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President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 18

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples:

- (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. The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed today at 12 noon. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts that proposal.

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. Farouk Adhami of the Syrian Arab Republic, to present the report of the Special Committee.

3. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic), Rapporteur 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: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Special Committee covering its work during the year 1982 [A/37/23/Rev.1]. The report, which relates, *inter alia*, to item 18 of the agenda, is submitted in accordance with paragraph 12 of resolution 36/68, by which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in all Territories that had not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism.

4. An account of the Committee's examination of the situation in individual territories is set out in chapters IX to XXVIII of the present report. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the other specific items referred to it in the relevant General Assembly resolutions is set out in chapters I to VIII.

5. As in previous years, the programme of work of the Special Committee has been heavy in 1982. Having met between January and August and held both official and unofficial consultations among members throughout the period, the Committee gave adequate consideration to and submitted recommen-

dations on most of the items on its agenda. As regards the remaining items, the Committee decided to transmit to the General Assembly information which should facilitate their consideration at the current session.

6. In the course of its work during the year the Special Committee, bearing in mind in particular the specific request addressed to it by the General Assembly in resolution 36/68, reviewed the implementation of the Declaration, as well as of the various United Nations resolutions relating to the remaining Territories. On the basis of the review and in the light of developments, the Committee formulated recommendations for the application of further measures by States, by the competent United Nations organs and by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, with a view to accelerating the pace of decolonization and the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples concerned.

7. During the year the Special Committee continued, in accordance with resolution 36/51, its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Namibia and in all other territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. The Fourth Committee has endorsed the recommendation of the Special Committee on this question [see A/37/624, para. 10], which the Assembly will consider and take action upon at its plenary meeting tomorrow afternoon.

8. In the light of the relevant provisions of resolutions 36/62, 36/63 and 36/68, the Committee continued its consideration of the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration and adopted a decision on this question [see A/37/23/Rev.1, chap. IV, para. 11]. Further, under the terms of the relevant provisions of resolution 36/52, the Committee also continued its examination of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations.

9. As members will have noted from the relevant chapters of the Committee's report now before the Assembly, the Special Committee also devoted considerable attention during the year to the decolonization of the small Territories, and in that regard it approved a number of concrete recommendations and proposals concerning individual Territories. The importance which the Special Committee attaches to this question was clearly echoed, I might add, in the debate which the Fourth Committee recently concluded on this aspect of the implementation of the Declaration, as a result of which the Fourth

Committee will submit for the attention of the General Assembly 18 proposals covering these Territories [see A/37/621, sect. III], which I hope will be endorsed by the Assembly.

10. As has been noted by the Assembly, the Committee, at the invitation of the Government of the United Kingdom, was able this year to dispatch a Visiting Mission to Montserrat. It is the firm view of the Committee that these visiting missions constitute an invaluable method of securing first-hand information on the situation prevailing in the Territories concerned, as well as on the aspirations of the peoples regarding their future.

11. Within the context of the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable, the Committee took up separately an item on its agenda entitled "Special Committee decision of 20 August 1981 concerning Puerto Rico". In this regard, the Committee, following the hearing of representatives of a number of organizations, took a decision on the item as set out in paragraph 84 of Chapter I of the report.

12. Finally, the Committee carried out a number of other tasks entrusted to it by the General Assembly in various resolutions, as well as those arising from its own previous decisions, including specific activities relating to the question of the publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. During the year the Special Committee considered the report of a Mission which had held consultations with non-governmental organizations in Europe. The conclusions and recommendations of the Mission endorsed by the Special Committee are set out in paragraph 22 of Chapter II of its report. The Committee also took part in a number of international conferences and meetings convened by these organizations. The recommendations of the Committee on this question are set out in chapter I, paragraph 185, of the present report.

13. With regard to the general aspects of the process of decolonization, I should like on behalf of the Special Committee to express the hope that the Assembly will give due consideration to the various recommendations as reflected in the relevant sections of the Committee's report. It is also hoped that the proposals outlined in section S of chapter I, entitled "Future work", will meet the Assembly's approval so that the Committee may proceed to carry out the tasks it proposes to undertake next year.

14. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should renew its appeal to the administering Powers concerned to take immediately all the steps necessary for the implementation of the Declaration and the relevant United Nations resolutions. In that connection, the Special Committee, in the light of the useful results achieved as a consequence of the active participation in its work of all the administering Powers, recommends that the General Assembly again request the administering Powers concerned to participate actively in its work relating to the Territories under their respective administration.

15. Further, bearing in mind the affirmation by the General Assembly that direct association of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the United

Nations and the specialized agencies is an effective means of promoting the progress of the peoples of those Territories towards a position of equality with States Members of the United Nations, the Special Committee also recommends that the Assembly should invite the administering Powers to allow representatives of the Territories concerned to participate in discussions in the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee on items relating to their respective countries.

16. The General Assembly might also wish to renew its appeal to all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to comply with the various requests addressed to them by the United Nations in its resolutions on the question of decolonization.

17. As Members are aware, the modified title of the Week of Solidarity, as set out in chapter I, paragraph 100, has been brought to the attention of the General Assembly by the Chairman of the Special Committee in his letter addressed to the President of the General Assembly [A/37/594]. I hope that this suggestion will likewise receive the support of the Assembly.

18. As Members will have noted from the report of the Special Committee, in pursuance of paragraph 31 of General Assembly decision 34/401 of 29 November 1979, by which the Assembly recommended that subsidiary organs reporting to the General Assembly should make every effort to submit draft resolutions in order to facilitate the consideration of the items, the Special Committee decided this year to submit to the Assembly, where possible, draft resolutions or decisions, to assist the work of the Fourth Committee. Taking into account the achievement of the Fourth Committee in that connection, I can state with confidence that this practice has worked out very well in facilitating the work of the Assembly.

19. In conclusion, the Special Committee recommends that, in approving the programme of work outlined in section S of the report, the General Assembly should also make adequate financial provisions to cover the activities envisaged by the Committee for 1983. The Committee expresses the hope that the Secretary-General will continue to provide it with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the discharge of its mandate.

20. On behalf of the Special Committee, I commend the report to the General Assembly for its serious consideration.

21. As Rapporteur of the Special Committee, I have had the privilege and honour of working under the guidance of its Chairman, Mr. Frank Abdulah, representative of Trinidad and Tobago. We have all benefited from his outstanding competence and expertise, which have set a standard of which we are proud. We have all been inspired by his devotion and dedication. That is why it is with a sense of deep regret that I have learned that Mr. Abdulah will be leaving us shortly for another post. I take this opportunity to say to Mr. Abdulah that we will all miss him. We extend to him our warmest good wishes for continuous success and good health in time to come.

22. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Frank Abdulah, Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

23. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago), Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, Mr. Adhami of the Syrian Arab Republic, has just given a detailed account of the work accomplished by the Special Committee during 1982, I shall confine myself as Chairman of the Special Committee to a few observations concerning some of the developments that have taken place during the year in the field of decolonization. In so doing, I shall point out some of the issues that have continued to engage the close attention of the Committee in the fulfilment of the tasks entrusted to it by the Assembly.

24. To some it may seem as if the Committee's work this year lacked some of the spectacular qualities of that done at its previous sessions. There were no colonial Territories acceding to independence or meetings away from Headquarters. Nevertheless, the year witnessed some useful achievements, concerning which the Committee can deservedly feel satisfaction.

25. It is not my intention to refer at this time to the many positive accomplishments and decisions taken by the Committee during this session. We in the Special Committee, by the very nature of our responsibilities, cannot afford to indulge in an exercise of self-congratulation, whatever our achievements. Indeed, nothing would please me more than to limit my statement to an account of achievements in the process of decolonization over the past years. It would, however, be wrong of us to over-emphasize that progress, for that could lead to complacency that would be prejudicial to the future. A long struggle still lies ahead before the United Nations will have entirely discharged the obligation placed upon it by the Declaration and the Charter.

26. Aware that ultimate implementation of the Declaration was being increasingly frustrated by the serious developments relating to Namibia, the Special Committee has intensified its consideration of the question of Namibia. As the Assembly has, for reasons of which we are all aware, scheduled its consideration of the question of Namibia for the week beginning 13 December, we will have a further opportunity to examine and expound various important aspects of this critical issue. Accordingly, I shall confine my remarks at this stage to a broad overview of the general aspects of decolonization under the present item.

27. When I spoke at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly [72nd meeting], I stated that the commitment demonstrated by all concerned to bringing about a peaceful transition in Namibia and the negotiations conducted to secure an internationally acceptable solution as endorsed in Security Council decisions were to be noted with satisfaction. I expressed the hope that those initiatives would lead to an end to

the bloodshed in the region and to the recovery by the Namibian people of their long-lost freedom and nationhood. However, I sounded a note of caution to Members about the dangers inherent in dealing with a régime that had for so long succeeded in maintaining its illegal rule over Namibia, employing tactics of deceit, cunning and ruthlessness.

28. Today, a year later, we are confronted with a further deterioration of the situation. Instead of hope, there is further despair; instead of the prospect of an end to violence, there is an ominous threat of a massive escalation of violence: all this because South Africa has chosen, and is in many ways permitted, to defy the world.

29. As the *apartheid* régime continues to cling to its illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia, the Special Committee has reaffirmed its declared position that, in view of the continued refusal of the South African authorities to comply with the demands of the international community, their persistent use of force to perpetuate their illegal domination of the Territory and their repeated acts of aggression against their neighbours, the full and effective application of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter remains the key to the restoration of peace, justice and freedom to the people of Namibia. The Committee thus strongly recommends once again that the Security Council, in the light of the serious threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa, respond positively to the overwhelming demand of the international community by imposing forthwith comprehensive sanctions against that country.

30. Any further delay in the solution of the problem of Namibia serves only to aggravate the already tragic suffering of the people concerned, adversely affects and hinders friendly relations among States and is detrimental to the cause of peace and stability in southern Africa. It is particularly regrettable that because of selfish economic considerations, certain States contribute to the continued existence of this problem by taking an active part in exploitation of the Territory. The support given to the racist minority régime by those countries and by individuals and corporations, so consumed by greed and the appeal of easy and colossal profits, hampers the struggle for liberation of the people of Namibia and strengthens their oppressor in its inhuman policies. I should like, therefore, to underscore once again the urgent need for the cessation of all such collaboration with South Africa, if we are to succeed in relieving the suffering people of Namibia from such harsh and repressive racist domination.

31. At the same time, I should also like to stress the importance of extending increased international support and assistance to the people of the Territory and their national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], whose future we have taken into our hands. Should we further hesitate in bringing full and effective force to bear on their oppressors, we shall have betrayed the sacred trust we undertook to enable them to exercise their inalienable right to freedom and independence. For its part, the Special Committee will not be deterred in its efforts to assist the people

of Namibia in their struggle to achieve sovereign nationhood.

32. I wish to pay here a particular tribute to the Governments of the front-line States for their commitment to the cause of a free and independent Namibia and their determined efforts to extend at all costs all moral and material assistance to the people of Namibia. A well-deserved tribute is due also to the leadership of the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO, for its continued statesmanship in the search for an internationally acceptable solution.

33. As in previous years, the Special Committee has given considerable time and attention to other smaller Territories in the Caribbean and in the Indian and Pacific regions which, because of their size, isolation or limited resources, are often faced with highly complex problems. These considerations cannot, however, be allowed to interfere or limit the rights and privileges of the peoples concerned, particularly with regard to their right to make their own decisions in respect of their future. The Special Committee has continued to emphasize that, in the discharge of their obligations, the administering Powers concerned must recognize these rights and permit the peoples of these Territories to make their decisions freely and without pressure. The Special Committee hence underscores the responsibility of the administering Powers to intensify programmes of political education of the peoples of the Territories under their administration in order to deepen their awareness of the purposes and the objectives of the Charter and the Declaration, including all the political options available to them as regards their future status.

34. As a concomitant to their responsibility in effecting such political advance, the administering Powers should do their utmost to ensure that the economies of the Territories they administer are placed on a sound basis and, to that end, they should organize effective development programmes, enlisting to the maximum extent the assistance available from the specialized agencies. That such programmes should carefully protect the interests, both present and future, of the peoples of the Territories concerned should of course be a paramount consideration. Some of these and other important recommendations of the Special Committee, as endorsed by the Fourth Committee, will be acted upon by the Assembly, and I am confident that they will receive the Assembly's equally positive endorsement.

35. In connection with the Special Committee's consideration of the situation in most of the small Territories, I am pleased to record that the Committee has once again received the full co-operation of all the administering Powers concerned. Bearing in mind the clear position taken by the General Assembly in this regard, I need hardly stress in this forum the importance of such co-operation if the United Nations is to be enabled to assist the peoples of the Territories effectively and to facilitate the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration in those Territories.

36. As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee has already reported to the Assembly, the Committee was also able this year to dispatch a Visiting Mission to Montserrat, under United Kingdom admin-

istration, for the second time in seven years. I wish to reiterate in this connection what the Committee has so often asserted, namely, that the sending of such visiting missions is the most direct, as well as the most effective, means of securing information on the social, political and economic conditions prevailing in the colonial Territories and of ascertaining at first hand the real wishes and aspirations of the peoples concerned. Accordingly, the Committee fully intends, with the necessary co-operation of the administering Powers, to continue to dispatch such missions as and when appropriate.

37. Another aspect of the economic development of dependent Territories which has continued to engage the concern of the Special Committee is the part played by foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in those Territories. Emphasis was placed during the year on a study of the impact of transnational corporations operating in Namibia, and the Committee concluded that their relentless exploitation of human and material resources had denied the Namibian people the means of effective participation in the economic life and the enjoyment of the resources of their country, and that the activities of these multinational companies contributed to the already serious obstacles in the way of the realization of their aspiration to freedom and independence. I should like therefore to address an earnest appeal to those Member States which have not taken all possible measures to ensure the cessation of such activities by the transnational corporations under their jurisdiction.

38. Reference should also be made to another category of problems to which the Special Committee has given careful consideration during the year. These relate to Territories which either are the subject of conflicting claims to sovereignty or are of special interest to some Governments by reason of geographical, historical or other circumstances. The primary objective of the United Nations in relation to these Territories remains constant. This objective is the full application of the Declaration, taking into consideration the need to facilitate the peaceful resolution of divergent claims and interests through negotiations, mutual accommodation and good will.

39. During the year under review, the Special Committee also gave intensified consideration and attention to the dissemination of information on decolonization. The Committee has sought the assistance of the Department of Public Information as a means of furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration and of intensifying the Organization's efforts in effecting the widest possible dissemination of information on all aspects of the decolonization process. While many of the activities undertaken by the Department of Public Information through publications, radio and television have been an invaluable element in our efforts to mobilize world public opinion in support of the peoples concerned, the activities undertaken so far are admittedly far from adequate. Accordingly, the Committee has requested the Secretary-General to take further concrete measures through all the means available to him, including among other things, reinforcing the publicity arms of

the Department of Public Information, the United Nations Information Centres.

40. In the same context, and bearing in mind the increasingly important role being played in the widespread dissemination of information on decolonization by a number of non-governmental organizations, the Special Committee dispatched during the year a five-member Mission to Europe in order to enlist their support in the intensified efforts of the Organization to mobilize world public opinion in support of the peoples concerned.

41. As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee has already pointed out, the relevant chapters of the Committee's report now before the Assembly contain a number of concrete recommendations concerning the various problems existing in the remaining colonial Territories. Almost all of those recommendations have been considered and endorsed by the Fourth Committee. It is therefore my firm belief and hope that the General Assembly, while discussing this item, will likewise give its full endorsement to those recommendations made by the Special Committee, which have now been made an integral part of the report of the Fourth Committee.

42. As will be noted from the reports placed before the Assembly, it has been a long-standing practice of the Special Committee to attempt to arrive at decisions on the various matters with which it is concerned by the broadest possible degree of consensus. This procedure has been a valuable method of work not only in the Special Committee but also in the Fourth Committee; indeed, it has greatly facilitated the latter's consideration of all the items allocated to it by the Assembly. In this regard, I believe that it is fair to claim that the Special Committee has made a constructive contribution to the efforts of the General Assembly to streamline its work procedures.

43. I am bound to record that the progress made in decolonization serves only to underline the anomaly that over 3 million people continue to live under colonial rule and that nearly a third of them live under a racist régime which offers little hope of emancipation. Let us all reaffirm today that the confidence displayed by these people in the United Nations will not be replaced by bitter disillusion. Let us today reassure them that no effort will be spared to assist them in casting off their colonial bondage.

44. Permit me to make a few personal comments at this stage.

45. This has been for me the third successive year in which I have been privileged to preside over the Special Committee. Throughout the last seven years, during which I have had the privilege of being closely associated with the work of the Organization and of the Special Committee in particular, I have enjoyed the fullest co-operation of friends and colleagues both in delegations and in the Secretariat. As I am about to leave New York for another assignment, I wish to take this opportunity to express to them my heartfelt appreciation and gratitude for the kindness, friendship and guidance they have so abundantly accorded me throughout those years.

46. I should like in particular to thank Mr. Roa Kourí, an old friend and colleague, for his collabora-

tion and co-operation, not only in his capacity as Chairman of the Fourth Committee for the current session, but also as a long-standing comrade-in-arms in our common efforts towards the speedy eradication of colonialism. My special appreciation is due to him for the most outstanding and efficient manner in which he has discharged his responsibilities as the Fourth Committee Chairman this year.

47. Permit me also to thank the other officers of the Special Committee for the current year: Mr. Abdul G. Koroma of Sierra Leone, Mr. Ole Peter Kolby of Norway and Mr. Stefan Kalina of Czechoslovakia, our three Vice-Chairmen; and Mr. Farouk Adhami of the Syrian Arab Republic, our Rapporteur. Besides being hardworking, effective and dedicated to their responsibilities, they have all shown extraordinary friendship, understanding and co-operation to me, for which I am deeply grateful. My special appreciation goes to our trusted Rapporteur, Mr. Adhami, for the outstanding work accomplished by him in the formulation of the Special Committee decisions into appropriate proposals for consideration by the Fourth Committee. Needless to say, his work has facilitated the task of the Fourth Committee immensely.

48. Our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, has shown consistent interest in the field of decolonization. We are grateful to him for his interest, which has ensured the maximum co-operation and assistance on his part.

49. I should like to take this opportunity also to pay a particular tribute to the Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, Mr. Issoufou S. Djermakoye, for his continued assistance and collaboration; through him my gratitude goes to all the members of his Department. We have learned with a deep sense of regret that Mr. Djermakoye has decided to retire from active service at the United Nations at the end of this year. For over 16 years at the United Nations, Mr. Djermakoye, with his well-known dedication and commitment to the objectives of the Organization, has made a significant contribution to the cause of peace, justice and freedom for all. On behalf of the Special Committee, I wish to extend to Mr. Djermakoye and his wife best wishes for their future health and happiness.

50. Having briefly reviewed some of the principal developments in the field of decolonization, I should like, on behalf of the co-sponsors, to introduce the two draft resolutions submitted under this item, which are contained in documents A/37/L.32 and 33. As these two draft resolutions reflect both the developments and problems that I have just outlined, I need not, I am sure, elaborate on their substance.

51. Draft resolution A/37/L.32 deals with general aspects of decolonization, and by its adoption the Assembly would, among other things, renew the mandate of the Special Committee.

52. Draft resolution A/37/L.33 deals with the dissemination of information on decolonization and by its adoption the Assembly would once again reiterate the importance of publicity as an instrument for furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration.

53. On behalf of the sponsors, I wish to commend these two draft resolutions to the members of the

Assembly for their serious attention and unanimous approval.

54. Mr. CHATTOPADHYAYA (India): The last three and a half decades have borne witness to one of the most important chapters in human history, marking the end of the era of imperialism and the emergence into free and sovereign existence of a large number of erstwhile colonies, particularly in Asia and Africa. We have had occasion many times in recent decades to share the joy of large sections of the world community at their achievement of freedom from colonial rule. We have had the pleasure of welcoming more and more countries into the membership of the United Nations and into the Assembly.

55. There can be no doubt that in a matter of a few decades, the face of the world has been metamorphosed and that the transformation of the political map of the globe has had far-reaching consequences, not only for international politics and the world economy, but in almost every field of human endeavour. Thus, the transition from the twilight of what has been described as the Vasco da Gama epoch of history to the dawn of a new era represents change of revolutionary significance. That change has undoubtedly come about as a result of man's inherent yearning for freedom being translated into active struggle against colonial masters. The phenomenon of the national liberation movement has proved to be one of the most potent forces in history. In our own case, under the leadership of the Father of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi, we opted for the non-violent path. In many other cases the struggle for freedom has involved recourse to violence. Whatever the means, it has been proved most convincingly that the quest for freedom cannot be suppressed for long. As our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has observed: "A struggle for freedom can be suppressed, its soldiers killed, imprisoned, humiliated, but the idea of freedom cannot be stamped out; some spark will persist, to burst into flames somewhere, some time, to light the way and illumine the hearts and ultimately lead to success".

56. In recalling the impressive number of countries which have joined the ranks of free nations in the recent past, I should not wish to convey the impression that all is well or to suggest that we could 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 slowly becomes consigned to history, new manifestations of colonialism rear their ugly heads. Moreover, forces are still at work, particularly in southern Africa and in the Middle East, which attempt to stem, if not reverse, the tide of history. It is indeed ironic and a matter of shame to most of us that today, 16 years after Namibia was declared a direct trust of the United Nations, that Territory continues to remain under the illegal and oppressive control of the racist Pretoria régime. It is equally unfortunate that for the brave people of Palestine, the restitution of their homeland and the establishment of an independent State of their own still remains only a dream. Even though the question of Palestine is not officially considered a decolonization issue by the United Nations, it cannot, we believe, be totally divorced from the colonial context.

57. My delegation will address itself separately to the questions of Namibia and Palestine when those issues are debated here in the days to come. I should only like to observe at this stage that for quite some time now Namibia's independence has been tantalizingly near; yet it still seems so far. The liberation of Namibia has been frustrated repeatedly and shamelessly by South Africa, with the protection and backing of its supporters. At a time when instances of the colonial type are few and far between, the continued bondage and suffering of the people of Namibia is an affront to the human conscience. The activity of the retrogressive forces at work in southern Africa must cause us to fortify our vigilance and embolden us further to march towards our cherished objective of letting all peoples determine their own destiny and enjoy the fruits of freedom.

58. As I stated earlier, there can be no doubt that the moving force behind the process of decolonization is man himself. It is the invincibility of the human spirit that is the backbone of every liberation movement. Be that as it may, we cannot gainsay the role in this process played by the United Nations since its very inception. Over the years, and particularly since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in 1960 containing the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations has served to keep decolonization in the focus of international attention and can claim an impressive record in the quest for decolonization. Particular credit must be given to the Special Committee on decolonization, or the Special Committee of 24, as it is more familiarly known, which has striven tirelessly for over two decades to focus attention on territories and peoples still under foreign domination, to safeguard and promote the interests of those territories and peoples and, ultimately, to see them emerge into free existence. As a member of the Special Committee, India has had occasion to follow its work closely, as well as to work in close co-operation with others on it. We remain firmly committed to the ideals and objectives for which it stands, as well as its decisions.

59. In referring to the Special Committee, I should be remiss if I were not to add a word of tribute to its Chairman, Mr. Frank Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago. It is with sadness that we have learned of Mr. Abdulah's impending departure from New York to take up his new assignment in London. He has guided the deliberations of the Special Committee with scrupulous fairness and quiet competence. He has amply demonstrated his deep personal dedication to the cause of decolonization. We have been the richer for his presence and for the benefit of his wise counsel. We shall be sorry to see him go, but we should like him to know that he will carry with him our best wishes for the future.

60. While we are paying tribute, I should also take a moment to salute another individual who, by dint of his dedication to the cause of decolonization and his hard labours in that direction, merits our praise. Issoufou Djermakoye, Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, retires from active service at the end of next month. To him, too, we extend our best wishes.

61. The report of the Special Committee gives us reassurance that continuing efforts are being made to tackle the remaining problems, which although 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 issues in respect of 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 own future status and the time-frame within which that is to be achieved. What is imperative is that the will of the people concerned be freely and fearlessly expressed and exercised.

62. It must be recognized that the people of Non-Self-Governing Territories need to be appropriately educated in respect of the options available to them with regard to their own future. The Special Committee has recognized this necessity, after examining the present situation in the small Territories by sending visiting missions and by taking stock of the information supplied by the administering Powers. It is also incumbent upon the Administering Authorities, as long as they continue in that capacity, to promote the welfare of the local population and to refrain from engaging in exploitative economic or military activities.

63. India's commitment to decolonization scarcely needs reiteration. It is a record of which we are proud. It is a commitment rooted firmly in the conviction of our people of the fundamental dignity and equality of all men and strengthened further by our own experience under the colonial yoke. It is, indeed, a commitment that pre-dates our own independence and one that has remained unflagging to the present day. It is also one of the cardinal principles of the non-aligned movement, of which India is one of the founding members. Let me state on this occasion that India's sympathy, understanding and support for liberation struggles will continue as in the past until the last vestiges of colonialism have been eradicated from the world.

64. The poet Rabindranath Tagore once observed that the only thing that is constant in life is change. Change is inevitable; it is inexorable; it is inherent in the natural order of things. But let that not lull us into complacency. As I cautioned earlier, the will of the international community cannot, at this crucial stage, afford to be paralysed into inaction. The struggle to rid the world of the last dangerous, volatile vestiges of colonialism and the myriad manifestations of neo-colonialism must be waged with renewed vigour. Important challenges remain to be confronted. We must press forward in the conviction that freedom is man's birthright and that one day all nations will be free. What is at stake is the sacred trust and the responsibility that we that have been blessed with freedom bear to those that long for that blessing.

65. Mr. ISSYNALYEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the complete purging of our planet from the

blemish of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, occupies an important place in contemporary international politics and in the activities of the United Nations.

66. The adoption, on the initiative of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, with the wide and active support of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, that historic document, marked a new stage in the liberation struggle of oppressed peoples. The Declaration became the veritable battle plan for the peoples struggling to achieve freedom and independence. The liberation struggle of peoples led to the downfall of the colonial system. More than 100 liberated States, with a population of more than 2 billion, have embarked on the road to independent, sovereign development. That is an occurrence of worldwide historic importance.

67. A clear majority of the States liberated from colonial domination favour the consolidation of their independence; they favour peace and the development of equitable and just relations among countries. These liberated countries are playing an ever more important role in international life; their solidarity is growing in their actions against imperialism and colonialism.

68. The prediction made many years ago by the founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin, regarding the historical role of those peoples which have freed themselves from the fetters of colonial servitude, has come true: those peoples will take an increasingly active part in deciding the fate of the whole world.

69. The Declaration and resolutions adopted by the United Nations in this connection, demand that all colonial régimes be eliminated and proclaim the legitimacy of the national liberation struggles of colonial peoples, calling upon all States to give material and moral support to those struggles. In that way the task of completely eliminating colonialism has been raised by the United Nations to the level of one of the main issues of world politics. This is one of the most significant achievements of the United Nations in all its years of activity, and the Soviet people feels legitimate pride that it was its own country that initiated consideration of this item.

70. In our consideration of one of today's most urgent problems—rescuing oppressed peoples from the fetters of colonial servitude—we should particularly note the role 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. The work of that United Nations body, which has been headed by representatives of Asian, African and Latin American countries, is extremely useful and helps to weld together anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces, to mobilize world public opinion and to support the struggle of peoples against colonialism and racism.

71. The success of the national liberation movement in recent decades and the efforts of the international community to ensure the implementation of the Declaration are extremely impressive. But colonialism and racism have not been finally eliminated. The problem of the complete elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism and racism in the

southern part of Africa and in other parts of the world continues to be in the forefront of the most acute world problems awaiting speedy resolution.

72. The persistence of founts of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa is not only a source of suffering to millions of people, an affront to human dignity and tantamount to depriving the peoples of those colonial Territories of their fundamental rights, but it also generally poisons and worsens the international climate and poses a threat to the entire African continent and to international peace and security.

73. In southern Africa the racist régime of South Africa, in spite of numerous United Nations resolutions, continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, rapaciously exploiting the mineral and human resources of that Territory, and attempts to stifle the national liberation movement of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO. It is attempting to resolve the problem of Namibia on a neo-colonialist basis. South Africa's continuing occupation of Namibia is a direct result of the complicity with the South African racists of the Western Powers who are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], primarily the United States.

74. The policy and practice of *apartheid*, as carried out by the South African racists, are particularly alarming and a source of special concern to the States Members of the United Nations. That bastion of colonialism and racism in the southern part of the African continent is a constant source of tension and conflict. In South Africa the indigenous African population is subject, on its own native soil, to numerous racial restrictions, cruel exploitation, terror and repression.

75. Thanks to the political, economic and military assistance it receives from a number of Western States, primarily the United States and other NATO countries, as well as from their transnational monopolies, the racist régime in Pretoria continues to pursue its inhuman policy of *apartheid*. Using the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia, the South African racist régime perpetrates acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States, particularly Angola, and, relying on broad and comprehensive support from the NATO countries, it is stepping up its military and nuclear potential, which poses a constant threat to peace and security in southern Africa and throughout the world.

76. The situation in which the South African racists simply disregard the decisions of the United Nations must be brought to an end. In this connection we support the demands of the African countries that it is essential for the Security Council to enact comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. It is essential for all States to comply with the embargo established by the Security Council, on the supply of weapons to South Africa, and to put an end to their co-operation with South Africa in the political, economic and military, including the nuclear, fields. The Security Council should take steps to prevent access by South Africa to the possession of nuclear weapons.

77. The United Nations has condemned outright the growing activities of those in foreign economic, financial and other circles that are exploiting the natural and human resources of the colonial and dependent Territories. United Nations decisions have confirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the colonial Territories to self-determination and independence and have condemned the predatory activities of foreign monopolies which, together with the military activities of the colonial Powers in those Territories, are the main obstacle in the way of the speedy, full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

78. The Soviet Union condemns the rapacious activities of foreign monopolies in the southern part of Africa and in small colonial Territories. We reject the policy of the imperialist States, which are encouraging the exploitation of natural and human resources in colonial Territories and we support the demands of the African countries that capital be withdrawn at once from South Africa and Namibia and that an immediate end be put to any economic co-operation with the racist régime in South Africa.

79. Of particular concern are the ongoing military activities of the colonial Powers in Trust and dependent Territories and their clear interest in using these Territories for global strategic purposes which are at variance with the interest in strengthening international peace and security. Military bases belonging to Western Powers and located in the numerous islands of colonial and dependent Territories in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean are all advance posts maintained in order to stifle the national liberation struggles of peoples still under colonial oppression.

80. The United Nations demands that the colonial Powers put an end to this military activity, which is against the principles of the Charter and the Declaration, and that they immediately and unreservedly do away with their bases and military posts in colonial Territories and refrain from setting up any new military bases or establishments. However, these requirements of the United Nations have not been fulfilled.

81. The United States has recently hastily carried out a plan which it had long been hatching to annex Micronesia and has turned that Territory into a military and strategic bastion for Washington in the western part of the Pacific. The lawless actions of the United States in dismembering that Territory and imposing upon parts of it neo-colonialist forms of dependence, and the militarization of the Territory, have created a serious threat to the security of peoples, not only in Micronesia but also in the countries of Asia and Oceania adjacent to that part of the world.

82. The question of the fate of Micronesia is an inseparably integral part of the overall problem of decolonization and ensuring that colonial countries and peoples genuinely enjoy their right to self-determination and independence. It should therefore remain within the focus of United Nations attention until the Micronesian peoples exercise this right in full. This problem cannot be, nor should it be, arbitrarily and unilaterally resolved by the United States in circumvention of the Security Council and in violation

of the Charter and the Declaration. According to the Charter, any modification of the status of a strategic Territory should be carried out only by decision of the Security Council.

83. The right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence has not been exercised as it should have been in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration. The Committee, in its consideration of this matter, has frequently confirmed this inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico and demanded that an end be put to the military activities of the United States in that Territory. However, these decisions of the United Nations have been ignored by the United States. The right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence has been acknowledged by most of the States Members of the United Nations which take an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist position. The Soviet Union fully supports the decision of the Committee on the question of Puerto Rico.

84. The maintenance of the remnants of the colonial system creates a serious threat to international peace and security. One of the examples of this was the military activities of the United Kingdom in the area of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). The Soviet Union condemns the military activities of the United Kingdom aimed at restoring the colonial status of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and the United States support for these activities as running counter to the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations and as representing a threat to international peace and security.

85. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be implemented fully and without further delay and should apply to all Territories still in a state of colonial dependency. It is the duty of the United Nations to ensure by all means in its power that not a single people, not a single individual, remains under colonial oppression. At the same time, the United Nations is entitled to and should raise its voice against all manifestations of neo-colonialist policies, the exploitation of young independent States by imperialist monopolies, the despoliation of their natural resources, interference in their internal affairs, the declaration of their territories "zones of vital interest" by certain major Powers and the setting up therein of military bases and strongpoints aimed against the independent States of Africa and at stifling the national liberation movements.

86. The main prerequisite for a successful struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and a reliable guarantee of the victory of the national liberation cause, is at the present time unity of action and militant solidarity among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the peoples of the socialist countries and, indeed, democratic forces throughout the world.

87. In December of this year the people of our Soviet country will celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This glorious jubilee is convincing proof of the signal success of the Leninist national policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the brotherly friendship of all nations and nationalities in our

socialist homeland. The Soviet Union sets an inspiring example of the correct way to solve the nationality problem and appears before the entire world today as an inseparable family of equal republics which are building Communism together. It is precisely under the banner of international friendship that the peoples of the Soviet Union have set out side by side along untrodden ways in the construction of a new socialist and communist society, overcoming, step by step, the tremendous difficulties standing in their way, rebuffing numerous hostile attacks and scaling new heights in economic, cultural, scientific and technological development. World history has until now never seen in the interrelationships of dozens of nations and nationalities such an indestructible unity of interest and purpose, will and action, such a spiritual kinship, trust and mutual concern as is being constantly displayed by the Soviet Union in its inviolable and fraternal alliance.

88. The Soviet Union has constantly supported the struggle of the peoples of Africa for their national liberation and against imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. We shall continue to lend support to the just struggle of the peoples of Namibia, under the leadership of their sole authentic representative, SWAPO, to achieve freedom and to settle the Namibian problem immediately in full conformity with the decisions of the United Nations. The Soviet Union regards interaction in the world arena with the liberated countries of Africa as an important factor in contemporary international relations. We shall consistently pursue a policy of developing co-operation with the liberated countries and of strengthening our alliance with the national liberation movements. In view of our fundamental position, therefore, the Soviet Union has given and will continue to give comprehensive assistance and support to peoples still in colonial servitude in their struggle for freedom and independence, until the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is fully implemented.

89. Mr. CONSTANTINOU (Cyprus): For many years now the issue of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has been inscribed on our agenda. Full attention and serious concern have been devoted to this very important issue by the Organization, at various levels and in different forms. The remarkable contribution of the United Nations to the attainment of independence by the peoples of many colonial Territories has yielded positive results. Since the General Assembly's adoption of the Declaration, more than 70 million people have attained independence and nearly 60 new States have become Members of the Organization, many of them from the African continent. Last year we had the opportunity to welcome to the Assembly the representatives of Vanuatu, Belize and Antigua and Barbuda, countries which after many years attained their independence and became full Members of the United Nations.

90. However, the final purpose has not yet been achieved. Colonialism and racist oppression persist in various parts of our troubled world. What was for many centuries the most brutal form of exploitation has left its remnants in southern Africa, Namibia,

Palestine and elsewhere, where the colonial Powers continue to exploit the indigenous populations, to plunder the natural resources and the wealth of those countries and to keep their oppressed victims in perpetual bondage, subjected to every kind of exploitation, humiliation and repression and deprived of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence.

91. There are still more than 4 million people in the remaining colonial Territories who have yet to achieve the goal of self-determination and independence. It is the general belief that the total eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, including racial discrimination, *apartheid*, exploitation of economic and human resources, violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the waging of colonial wars to exterminate the national liberation movements, will be attained by the full and effective observance and implementation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and, last but not least, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

92. By its resolution 1514 (XV), of 14 December 1960, which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Assembly established the process of decolonization and set in motion the mechanism towards that end. The Declaration states that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation; and it demands in paragraph 5 that

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

93. The following year, by its resolution 1654 (XVI), the General Assembly established the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This Committee was requested by the Assembly to examine the application of the Declaration and to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of its implementation. Throughout the years new tasks have been assigned to the Special Committee, which has been requested to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remnants of colonialism.

94. I take this opportunity to express my Government's appreciation for the constructive work carried out by the Special Committee in its search for ways and means for the complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The Government of Cyprus has consistently supported and will continue to support the struggle for the abolition of the re-

maining vestiges of colonialism and to make its modest contribution towards eradicating racism, *apartheid* and violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, through the faithful and complete implementation of the Declaration.

95. Notwithstanding the retreat of colonialism in other parts of the world, it has continued to exist in the most abhorrent form in southern Africa and particularly in Namibia. The decolonization process that has been established in different parts of our universe remains overshadowed by the tragic situation in Namibia, where the racist Pretoria régime persists in its efforts to maintain its rule over the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia and preserves its deplorable system of racial discrimination, segregation and violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

96. We in Cyprus, as victims of the same evils of segregation and violation of human rights practised by the forces of invasion and occupation, fully understand the plight of the oppressed people of Namibia. As the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, has stated many times from this rostrum, the Cyprus Government will continue its consistent support for the just struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of their national liberation movement, SWAPO, until the total liberation and independence of Namibia as a whole are achieved. As the President has said:

“It would not be an exaggeration if I were to state that the problem of Namibia would have been solved long ago had the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, acted with more determination against the racist and oppressive régime of South Africa. We find no justification for the seeming reluctance of the Security Council to proceed without further delay with the imposition of the comprehensive sanctions provided under the Charter, particularly mandatory sanctions, against this menacing régime.”

97. South Africa's persistent contempt for the United Nations is not unprecedented. In the Middle East we are experiencing the same policy of colonization—illegal occupation of Arab lands, genocide of the Palestinian people, usurpation of their natural resources, the changing of the centuries-old demographic structure of the region, escalation of violence, establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab lands and creation of artificial borders. The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to dignity and freedom must be recognized; and their legitimate and sovereign right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State must be safeguarded.

98. In an era when the struggle to eliminate colonization and racism has entered its final stage, there are places where a new form of colonization has appeared. My country, an ex-colonial country which attained its independence, became a victim, a few years later, of this new manifestation of colonization. To be more precise, I will merely cite a few quotations, out of the many that exist, from Turkish publications. The following is from the Turkish newspaper *Aydinlik* of 27 August 1979:

“Following the military intervention of 1974, Turkish settlers were brought from the mainland and settled in the villages, workshops, fields and homes abandoned by the Greeks. The Turkish Legation in Nicosia was organizing and implementing such things. ... At the moment, this number exceeds 50,000. ... It is evident that such a large number of settlers will open the way to major changes in the demographic structure of Cyprus.”

99. The settlers even created a “political party” in the occupied areas. Its leader, a settler and former colonel of the Turkish Army, Ismail Tezer, openly declared at a press conference on 22 December 1978—and this was published in the Turkish Cypriot newspaper *Halkin Sesi*—that the aims of his “party” were “to achieve the partition of Cyprus and its annexation to Turkey”. On 17 August 1981 Mr. Tezer stated in the Turkish-Cypriot magazine *Olay* that the settlers came to Cyprus with the approval of Turkey and that they were presented as an “agricultural force”. Furthermore, he admitted that almost all of them became citizens of the so-called Turkish-Cypriot State and that “their purpose was to stay forever in Cyprus”. The Turkish-Cypriots reacted strongly to this unprecedented influx of settlers from Anatolia, and many articles were written about this in the Turkish press. The Turkish-Cypriot leader and former Vice-President of the Republic, Mr. Küçük, wrote in an article in his newspaper *Halkin Sesi* on 24 May 1978 that these settlers “turned this paradise island into hell”.

100. With regard to the situation in Western Sahara, my Government strongly believes that urgent measures must be taken without further delay to enable the Sahraoui people to exercise the right to self-determination and independence. Unfortunately, despite the numerous General Assembly resolutions which set the framework and the basis for the solution of the problem, the Sahraoui people have not yet achieved their noble aspirations and sovereign rights. My delegation firmly supports the people of Western Sahara with regard to the attainment of their inalienable rights and calls for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the problem.

101. My delegation fully endorses the view that every nation waging a just struggle to throw off the colonial yoke must enjoy assistance from the United Nations and its Member States. There should be no further delay in the implementation of the resolutions of the Organization, for lack of attention or the appearance of scepticism will inevitably lead to the deterioration of the situation and the encouragement of colonial countries to maintain their rigid and odious policy.

102. My delegation also wishes to stress the significance of the rendering by the specialized agencies and international institutions, as a matter of urgency, of all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples struggling for their liberation from colonial rule. Furthermore, the Member States of the Organization must apply measures with a view to accelerating the pace of the political, social and educational advancement of the peoples concerned. The General Assembly has from the beginning encouraged Member States to offer scholarships and has established an educational and training programme

for the indigenous inhabitants of Namibia, South Africa and other territories. Cyprus has offered and continues to render assistance for the implementation of these programmes and provides scholarships and places in its various educational institutions for students from South Africa and Namibia, as it did for students from Zimbabwe before the latter attained its independence.

103. The General Assembly must once again invite the administering Powers to give effect to the recommendations of the Special Committee on the speedy implementation of the Declaration and the relevant resolutions of the Assembly and to participate actively in its work relating to the Territories concerned. As the Secretary-General observed on 1 March 1982 in his statement before the Special Committee, the support and co-operation of the administering Powers “will facilitate the Committee’s consideration of the problems of those Territories and will make it possible for the Committee to dispatch visiting missions to them to obtain first-hand information on the conditions prevailing there and on the true wishes of their populations”.¹

104. My delegation greatly values the work of the Special Committee and of all the other organs of the United Nations to bring about the positive results achieved so far in the decolonization process. It also expresses its appreciation of the decisive contribution made and the important role played by our Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, with regard to the implementation of the Declaration and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. As the Chairman of the Special Committee stated on 1 March 1982: “The record of his activities as representative of Peru here at the United Nations is ample proof of his devotion to the freedom of all peoples”.¹

105. The struggle for the definitive elimination of colonialism has now entered its concluding phase of eradicating the last remnants of that system, and it has thus become even keener. The coming years will undoubtedly test the capability of the Organization to fulfil the task entrusted to it under the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The situation brooks no delay. Let us not allow even greater ill to befall the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and so many other Territories. An indication of the intentions of the racists never to withdraw from those Territories is the fact that they have so far succeeded in seriously impairing implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The effective measures envisaged in the Charter are needed to compel these régimes to put an end to their colonial rule. It is upon this basis that the solution of this problem can be achieved.

106. Mr. ADAMOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): More than two decades have elapsed since the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Now, as a result of the unflagging and selfless national liberation struggle waged by peoples with the support of all progressive forces, and primarily the socialist countries, the political map of the world shows dozens of new sovereign States, half of which are on the

African continent. The voices of those young, independent States are sounding out with ever-greater authority in the international arena. Together with other peace-loving States, they are contributing to the efforts to improve the international situation, to put an end to the arms race and to avert the threat of a nuclear war.

107. The Declaration has played and will continue to play an important part in the efforts of colonial peoples to gain liberty and independence. In mobilizing world public opinion against the vestiges and recurrences of colonialism, the fundamental principles of the Declaration—the right of peoples to self-determination, the preservation of their national unity and territorial integrity, the inadmissibility of military activities or acts of repression of any type whatsoever against peoples still living under the colonial yoke—are highly pertinent at the present time.

108. Now, when the struggle for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism has reached its culminating stage, the forces of imperialism and reaction are doing all they can to stem that historic and irreversible process. The imperialist circles, the Western Powers, primarily the United States, are more and more overtly pursuing a policy designed to maintain the outmoded vestiges of colonialism and racism. At the same time, the liberated countries are being covered by a network of military bases, rapid-deployment forces are being set up and the whole arsenal of blackmail, pressure and provocation is being deployed against them. Some have applied direct military pressure. Attempts are being made with increasing frequency to drive a wedge between the various countries of Africa. The Organization of African Unity is also within their sights; that Organization provides well-tried machinery for combined anti-imperialist and anti-colonial action on the part of the countries of that continent.

109. The *apartheid* régime in South Africa is being used by the imperialists to carry out systematic aggressive, subversive activity against other sovereign African States in order to disrupt their political stability and to paralyse the national liberation movement in the southern part of Africa. The Western Powers, primarily the United States, continue to attempt to thwart the efforts of the United Nations to achieve independence for Namibia and to impose a neo-colonialist future upon the Namibian people.

110. The General Assembly has emphasized in its resolution 36/68 that:

“the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations—including racism, *apartheid*, the exploitation by foreign and other interests of economic and human resources, and the waging of colonial wars to suppress national liberation movements—is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and poses a serious threat to international peace and security.”

However, in spite of the numerous resolutions of the United Nations and the demands voiced by the international community, the South African racists continue to practise their criminal policy of *apartheid*,

pressure and cruel repression against the indigenous African population of the country, illegally occupied Namibia, and to carry out acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States. They have invaded the territory of the People's Republic of Angola; they have caused immense damage and have brazenly disregarded the legitimate demands that their troops be withdrawn from that country.

111. In its aggressive policy, the racist régime of Pretoria relies on the leading Western countries members of NATO, which are pursuing their own selfish economic, political and military-strategic goals in the southern part of the African continent and which regard South Africa as a trusted ally in carrying out the military and strategic thinking of the North Atlantic bloc in adjacent regions.

112. In the southern part of Africa, many hundreds of Western monopolies operate; these work hand in glove with the Pretoria régime in plundering the natural resources and ruthlessly exploiting the indigenous African population there. For most Western countries, South Africa and Namibia, which it illegally occupies, are major sources of profit and a repository of extremely valuable raw materials. Foreign investment in South Africa amounts to \$35 billion. Loans from Western banks flow freely into the economy of the colonial racist régime of Pretoria. Recently, despite an appeal by the General Assembly, the United States and other Western countries made use of IMF in order to secure an injection of funds amounting to more than \$1 billion into the *apartheid* régime's economy.

113. The major petroleum companies, such as Shell, British Petroleum, Mobil, Caltex and Total, provide a constant flow of petroleum to South Africa. In so doing, they are looking after their own interests. According to facts published in the magazine *South* in November of this year, those corporations make tremendous profits from that business, amounting to \$4 billion a year.

114. Of particular concern to the international community is the policy of the present United States Administration towards the southern part of Africa and its efforts actively to develop extremely close relations with the South African régime. In the final communiqué of the Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries in Havana this summer the Ministers for Foreign Affairs

“vehemently condemned the United States Government for its declared friendship and alliance with the Pretoria régime and for violating the arms embargo imposed on South Africa by Security Council resolution 418 (1977). The Ministers demanded an immediate end to all collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa, in view of the danger which such collaboration represents to regional and international peace.” [A/37/333, annex, sect. A, para. 57.]

They also:

“strongly condemned those Western countries which collaborate with the illegal Pretoria régime in order to protect the status quo which guarantees their continued plunder of Namibia's natural resources and enslavement and exploitation of the African masses.” [Ibid., para. 50.]

115. The actions of the racist régime in South Africa in the Territory of Namibia, which it illegally occupies, is hindering the implementation of the Declaration, the decisions of the Security Council and the resolutions of the General Assembly with respect to that country. The South African racists are completely nullifying the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem. With the connivance and support of their Western patrons, primarily the United States, the Pretoria régime wishes to achieve a settlement on its own terms and to play for time in order to be able to implant and consolidate a puppet neo-colonialist régime in Namibia.

116. The same purposes are served by efforts to connect the question of a settlement in Namibia with matters totally irrelevant to it: in particular, the presence in Angola, upon the request of that country's Government, of Cuban troops, which are rendering assistance to that country in a spirit of internationalism.

117. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that racist Pretoria must be induced to put an end to its criminal policies and to pay heed to the resolutions of the United Nations and the opinion of the international community. To that end the Security Council should immediately impose against racist South Africa comprehensive and mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

118. The Byelorussian SSR has always favoured and continues to favour the enjoyment by the peoples of South Africa of their inalienable rights to independence and self-determination. It also favours the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from the Territory of Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the coastal islands, with complete authority in Namibia being transferred to SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people. It favours, too, the elimination of the shameful system of *apartheid* from South Africa.

119. The final purposes of the Declaration have not yet been achieved. This is particularly true in regard to certain so-called small Territories which are located in the expanses of the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean. The ongoing colonial exploitation of those small Territories by imperialist monopolies and the fact that they are used by the administering Powers in order to provide military bases for themselves are the main obstacles in the way of the achievement by the populations of those Territories of independence and self-determination and the implementation of the purposes of the Declaration.

120. The military bases held by imperialist Powers in Guam, Puerto Rico, Diego García, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands and Micronesia and in other colonial and dependent Territories, and the military activities of those Powers, however much certain Western representatives here may try to gild the lily, are diametrically opposed to the vital in-

terests of the peoples of those Territories and the purposes of decolonization proclaimed in the Declaration, and are a hindrance to their implementation.

121. Particular attention should be focused on the situation prevailing in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands as a result of the acts of the administering Power, the United States. The administering Power, for 35 years now, not only has failed to perform the duties of trusteeship but, circumventing the Security Council and in violation of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the Trusteeship Agreement, the Declaration on decolonization and other decisions of the United Nations, has indulged in a policy of dismembering Micronesia and virtually swallowing it piecemeal. The populations of certain island Territories have had a virtually neo-colonialist status which is dependent upon the United States, imposed upon them under the guise of "co-operation" or "free association" with the administering Power.

122. In this connection, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like to emphasize once again that the solution of the problem of the future of Micronesia is part and parcel of the overall problem of decolonization and the granting of independence and self-determination to colonial countries and peoples. Any modification in the status of Micronesia as a Trust Territory can, according to the Charter of the United Nations, be carried out only on the decision of the Security Council. Any unilateral action on the part of the administering Power with respect either to the entire Trust Territory or to its individual integral parts is unlawful and can have no legal force. It is a matter of urgent necessity for the United Nations and its relevant organs to take the steps laid down in the Charter in order to thwart the efforts of the United States to convert Micronesia into its own colonial possession. The unimpeded enjoyment by the people of Micronesia of their legitimate right to genuine freedom and independence must be guaranteed.

123. In conclusion, may we once again confirm that the Byelorussian SSR has always supported and will continue to support the struggle of peoples for the immediate and complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism. The Byelorussian SSR is a sponsor of draft resolution A/37/L.32, which has been introduced for the consideration of the present session of the General Assembly. The inalienable right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence should be guaranteed, in accordance with the Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations on decolonization.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

NOTE

¹ See A/AC.109/PV.1205.