the overwhelming majority of mankind, is fully in keeping with the spirit and requirements of the historic Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV). It is fully in keeping with the general trends and requirements of our era, and it is becoming increasingly clear that these trends and requirements represent an irreversible factor in the history of the world.

66. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The universal demand for the final elimination of colonialism contained in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has not lost its significance despite the passage of 23 years since its adoption. The successes achieved since then encourage us to continue our efforts with full force and momentum so that the international community will be able decisively to eradicate all the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

67. Seeing independent States take their places in this Organization is always a source of satisfaction to the international community and a great reward for its invaluable efforts and contributions in assisting the progress of colonial countries and peoples towards independence and freedom. I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the delegation of Saint Christopher and Nevis, whose country's independence was followed by its admission to membership in the United Nations, and to express pleasure at the intention of Brunei to join the ranks of independent States at the end of this month.

68. 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 been playing an essential role in intensifying and guiding the efforts of the international Organization in the process of the full implementation of the Declaration. My delegation has had the honour of membership in that Committee since its inception. I have personally had the privilege of working under the guidance of the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Koroma, the representative of Sierra Leone, and I congratulate him on the excellent manner in which he has conducted the work of the Special Committee and on the experience and wisdom which enabled the Committee to achieve the success reflected in the report before the Assembly, which I had the honour of introducing this morning. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic is confident that the Committee will continue to discharge its functions until the last vestiges of colonialism have been eliminated from the face of the Earth, and we hope that this will be achieved as soon as possible so that we may witness that great event.

69. Despite the outstanding achievements of the United Nations in regard to the implementation of the Declaration, we cannot but note with regret that more than 4 million people in more than 20 countries still do not enjoy self-government and independence in their homelands and that 4 million Palestinians are still deprived of their right to self-determination on their own land and in their own country. Moreover, more than 20 million Africans in South Africa and Namibia are still subjected to every form of discrimination, oppression and racist

military occupation and in their own homeland are deprived of the right of citizenship and subjected to oppression, humiliation and abuse. That region is still one of the most dangerous hotbeds of traditional colonialism in its most abominable form.

70. We must also recall that political liberation has not always been accompanied by economic independence and that imperialist economic interests are still attempting to regain domination over peoples and to control their destinies through economic hegemony. A number of small Non-Self-Governing Territories are still chafing under a system of colonialist dependency and are being used by imperialist States for military purposes, through the establishment of military bases therein designed to guarantee the strategic and military interests of the colonialist States. The latter, especially the United States, do their utmost to delay the decolonization process in those Territories in an attempt to preserve their military interests in those Territories, invoking various means and names such as "free association" and "political association", which are in fact nothing but smoke-screens to perpetuate colonialist domination and legitimize the process of the annexation of those Territories.

71. The phenomenon of colonialism, which was the worst offshoot of Western civilization, is still in existence and practised in such a way as to give rise to great concern. We cannot have peace of mind as long as colonialist régimes persist in the practice of this phenomenon. Whether the colonialist Powers practise economic exploitation and plundering of resources in the colonial countries or harness them in the service of their military-strategic interests in the context of international rivalry, these Powers disregard the wishes and interests of the indigenous population in every case. Like the colonialist situation in South Africa and Namibia, which represents the worst form of traditional colonialism, the situation in the other Territories also constitutes a traditional colonialist situation, whether in Micronesia, Guam, Puerto Rico or the so-called small Territories, which the colonialist Powers use as military bases and strategic bridgeheads in support of their imperialist interests.

72. When we speak of the phenomenon of colonialism, we cannot disregard the fact that the two greatest problems facing the world today are that the Namibian people and the people of South Africa are deprived of their fundamental rights to their homelands, and the Palestinian people of its legitimate right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State.

73. Although my delegation has on more than one occasion analysed the policies of the two racist régimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria, my reference to them now is due to the fact that both régimes were established as a result of the policies of settler colonialism. Each is based on the denial of the right of peoples to self-determination and each believes in the same objectives, practises and the same policies and uses the same methods. Both support each other fully and receive support, encouragement and assistance from the leader of world imperialism, the United States.

74. Regarding the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the American Administration does its utmost to exploit the Territory in the service of its military-strategic interests. The Americans have expelled the Micronesians from a number of islands and transformed the islands of Bikini and Eniwetok into a testing-ground for nuclear weapons, leaving generations of Micronesians to suffer from the effects of forced evacuation and contamination of the environment. Almost four decades after the Territory was placed under American trusteeship the

administering Power is unable to prove that it has enabled the people of the Territory to establish an independent economy to meet the needs of the Territory and ensure self-sufficiency and independent development for its people. The administering Power has also failed to prove that it has made all possible efforts to help the population achieve social, economic, political and educational progress and progress towards self-determination and independence.

75. The American military buildup in Micronesia, the eagerness of the United States to secure exceptional future advantages for its military presence in the islands and the long-term military agreements imposed by it on the people of certain parts of the Territory to enable the Pentagon to maintain testing-grounds for missiles, naval bases and strategic airports and to establish storage depots for chemical and nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction are proof of the violation by the United States of the trusteeship agreement, which calls for the enhancement of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The American military action in Micronesia is a source of grave concern because, in addition to the fact that it is intended to transform the Territory into a colonial dependency and a strategic military bridgehead, it is above all based on the denial of the sovereign rights of the people of the Territory and disregard of its free will.

76. Artificial facades and new colonial practices and forms and names like "free association", "constructive engagement", and so on, are illegal attempts and pretexts which reveal a strong desire to disregard the will of the people of the Territory concerned and defy the will of the international community to put an end to colonialist practices.

77. Regarding the question of Puerto Rico, we in the Syrian Arab Republic reaffirm our full support for the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). For 11 years the Special Committee on decolonization has been dealing with the question of Puerto Rico and hearing the views and opinions of the representatives of the Puerto Rican people and its parties, institutions and bodies. These are fully unanimous as regards the adherence of the Puerto Rican people to its identity, its strength of character, its culture, its freedom and its right to self-determination and independence, free from any foreign intervention. The Special Committee has adopted the incontestable legal position that its mandate under resolution 1514 (XV) gives it the right to examine the conditions in all Non-Self-Governing Territories to which the Declaration refers. The colonialist situation in the island is acknowledged even by senior officials of the American Administration and cannot be denied. The deliberations of the Special Committee have established the following facts, which are becoming clearer day by day.

78. First, the United States occupied Puerto Rico by military force in 1898.

79. Secondly, the colonial political status was imposed upon the Puerto Rican people by force of arms, and I need hardly say that colonialism is essentially itself a *de facto* rejection of the right of peoples to dignity, freedom and self-determination.

80. Thirdly, the United States imposed upon Puerto Rico all the treaties to which it is committed and imposed on the Puerto Rican people military service in the American armed forces to fight in wars not related to Puerto Rico and in which its people had no interest.

81. Fourthly, the United States has exploited the Territory of Puerto Rico for military purposes by establishing

bases and conducting arms tests there and transforming areas of Puerto Rico into a testing-ground, especially the island of Vieques, where this led to devastation of the environment and threatened the lives of its people. Recently, the United States also used the island as a base for the invasion of Grenada.

82. Fifthly, the United States has subjected the Puerto Rican people to foreign domination and economic exploitation. It has established an economy in the island which does not reflect the needs of the Territory. The United States has failed to transform Puerto Rico into the promised paradise, while the Puerto Ricans who live on the American mainland do not enjoy American prosperity.

83. Sixthly, the United States has attempted to obliterate the culture and identity of the Puerto Rican people and lessen the importance of its mother tongue. In this regard, I must record our great respect and admiration for that steadfast people for the way it clings to its national identity, culture, civilization and language despite all the pressures and efforts that have been going on for more than 85 years, since the beginning of the foreign occupation.

84. Seventhly, the United States has imposed American citizenship on the Puerto Rican people despite the categorical and persistent rejection of this action by the Puerto Rican people.

85. Eighthly, without going into the details of the constitutional and legal position in Puerto Rico, we cannot ignore the fact that the United States Congress alone has the authority to determine the future of the Puerto Rican people, which cannot determine its future in a sovereign manner. It is the United States Congress which decides for it.

86. Ninthly, the logical conclusion of all these facts is that the constitutional situation of the island is plainly a colonial situation in the full sense of the word. The colonial situation in the island is acknowledged even by senior officials in the American Administration.

87. While the colonialist authority in this country, the mightiest, wealthiest and most influential Power in the world, has been able for a time to neutralize the international will through blackmail and pressure, we hope soon to see an end to the anomalous situation in that island and to see the full exercise by the Puerto Rican people of its right to self-determination and independence. We hope also to see the termination of the mandate of the Special Committee when the last vestiges of colonialism in our world have come to an end.

88. While the United Nations seeks to eliminate the remaining vestiges of colonialism, it is incumbent upon us all to raise our voices against the new attempts taking place in several regions of the world to return to the policy of imperialism. This threatens the independence and freedom of States and constitutes intervention in their internal affairs under new slogans, in an attempt to establish new military bases pursuant to plans to place our peoples and countries under colonialist domination, in the colonialist sphere of influence, or to drag us into armed confrontation. The establishment of the "rapid deployment forces" and the concept of "strategic accords" and strategic alliances between the United States and the racist colonialist régimes depending upon the United States are nothing but the ugly face of the new imperialist onslaught against the independence and liberty of our peoples and their rights to their natural resources and to national dignity.

89. Regarding the situation in southern Africa, it is absolutely true that the Pretoria régime could not have survived and persisted in its defiance of the world but



for the full support it receives from the Western Powers, headed by the United States, which is committed, through its support, to condone Pretoria's aggression and to protect it from the wrath of the international community. The exercise of the right of veto on a question of decolonization is unacceptable. It means that the colonialist Powers place their economic and strategic interests above the dignity of people and their right to self-determination and independence.

90. The United States and the other countries which maintain close relations with the Pretoria régime are responsible for its intransigence and continued defiance of the will of the international community and the spirit of the times. They are also responsible for the inability of the international Organization to adopt decisive measures to put an end to colonialism. On the other hand, the close co-operation and alliance between the régime and the racist aggressive régime of Tel Aviv, especially in the nuclear and military fields, play a dangerous role in the co-ordination of imperialist plans to control the peoples of the Middle East and Africa and subject them to aggressive domination. All of this proves that the colonialist régimes will not of their own accord bow to the will of the people and that they are not interested in a peaceful settlement, so a sharp collision with the forces trying to arrest the course of history is inevitable.

91. This proves that the full implementation of the Declaration on decolonization is still a vital matter and that we must continue and intensify our efforts, especially in the context of the Special Committee, to enable it to fulfil its sacred mission.

92. The struggle of the Syrian Arab Republic against colonialism and racism proceeds from its conviction that the cause of freedom is indivisible and from its feeling that it is in the front-line of confrontation with the common enemy of mankind. Be it *apartheid*, zionism, imperialism or colonialism, the enemy is one and the same, and its continued aggression and defiance imposes on us duties and responsibilities which we will shoulder without hesitation until the régimes of oppression, colonialism and racism are overthrown and until the dawn of freedom and dignity for all peoples is at hand.

93. I would like to state to the representative of the United States, who complained this morning about the activities of the Special Committee and its report, that the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Palestine and all peoples that cherish freedom and justice do not confront racist settler colonialist régimes in the context of super-Power rivalry and do not aim in their struggle to serve the strategic interests of any Power but are struggling in exercise of their legitimate right to defend their right to independence and self-determination and to maintain their national dignity. I wonder why the United States representative did not say anything about the responsibility of the American Administration for the intransigence of the racist régime of Pretoria and the fact that it links the independence of Namibia to conditions that serve the narrow and selfish strategic interests of the United States. I think the statement I have just made is sufficient response to the allegations of the representative of the United States.

94. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The twenty-third anniversary of the General Assembly's adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which triumphantly proclaimed the need for an immediate and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, falls in a few days' time. A clear goal was set before the national liberation movements of the peoples: to bring

about the collapse of the colonial system. The Declaration served as a powerful incentive in the struggle of peoples for their freedom. The movements of peoples for independence, which were supported by progressive countries and further shored up by the adoption of the Declaration and the determined position of the United Nations, led to the crumbling of colonial empires. The map of the world changed. On the ruins of colonial empires there arose more than 100 independent States. More than 2 billion people cast off the yoke of colonial oppression and slavery.

95. However, the success achieved in the process of the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization even further highlights the alarming fact that this process has not yet been completed. Colonialism, racism and *apartheid* continue to poison the international atmosphere and provide a dangerous source of tension, conflict and threats to international peace and security.

96. The people of Namibia continue to suffer, bound in the fetters of racist colonial oppression and occupation. A colonial status has been foisted on the people of Puerto Rico. The last Trust Territory, Micronesia, has also had imposed upon it a colonial status which is tantamount to a virtual absorption of that Territory by the United States. The people of the Western Sahara have not yet enjoyed their inalienable rights to freedom and independence. The small island Territories scattered throughout the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic oceans and the Caribbean still remain in colonial dependency.

97. The recently concluded discussions at the United Nations on the question of *apartheid* in South Africa and on the situation in Namibia testified to the tremendous anxiety and concern shown by Member States over the situation which has arisen in southern Africa. The bastion of colonialism and racism which continues to exist there represents an anachronism in modern history, but one which is both aggressive and dangerous.

98. Despite numerous United Nations resolutions, the racist régime in South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, exploiting the natural and human resources of that Territory and attempting to do away with the national liberation movement of the Namibian people, which is led by its sole authentic representative, SWAPO. For many years Pretoria, with the support of Western countries and in close co-operation with the United States, has been blocking the achievement of any authentic independence by Namibia, and it is trying to steer the solution of the Namibian problem in a neo-colonial direction. With the support of the United States, the racists in South Africa are waging a full-scale undeclared war against Angola from Namibian territory and are occupying part of Angolan territory. They have stepped up their military actions against Mozambique and other independent African States.

99. A serious situation has also arisen over the last remaining Pacific Islands Trust Territory, Micronesia, which was put under the temporary—I stress "temporary"—administration of the United States by a decision of the Security Council in 1947. In three and a half decades of ruling the roost in that Territory, Washington has failed to fulfil any of the demands of the Charter and the Declaration on decolonization. By pulling economic strings and making the Territory fully dependent, the United States has brought about the political decimation of Micronesia. Using extremely sophisticated means of diktat and blackmail in order not to make it possible for the Micronesian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, Washington has imposed on separate parts of the Territory a neo-colonialist status, under the guise of a so-called

commonwealth and free association with the United States, which amounts essentially to annexation. The danger that the United States will absorb Micronesia, which is the fate hanging over it, makes active intervention by the United Nations necessary to protect the people of Micronesia and their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

100. For many years the Special Committee on decolonization has been considering the situation in Puerto Rico. In its resolutions it has frequently confirmed the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on decolonization. In their statements this year and in their decision, Committee members emphasized the United Nations obligation, in accordance with the Declaration, to promote the enjoyment by the Puerto Rican people of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The Soviet Union fully supports that decision.

101. Other Non-Self-Governing Territories are still in a state of colonial dependency, scattered over the oceans and seas and in a number of adjacent areas. The administering Powers are impeding the exercise by the peoples of those Territories of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Not only have they failed to take effective steps to transfer power to the peoples of those Territories, but in a number of instances they are also trying to perpetuate their domination over them, alleging that the peoples of the Territories do not want to put an end to their colonial status.

102. Even in those instances in which small Non-Self-Governing island Territories have achieved the official status of independent States, the colonial Powers have paid no heed to the right of the peoples of those countries to independent, sovereign development, and they frequently use them for their own imperialist ends. Direct proof of that was the recent incident in which a number of small countries in the Caribbean—including Saint Lucia, Antigua and Barbuda and the new State Member of the United Nations, Saint Christopher and Nevis—were used by the United States to provide camouflage for its armed aggression against the peace-loving people of a small country, Grenada, which posed no threat of any kind to anyone. It is obvious that these countries still have a great deal to do if they are to consolidate their independence and successfully resist the constant pressure put on them by colonialist and neo-colonialist forces.

103. In trying to disguise the present forms of colonialism, the United States asserts, as in the statement today by its representative, that colonialism ceased to exist long ago, or that it exists now only in Namibia. It depicts the actions of national liberation movements as the acts of terrorists and tries to present the problem of decolonization as a confrontation between East and West. Further, in so doing, it slanders the policies of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries, as its representative did in today's statement. All this is simply a propaganda uproar intended to create a pretext for the United States and its allies to continue their colonial exploitation of other peoples, to put down by arms the national liberation movements, to support the racists in southern Africa and to impose their hegemony on the peoples of Africa, Latin America and other continents.

104. In the real world the problem of decolonization is at present a conflict between the United States, South Africa and certain Western Powers on the one hand and the peoples of Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Pacific and other independent peoples on the other. This is a conflict between the national liberation movements in Africa and other parts of the world on the one hand

and the united forces of imperialism, colonialism and racism on the other. The United States is the main colonial Power of the present day. This is so because of its colonialist and colonizing history and background, because of its vast colonial possessions and because it is the bulwark of colonialism in its various forms throughout the world, including the racist colonialism of Pretoria. It is clear to everyone that it is the United States that is protecting South Africa from the international sanctions that are favoured by the vast majority of States.

105. It is apposite to recall in this connection that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, condemned the policy of so-called constructive engagement with South Africa pursued by the United States and emphasized that

“The public proclamation of the racist Pretoria régime as friend and ally has encouraged it in its intensified repression of the South African people, its escalating aggression against its neighbours and its determined intransigence over Namibian independence.” [A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 57.]

As a sage once said, “Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you who you are.”

106. At the root of the stubborn resistance of the colonial Powers to the full and final implementation of the Declaration on decolonization is the very nature of imperialism, its political, economic and military-strategic interests. The existence of colonial régimes creates better conditions for monopolistic capital and transnational corporations to make unbelievably large profits through their unimpeded pillaging and depletion of natural resources and their inhuman exploitation of the populations of colonial Territories.

107. Military activity in the independent Territories further supports the interests of the colonizers—the location of military bases and installations and the reinforcement of their military presence there. Examples of this are: the escalation of assistance by the Western Powers to the military machine and nuclear potential of South Africa; the military presence and military bases and installations in Guam, Puerto Rico, Diego García, Micronesia, Bermuda and the Turks and Caicos Islands and the militarization of Ascension Island; the war waged by the United Kingdom to restore the colonial status of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas); and, finally, the United States armed intervention, making use of the territory of Puerto Rico, against Grenada.

108. I wish on behalf of the Soviet delegation to express our deep appreciation of the work accomplished this year by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples under the chairmanship of Mr. Koroma, of Sierra Leone. The Special Committee carried out essential work over the past year and adopted a number of positive decisions and resolutions. The Soviet delegation supports the results of the Committee's work and hopes that in the future it will continue to carry out effectively the tasks before it.

*Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

109. It is the duty of the United Nations to make every effort to bring about the rapid implementation of the Declaration on decolonization and the speedy and complete elimination of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The colonialists must not continue to ignore United Nations decisions on the granting of independence to Namibia and other dependent Territories. The Soviet

Union supports the demand of the African countries that the Security Council impose on the Pretoria régime the comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. But to achieve this we have to overcome the resistance of those Western Powers permanent members of the Security Council, foremost among them the United States, which are impeding the implementation of effective international sanctions against South Africa.

110. The Soviet Union condemns the rapacious activities of the Western Powers and their monopolies in southern Africa and in small colonial Territories. We support the demands of the African countries and United Nations resolutions that capital should immediately be withdrawn from South Africa and Namibia.

111. For its part, the Soviet Union is struggling valiantly against colonialism and has consistently defended the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. We are justly proud of the fact that the Soviet Union was the initiator of the introduction and adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Soviet Union has given and will continue to give assistance and support to the forces of the national liberation movements and to all peoples struggling for freedom and independence and against colonial oppression and enslavement.

112. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Twenty-three years have passed since the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Since that time the United Nations has made a tremendous effort in support of decolonization, thus contributing to the historic struggle of peoples to throw off the yoke of colonialist and imperialist oppression. The presence in our midst of a large number of independent African, Asian and Caribbean States attests to the great achievement of the Organization and to the inexorable triumph of concepts of independence following the victory over nazism and fascism and the end of the Second World War.

113. For 100 years Cuba fought for true freedom and sovereignty, first against colonial Spain and then against the growing Yankee imperialism, and we are keenly aware of the true value of the historic contribution of the United Nations and its meaning, in terms of human, social and political progress, for the peoples of the world.

114. Nevertheless, as everyone knows, the struggle against the vestiges of colonialism has not ended: not in Africa, where the bloody heritage of Namibia is a thorn in the side of the continent; not in the Indian Ocean region, where the Comorian island of Mayotte, the Malagasy Islands and Diego García must be restored to the sovereignty of Comoros, Madagascar and Mauritius, respectively; not in East Timor; not in the Caribbean, where several European Powers maintain anachronistic "overseas possessions" and where the United States continues to occupy Puerto Rico; not in the South Atlantic, where attempts continue to deny Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands; and not in the well-known Non-Self-Governing Territories, the euphemistic name given to the colonies of Micronesia and the Virgin Islands and others which appear in the United Nations list of such Territories.

115. Furthermore, the policy of aggression and expansion of imperialism and its pawns in the Middle East and southern Africa, Israel and South Africa, has brought about a new form of colonialism, as manifested in the illegal proliferation of Zionist settlements on the West Bank and in Gaza and in the neo-colonialists assaults by

the racist régime of Pretoria on neighbouring independent States and the front-line countries.

116. The process of decolonization has been arrested in some of the most critical areas, particularly in Namibia, where the racist forces of Pretoria have extended the monstrous system of *apartheid* and are trying to impose a so-called internal settlement put together with puppets and those who wish to surrender Namibia's natural wealth, with the blessing of their imperialist allies, in order to undermine the victory of the people and its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO. Herr Botha's Fascists, together with their protectors and benefactors, are striving, in the "constructive engagement", to make a dead letter of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to prevent the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

117. Thus, the typically interventionist and ill-advised idea of former Secretary of State Alexander Haig—the so-called theory of linkage between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces sent to Angola by agreement between our sovereign Governments—has acquired its "citizenship papers" and is brandished by the racists or put forward by the opportunists as a pretext for circumventing the clear mandate of the international community and of United Nations resolutions.

118. No one should be deceived, however; neither the South African racists nor their imperialist protectors want real independence for Namibia. Their plan, disinterred from nineteenth-century manuals of counter-revolutionary reaction and copied from Nazi doctrines, envisages a world serving the interests of their monopolies, a Namibia subjugated to South Africa and the conversion of the rest of the continent into an economic, political and military appendage of United States imperialism. In other words, it sees the world as a Yankee backyard for Yankee profit. However, we have not the slightest doubt that this policy is doomed to failure. The system of *apartheid* will be eradicated by the unstoppable force of the black masses, and Namibia will be independent sooner rather than later. The anti-historical currents represented today by imperialism and its allies will be buried by history.

119. We have heard in this Hall today a curious apologia of imperialist policies, including the inevitable diatribe against socialism and against various resolutions adopted by the Special Committee. It is not at all surprising that the representatives of the transnational corporations wish to defend their alleged good deeds; after all, they are the main instruments of exploitation by contemporary capitalism and, as has been proved *ad nauseam*, are the chief accomplices of the South African racist régime in plundering the wealth of Namibia and South Africa itself and are the greatest beneficiaries therefrom. Nor are we surprised that the struggle of the peoples against foreign domination has been called "terrorism". We have already said that the spokesmen of the present American Administration, in a frankly Orwellian style, refer to those who massacre people as patriots and refer to patriots as terrorists. But it is a ridiculous contradiction that in one paragraph we have been demagogically reminded of the colonial origins of the United States and yet in another the right of peoples to use all means available to them in their struggle for freedom is denounced as something fiendish. The representatives of the present American Administration, in their twisted logic, either consider Patrick Henry, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin as terrorists, or want us to apply a biased and unacceptable double standard here, as in other matters.

120. We should point also to the attempts of imperialism to camouflage its expansionist and exploitative tendencies. Aside from the fact that the list of colonies read out this morning omits Puerto Rico, the largest United States colony in the world, and confines the status of colony to Namibia alone, it is a fact that imperialism has replaced its colonial policy by neo-colonialism, that is, by the continued subjugation of independent countries through economic and political control. This control was exercised in Cuba before the revolution by American banks, companies and capitalists and the Ambassador of the United States, a veritable proconsul, one of whom, a Mr. Gardner, blithely but not without some modesty confessed that his authority in Cuba was second only to that of the President of the Republic. He was referring, of course, to Fulgencio Batista.

121. That phenomenon, which is occurring in many parts of the world in spite of the formal independence of many countries, is the modern form of the old colonial system. It has led directly to the present neo-colonial network of imperialist power which is being fought by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

122. My delegation, as a member of the Special Committee and as a strong advocate of decolonization, considers that the report presented this year and the resolutions adopted by the Special Committee and by the Fourth Committee represent, in their essence, a contribution to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

123. This year, for the first time, when the resolution on Puerto Rico was adopted in the Special Committee, there was a far-ranging debate on the growing militarization of the sister Latin American island. Criticism was levelled at the participation of the American National Guard of Puerto Rico in the "Gran Pino" military manoeuvres which, as part of the anti-Sandinist destabilizing strategy, are being carried out by the United States armed forces in Honduran territory.

124. That debate was later reflected in the work of the Fourth Committee where, also for the first time, a representative of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico made a statement describing with irrefutable facts this process of militarization and offering valuable evidence regarding the obstacles created by these military activities to the independence of colonial or Non-Self-Governing Territories including the rapidly declining Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The complaints of various Puerto Rican petitioners in the Special Committee were borne out by the facts: the "Ocean Venture" manoeuvres and landing exercises on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques served as a trial run for the criminal aggression and invasion of Grenada, one of the smallest independent States in the world, on 25 October of this year by the air, land and naval forces of the United States. Furthermore, the complaint by Puerto Rican patriots regarding the murder of young members—

125. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the United States has asked to speak on a point of order.

126. Mr. BOEHM (United States of America): The speaker has referred repeatedly to Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is not on the agenda of the General Assembly, although it might have been taken up in the Fourth Committee. It was removed from the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories by action of the General Assembly in 1953. Last year, this body declined to inscribe Puerto Rico on its agenda. Therefore, it is not appropriate for the speaker to address this question here. My delegation has exercised forbearance, but feels compelled at this stage to ask you, Mr. President, to remind the speaker

and any subsequent speakers who advert to this subject to confine their remarks to the items on the agenda before us, which do not include Puerto Rico.

127. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United States for his statement and ask the representative of Cuba to continue his statement.

128. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am entirely in order as I make this statement. We are considering agenda item 18, which refers to the report of the Special Committee. If the representative of the United States has not read that report, I would remind him that it contains a resolution on Puerto Rico and therefore I am referring to an item which is before the Assembly.

129. The complaint by Puerto Rican patriots regarding the murder of young members of the independence movement in the Cerro Maravilla, in San Juan, by the colonialist Government's agents of repression has not only been fully corroborated, but the pro-Yankee Governor himself, Carlos Romero Barceló, is facing impeachment proceedings demanded by all opposition parties, even by the amanuensis which the delegation which just attempted to interrupt me brought to speak at the previous session and presented to us as the Mayor of San Juan, Mr. Hernán Padilla. Such distinguished Puerto Ricans as Mr. Severo Colberg, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and Mrs. Victoria Muñoz Mendoza, the daughter of former Governor Luis Muñoz Marín, have spoken unequivocally against the militarization of Puerto Rico and Romero Barceló's attempts to turn it into a component of the United States military-industrial complex.

130. The representatives of empire continue, even today, up to this very hour, with their stubborn refusal to recognize the colonial situation of Puerto Rico, despite the resolutions of the Special Committee, as contained in the report, which uphold its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. But more and more people, even in the United States Congress itself and among more progressive elements of that country, differ from the Administration's leading men and question the moral and legal nature of the present political status of that Caribbean island.

131. We are convinced that in the case of Puerto Rico, as in the cases already mentioned and which are also referred to in the report, justice will win, sooner rather than later, and that the lone star of Puerto Rico will shine, as it should, among the independent republics of our America.

132. Mr. CHORNY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): In the range of efforts by the United Nations to serve the cause of peace, an important place belongs to the efforts to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism that remain in the world. One of the Organization's most notable achievements in this field was the adoption at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration gave a powerful impetus to the world-wide movement for the elimination of the colonial system of imperialism. It declared colonialism a crime and recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples against colonialism and racism and demanded that an end be put immediately and unconditionally to this disgraceful legacy of the past.

133. The consistent policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, directed to strengthening peace and mutual understanding among peoples, an integral

part of which is comprehensive assistance and support to those peoples striving for their independence and social progress, has considerably alleviated and accelerated the process of liberation from colonialist and neo-colonialist dependence.

134. During the last two decades, the colonial empires have crumbled one after another, and on their ruins have been laid the foundations of a new life of national statehood, sovereignty and independence for the liberated peoples. This is a result of the indefatigable and continuing national liberation movement which, despite having to overcome many difficulties and obstacles, continues to win fresh victories.

135. There can be no doubt that success in the speedy elimination of the vestiges of colonialism would be considerably greater if it were not for the fierce resistance of the forces of imperialism and reaction, which are attempting to regain their lost positions and hold up the irreversible process of the liberation of oppressed peoples. Unfortunately, we more and more frequently encounter something which can really only be called a reversion to imperialist ambitions—attempts to play the part of a world policeman.

136. Openly declaring its hegemonistic claims and flouting the generally recognized norms of inter-State conduct and international law, the most aggressive militaristic imperialist circles, headed by the United States, have made it their policy to worsen the international situation and to ignite international crises and conflicts. They have openly declared whole regions of the world “spheres of their vital interests”, and where they feel they can get away with it, they have dealt harshly with those unacceptable to them, as in the case of defenceless Grenada.

137. One of the danger spots is southern Africa. The political tension here has gone far beyond the regional context and now constitutes a matter of serious concern to the world community. As a result of the inhuman policies and practices of *apartheid* practised by the racist régime of South Africa with the help of its Western protectors, terror and repression are the daily lot of the indigenous population of that country and of Namibia, which it is illegally occupying. Brazenly flouting the decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the granting of independence to Namibia, the racist régime of Pretoria has taken up arms in order to keep that country in the grip of colonial slavery. Furthermore, with the open connivance of their imperialist cohorts, the Pretoria racists are perpetrating armed attacks on the front-line States from Namibian territory, which are unparalleled in their impudence and ferocity, thus trying to destabilize them and force them to give up the assistance and support they are giving the national liberation movement of the Namibian people.

138. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that the policy of racism, terror and aggression practised by the South African régime is a serious threat to the free and independent development of African countries and to the international peace and security of peoples. This policy is an integral part of the imperialist “crusade”, which is aimed at putting down progressive and democratic forces and national liberation movements. Therefore it is by no means a surprise that the ties of so-called constructive engagement are binding Washington and Pretoria ever closer together. Pretoria has been described as “a friend and a military and historical ally” of the United States.

139. In order to hinder as much as possible the process of the liberation of Namibia from the colonial and racist grasp of Pretoria, to impose a neo-colonialist decision

on the Namibian problem and to effect its settlement outside the United Nations, the racists and their patrons are putting forward various kinds of contrived conditions for granting independence to Namibia, such as the notorious “linkage” with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the fulfilment by Angola of various kinds of uncompromising demands. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully shares the conclusion of the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held last April in Paris, that “the persistence of such attempts not only retards the decolonization process in Namibia but also constitutes an unwarranted and gross interference in the internal affairs of Angola”.<sup>2</sup> We support Security Council resolution 539 (1983), which rejects the policy of linkage as incompatible with United Nations decisions.

140. The Ukrainian SSR, in statements both here at the United Nations and other international forums, in particular in the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, has constantly stated that the only genuine and just political solution to the Namibian issue will be to ensure the immediate exercise by the Namibian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and true independence on the basis of preserving the unity and territorial integrity of that country, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, together with the immediate and complete withdrawal of South African troops and administration from Namibia and the transfer of full authority to SWAPO, which has been recognized by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries as the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Such a settlement can be achieved only by collective efforts on the part of all States, on the basis of conscientious and strict implementation of all the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions in their entirety, and this entails the complete international isolation and boycott of the racists. We therefore fully support the demand of the majority of States that the Security Council impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

141. Unfortunately, it is not only in southern Africa that the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are not being implemented. A number of so-called small Territories in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean are still under colonial domination. In its efforts at post-war reconstruction, the United Nations did not forget about the small Territories. Indeed, that is precisely why the Charter has a special chapter—Chapter XII—on the International Trusteeship System. The entire content of that chapter is noble and humanitarian. Under its provisions, colonies were to become independent States with the help of the economically developed countries. The condition is laid down that during the period of trusteeship the Territories should not and cannot be used for military purposes, for the establishment of military bases aimed against third countries.

142. In fact, however, things turned out to be much more complicated, and in certain cases the exact opposite of what the United Nations was seeking has happened. The administering Powers, motivated by their own selfish interests and acting in defiance of the aspirations of the indigenous populations, have attempted to maintain the colonial status of these Territories, going so far as to turn them into military bases, a sort of bastion of imperialism in certain regions. They have thereby created a threat to many neighbouring countries and peoples.

Attempting to justify their unlawful acts, the administering Powers have trotted out the standard set of contrived arguments about the very small size of the colonial and dependent Territories and the fact that they are not inhabited by very many people and that they have a low level of social, cultural and economic development. These are the factors which, they say, prevent decolonization. But that is completely contrary to the provisions of the Declaration on decolonization and the programme of action for the full implementation of this historic Declaration [resolution 2621 (XXV)] and other relevant General Assembly resolutions, which, as is known, do not make the process of decolonization dependent upon such factors as those I have mentioned.

143. So what we have here is a vicious circle: Namibia is not given independence because the desire is to maintain this large and very well endowed country in the harsh manacles of colonialist illegality; and the island Territories are not given independence because they are small and poor. Surely, this can be nothing but hypocrisy.

144. A classic example of neo-colonialist policies is the situation in the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Micronesia. The Security Council in 1947 transferred the mandate for the provisional administration of Micronesia and gave instructions that the islands be prepared for independence as quickly as possible. The facts, however, indicate not only that the United States has failed to do that during three and one-half decades but that, on the contrary, it has turned these islands into a testing ground for missile technology and the newest types of weapons, including nuclear weapons. To perpetuate that situation, the United States has embarked on a policy of dividing up Micronesia, by means of the illegal "association" of the Territory with the United States, under various counterfeit labels—as has been done in Puerto Rico, which is virtually a colony of the United States. In an attempt to weaken the effectiveness of the demands for the granting of independence and to paralyse international support for these demands, the United States, using so-called plebiscites and referendums, has cynically presented its predatory activities as an expansion of the will of the islanders themselves, but remains silent about the expressions of protest against Washington's demands—including the powerful manifestation in the form of the month-old strike of the people of the Kwajalein atoll.

145. Let us be quite clear about this: the annexationist and militaristic actions of the United States towards Micronesia are illegal. Under the Charter, any change in the status of Micronesia is the exclusive prerogative of the Security Council. Therefore, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that, in the light of these actions by the administering Power, the United Nations and its appropriate organs should take the steps provided for in the Charter to ensure the failure of these attempts to present the world with the *fait accompli* of the absorption of the entire Trust Territory and its transformation into a colonial possession. Everything should be done to ensure that the people of Micronesia, in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration on decolonization, freely exercise their legitimate right to genuine liberty and independence.

146. There is another example of the sacred right of the peoples to self-determination and independence being challenged by the imperialist Powers or completely denied by them on behalf of their own strategic interests. This is the collusion between two colonial Powers in regard to turning the island of Diego Garcia into a major United States military base in the Indian Ocean. This island, which is part of the Chagos Archipelago, was illegally

seized by the United Kingdom from Mauritius in 1965 and then handed over to the United States to serve its own military purposes and also as a rallying point for the "rapid deployment force" in the Indian Ocean.

147. The same picture, with the same *dramatis personae*, can be seen in the Atlantic, particularly the South Atlantic. There, instead of decolonizing the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Great Britain is at a quickening tempo increasingly militarizing them in the hope of turning them into a British outpost in the South Atlantic.

148. Such actions by the imperialist Powers, headed by the United States, are, wherever they are carried out, utterly at variance with the high ideals of the Charter, the Declaration on decolonization and the irreversible process of the positive restructuring of international relations, a feature of which is the complete removal of colonialism from our planet.

149. In two years, in 1985, it will be 25 years since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted. The United Nations will then review what has happened in this extremely important process. It is our conviction that the United Nations should do everything it can to ensure that the provisions of this historic Declaration are implemented as soon as possible, completely and without any exceptions. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is prepared, as always, to support any proposals that serve that noble end.

150. Mr. MARGETSON (United Kingdom): I have not been able to listen to all the speeches in this debate, but two this afternoon made a very distinct impression upon me.

151. First of all, I would mention the very impressive speech made by the representative of India. It was, if I may say so, a call for freedom and for principles with which I agree completely. Important points which he made are indeed to be found in the speech which I am about to make.

152. Secondly, I listened with amazement to the speech of the representative of Viet Nam—with amazement because Viet Nam has links with Cambodia and Laos that appear to me to be much more imperialistic than the links which were to be found in the nineteenth century between my own country and, for instance, Canada, Australia and New Zealand before Lord Durham wrote his famous report which was the start of the British decolonization period.

153. Perhaps I could also refer to the speech by my colleague from the Soviet Union, Mr. Oleandrov. He chose to mention the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Having visited that Trust Territory twice this year to witness free and fair plebiscites on the constitutional future of two sections of the Trust Territory, I must say that I disagree profoundly with what my Soviet colleague said, but, more important, I believe he should not have made his points in this forum, the General Assembly. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is a subject which, under Article 83 of the Charter of the United Nations, should be dealt with only by the Trusteeship Council, of which I happen this year to have the honour of being President, and the Security Council. The Charter is quite clear on this point, and I believe we should abide by it.

154. My country is proud of the part it has played in decolonization and proud of the legacy of good government, efficient administration and respect for the rule of law that we have helped to create, and we take an even deeper pride and satisfaction in the replacement of our Empire by a Commonwealth of independent and resilient nations. Decolonization of our Territories took place in

accordance with long-standing British Government policies and in accordance with the wishes of the people involved. The United Nations has witnessed this continuing process, and the United Kingdom has involved United Nations committees and agencies as much as possible to illustrate the identity of interest between the administering Power, the dependent Territories themselves and the international community.

155. The British process of decolonization fell into several distinct phases. It began in the late nineteenth century with the work of Lord Durham, which I have just mentioned, in Canada. Under this impetus, Territories where British settlement had taken place on a large scale were released from what was essentially a subordinate role to that of Britain and associated with it on a basis of equality.

156. There then began the second stage, namely, discussion of how far and how fast this principle was to be extended to other parts of the British Empire. Between the First and Second World Wars, consideration of this problem centred mainly on the future of India, which accounted for some three quarters of the population of the British dependent Territories. With the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947, a new multiracial Commonwealth came into existence. In the following year Burma and Ceylon became independent. This was an important period for the formalization of British policy in the field of decolonization. I think I can do no better than to quote from a Government White Paper of June 1948, which defined excellently the objectives of our colonial policy both then and now:

“The central purpose of British colonial policy is to guide the colonial territories to responsible self-government within the Commonwealth in terms that ensure to the people concerned both a fair standard of living and freedom from repression from any quarter.”

157. The third, final and, as it was to prove, very rapid phase of this policy was marked when Ghana, the first of the British African Territories to do so, attained independence in 1957. A decade later all these African Territories were independent, with the sole exception of Rhodesia, which had never been directly administered by Britain and where an illegal régime maintained power from 1965 until 1979.

158. It is perhaps worth noting that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), much quoted in this debate, which called for the immediate independence of all colonial Territories and which was later followed by the establishment of the Special Committee on decolonization, was adopted in December 1960, well after the acceleration of the process I have outlined was under way. I have already mentioned the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947. Altogether 15 former British dependent and Trust Territories, with a combined population of almost 1 billion people, had become independent before December 1960, when resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted.

159. During the next 20 years a further 32 Territories, with a present-day population totalling some 75 million, attained independence. Not surprisingly, it was the smaller and economically less powerful States which were the last to seek independence, since their main priorities were for training, aid and economic development. Yet, by the late 1960s even the small island colonies, for example those in the Caribbean, were working towards independent nationhood, proving that constraints such as size, lack of natural resources and geographical isolation need not necessarily constitute impediments to independence.

160. At the beginning of this session we welcomed the accession of Saint Christopher and Nevis to independence and indeed to membership in the United Nations. That event was doubly significant in that Saint Christopher and Nevis are the last of the six Associated States created in the Caribbean in 1967 to end its dependence, though not, I am glad to say, to end its close and friendly links with the United Kingdom. On 1 January next year another British Territory, Brunei, accedes to independence, and we hope it will not be long before that country, too, seeks membership in the United Nations.

161. The decolonization process is now virtually complete. Over 1 billion people, almost a quarter of the world, have been decolonized by Britain. Almost a third of the States Members of the United Nations were at one time in this century administered by Britain. It is, as I have said, a source of pride and satisfaction for us that almost all of them have chosen to continue their bonds of friendship and co-operation through the Commonwealth. The importance and influence of the Commonwealth in international affairs has been shown once more by the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting held at New Delhi from 23 to 29 November 1983. I hope that the communiqué of that meeting [see A/38/707] will be widely read. It has much of importance to say on problems which concern all of us at the United Nations.

162. There remain, of course, a number of British Territories which for the present prefer to retain their dependent status. The reasons for this are many. Members are familiar with these Territories from the debates in the Special Committee. Every year my Government provides comprehensive information on their political, social and economic development. For the most part they are the smallest island Territories, whose limited resources dictate that special care must be taken in preparing them for the challenge of independence. It is worth remembering that with the exception of Hong Kong, to which special circumstances apply, the 12 remaining British dependent Territories have a combined total population of only 150,000. Among these only Bermuda, with 55,000, and Gibraltar, with 30,000, have a population larger than 20,000. Many are scattered island groups. But each Territory has its own political life and its own well-established democratic procedures. Each one will make its own decisions about its economic and political development. It is not for the United Kingdom, or the United Nations, or anyone else to tell any dependent Territory what would be the most appropriate constitutional arrangement for its people. It remains, therefore, a fundamental principle for us that non-self-governing peoples should be allowed freely to express their views through their own political processes. The United Kingdom will always promote and encourage progress towards independence but it will not push colonial Territories towards independence against their will. British dependent Territories have been and will continue to be administered in accordance with the obligations placed on the United Kingdom as an administering Power under Article 73 of the Charter.

163. I might also add, by way of comment on what we have heard in the debate so far, that it is misleading to apply the concept of colonialism only to the establishment of rule “across the sea”, as it were, over peoples of an alien culture. The most conspicuous difference between, shall we say, the Soviet Union establishing its rule over completely alien peoples on the mainland of Asia and Western European Powers doing the same in other parts of the world is that the latter process has led to the independence of most of the peoples concerned, whereas the former has led to their continued

subjugation and repression. No less an authority than that wise and fair-minded philosopher and political scientist, the late Mr. Raymond Aron, wrote, "The only colonial Empire still surviving intact today is that which Tsarist Russia once constructed, and which Lenin himself, before taking power, denounced". I find myself in the strange company of Mr. Lenin.

164. I have said enough about the general principles of our decolonization policy. Let me turn now to the two draft resolutions that are before us today. It will come as no surprise that I consider the authors of these two draft resolutions to live in an unreal world, unaware of what has taken place during the past 35 years in the field of decolonization. For them colonialism apparently means only the situation in Namibia. Namibia is indeed a colonial situation, but it has had a unique history and its problem is different from that of all other colonial Territories in the world. If, therefore, we apply the terms of the draft resolution on implementation of the Declaration [A/38/L.33] to our own British Territories, they simply do not fit.

165. I shall not in any case address the subject of Namibia in any detail. It has been dealt with at great length very recently in this Hall, which further reduces the need for these draft resolutions to focus on that Territory again. The draft resolution on implementation of the Declaration deals in political clichés and abstractions which have nothing to do with our British colonies. Perhaps certain delegations have a vested interest in keeping alive the rhetoric of decolonization and perpetuating unchanged the United Nations decolonization machinery, which was created for a very different world. Why are we confronted once again with claims that "the continuation of colonialism" in all its forms and manifestations is "incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations"? The continuation of colonialism is manifestly not incompatible with the Charter. As the representative of the Ukrainian SSR reminded us a few minutes ago, a whole chapter of the Charter is devoted precisely to the responsibilities of administering Powers towards dependent Territories. Why is colonialism equated with "exploitation by foreign and other interests of economic and human resources" when the activities of foreign companies in our dependent Territories so obviously provide a vital channel for the private finance and technical expertise needed for successful development? And are we, a country recognized by the United Nations as an administering Power, seriously expected to accept being categorized as an "illegal occupying régime" in the dependent Territories for which we are responsible? For this is certainly the clear implication of the twelfth preambular paragraph of this draft resolution. I have never heard such nonsense.

166. It would surely be more sensible and more in accord with the objective facts for the draft resolution to acknowledge that the decolonization process is drawing rapidly to a close, that most administering Powers have indeed fulfilled the obligations placed upon them and that most dependent Territories are likewise happy and content with their present status. Should not a draft resolution on decolonization recognize that it is for the non-self-governing peoples themselves to choose whether to seek independence or to retain their colonial status?

167. Finally, is it not time that such draft resolutions did away with the absurd references to the alleged deleterious effects of military facilities, for example, in Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands and Ascension Island, which we are asked to believe pose a threat to the right of self-determination of the local people—and, incredibly in the case of Ascension Island, of the people

of a Territory 1,000 miles away, in St. Helena? Should not the draft resolution at the very least acknowledge that such facilities could conceivably affect the people concerned only if they were there against their will? For, in the case of the United Kingdom dependent Territories, we maintain military facilities only with the express consent of the local population.

168. As for the draft resolution on dissemination of information [A/38/L.34], I regret that this looks like another example of certain delegations seeking to keep alive the mythology of decolonization, presumably in order to fuel their campaigns of vilification against the former imperial Powers. At a time when all delegations are concerned to limit increases in the United Nations budget, there is no good reason to seek appropriations for the purpose of intensifying information work on decolonization. Rather, logic dictates that it should now begin to taper off as the scale of the issue itself diminishes. Is the Assembly aware, for instance, that in approving the Special Committee's report on dissemination of information [A/38/23, chap. II], which the present draft resolution asks us to do, we shall be sanctioning a proposal that the Special Committee hold a three-day session in Vienna in February next year with non-governmental organizations based in Europe? The aim: "to contribute to better co-ordination of their action in the field of dissemination of information on decolonization"; the cost: \$88,900. By what yardstick, political or otherwise, can expenditure of this order be justified?

169. I am, of course, only too aware that for many delegations the situation in Namibia remains the central focus of information work on decolonization. But as I have already said, the situation in that Territory is unique and is clearly recognized as such by the United Nations, where special provisions are made for it. It should not be allowed to obscure the positive developments in other areas of decolonization which point to the need for the United Nations information effort to be reduced in so far as it is directed towards general decolonization questions and for greater attention to be paid to the aid and development of the remaining dependent Territories. There is no justification for putting the limited resources of the United Nations at the service of those whose interest is in generating confrontation and in keeping outdated animosities artificially alive.

170. In conclusion, let me say again what we have said on many occasions. My delegation hopes that there will come a time when we shall be presented in this Assembly with shorter, more realistic texts on which consensus will be possible between delegations concerned with decolonization, rather than with ideological language which bears no relation to the real needs and wishes of the people concerned.

171. Mr. KAPOMA (Zambia): The adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in 1960 constituted a momentous and historic act by the United Nations in the field of decolonization. That resolution, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, was an act of great vision by the international community which, in furtherance of the Charter principles, gave impetus to the decolonization process.

172. Today, the United Nations comprises 158 Member States. A vast number of these countries have become independent in the 23 years since resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted. Because of the accelerated decolonization process, inspired by that historic act of the General Assembly, the United Nations is today closer to realization of the much-cherished principle of universality of membership. The process of decolonization has become



irreversible. It is only a matter of time before the burning desire of all peoples everywhere to be free can be realized. Indeed, it is a matter of great satisfaction to my delegation that very soon, on 31 December 1983, a new nation will be born with the accession of Brunei to independence.

173. Clearly, the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was not an end in itself. Also highly significant was the establishment of the Special Committee on decolonization, otherwise known as the Committee of 24. The Special Committee has since its inception spear-headed United Nations efforts in the cause of freedom and independence, and it continues to work tirelessly for the full realization of the objectives of the Declaration. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to commend the Chairman, Mr. Koroma, of Sierra Leone, and all the members of the Special Committee for their dedicated efforts to bring about the total emancipation of colonial countries and peoples.

174. While great strides have been made and commendable progress recorded in the field of decolonization, the reality is that the colonial era is not yet behind us. Pockets of colonialism and racist minority rule remain around the world, particularly in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific regions. Zambia is concerned about this situation. It is our view that there should be no room for complacency. We must all be inspired by the achievements so far and work even harder to complete the decolonization process. The day must soon come for the international community triumphantly to complete and close the chapter on the decolonization process.

175. Zambia's position of principle remains that the size, population and economic standing should not in any way impede the accession of any Non-Self-Governing Territory to independence. The peoples of any such Territory have as much right as any other to exercise their right of self-determination. In this connection, it is important that the administering Powers of the Non-Self-Governing Territories do not for strategic, military, economic or any other reasons ignore the aspirations of the peoples concerned and seek to perpetuate the *status quo*. Zambia cannot, for example, condone the establishment of foreign military bases in the Non-Self-Governing Territories which impedes the cause of self-determination. The administering Powers, moreover, have a duty to promote the economic viability of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the context of preparing them for independence.

176. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes the most glaring example of failure to complete the decolonization process. The pre-conditions South Africa is advancing, such as the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, before Namibia can accede to independence are but manoeuvres designed to delay further the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and thus enable South Africa to continue its plunder of Namibian natural resources. The people of Namibia, like any other people, is entitled to a Government of its own choice. Its independence should not, therefore, be made contingent on issues that are irrelevant to its own aspirations.

177. Attempts to portray the question of Namibia as an East-West issue have been made and continue to be made. Repeatedly, we have warned of the dangers of deviating from the matter at hand, namely, that Namibia is a question of decolonization and nothing else. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have categorically rejected South Africa's insistence on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola before the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia

can be implemented. It is necessary that all possible pressure be brought to bear on South Africa to compel it to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia and allow the Territory to accede to independence without any further delay.

178. It would be naïve to talk about South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia without any reference to the *apartheid* policy it practises. It is through the application of this policy that the Namibians, like the black South Africans who form the large majority of the population of that country, are subjected to many acts of social injustice, including the denial of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. We have all condemned this inhuman system, which is based on some mythical belief in white supremacy, because it is an affront to human dignity. It is a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The international community has rightly designated *apartheid* a crime against humanity. Against this background, we should all redouble our efforts to bring about an end to *apartheid*.

179. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): The significance of the adoption by the General Assembly in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples can be seen in the Assembly Hall itself. The increase in membership is a direct consequence of the elimination of colonialism from many parts of the world, especially Africa. Recently we had the pleasure of welcoming Saint Christopher and Nevis as a Member of the United Nations.

180. The Special Committee began its work in 1960 with 24 members. Although the Special Committee continues to be known as the Committee of 24, the fact that its current membership is more than that is clear proof that the interest and awareness of the international community, too, have been on the increase.

181. The past year, like previous years, has been filled with activities. The Special Committee has been involved in important visits to dependent Territories, all with the aim of bringing nearer the date of independence for those Territories. Arising out of those activities, a number of lessons continue to unfold.

182. My delegation cannot but express its disquiet over the continued use of some of the small Territories for military purposes. Western Sahara is still under colonial occupation. Like Western Sahara, those Territories have virtually been transformed into economic ventures by transnational corporations, invariably without due regard for the interests of the people concerned. We have pointed out in the past that such activities have hampered the strict application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In order to guard against abuses arising out of the activities of both a military and an economic nature in dependent Territories, the Special Committee has a policy of sending visiting missions to Territories to which the Declaration applies, thus ensuring that at all times the true wishes of the people are safeguarded. In this regard, my delegation commends those administering Powers which have offered to co-operate with the Committee.

183. To emphasize the plight of the so-called small Territories is to underline the obvious, but unless someone speaks on their behalf their interests will always be ignored. Their size and their correspondingly weak economies have made it impossible for them to pick up arms or to organize resistance movements to fight for what is their legitimate and inalienable right. Suffice it to say that, as long as peoples are denied their right to

self-determination in an atmosphere free from intimidation and unwarranted threats, my country will continue to support the right of those Territories to be defended by the Special Committee. It naturally follows, therefore, that the letter and spirit of the Declaration is as valid now as it was on 14 December 1960 when the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV).

184. Pursuance of the basic purposes and objectives of the Special Committee on decolonization must continue until colonialism is totally eradicated. Yet, despite the impressive progress made in the field of decolonization, there are still people who continue to languish under colonialism and racism.

185. The case of Namibia is the most glaring. The racist régime of South Africa continues to govern that Territory illegally and in complete disregard of the will of the international community. The South African régime continues its acts of aggression against independent neighbouring African States, thus threatening peace and security in the region and in Africa as a whole. To date, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains unimplemented because of the insistence by the United States and South Africa on linking the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The net result of all this is the prolongation of the colonial occupation of Namibia and the non-implementation of the Declaration.

186. Colonialism also continues to exist in a number of small Territories in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans, in contravention of provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and numerous General Assembly resolutions, in particular, resolution 1514 (XV). My delegation, as a member of the Special Committee, has always supported the view that that resolution, containing the Declaration, is an extension of the Charter. Its strict implementation is a mandatory obligation of all peace-loving countries and of all that profess strict adherence to the Charter. Resolution 1514 (XV) therefore places certain responsibilities on Member States, specialized agencies of the United Nations and non-governmental institutions.

187. It is pertinent to mention that the General Assembly has time and again adopted resolutions calling on Member States to co-operate with the Special Committee on decolonization to ensure the speedy implementation of the Declaration. Also, Member States have always been called upon by the General Assembly to stop activities in dependent Territories which impede the implementation of the Declaration. In this regard, it is regrettable that resolution 35/119, calling on the colonial Powers with military bases and installations in those Territories to withdraw them unconditionally, has yet to be complied with. We believe that only the complete dismantling of such military facilities could guarantee the free exercise by the people of those Territories of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

188. It is appropriate, however, to note that a number of specialized agencies have co-operated with the Special Committee on decolonization in the implementation of the Declaration. My delegation believes that all specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations have a duty in the decolonization process. We therefore call on them to render whatever assistance is possible to the recognized liberation movements and the people still under colonial domination. It would be remiss of me not to associate my delegation with the concern expressed by many others about the IMF decision to make a loan to South Africa, in total disregard of General Assembly resolutions. As we have said before in the Assembly, any assistance

given to South Africa only helps that régime to intensify its repression against the black people of South Africa and the neighbouring African States.

189. The least the international community can do in support of the basic principles of the Charter on the question of decolonization is to support the activities of the Special Committee on decolonization. My delegation therefore pays a special tribute to its Chairman, Mr. Koroma, for steering the work of the Committee in an exemplary manner. Well-deserved tributes also go to the members of the Committee's secretariat for their loyalty and dedication to the cause. I also take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Rapporteur, Mr. Adhami, of the Syrian Arab Republic, for his eloquent presentation of the Committee's report and recommendations, all of which my delegation fully supports. I hope that the draft resolutions introduced by the Chairman of the Committee will be fully supported by all Member States, for by supporting the draft resolutions the international community will be giving the necessary approval to the Committee to continue to work for the decolonization of the remaining Territories, in accordance with the Declaration. At the same time, the General Assembly's adoption of the draft resolutions would be a clear call to the administering Powers to fulfil their obligations under the Charter.

*Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.*

190. Mr. ADDABASHI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The adoption by the General Assembly in 1960 of resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, was an important step in supporting the struggle of colonized people and expediting decolonization, because it has become the basis of United Nations action on decolonization. Since that date we have witnessed an extension of liberation movements and a shrinking of colonialism, with many countries attaining their independence. Nobody can deny the effective role played by the United Nations in enabling peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. However, implementation of the Declaration continues to encounter many obstacles which delay the attainment by many peoples of their freedom and independence. These obstacles may be summarized as follows.

191. The first is the activities of foreign economic interests. Colonialist States encourage their multinational corporations to invest in the colonized Territories, which leads to the domination by those foreign companies of the economies of the Territories, the plunder of their wealth, the exploitation of their cheap labour and, finally, the transfer of profits to the companies' countries of origin. The countries concerned have come to count on the activities of the companies in the colonized Territories as an essential component of their economies. Their only concern has become to maintain their interests in the colonized Territories and to delay their independence in order to continue to plunder their wealth. Approximately 1,000 foreign companies are operating today in those Territories.

192. The second obstacle is the military bases, installations and activities of the colonialist States in the Territories they administer. Examples are the bases in Guam, Puerto Rico and Micronesia, which represent a threat hanging over the heads of the colonized peoples, preventing them from freely expressing their wishes and demanding recognition of their right to self-determination and independence. The establishment of military bases has led in some cases to the expulsion of all the

inhabitants of the colonized Territories, for example, in Diego García.

193. The third obstacle is the misuse of the right of veto in the Security Council, where colonialist States use the right of veto against any draft resolution that is not in keeping with their interests. They therefore oppose any draft resolution that might assist the colonized peoples to achieve their right to self-determination and independence, particularly if they believe that the resolution is not in their own interest, regardless of the opinion of the international community.

194. These obstacles taken together have impeded decolonization, with the result that many peoples remain under colonialism, suffering restrictions on freedom and repression. The peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine are at the top of the list of peoples which are still struggling against colonialism and racism, including Zionism.

195. As for Namibia, despite the efforts made by the international community and despite the initiatives of the Secretary-General, the racist régime of South Africa maintains its illegitimate administration of the Territory. It is trying to hamper in every possible way the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). It has become clear from the negotiations which have taken place in the past five years that South Africa is using the negotiations only to gain time and to conceal its ambitions in the Territory. The racist régime has concocted empty justifications and pretexts and resorted to various manoeuvres to impede the independence of Namibia. Its latest manoeuvre is to introduce a new, extraneous issue, totally unrelated to the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia or Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This is the linking of Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. That represents intervention in Angola's internal affairs, and it has been condemned by the international community.

196. These manoeuvres make it crystal-clear that the racist régime is trying to gain time in a desperate attempt to bypass SWAPO, the sole representative of the Namibian people, and to impose an internal solution. Its recent establishment of the so-called State Council in Namibia is to be seen in that light. It is an attempt by the racist régime to create a puppet Government in Namibia to serve its interests and those of the colonialist Powers which have encouraged it in this policy and provided it with every kind of assistance, thus enabling it to defy the international community to this day. The racist régime is not only persisting in its occupation of Namibia but has gone further, and now occupies a part of the territory of Angola and carries out repeated attacks against the front-line States.

197. In South Africa itself the black citizens are struggling to achieve majority rule and to eliminate the odious racist régime. They look to the international community for assistance in eradicating the racist policy of *apartheid* and in attaining their fundamental rights.

198. The life of the Palestinian people continues to be one of tragedy. It has been expelled from its land, pursued and subjected to massacres even outside occupied Palestine. It is truly regrettable that the United Nations—which participated in the expulsion of that people by accepting the establishment on its land of the Zionist entity—has not yet been able to help it to exercise its right to self-determination, to recover its land and to establish its own independent State. There is only one reason for this—that certain colonialist States, headed by the United States of America, stand in varying degrees behind the

usurper and have so far refused to acknowledge the legitimate representative of the Palestine people, as recognized by this Organization, namely, the PLO.

199. Many other peoples continue to languish under colonialism and have their wealth pillaged. Among them is the people of Puerto Rico, whose cause was the subject of extensive discussion in the Special Committee, which adopted a number of draft resolutions on the subject. We are convinced of the ability of the people of Puerto Rico and of all colonized peoples to defeat the colonizer and to impose their will in their own Territories and to achieve their right to self-determination and independence. The victories won by the struggling peoples in many regions of the world testify to the inevitability of the victory of the will of the peoples and the end of colonialism, however long we must wait, and however far the colonizer may go in its oppression and suppression of the people under its administration.

200. My delegation sincerely hopes that the efforts of the United Nations will be crowned with success. We hope for the elimination in the near future of colonialism in its old form, represented by the occupation of territories, the domination of peoples and the expropriation of their freedom and wealth, so that the Organization will be able to eliminate neo-colonialism as manifested in political hegemony and the imposition on small peoples and States of cultural and economic dependence, which has been gaining ground in recent years.

201. We have seen of late several examples of a new colonialist trend towards the recolonization and domination of a number of independent States. We have also seen military provocation, economic blackmail and the threat of force on the part of large States against smaller States in an attempt to terrorize them, undermine their development, impose economic hegemony on them and chain them to colonialism. This went even further when the United States occupied a small State, overthrew its Government and placed it under direct United States control.

202. A long, hard road lies ahead of the United Nations in the sphere of decolonization and the elimination of neo-colonialism. The Organization must take deterrent measures to force the colonizers, the usurpers of the lands and rights of peoples, to withdraw and to respect the will of the peoples and their desire for independence and self-determination.

203. The international community must be wary of the methods used by some colonialist States, which, because of increasing pressure from world public opinion, have resorted to manoeuvres under the slogan of "peaceful solutions" in a desperate attempt to disregard the genuine liberation movements and to impose cynical solutions whose end results would be puppet Governments serving the interests of the imperialist States and dependent on those States.

204. The commitment of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the cause of liberation and decolonization need not be emphasized here. That commitment is founded on the conviction of the Libyan people that its freedom will not be complete as long as there are peoples languishing under colonialism and racism and denied their fundamental rights. My country supports the struggle of colonized peoples. It will continue to support those peoples through all moral and material means until they are all liberated, until they all achieve their full rights and until the era of colonialism is ended for ever.

205. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to commend the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of

Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its Chairman, Mr. Koroma, of Sierra Leone, for their efforts to accelerate the decolonization process. My delegation fully supports the Committee's work and recommendations.

206. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives wishing to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

207. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The representative of the United Kingdom in his statement went so far as to compare the socialist Soviet Union to Tsarist Russia in the old days. We can only regret that the history book that Mr. Margetson used when he studied recent events omitted any reference to an event of such importance as the great October socialist revolution which took place in our country in 1917. Not only did that event radically transform our country, but it marked a new stage in the development of the liberation movement throughout the world, including the anti-colonialist movement.

208. The statement by the representative of the United Kingdom at today's meeting has shown that although the colonial domination of the United Kingdom in the world is over, the colonial policy of London is unchanged. Colonialist Britain is fighting a rearguard action, trying to cover its retreat before the pressure of the peoples' liberation struggle, hiding behind a smoke-screen of propaganda and fairytales, according to which the United Kingdom confers independence on its colonies as a sort of Christmas present. These fairytales are presented quite shamelessly from this rostrum and addressed to the representatives of dozens of countries which are former colonies of the United Kingdom and whose peoples have paid very dear in sacrifice and suffering in striving for decades for their independence against the obdurate, and even armed, resistance of British colonialism. The peoples of India, south-eastern Africa, West Africa and recently Zimbabwe have not forgotten their heroic struggle for their freedom and independence.

209. As for Micronesia and the statement of the United Kingdom to the effect that the General Assembly is not empowered to discuss the situation in the Territory under the trusteeship of the United States, everyone in this Hall is aware that colonial Powers of course have an interest in limiting the power of the General Assembly to discuss colonial problems such as the question of Micronesia, and not only that question, but Puerto Rico as well, and other Territories. If colonial Powers could do so, they would prohibit the General Assembly from dealing with these things. But the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations take a different position. On this point we should like to remind everyone that, pursuant to a decision of the General Assembly, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands appears on the list of Territories within the purview of the Declaration on decolonization. Hence the General Assembly has the right to discuss this matter. That is the Assembly's position.

210. Mr. MARGETSON (United Kingdom): One delegation this afternoon mentioned Diego García in terms which cast doubt on the United Kingdom's sovereignty over the island. Let me simply say that the United Kingdom is in no doubt about its sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago, of which Diego García is a part. Our position with regard to Diego García was set out in Sir John Thomson's letter of 17 November to you, Mr. President [A/38/598]. There is no need for me to elaborate on it here.

211. May I also take the opportunity of responding very briefly to the statement just made in exercise of the right

of reply by the representative of the Soviet Union. I note with interest what he said about the discussion of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in the General Assembly, but I do not agree. The Soviet Union is usually very keen on a strict interpretation of the Charter, which it signed as a founder Member of the United Nations, and the Charter includes Article 83. I am sorry that the Soviet Union seems to be slipping on this point.

212. As for his point about the Soviet empire, there seems to be two views on this: that of my distinguished colleague, Mr. Oleandrov, and that of Mr. Lenin. Personally I believe Mr. Lenin.

213. Mr. SAIGNAVONGS (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I should like to apologize to delegations here for trying their patience at this late hour. We would not have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply if the representative of the United Kingdom had not referred to our country earlier.

214. In the introductory part of his statement, the representative of the United Kingdom mentioned relations between Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea as being of an imperialist nature, but the representative of Great Britain seems to forget, or perhaps not to know, that his country, as co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China, was closely connected with the struggle of the three Indo-Chinese peoples for their liberation and independence. Hence this was a joint struggle by the three peoples against the common enemies, and without that solidarity they could not have won. Our enemies, the colonialists and the imperialists, in other words, made Indo-China and all the Indo-Chinese one entity and obliged the three peoples involved to fight hand in hand. We were not at all surprised to hear the remarks of the representative of the United Kingdom because, as the representative of a colonialist and imperialist Power, he inevitably conceives of inter-State relations from the point of view of subjection and domination.

215. The representative of the United Kingdom also said that his country was proud of having contributed to the process of decolonization. But he forgot to say that before getting that far much blood had been spilled by British soldiers in an attempt to preserve the former colonies and how many victims had fallen among the ranks of the people fighting for their freedom and independence.

216. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In connection with the most recent comment by the representative of the United Kingdom, I should like to say that of course the representative, who throughout his life has defended the policy of colonialism and is continuing to do so to this very day, does not find it too easy to understand what was said by the founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Illych Lenin.

217. In so far as Micronesia is concerned, his statement reminded me of a picture which occurs every time there is a meeting of the Trusteeship Council when, under the chairmanship of the representative of the British colonial empire, the representative of the United States reports on his policy in the colonial Territory of Micronesia, and then a majority of votes on the part of the three colonial Powers against the one socialist State, the Soviet Union, puts its stamp on all the decisions taken in the Trusteeship Council so far. But this is the situation in the Trusteeship Council, where there are only four Powers and the three Western powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are represented, while only the Soviet Union represents the other side. In the General Assembly the situation is quite different, and the majority here

does not belong to those three colonial Powers. The General Assembly has its own position on the subject.

218. Mr. MARGETSON (United Kingdom): I should like just to reply briefly to the representative of Laos. Indeed, I do know of our co-presidency of the Geneva Conference. But only the representative of Laos knows in his heart the true nature of the link between his country and Viet Nam. I, for my part, only gave my impression of that link. Perhaps the true judges are the people of Laos themselves. It would be interesting to ask them to express a view on this in a democratic process.

219. Could I also reply briefly to the remarks of my colleague from the Soviet Union. On his point about discussing the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands here,

I would merely say that the Charter is the Charter. As for the other point about the Soviet empire, well, I was only quoting Lenin. I am sorry if this embarrassed him.

*The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.*

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NOTES

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

<sup>2</sup>See *Report of the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, Paris, 25-29 April 1983 (A/CONF.120/13)*, part three, para. 190.