



**President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).**

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) Reports of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. VELAZCO SAN JOSÉ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Next year the international community will commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. That will give us an opportunity to take stock of the victories scored in the struggle against colonialism and of the efforts the Organization must continue to make in support of the peoples still struggling for self-determination and independence.

2. It is precisely in the sphere of decolonization that the Organization, on the eve of its fortieth anniversary, can be satisfied with the work done in support of one of the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

3. In this context, we welcome the accession of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic as a full member of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*]. That is a great victory for the Saharan people in particular and for African peoples in general.

4. In spite of the many achievements in this field, the agenda of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—which does not cover all the Territories to which resolution 1514 (XV) applies—is living proof of the important work that the Organization still must do in support of the struggle of peoples to free themselves from the last vestiges of colonial domination.

5. The most dramatic case is the one we have just completed considering in the Assembly—that is, the question of Namibia. But there is colonialism in the Indian Ocean region, where the Comorian island of Mayotte, the Malagasy Islands and Diego Garcia must be returned to the sovereignty of, respectively, the Comoros, Madagascar and Mauritius. In the Caribbean, we find the most important colonial

possession of the United States, Puerto Rico, and other Territories which, under the obsolete term “overseas departments”, are deprived of self-determination by various European Powers. Farther down, in the South Atlantic, Argentina is being denied sovereignty over the Malvinas, Georgias and South Sandwich Islands. The so-called small Territories, dealt with by a subsidiary body of the Special Committee, include many colonies, mainly Micronesia, which are the objects of sophisticated manoeuvres orchestrated by the administering Powers to hamper the exercise by those peoples of their right to self-determination and independence.

6. A new type of colonialism—neo-colonialism—imposed by imperialism on many of the young independent States, has been taking new wings in recent years through a brutal policy of pressure and blackmail aimed at undermining the political independence of those States and firmly tying them as appendages to the imperialist system of dependency and economic exploitation. In these endeavours the imperialist Powers, in particular the United States, try to exploit the tragic economic situation, which in many countries of the third world is made worse by the economic crisis generated in the capitalist world.

7. On the other hand, the policy of aggression and expansion of imperialism and its pawns in the Middle East and in southern Africa—Israel and South Africa—has given rise to colonialism of a new stripe, which can be seen in the Israeli plans to bring about the definitive annexation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, and in the neo-colonial attempts by the Pretoria racist régime against the independent neighbouring States and front-line States.

8. The process of decolonization has in fact come to a standstill in some of the most critical areas, particularly in Namibia, where the *apartheid* régime, encouraged by the policy of “constructive engagement” of the current American Administration and the political, diplomatic, economic and military support it receives from Washington, disregards the will of the international community and persists in maintaining by force the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia in disregard of repeated Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

9. In considering the Territories still under colonial domination, one clearly sees the motivations that explain why colonial Powers resist abandoning those possessions. In some cases they benefit from the juicy profits they extract from economic exploitation, especially advantageous in colonial conditions, and in other cases these interests also relate to military-strategic objectives.

10. At this session the General Assembly will reach decisions on the draft resolutions on the item before us which unequivocally condemn the exploitation of

colonial Territories by the colonial Powers and their transnational corporations, as well as the use of those Territories for military ends, since both practices are serious obstacles to the process of self-determination and independence.

11. The Territories of Namibia, Micronesia, Diego Garcia, Guam, Bermuda and especially Puerto Rico—only to mention the most salient cases—are living examples of the utilization of colonial Territories for military purposes related to the global aggressive strategy of imperialism.

12. Cuba has always considered this type of activity not only as being extremely dangerous to the exercise of the right of those peoples to self-determination and independence, but also as a threat and a danger to the security of independent neighbouring States.

13. Certain recent events in the Caribbean have strengthened my country's conviction that the United Nations and the international community in general must redouble their efforts to end the utilization of colonial Territories, whether for purposes of installing bases or for carrying out other military activities.

14. To the use by the United States of the island of Vieques, which is part of the colonial Territory of Puerto Rico, as a training area for the aggression which two years later it launched against the small island of Grenada, we must add the progressive militarization of Puerto Rico and its use as a base for military manoeuvres in the context of the aggressive plans of the present American Administration against peoples of the Caribbean and Central America, in particular of Nicaragua and Cuba.

15. Precisely this aspect—the militarization of the Territory of Puerto Rico—was the object of a comprehensive analysis when in August this year the item was considered at plenary meetings of the Special Committee. At that time the members of the Committee had occasion to hear statements by many petitioners who represented all Puerto Rican political parties without exception as well as the most important social, professional and cultural organizations and by groups, institutions and distinguished persons from the political, religious, social and cultural spheres in that Territory. All of those statements are irrefutable proof of the fact that the people of Puerto Rico are not satisfied with the present political status which hinders the realization of their legitimate aspirations.

16. In keeping with its historical commitment rooted in the libertarian thinking of Jose Martí, Juárez, Bolívar, Bustos, Betances and Albizu Campos, Cuba has for many years been defending the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence, in keeping with resolution 1514 (XV).

17. We remain convinced that sooner or later the brother people of Puerto Rico will join, as an independent sovereign State, the great Latin American family, from whose ranks, history, culture and common roots the colonial Power will not be able to separate it, however much it may do to distort historical reality, destroy its national identity, bring its economic structures in line with the interests of American transnationals and use the sons of the Puerto Rican people as cannon fodder in its wars and imperialistic adventures.

18. In accordance with chapter II of the report of the Special Committee [A/39/23], the General As-

sembly will take a decision on the draft resolution on the Programme of Activities in Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We trust that the active participation of all Member States, the United Nations bodies concerned, the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system and the non-governmental organizations active in the field of decolonization will contribute to making this historic event an important milestone among the efforts of the international community to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism through firm and decided support for those peoples still struggling to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

19. Mr. SKOFENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): In the lives of countries and peoples, as in those of individuals, there are certain events which to a great extent determine their future. For many peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, such an event 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. This truly historic act marked the resolve of all progressive and peace-loving forces once and for all to put an end to colonialism and represented international, legal confirmation of the legitimacy of the struggle for national liberation and the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence.

20. On the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration, we are indeed gratified to note the major successes that have been achieved in the fulfilment of its lofty ideals. Colonial empires have crumbled, and from their ruins have arisen dozens of new independent States. They have confirmed their status in the international arena as sovereign and equal participants in the world society. Their international authority is growing, and their positive contributions to the resolution of world problems is increasing. This is a great victory for the peoples in the national liberation struggle and an important step towards the complete elimination of colonialism, that pernicious phenomenon in the history of mankind.

21. However, the forces of imperialism and reaction do not wish to reconcile themselves to the realities of the times. They have arbitrarily declared certain areas to be zones of their "vital interests", including vast expanses of ocean and other peoples' coastlines, and are trying to impose their will on other peoples. The United States aggression against Grenada, the crises in southern Africa, the Middle East and Central America—all these are results of imperialist policies of hegemonism and expansion and of attempts to erect a barrier to progressive reforms in the world. It is precisely because of such policies that colonialism has not yet been ended and the sacred right to self-determination and independence remains but a dream for the peoples of more than 20 countries and territories.

22. In that regard, we are particularly alarmed at the situation prevailing in the southern part of the African continent, where the racist régime of South Africa, while sabotaging the numerous relevant United Nations resolutions, is continuing illegally to occupy Namibia and is endeavouring to stifle by force of arms the aspirations of the people to

liberation and independence and to maintain the colonial system there. At the same time the racists of Pretoria are carrying out acts of aggression and subversion against neighbouring African States to try to force them to cease their assistance and support for the national liberation movement of the Namibian people.

23. As is indicated in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the South African régime “is able to defy the United Nations, act as an outlaw and give the appearance of strength only because of the collusion and support of the United States of America, certain other Western Powers and Israel, as well as a number of transnational corporations and financial institutions” [see A/39/22, para. 328].

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR strongly condemns the actions of those circles and States which, under the cover of statements about their devotion to the purposes and principles of the Declaration on decolonization, give assistance to the *apartheid* régime and encourage it in further acts of illegality, aggression and intransigence with regard to the matter of granting independence to Namibia.

24. In Washington South Africa is openly called a friend and an “historical ally”. The United States is pursuing a policy of “constructive engagement” with the Pretoria régime, hoping in this way to safeguard its own economic and strategic interests in the southern part of the African continent. Recently the racists and their protectors have been undertaking joint efforts to “link” the Namibian problem with other matters which are completely irrelevant, in order to postpone indefinitely the granting of independence to the people of Namibia. These unsavoury manoeuvres are aimed at taking the solution of the problem of Namibia outside the United Nations and at destroying the foundation for a true settlement set out in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and other United Nations resolutions. The Ukrainian SSR categorically condemns such manoeuvres. We favour the immediate exercise by the people of Namibia of its legal right to self-determination and independence, the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of the country, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, and the transfer of full authority to the South West Africa People’s Organization [SWAPO], which has been recognized by the United Nations and the OAU as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

25. The adoption of effective measures in accordance with United Nations resolutions to remove the hotbed of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in the southern part of Africa is an urgent requirement of the present day. The United Nations and all democratic and peace-loving forces on earth should redouble their efforts to isolate that racist régime. We fully uphold the demands of the African States that the Security Council immediately impose against South Africa comprehensive mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We also believe it is essential that all States strictly observe the sanctions which have already been imposed on South Africa.

26. Unfortunately, failure to comply with the provisions of the declaration on decolonization has not been restricted to southern Africa. No solution has yet been found in regard to the decolonization of a number of so-called small dependent Territories

situated in various parts of the oceans and seas. The point here is by no means that these Territories are small in size or have small populations, although this is precisely the excuse used by the administering Powers to justify their refusal to grant them the right to self-determination and independence. The real reason is to be found elsewhere. The military and strategic locations of these Territories and the militaristic plans of those in the more aggressive circles of imperialism explain the stubborn attempts of the administering Powers to preserve these remnants of their colonial possessions. Using these Territories, mostly islands, as military bases and beach-heads for strategic purposes in certain parts of the world, despite the will of the populations, the administering Powers give very little thought to the fate or aspirations of the indigenous people.

27. The most typical example of how the right of peoples to self-determination is being called in question, if not completely denied, for purely selfish reasons, is the action of the United States with regard to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia). When in 1947 the United States took over the administration of Micronesia it made a solemn commitment to promote the “political, economic and social progress” of the local population and “its development towards self-determination and independence”. But, as subsequent events demonstrated, the real purposes of the administering Power had nothing in common with the injunctions of the United Nations. From the outset the United States attempted to annex the islands, declaring them to be of strategic and vital interest to it. Scoffing at the very concept of self-determination, the United States, for the 37 years during which the trusteeship has been in effect, has tried to impose its own will on the Micronesian people by the use of brute force.

28. Because of the efforts of the administering Power, Micronesia has been divided into a number of State entities, and each of them faces the fate of becoming a United States colony. Moreover, the United States has arrogated to itself the right to use parts of Micronesia to deploy, store and experiment with nuclear weapons and poisonous chemical substances. In addition to the military bases that already exist, new military installations are being planned. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that the treaties which have been proposed by the United States—the so-called covenants and compacts based on the ideas of commonwealth and free association of Micronesia with the administering Power—are essentially equivalent to acts of recolonization. They cannot replace the status of a free and independent State.

29. The militarization of the Pacific Islands poses a grave threat to the security of peoples, not only in Micronesia but also in Asia and Oceania. It could give rise to a new source of tension. These United States actions towards the Trust Territory violate the Charter of the United Nations, the trusteeship agreement between the Security Council and the United States, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other United Nations resolutions. Thus, they cannot and must not be acknowledged to be just or to have any legal force.

30. The plans of the imperialist States to realize their hegemonistic and militaristic aspirations allow of no exceptions for other Territories in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean.

31. Thus, the island of Diego Garcia—which formerly belonged to Mauritius and was illegally seized by the United Kingdom and leased to the United States—has been turned by the United States into a major modern nuclear naval base in the Indian Ocean. This represents a threat to the security and stability of the region. With regard to the local population, the new owners, having decided to get rid of witnesses, have expelled all the island's inhabitants, depriving them of their homeland.

32. The island of Puerto Rico is a virtual United States colony in the Caribbean. It is used as a military beach-head for intervention in the internal affairs of other countries of the region.

33. Nor is the South Atlantic free from vestiges of the colonial past. The armed conflict which arose there over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands was a clear demonstration of the true attitude of Great Britain and its closest allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to the problems of decolonization. It was also convincing proof of the need for the immediate, final elimination of colonialism everywhere and in every form.

34. That is the basic, consistent position which has always motivated the Ukrainian SSR on questions concerning the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We offer our friendship to all those struggling for freedom and independence and for the right to decide their own future in full independence, and they have our constant support.

35. Mr. MILES (United Kingdom): Last year saw the accession of Saint Christopher and Nevis to membership of the United Nations. This year we welcomed Brunei Darussalam as the Organization's 159th Member. The coming to independence of these two countries represents classic examples of the peaceful change which has transformed what was once an empire into a unique Commonwealth. Their admission to the United Nations brings us even closer to the goal of universality. Their emergence as new nations is an occasion for celebration, yet one would hardly think so from much that has been said in this debate. One would have thought that the process of decolonization had hardly advanced in the last 40 years, that it still deserved the same priority as was accorded to it in the early years of the Organization.

36. We are not here to perpetuate myths. The fact is that the process of decolonization is close to an end. The achievements have been many. The number of Non-Self-Governing Territories has dwindled, so that now only 15 or so are left. As far as the remaining British dependent Territories are concerned, all have stressed that they are not yet ready for independence. All have made it clear that they do not wish to break their links with the United Kingdom. We respect those wishes. It is the people who should decide the pace of constitutional advance. We shall not force them into independence against their will, and we shall not stand in the way of independence if that accords with their wishes, expressed through their elected representatives.

37. If anyone harbours any doubts about the swift pace of decolonization, let me point out that after the founding of the United Nations, but before the adoption in 1960 of the declaration on decolonization—a point overlooked by a number of speakers—some 33 colonial and Trust Territories, 10 of them

British, with a combined population of some 1 billion people, had secured their independence. By the time the Declaration was adopted, a further four Territories, with a population amounting to some 4.5 million, were already proceeding to independence, and the groundwork for independence in other British colonial Territories had been laid. By 1965 all British dependent Territories in Africa had achieved independence, with the exception of Rhodesia, which was under an illegal régime. Leaving aside for the moment Hong Kong, to which special considerations apply since it is not on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, what remains now is a group of small island Territories which together make up a population approaching 150,000.

38. That, then, is the sum total of our present colonial responsibilities: 150,000 souls. There is no question of the United Kingdom maintaining colonial rule over these people for its own sake. We do so because the people wish it, and we do so because we recognize that we have obligations placed on us by Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations, obligations we take seriously and observe scrupulously. Yet speeches today have implied, as do the draft resolutions before us, that colonialism serves only the interests of the administering Powers at the expense of those they administer. To the very limited extent that my country is still an administering Power, that is far from the truth.

39. If I may make a personal comment, the process of decolonization had been accepted by my country and the wind of change was blowing strongly by the time I began my professional life in the British diplomatic service 24 years ago. I am perhaps unusual in my generation of British officials in having been actively involved in bringing a former British colony, Aden, to independence. This is a matter of pride to me personally, compounded with regret that the independent State, most unusually, did not decide to join the Commonwealth. For most of my generation, and for most representatives of former British Territories in the Organization, decolonization is now a matter of history.

40. I briefly mentioned Hong Kong. All present will remember that on 26 September this year the British and Chinese Governments initialled an agreement whereby the United Kingdom will continue to be responsible for the administration of Hong Kong until 1 July 1997. China will then resume sovereignty and Hong Kong will become a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. As my Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said during this year's general debate [9th meeting], the agreement is a triumph of good sense and shows how, in the search for solutions to international problems, agreement is possible only with courage, imagination and political will on all sides. The "one country, two systems" approach to Hong Kong is a most positive example of this.

41. Last month we reached another agreement involving a British dependent Territory, this time with Spain over Gibraltar. The agreement was contained in a joint communiqué issued in Brussels on 27 November [A/39/732, annex] after a meeting between the British Foreign Secretary and the Spanish Foreign Minister. This paves the way for implementation of the Lisbon Declaration of April 1980, which provided for the re-establishment of direct communication between Spain and Gibraltar and,

simultaneously, for the start of negotiations aimed at overcoming all differences between Britain and Spain over Gibraltar.

42. Delegations will note that my delegation and that of Spain have jointly submitted an amendment [A/39/L.27] to the draft consensus on Gibraltar [see A/39/696, part I, para. 25], which is to be considered by the General Assembly this afternoon. The amendment is designed to take account of this new development.

43. Many of those that speak each year in this debate persist in turning a blind eye to the great advances that have been made in the process of decolonization and find it simpler to trot out the slogans of a bygone age. We live now in a world vastly different from that of 40 years ago. It is time the United Nations adapted its practices as well as its attitudes to take account of the changes; otherwise the Organization undermines its own credibility and reduces its capacity to respond effectively to the solution of problems that are real and pressing. The British empire no longer exists—certainly not in the form envisaged in this debate. The Soviet empire, as my predecessor remarked in this debate last year, is another story. If we are to debate independence and colonial problems it is our duty to look at the problems of today, not those of the past.

44. We all know that much of what is said in this debate is prompted by a painful awareness of the evil of *apartheid* and the injustice of the situation in Namibia. None of us, whether a former colony or a former imperial Power, dissents from the view that the system of *apartheid* is abhorrent and an affront to human dignity. All of us look forward to the day when the people of South Africa can live in conditions of equality and justice. But the fact remains that *apartheid* is not a manifestation of colonialism. It is a massive and flagrant violation of human rights practised by a sovereign State within its own borders.

45. As far as Namibia is concerned, we all share the same hope, namely, to see Namibia achieve its independence in accordance with the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). But Namibia is unique. Special machinery has been set up at the United Nations to deal with it. Indeed, it has recently been debated, as has *apartheid*, in this very Assembly. Is it really profitable to go over the same ground again? And should the United Kingdom, as the administering Power of 10 dependent Territories which takes justified pride in the way it fulfils its obligations towards them, be subjected to the same wrath and indignation as is directed at the situation in southern Africa? The answer is clear, and I say again that the General Assembly can ultimately only bring discredit on itself by failing to acknowledge the distinction.

46. Delegations will understand when I say that we have considerable reservations concerning the draft resolutions before us. It is significant and deeply depressing that they are virtually identical to the resolutions that have been adopted in previous years. What a contrast to the Declaration on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa [resolution 39/29, annex], adopted the day before yesterday by the Assembly, which was a measured and constructive response to the very real difficulties facing African countries in 1984.

47. Self-evidently then, the draft resolutions we are discussing today fail to take account of change. They

turn a blind eye to one problem which I should like to mention, the distinction between self-determination and independence. Those former British colonial Territories where the people clearly wished for independence have now achieved it. The few Territories which remain are exceptional in that a process of self-determination does not lead, or does not immediately and unambiguously lead, to independence but to some other status. Representatives are familiar with the Falklands question, a case where the population of the Territory itself have made it clear that they wish to remain linked with my country. We find it strange that their right to self-determination is flatly denied by the Assembly—by the Assembly, not, as the representative of Czechoslovakia implied yesterday, by the United Kingdom. However, it is a fact that in most other cases the right to self-determination has been exercised and independence has been the result. So it is not surprising that many Member States should expect the two to go together. I find it more surprising that the representative of the UK should be of the same view and treat self-determination and independence as identical. The representative of Byelorussia is to speak shortly. He made the same mistake last year and it will be interesting to see if he does it again. I am tempted to ask when, on the basis that self-determination equals independence, those two States expect to exercise the right to self-determination.

48. Let me point to a few instances where the texts before us seem particularly unsatisfactory. The draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration [A/39/L.17 and Corr. 1 and Add. 1], of 27 November, talks in its twelfth preambular paragraph of the need to eradicate “racial discrimination, *apartheid* and violations of the basic human rights of the peoples of colonial Territories”. Note that it is “the peoples of colonial Territories” who are spoken of here, not merely Namibia. Indeed, Namibia is merely singled out as an example of a general phenomenon. Perhaps it is not we that are singled out for criticism here. But if not we, who then? I would stress that in British dependent Territories we do not violate basic human rights, or practice *apartheid*, a term which has a very specific meaning—that is, discrimination on the grounds of race as a matter of public policy. We do not in the United Kingdom or in our dependent Territories discriminate on the grounds of race as a matter of public policy. Indeed, if there are instances of racial discrimination in our dependent Territories they are dealt with severely. We find it insulting and offensive that it should even be suggested, however indirectly, that we do so discriminate.

49. In paragraph 2 of the same draft resolution we see a further expression of irrelevant dogma: racism and *apartheid* and, additionally, the “exploitation by foreign and other interests of economic and human resources” are referred to as if they were part and parcel of the administration of colonial Territories in 1984. Again, are we to take this seriously? We do not exploit the economic resources, or the people, of our Territories. But we do encourage private-sector investment, as we and so many other Governments encourage it in our own territory, confident that in so doing we create the conditions for sustained and healthy economic growth which in turn contributes to political stability. For we are deeply concerned to promote economic development and progress towards self-government in our dependent Territories. Were we not, we would hardly co-operate with

the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples or invite visiting missions to inspect our Territories, the great majority of which have now been visited by United Nations missions, many of them more than once.

50. Another criticism we have of this draft resolution relates to paragraph 10, which calls for the unconditional withdrawal of so-called military bases and installations from colonial Territories. This reflects an increasing trend in reports of the Special Committee, which has now extended its microscopic scrutiny of matters military to uninhabited Territories such as Ascension Island. The Committee has also, for no other reason, it seems, than to try to score points with impunity at our expense, thought fit to insert contentious and disobliging references to military activities into the draft resolution on Bermuda; this despite the fact that military bases have existed on Bermuda for many years without any reason for legitimate concern. Military facilities in our Territories are only there with the support and consent of the local inhabitants. It is extraordinary, though regrettably predictable, that they are depicted by certain delegations as forming part of some sinister military strategy. But what is rather more significant is that no evidence has been adduced to support these absurd allegations. I do not know which I find more surprising: to hear such allegations from countries like the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, which have repeatedly imposed their will on neighbours and allies by military force, or to hear them from countries like Mongolia, Afghanistan and the German Democratic Republic, in which foreign military bases are maintained.

51. The second draft resolution before us today, on the dissemination of information on decolonization [A/39/L.18 and Add. 1], is no better. It talks of disseminating information on the "evils and dangers" of colonialism, a phrase which cannot but be offensive to those dependent peoples that have chosen to maintain their links with the administering Power. More than that, far from contenting themselves with maintaining the present level of activity, the authors of the draft resolution call for an intensification of work in this area. There can be no possible justification for this at a time when the process of decolonization itself is near to conclusion.

52. We are far from impressed by the work currently being done by the United Nations in the field of dissemination of information on decolonization. We have, for example, had cause to question the provocative title given to the publication "Objective: Justice", implying as it does that justice in dependent Territories can only be achieved through decolonization. We were also appalled earlier in the year by a Department of Public Information publication entitled "The United Nations and Decolonization: A Teaching Guide". It was not only its inaccuracies and its distortion of the history of decolonization that concerned us; it was the offensive way in which it equated the elimination of colonialism with the eradication of disease. Indeed, colonialism was described in the guide as "another kind of world-wide sickness".

53. This publication summed up what is objectionable in United Nations work on decolonization: it represented little more than a piece of crude political propaganda, grossly misleading and positively insult-

ing to certain Member States. Its publication can only have tarnished the United Nations reputation, and we found it extraordinary that the United Nations imprimatur could have been given to so biased an analysis. We know that attempts were made to improve it, but the publication should have been withdrawn altogether. If a teaching guide is necessary, it should provide a serious, balanced and intellectually respectable assessment of the subject that reflects the views of all States Members of the United Nations. This is particularly important if it is to be distributed to schoolchildren, who are impressionable and whose capacity for objective judgments and analysis is generally supposed to be limited—though I know schoolchildren who can tell fact from fiction.

54. I am not suggesting that the United Nations should not be free to issue publications about its work in this important area. The extent to which people today live in freedom or are subject to tyranny—the central theme of the teaching guide—is an extremely important subject. Whether the history of decolonization since the War can legitimately be considered in these terms is debatable, but in any serious consideration of colonialism it is of course necessary to consider both the good and the bad.

55. This leads me to the activities planned to mark the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the declaration on decolonization. These are set out in chapter II of the Special Committee's report [A/39/23]. Annexed to that chapter is the text of a letter which we sent to the Chairman earlier this year, recording my delegation's doubts about the purpose and value of the planned celebrations. There is therefore no need for me to set out at length our objections here. Given the advanced stage reached in the decolonization process, given the large number of British dependent Territories that achieved their independence before 1960 and given our reluctance to see the United Nations spend its limited resources on commemorating anniversaries rather than on tackling the pressing problems that face us today, we do not consider celebrations on the scale proposed to be justified.

56. What particularly troubles us is that both the proposed extraordinary session of the Special Committee and the two regional seminars are seen as taking place away from New York. This would increase substantially the cost of these events. We see no justification for this. What does the United Nations gain by holding these meetings elsewhere? We would at the very least have expected the United Nations to absorb the costs of these additional activities within existing resources, or that it would have been agreed that the countries hosting the seminars, and in particular the extraordinary session of the Committee, should pay for them. That this does not appear to be envisaged is a cause of disappointment for us and explains why we are unable to support this draft resolution. We do not believe what is proposed represents a sensible and proper use of the United Nations finances. Expenditure of this magnitude on unproductive tasks does not reflect well on the Organization. Nor are we convinced, on the basis of past experience, that the celebrations planned are likely either to highlight the progress so far achieved in decolonization or indeed to contribute in a sensible and constructive way to bringing the decolonization process to a speedy and peaceful end.

57. Let me conclude by saying that my delegation would be happy to join in appropriate celebrations commemorating the giant strides that have been made in the field of decolonization over the last 40 years. The fact that we are unwilling to concur in what is planned on this occasion reflects our concern that this will be used not as a springboard for furthering the interests of the remaining non-self-governing peoples, but as a sounding-board for those delegations which, for purely ideological reasons, want to multiply the opportunities the Organization provides to vilify those whose values and beliefs they fear. And if we are to continue to hold a debate on these lines year after year, now that the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, as conventionally defined, have dwindled to such a tiny number, I predict that attention will turn increasingly to those other large areas where even today whole nations continue to live under foreign domination.

58. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): Consideration of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is taking place on the eve of two remarkable anniversaries in the history of mankind: the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. It is natural on such an occasion to review the progress made thus far by the United Nations in this field.

59. The struggle against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations has occupied a prominent place in the overall activities of the United Nations. Since its founding, as we all well know, over 100 States have assumed their legitimate place in the Organization as a result of the steadfast and persistent struggle of their peoples and of the United Nations against colonial domination. It is only right that we should note in this respect the work and 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, which, under the able guidance of its Chairman, Mr. Koroma of Sierra Leone, has made a valuable contribution to the speedy and unconditional implementation of the Declaration and to the eradication of all vestiges of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and, of course, *apartheid*.

60. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate the Special Committee and its Chairman on their relentless efforts in accordance with the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration. My country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, faithful to its consistent and principled policy of support for the struggle of peoples against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, will continue to contribute as a member of the Special Committee to the successful realization of the highly humane objectives of the Charter and the Declaration.

61. The dissolution of colonial empires and the acquisition of legitimate freedom and independence by many colonial peoples constitute a substantial step towards the definitive elimination of colonialism. These are certainly concrete and specific successes, yet we should note that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations has not been fully eradicated from the face of the planet. The vestiges of colonialism continue to poison the international

climate, fuel old and new hotbeds of tension and conflict and increase the threat to international peace and security.

62. In the 25 years since the adoption, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the declaration on decolonization the forces of colonialism and racism and their racist allies have continually raised obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration. They have been trying openly, under various pretexts, to prolong their control over colonial Territories wherever they are to be found—in southern Africa, in the Caribbean, in the Indian, the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans—in order to safeguard their geostrategic or, as they call them, vital interests in those parts of the world. Moreover, the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism have taken concrete steps to reverse the march of history by maintaining or regaining colonial dependencies in some parts of the world under various neo-colonial forms. Thus imperialism not only prolongs its presence in the colonial Territories and preserves its political, economic, financial and military-strategic interests, but has also been trying to compel a number of independent countries and peoples to abandon the road of their genuine national and social independence.

63. These actions not only violate the spirit and the letter of the Declaration and of the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration, adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 35/118, but also contravene the Charter of the United Nations. This in itself is a very serious violation, and the world community has every right to define the persistence of colonialism and the practice of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity.

64. In order to justify these violations, the advocates of colonialism are lavish in words, whereas their deeds are in disagreement with the clear and categorical will of the international community. For example, so far not a single colonial Power has complied with the call by the General Assembly in resolution 38/54 for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the military bases and installations from colonial Territories. The General Assembly has repeatedly emphasized that the presence of military bases and installations in colonial Territories is a direct impediment to the implementation of the Declaration. The colonialist forces cannot hide the clear and firm position of the overwhelming majority of Member States that the military activities of colonial Powers and the presence of military bases and installations in colonial Territories are an impediment to the speedy and full implementation of the Declaration.

65. As is evident from the developments in the Pacific, and particularly in Micronesia, where the administering Power continues to impose a neo-colonial solution, the military-strategic interests and the geostrategic aspirations of that Power are the root cause of its non-compliance with the Declaration with regard to this Territory. This is the case also with regard to Guam, where a third of the territory is occupied by military bases and installations.

66. From a global point of view, the military bases and installations of colonial Powers in colonial Territories are an important and integral part of the network of military bases of imperialism encompassing the whole world.

67. One example of the action, or inaction, of the colonialists in order to sabotage the implementation

of the Declaration has been their dire opposition to the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence by various colonial peoples in Africa in the recent past.

68. When the United Nations, in the face of the realities and under the pressure of the objective development of mankind's history, recognized the legitimacy of the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples in Africa, the colonial Powers refused to follow the United Nations example. They still do.

69. When the United Nations, under the pressure of the objective development of the national liberation struggle, decided to recognize the legitimacy of the armed struggle of colonial peoples and their national liberation movements, the colonial Powers refused to go along with it. There were even arguments advanced at the time that the armed struggle of the colonial peoples to achieve their right to self-determination was contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. Why then, we ask, do not those Powers admit that the existence of remnants of colonialism is also contrary to the Charter?

Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

70. When the United Nations stipulates clearly and unambiguously that resolution 1514 (XV) is the constitutional document on the basis of which all colonial situations must be resolved, colonial Powers have tried, and still try, to distort the letter and the spirit of that resolution. The colonial Powers have not come out loud and clear, without any reservations whatsoever, in favour of the right of colonial countries and peoples to self-determination and independence, as stipulated in the resolution.

71. It is high time for the colonial Powers to desist from their policy of defying the decisions of the United Nations on decolonization and to put an end to their manoeuvres to circumvent the decisions regarding Namibia and to undermine the efforts of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. The Organization should unswervingly and consistently take all steps and spare no effort for the speedy and unconditional implementation of the Declaration and for the total elimination of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, despite the attempts to erect roadblocks on the road it has embarked upon.

72. Again this year the General Assembly has before it the Special Committee's report on its work with regard to the implementation of the declaration on decolonization. It is evident from this report that the colonial Powers still persist in delaying, under various pretexts, the application of decisions related to the implementation of the Declaration.

73. The General Assembly has just concluded its discussion on the question of Namibia. For many years it has been forced to hear time and again the same explanations for the continuing colonial role in Namibia—explanations that have not contributed to a solution of the problem.

74. In defiance of numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, the racist régime of South Africa continues to rely on the all-round support and protection of its allies, particularly the United States and Israel, in the economic, financial, diplomatic and military fields.

75. The culprit for the existing state of affairs is beyond any doubt South Africa, which tramples underfoot the inalienable right of the Namibian

people to independence and continues to seek a solution to the Namibian problem that is not in conformity with the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, but in conformity with the designs and ambitions of its imperialist allies.

76. As can be seen from its report, the Special Committee considered a number of colonial Territories in respect of which its resolutions and decisions specifically reaffirmed its position of principle that the Declaration was fully applicable. Among those cases was included the question of Puerto Rico.

77. In this Hall and in other United Nations bodies, Member States have kept asking the question: How long will the international community have to listen to such rationalization condoning the racist exploitation of millions of people and the plunder of the natural wealth of colonial Territories?

78. We cannot brush aside the fact that the history of the struggle of the colonial countries and peoples shows that independence cannot be achieved by compromises but that it can be won only through concrete actions aimed at bringing about the full and free exercise of their inalienable right to freedom, self-determination and national independence by all available means at their disposal, including armed struggle.

79. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The call for the total elimination of colonialism contained in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has not lost any of its importance despite the fact that 24 years have passed since the Declaration's adoption. The successes scored since then encourage us to persist along that path with all our strength, so that the international community may decisively and definitively put an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

80. The fact that newly independent States are Members of the Organization is a source of satisfaction to us and due reward to the international community for its efforts to bring colonial countries and peoples to independence and liberty. I wish to take this opportunity to welcome the delegation of Brunei Darussalam, whose country recently acceded to independence and was admitted as a Member of the United Nations.

81. 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 played an important role, and continues to do so, in terms of orienting the efforts of the Organization towards the full implementation of that Declaration. My delegation has had the honour to be a member of that Committee since its establishment, and it has been my privilege personally to work under the leadership of its Chairman, Mr. Koroma of Sierra Leone, to whom I pay a tribute for the competence and skill he has displayed as Chairman of the Committee, thus enabling it to discharge its mandate successfully. This can be seen from the report I had the honour to submit to the Assembly yesterday [85th meeting] in my capacity as its Rapporteur.

82. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic is convinced that that Committee will continue all its efforts to put an end to colonialism once and for all. We hope that this will happen as soon as possible so that we may witness this spectacular result.

83. Despite the striking success of the United Nations in the context of the implementation of the Declaration, we must note with regret that more than 4 million persons in more than 20 Territories are still deprived of autonomy and independence in their own lands. Four million Palestinians are still deprived of their right to self-determination in their territory and their homeland. More than 20 million Africans in South Africa and Namibia are still subjected to various forms of discrimination, persecution and military and racist occupation. They live in their country but they are deprived of their right to citizenship and are under the yoke of repression, persecution and humiliation, while their region continues to be a hotbed of colonialism in its most obnoxious form.

84. We must also note that political emancipation is not always coupled with economic independence and that the imperialist economic interests continue to resort to the economic domination of peoples.

85. A number of small Territories which still do not have autonomy continue to live under a system of colonial subjugation and are used for military purposes by the imperialist States, which seek to establish military bases there in order to safeguard the strategic and military interests of the colonialist States. The colonialist States, in particular the United States, use every means to delay the liquidation of colonialism in those Territories. They seek to preserve their military interests there, under the guise of various forms of domination—such as “free participation” or “political confederation”—which in fact are nothing but smoke-screens for their colonialist domination and the legitimization of their annexation of these Territories.

86. The United States Administration seeks by every possible means to exploit the region of Micronesia, which is under its trusteeship, in order to serve its own strategic and military interests. In the past, the United States Government expelled Micronesians from some of the islands and made nuclear-testing grounds out of the islands of Bikini and Eniwetok. Thus, several generations of Micronesians will suffer from the effects of this forced relocation and environmental pollution.

87. Apparently, after four decades of United States trusteeship over that region, the State exercising the trusteeship cannot demonstrate that it has made it possible for the people of the Territory to build a free and autonomous economy that could meet its needs. And after four decades the inhabitants of that region are still unable to achieve political, economic, social and educational progress and finally to accede to independence and autonomy.

88. The increase in United States military activities in Micronesia; the efforts the United States is making to obtain future military privileges through its military presence in the islands; the long-term military conventions and agreements it imposes on the Territory to enable the Pentagon to maintain testing grounds for missiles and strategic naval bases and airfields there; and the setting up of repositories for nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction—all this proves that the United States is violating its basic trusteeship mandate, which is designed to strengthen international peace and security, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

89. United States military measures in Micronesia are a source of concern and disquiet. Indeed, not only is Micronesia being turned into a colonized satellite State and a military-strategic bridgehead, but these military manoeuvres and measures are a denial of the Micronesian people's right to freedom.

90. Recourse to contrived kinds of freedom is a neo-colonialist method. “Free confederation” and “constructive participation” are merely illegal procedures and pretexts which demonstrate that the United States is determined to disregard the will of the Micronesians. This constitutes a challenge to the wish of the international community to put an end to colonial methods.

91. During the 85th meeting yesterday, we heard a statement by the United States representative, whose culture and diplomatic skill we respect. We would have expected such a respected spokesman to be better informed about the history of decolonization and the work of the Special Committee. We were astonished to hear that representative trying to rewrite history according to his lights, and even to rewrite the Committee's report. We heard his oversimplification of objective facts, his attribution to the Committee of words never spoken there, the irony with which he spoke of the Committee's achievements, his deliberate disregard for the peoples' sacrifices and the thousands of martyrs who fell for the freedom of their homelands, victims of colonialist arrogance, his attempts to discredit the General Assembly and belittle the progress towards decolonization and the contempt and mockery directed at the Assembly. His lack of a sense of humour has put him in an unenviable position. He showed great indifference to human suffering. To hear this from a civilized man is of course astonishing, but to hear it from the representative of a régime that has adopted arrogance and unlimited force as the single principle governing international relations is not at all astonishing.

92. This reminds me of the story of a humourist about a deaf and mute Martian who visits the Earth every 25 years and cannot understand what concerns people there. I do not think that the comments of that Martian could be more surprising than those made by the United States representative.

93. The United States representative spoke of a number of things that have nothing to do with the question before the Assembly. He referred in an unfriendly, inappropriate and impertinent manner to some States that have just acceded to independence. Moreover, he deliberately disregarded the colonial situation in South Africa and the tragedy of 20 million Africans. He disregarded the problem of Namibia as well as that of the 4 million Palestinians who are struggling to exercise their inalienable right to independence and freedom. He also neglected to mention that his Government has not recognized the General Assembly's authority to terminate South Africa's Mandate over Namibian territory, and thus it still recognizes the legitimacy of the Pretoria régime's authority there. He did not note that his Government has not recognized the General Assembly's authority to establish the United Nations Council for Namibia, nor, consequently, the authority of that Council to enact Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.¹ The United States Government has continued to give the racist Pretoria régime political and diplomatic protection and prevents the Security Council from imposing

comprehensive sanctions to compel it to respect international legitimacy. It does so knowing full well the intentions of the Pretoria régime and the effects of its support on the situation in southern Africa.

94. The United States representative has disregarded the fact that his Government considers the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, and the struggle of the people of South Africa, led by its liberation movement, to be terrorism. He has also ignored the fact that the policy of constructive engagement applied by his Government in relations with the racist régime strengthens South Africa's intransigence and defiance of the international community. He has deliberately disregarded the fact that the all-out assistance given by his Government to the racist régime is mainly responsible for the fact that South Africa is continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia and for the sufferings of the Namibian people.

95. In the Fourth Committee the same representative spoke of the difference between resolutions and solutions and the ways of arriving at them. Frankly, I do not disagree with that analysis and I should like to state here that in the Special Committee we never mistake solutions for resolutions. We know very well when resolutions are contributing to solutions, and when they are one sign of the impatience of the international community with manoeuvres, delaying tactics, trickery and other means used by colonial authorities when all means of achieving understanding, dialogue and compromise have been exhausted. When there is strong language in resolutions it reflects negative positions and negative circumstances. That language is aimed at touching the conscience of those who give their own selfish interest precedence over the right of peoples to live in dignity and freedom, and it constitutes a warning.

96. The representative of the United States claims that it is the supporters of the cold war who raise the question of Puerto Rico in the Special Committee and that the Committee is not qualified to consider the question since that territory . . .

97. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States on a point of order.

98. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America): I did not realize that I was on the agenda for this meeting. Would you please determine whether I am and, if I am not, would you ask the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to confine himself to the agenda for the meeting.

99. The PRESIDENT: I ask the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to continue, bearing in mind the statement of the representative of the United States.

100. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I hope that the representative of the United States understands that I am responding to his statement and not to him personally. I said a few moments ago, as part of my statement, that I respect him, appreciate his knowledge of the subject and respect his diplomatic skill. But in the context of a response to points he raised in his statement yesterday I do not believe—speaking objectively—that I have gone beyond the scope of the item on the agenda of the General Assembly.

101. The representative of the United States claimed in his statement yesterday that it is those who support cold war in the Special Committee who raise and support consideration of the question of

Puerto Rico in the Committee, and that the Committee is not competent to consider the question of Puerto Rico since it is no longer on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII), which recognizes that the people of Puerto Rico has exercised its right to self-determination. In order to analyse that claim, I wish to state the following.

102. First, the fact that Puerto Rico is no longer on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, in keeping with resolution 748 (VIII), does not mean that the Special Committee cannot legally consider the question of Puerto Rico, because the mandate entrusted to the Special Committee, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), confers upon it the right, and empowers it, to consider all situations existing in all Non-Self-Governing Territories, in keeping with the Declaration.

103. Secondly, the sole purpose of the referendum which the United States organized in Puerto Rico in March 1952, so that it could claim that the people of Puerto Rico had already exercised its right to self-determination, was to distort the will of the people of Puerto Rico and not allow it to express its opinion freely. On the one hand, that referendum asked the people of Puerto Rico to vote "yes" or "no" to the constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, without any other alternative. Furthermore, that referendum took place after the then President of the United States, Truman, had rescinded the law adopted by the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico in January 1946 which claimed the right to a referendum so that the people of Puerto Rico could freely express its desire to be independent or to be associated with the United States.

104. Thirdly, assuming that the referendum—a referendum which took place under the shadow of the colonial administration—was valid, the United States has not respected the text of resolution 748 (VIII), to which it has had recourse to prevent the General Assembly and the international community from considering the question of Puerto Rico. Paragraph 9 of that resolution states that the will of both the Puerto Rican and American peoples must be taken into account if there is a desire to modify the clauses linking them together. The behaviour of the United States since that date has been progressively more negative in terms of allowing the people of Puerto Rico to achieve self-government. That is a standing violation of the Constitution of Puerto Rico. I will quote what has been said by Puerto Rican petitioners in the Special Committee:

"Puerto Rico continues to be colonized. Every day Puerto Rico is further from self-government, because the so-called free association between the United States of America and Puerto Rico is in fact nothing but the free association that could exist between a shark and a sardine."

I can also quote another petitioner, who said that that situation is in fact the imposition of the will of a strong country on a weak people and country, and that the relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico is nothing if it is not colonialist.

105. Everything I have said shows that the argument that resolution 748 (VIII) prevents the Special Committee from considering the situation in Puerto Rico has no legal or factual grounds, and paragraph 9 of that resolution grants the people of Puerto Rico the right to change that situation and to modify the

agreement under which it is associated with the United States. I wonder how we in the Special Committee could shut our ears to the frank and unanimous call of the people of Puerto Rico to change their colonial situation at a time when the Committee has seen, for several consecutive years, a political manifestation expressing the collective desire of the people of Puerto Rico that the question of Puerto Rico be considered as an independent item in the General Assembly. Fortunately the records of that Committee exist, and the United States representative can look them up. I wonder how the international community could hesitate to provide total support for the people of Puerto Rico.

106. I cannot let this opportunity pass without expressing our deep concern over the present policy of the United States, which uses the territory of Puerto Rico as a forward military base and uses it to implement its policy of aggression in Latin America. We condemn that policy, which constitutes a very serious challenge to the sovereignty of the people of Puerto Rico and its will to live in peace. The United States has imposed on the people of Puerto Rico service in the American armed forces, forcing them to participate in wars with which they are not concerned. Furthermore, Puerto Rico is exploited for the military and strategic interests of the United States and also for the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, without any consideration being given to the will of the people of Puerto Rico or its interests and security. After all this, it is truly surprising that the representative of the United States reaches the conclusion that those who support the cold war are responsible for including the question of Puerto Rico on the agenda of the Special Committee.

107. At this time when the United Nations is trying to bring to a final end the last manifestations of colonialism, it is our duty to raise our voices against new attempts being made in certain regions of the world to return to the policy of imperialistic interests, to threaten the independence and freedom of States and to interfere in their internal affairs, under new slogans, and attempts to establish new military bases and carry out plans which would again place our countries and peoples under colonial domination or within zones of influence or would draw them into armed confrontation. The announcement of the creation of "rapid deployment forces" and the concept of "strategic balance" represent nothing but a new and hideous phase of the new wave of neo-imperialism against the independence of our peoples, our national dignity, our rights over our national wealth and our sovereignty. This means that the complete implementation of the Declaration continues to be a fundamental issue, which compels us to step up our efforts, particularly in the Special Committee, so as to complete our sacred task.

108. The struggle of the Syrian Arab Republic against colonialism and racism finds inspiration in our belief in the unity of the cause of freedom and our belief that we are on the front line of confrontation with mankind's common enemy. Whether it be *apartheid*, zionism, imperialism or colonialism, the enemy is one, and its persistence in aggression and challenge imposes upon us duties and responsibilities which we shall accept without hesitation so as to overthrow all régimes of oppression and colonialism and racism to bring about order and freedom for the benefit of all peoples.

109. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): The age of modern colonialism began about 1500, following European discoveries of a sea route around Africa's southern coast, in 1488, and of America, in 1492. With these events sea power shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and to the emerging nation-States such as Portugal, Spain and England. By so-called discovery, conquest and settlement, these nations expanded and colonized others wherever possible throughout the world, spreading their institutions and cultures.

110. In the first post-war years there were some prospects that, except in the case of the Indian subcontinent, decolonization might come gradually and on terms favourable to the colonial Powers at the time. After the French defeat in Indo-China in 1954 and the abortive Anglo-French Suez expedition of 1956, however, decolonization took on an irresistible momentum, so that by the mid-1970s only scattered vestiges of colonial Territories remained.

111. The reasons for this accelerated decolonization process were as follows. First, the two post-war super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, took a common position against colonialism, and we are grateful that at least on that occasion they were able to act in unity. Secondly, the mass revolutionary movements of the colonial world fought colonial wars which were far too expensive and bloody. Thirdly, the war-weary public of Europe eventually refused any further sacrifices to maintain overseas colonies.

112. In general, those colonies which offered neither concentrated economic resources nor strategic advantages and/or additional homes for the colonial settlers won easy separation, with self-determination and independence, from their colonial overlords. The others struggled along the long, difficult and frustrating road to self-determination and independence. Namibia has been walking along that road for as long as the United Nations has been concerned with decolonization, since its inception in 1945. However, there is hope. This hope is in our dream that one day in the very near future colonialism, together with racism and *apartheid*, will be totally eradicated from the face of our planet, Earth. The United Nations and the world community must act together and urgently in harmony. The plight of the Namibian people must continue to engage our most serious attention.

113. In line with our dream of universality in the membership of the United Nations, we are all happy to see the former British colony of Brunei Darussalam become a sovereign independent State which is already contributing effectively to helping others in the world.

114. The decision by the Cocos (Keeling) Islanders to integrate with Australia is yet another step towards the total eradication of colonialism.

115. We are all thankful for the important work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. Papua New Guinea government representatives have stressed, both here in the United Nations and in other international forums, the important role the United Nations has been playing in the field of decolonization. Many of us Member States represented here in this Hall owe our emergence as independent sovereign nations to the decisive role played by the United Nations.

116. The process of decolonization was greatly hastened by the historic Declaration adopted in 1960 by the United Nations. The process was further accelerated by the work of the Special Committee, which was set up in the following year. I am proud to note that the Committee is chaired by Mr. Koroma, and I have every confidence that under his able guidance the remaining Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories will soon make their choice and, perhaps, join us in this community of nations.

117. Whilst the remaining dependent Territories are but a handful, my delegation believes that complacency must have no place in the endeavours of the United Nations in the area of decolonization. It is still our obligation as Members of the United Nations to facilitate the work of both the Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee in affording the peoples of these Territories the right of self-determination and independence.

118. Without detracting in any way from the intrinsic importance of other issues pertaining to this item, I propose to focus on dependent Territories in the Pacific.

119. The implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples continues to be an important undertaking, with regard to which Papua New Guinea's resolve has not diminished. Our seeking of membership in the Special Committee is in line with the priority the Papua New Guinea Government gives to decolonization. We are realistic about our influence in the world Organization and, indeed, about our ability to effect changes in the decolonization process. In comparison with the United States or the Soviet Union our influence and our ability to effect changes are very minute. But we have not allowed, and we shall continue not to allow, that realism to degenerate into cynical indifference.

120. Papua New Guinea continues to believe that the peoples of small Territories, irrespective of size, population or geographical location, have the same right to self-determination and independence as those of other Territories. Like most other States Members of the United Nations, Papua New Guinea attaches great importance also to the continuing dispatch of United Nations visiting missions to colonial Territories. Papua New Guinea has been very fortunate in having participated in two of these missions. We congratulate the administering Powers concerned for continuing to extend invitations and permit access by such missions to their dependent Territories.

121. Like other independent Pacific island countries, Papua New Guinea is particularly concerned with the remaining dependent Territories of the Pacific region. When he addressed the Assembly during the general debate, on 1 October 1984, the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea stated that:

"Successive Papua New Guinea Governments have taken a particular interest in developments in the French Territories—New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna—and in the last of the United Nations trust territories—the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands . . . New Caledonia has been of special concern to us, and to the Governments of the South Pacific Forum." [See 15th meeting, para. 351.]

122. It is with a deep sense of regret that I draw the Assembly's attention to the unenviable situation which has existed in New Caledonia since 18 November 1984. Papua New Guinea is well aware that no standard decolonization model can be conceived and applied to any of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, including New Caledonia, for the purpose of ending colonial rule in those Territories. Indeed, Papua New Guinea and, for that matter, other members of the South Pacific Forum have accepted a variety of models and outcomes of decolonization. A recent example is our acceptance of the decision by the Cocos (Keeling) Islanders to integrate with Australia.

123. Despite the slow and very protracted progress being made towards the decolonization of New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, along with the other countries of the Pacific region, has never relented in its commitment to finding a political programme which will enable the peaceful transition of New Caledonia to independence. We drafted our communiqués on the issue of New Caledonia with great patience and caution, and with a lot of sensitivity and good will towards all parties concerned. The communiqué issued at the August meeting of the Forum, in Tuvalu, attests to this.

124. At the Forum meeting in Tuvalu my Government, with the other Forum Governments, noted with some degree of satisfaction the constitutional and electoral reforms approved in May by the French Parliament, especially those which lend themselves to the possibility of eventual independence. But we also stated that we could not see why a referendum on the issues could not be held before 1989. The Forum also recommended that the French Government make a public statement describing independence as "the desirable, logical and acknowledged outcome" of the scheduled referendum. Papua New Guinea subscribed to this because it held out the possibility of quelling the frustration and passions of the independence movement in New Caledonia. Regrettably, the administering Power only indicated a willingness to move up the planned 1989 referendum after the abortive elections of 18 November and the civil disturbances that resulted from them.

125. In this respect, my Government is pleased to note that the administering Power is doing all it can to achieve peace and maintain order in the Territory of New Caledonia. My Government is pleased too that the French Government has appointed a special representative and High Commissioner for New Caledonia, Mr. Edgard Pisani, with specific terms of reference to restore order, develop dialogue among political groups and prepare the Territory for the eventual act of self-determination and independence. We understand that the French cabinet has charged Mr. Pisani with proposing to the Government within two months, and then implementing, measures concerning the institutional evolution and the economic, social and cultural development of New Caledonia, as well as the modalities for the exercise of the right to self-determination.

126. The political developments surrounding the territorial assembly elections of 18 November have been a cause of serious concern to my Government. Of particular concern are the election results, which seem not to be representative of all the people of New Caledonia. Information available to us indicates that less than 50 per cent of the estimated 140,000 population of New Caledonia participated in the 18

November election and that most Melanesians, who are the original inhabitants of New Caledonia—the Kanaks—did not participate in the elections.

127. After Canada and the Soviet Union, New Caledonia is the third largest supplier of nickel, estimated at about 15 per cent of the world total. But, as in all colonial Territories, the ownership of the nickel industry is mainly in the hands of foreign investors, and it is presumed that the nickel reserves in New Caledonia have only about 10 to 12 years of life left. One can therefore understand, perhaps, why the Kanaks want to be independent before 1989. New Caledonia also has other mineral reserves, such as chrome, manganese, cobalt and copper, which are important for high-technology industries.

128. The historical, social and political evolution of New Caledonia has resulted in the Kanak people's being put at a disadvantage within the political sphere. One can therefore understand, perhaps, why the Kanaks want electoral reforms, which the Government of Papua New Guinea endorses, to redress this anomaly in any act of self-determination.

129. Yet another legacy of colonial rule in New Caledonia was the alienation of land from its traditional owners. The French took possession of most of the land and reallocated it to French and other European settlers. They confined the Kanaks to reservations, which today account for less than 20 per cent of the total land area, approximately.

130. The wish of the Kanaks and other people of New Caledonia to be independent must be seen against that background. It is our fervent hope that France, with the Kanaks and all the other parties concerned, will be able to work out an acceptable solution to the situation in New Caledonia. Papua New Guinea congratulates the French Government on its very recent actions, which are positive.

131. Papua New Guinea's concern for the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in the Pacific region also extends to the growing connection which seems to pertain between the colonial and nuclear policies of certain Powers. These, I am afraid, cannot be separated in our policies in the Pacific. That contention would once have seemed abstract and remote to Papua New Guinea but, regrettably, it has become quite evident that certain Powers which have Territories in the region regard their presence there as authority to carry out a nuclear testing programme, despite opposition from the peoples and Governments of the region.

132. Also, Papua New Guinea will not condone attempts to override or bypass the provision in the Palauan Constitution which outlaws the entry of nuclear weapons to Palau.

133. The exercise by the Marshall Islanders and the Federated States of Micronesia of their right of self-determination is encouraging to our Governments. It is our hope that the United States Congress will soon formalize those agreements and compacts.

134. We hope also that Palau will exercise its right of self-determination, early in 1985. To that end we urge both the administering Authority and the people of Palau to finalize consideration of an appropriate compact of free association and request the Trusteeship Council and the Security Council to determine the disengagement of the trusteeship agreement that we have now.

135. Turning to the northwestern part of the African continent, Papua New Guinea continues to

follow with great admiration the unrelenting efforts of the OAU and the United Nations to find a peaceful and workable solution to the plight of the people of the Western Sahara. Papua New Guinea therefore exhorts all parties to the conflict to cooperate with both the OAU and the United Nations in their endeavours.

136. Regarding the South Atlantic, we note with much regret the inability of Argentina and Great Britain to reach an acceptable settlement of their conflict over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). It is perhaps pertinent to remind both parties that in their search for an acceptable solution of the problem they should always bear in mind that they have an obligation to ensure that the inalienable rights, interests, wishes and well-being of the people of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) remain paramount in their considerations. We wish to express the hope that to that end a dialogue between the two Governments will be resumed as soon as possible.

137. I thank the Chairman of the Special Committee for the distinguished work he has carried out and I thank the delegations represented here for the power that they have exercised in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

138. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of France on a point of order.

139. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation would like to remind the Assembly that New Caledonia is not on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Therefore it is not on the agenda of the General Assembly under item 18 and should not be referred to in statements made by delegations taking part in this debate. It was through courtesy that my delegation did not request that the last speaker be prevented from expressing himself as he did. However, it is our hope that members of the Assembly will abide by the established agenda. For its part, the French delegation intends to respect the rules of procedure and therefore will not reply to the substance of the statement.

140. On the other hand, the French delegation is entirely open to a full and frank dialogue with all delegations which seek it. The meeting last October between the Minister of State responsible for overseas departments and Territories and the representatives in New York of the States of the South Pacific bore witness to this. It was in the same spirit that the French delegation informed those representatives of the region of steps recently taken by the French Government in connection with the institutional evolution and the economic, social and cultural development of the Territory, as well as the ways and means for the exercise of the right to self-determination, and emphasized the importance of the next two months for the task which has been entrusted to Mr. Pisani. I would also mention in passing—although, I say again, this item is not on the agenda—that the representative of Papua New Guinea himself acknowledged the importance and scope of the steps taken recently by the French Government.

141. Mr. BELYAEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Next year will mark a quarter of a century 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,

which solemnly proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

142. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that in this connection it is appropriate to recall those events of epoch-making significance in the development of mankind which not only led to the recognition and consolidation in international relations of the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence, but also gave a practical dimension to the question of securing its immediate and now almost universal implementation.

143. I refer first of all to the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, which was a guiding star before the broad movement of all oppressed peoples to destroy all forms of colonial domination. The State of workers and peasants to which that Revolution gave birth ushered in the era of social renewal in the world, as well as social justice and the downfall of the system of colonial oppression and enslavement of peoples. Soviet Russia was the sole great Power, as long ago as 1919, which refused to recognize the mandate system of the League of Nations which in essence amounted to handing out mandates for the pillaging and plundering of foreign territories.

144. Thereafter there was the victorious culmination of the unprecedentedly widespread and bitter struggle of peoples against the forces of fascism athirst for world domination, a victory whose fortieth anniversary will be commemorated by all progressive mankind next spring. For the peoples of the Soviet Union, this was a just war of liberation in which they made their own decisive contribution in gaining victory over Hitler's fascism. This mighty victory for all peace-loving peoples was won not only over the forces of militarism and aggression, but also over the misanthropic policies and doctrines of racism. It had a tremendous impact on the unprecedented growth of the national liberation struggle of colonial and dependent peoples against alien domination.

145. A powerful moral and political incentive which hastened the dissolution of the colonial system of imperialism was the initiative of the Soviet Union, which in 1960 put forward in the United Nations a programme for the complete elimination of colonialism and racism on Earth, which formed the foundation for the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

146. Since then, primarily as a result of the powerful national liberation movement of peoples and the relentless efforts of the United Nations to tackle the problems of decolonization, considerable success has been achieved. Hundreds of millions of people have thrown off the shackles of colonial oppression, and on the political map of the world dozens of new independent States have appeared. They are making a substantial contribution to tackling the vital problems of the present day.

147. At the same time, this backdrop of clear and inspiring results in efforts to eliminate the colonial enslavement of peoples throws into correspondingly glaring relief the remnants of this shameful phenomenon of our times, which serves as a stark reminder that the process of implementing the Declaration has not yet been completed.

148. For many years now, southern Africa has been one of the major "hot spots" on the planet, a region

where the widest focus of colonialism and racism in its most repugnant form, *apartheid*, persists. The colonial-racist régime of South Africa continues grossly and high-handedly to flout the rights of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa to self-determination, as well as their aspirations to freedom and independence. In an attempt to perpetuate their own existence, the racists have promoted to the rank of State policy all-out terrorism and violence against the indigenous African population, including mass arrests, cruel torture and murder of national liberation fighters. This stamping-ground of colonialism and racism is not only the source of suffering for millions of people and an affront to human dignity and to the cause of elementary rights of which peoples under racism and oppression are being deprived, but also poisons and aggravates the overall international situation, thus representing a threat to the entire African continent as well as to international peace and security.

149. Outright foreign domination continues to prevail in a number of so-called small dependent and Trust Territories situated in the vast spaces of the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans, as well as in the Caribbean. The main obstacles impeding the way to the complete and final elimination of the system of colonial oppression in southern Africa and in colonial and dependent Territories are well known.

150. The United Nations archives contain a number of profound and very thorough studies which quite clearly indicate that one of the fundamental reasons for its resolutions not having been implemented in this area is the fact that the Western Powers, primarily the United States and other NATO members, are doing everything they can to counter and resist any change in the status of colonial and dependent Territories because the perpetuation of colonialism and racism in various parts of the world is in keeping with their own economic and military-strategic interests.

151. It has long been established and proved that a colonial régime in such Territories provides the monopolies of those countries with exclusively favourable conditions for them to extract fabulous profits by the unhindered pillaging and depletion of non-renewable natural resources and inhuman exploitation of the local population. In their turn, the economic, financial and other circles, acting as direct accomplices of the colonial régimes, are the most active practitioners of a global policy of imperialism aimed at converting colonial, Trust and dependent Territories into "military strongholds", "bridges" and "beach-heads" on the approaches to independent countries and continents.

152. The desire of foreign monopolies to preserve the sources of their super-profits in southern Africa significantly determines the position of Western countries with regard to the whole range of decolonization issues relating to that area. This takes the form, *inter alia*, of delaying tactics and manoeuvres in the question of a Namibian settlement on the basis of the Security Council resolutions and of attempts to attach such conditions to its solution as would leave a free hand for foreign capital to continue exploiting this country in the future. This is precisely the way in which the imperialist circles in Western countries interpret a so-called peaceful solution to the problems of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination, about which we hear so much from their representatives here in the United Nations. This is

borne out by the present discussion on the question of Namibia.

153. A particular sphere of unimpeded domination by the imperialist monopolies is that of the so-called small colonial and Trust Territories. As indicated in United Nations documentation on the situation in those Territories, foreign monopolies exercise virtually complete control over the exploitation of the natural and human resources there for their own benefit and are not one whit concerned over the future and well-being of the indigenous population. Their entire so-called beneficial activity is subordinated to stunting the growth of the national awareness of those peoples and impeding implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

154. We should not be misled by the Pharisaical utterances of representatives of colonial Powers, including those who spoke in today's meeting, that their monopolies bring some good to the small colonial and dependent Territories. All these are fairy tales, but fairy tales that are by no means harmless ones. Dozens of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won their political independence in the recent past have not yet been able to free themselves from the clutches of foreign State monopolistic capital.

155. It is well known that in a number of instances the administering Powers have tried to use the extremely difficult economic situation in the Trust Territories to impose on them and perpetuate new forms of colonial dependency under the labels of "association", "commonwealth" and various types of "integration". This is particularly true of Micronesia, an analysis of whose situation might also serve as a response to those who are quick to take offence because "the United Nations fails to understand the significance of the alleged beneficial mission of foreign monopolies in Non-Self-Governing Territories".

156. Approximately four decades ago the United States received the mandate to administer the Trust Territory of Micronesia, in order, as the Charter of the United Nations says in Article 76, paragraph b: "to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence". I should like to emphasize those last words—"self-government or independence". In the interim the United States has not only failed to create an independent and viable economy in that Territory but is in fact doing everything to turn it into its own neo-colonialist appendage.

157. In this connection, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like to reiterate that a solution to the question of Micronesia's future is part and parcel of the overall problem of decolonization and the question of granting colonial countries and peoples their right to self-determination and independence. According to the Charter, any alteration in Micronesia's status as a Trust Territory can be carried out solely by decision of the Security Council. No unilateral action by administering Powers in Trust Territories or individual components thereof can be considered proper or as having legal force.

158. The ongoing colonial exploitation of small Territories by imperialist monopolies and their use by the administering Powers as military bases are

extremely serious obstacles to the achievement by the populations of those Territories of self-determination and independence and to the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration.

159. The establishment of military bases in Guam, Puerto Rico, Micronesia, Diego Garcia, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands and other colonial and dependent Territories is by no means intended simply to provide more jobs for the local population, as the colonizers have asserted. Those bases are strongholds for the suppression of national liberation movements and to enable the colonial Powers to maintain a military presence, and such actions run counter to the cause of international peace and security.

160. A great deal has been done and a number of positive results have been achieved in implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, the United Nations must exert new efforts to ensure the speedy and complete achievement of the final goals of decolonization and to implement its historic resolution 1514 (XV), which contains that Declaration.

161. In conclusion, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR must emphasize that the historic Declaration should be fully implemented. We support the programme which has been prepared by the Special Committee in connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of its adoption, and we believe that if it is acted upon this will help to promote the further mobilization of United Nations efforts and, indeed, the efforts of the entire international community to struggle for the final culmination of the decolonization process.

162. With regard to today's misplaced—not to say provocative—remarks by the representative of the United Kingdom, in which he referred to the Byelorussian SSR, we recommend that he re-read the beginning of his statement, particularly that part of it which said that the question of independence should be resolved by the peoples themselves. I should like to believe that he was being sincere. I would remind him that the Byelorussian people, as far as its freedom and independence are concerned, decided the matter fully and finally in the period of the Great October Socialist Revolution and proved the correctness of its choice in the years of the Second World War in the struggle against fascism. He could satisfy his pathological interest by reading at leisure the relevant part of any elementary course in history.

163. Mr. ADDABASHI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): When we meet next year to consider this item a quarter of a century will have passed since the adoption in 1960 by the General Assembly of resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This was a significant step in strengthening the struggle of colonial peoples and speeding up the decolonization process. That Declaration, as a premise from which the United Nations has proceeded to act in the area of decolonization, was reaffirmed in December 1980 in resolution 35/118, to which is annexed the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

164. Since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), we have witnessed the growth of the liberation

movement and the reduction of the scope of colonialism through the accession of many countries to independence, the latest of which was Brunei Darussalam, which we have congratulated on its independence and welcomed to membership of the United Nations. While expressing our gratification for the achievements in the sphere of decolonization, we should not forget that the ultimate goal of resolution 1514 (XV), world-wide decolonization, has not yet been achieved. We believe that the reasons for this are the following.

165. The first is the activities of foreign economic interests. The colonial States encourage their transnational corporations to invest in colonial Territories, which leads to the control of those Territories by foreign corporations, the plunder of their resources and the exploitation of the cheap labour available. The profits are then repatriated to their countries of origin, which have come to consider the activities of transnational corporations in the colonial Territories an integral part of their economy. Their main objective, therefore, is to preserve their interests in the colonial Territories and to delay the independence of those Territories in order to continue to pillage their resources. There are now about 1,000 corporations operating in colonial Territories.

166. Secondly, there are military bases and installations of colonial States in the Territories under their administration, such as the bases and installations in Guam, Puerto Rico and Micronesia. There is no doubt that such bases and installations represent a sword hanging over the colonial peoples that prevents them from freely expressing their wishes and demanding the right to self-determination and independence.

167. Thirdly, there is the abuse of the right of veto in the Security Council, where we see the colonial Powers having recourse to the right of veto against any draft resolution not in keeping with their interests. Consequently, they oppose any draft resolution that would help the colonial peoples to attain their right to self-determination and independence, if they think that it is against their interests, regardless of the international community's point of view. We have seen ample evidence of this as, for example, when the Security Council was seized of the question of Namibia.

168. All of these reasons taken together have impeded the process of decolonization, resulting in the fact that a certain number of peoples are still oppressed and denied their freedom. The peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine are foremost among those still striving against imperialism, racism and zionism.

169. In Africa, the Namibian people is still struggling to achieve its independence and its right to self-determination, despite all the efforts exerted by the international community, as well as the initiatives of the Secretary-General aimed at implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This is the result of the intransigence of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa in its persistence in illegally occupying Namibia. It is crystal clear that the *apartheid* régime has used the negotiations conducted in the past few years to gain time and delay the implementation of that resolution by resorting to flimsy pretexts and prevarications, as well as manoeuvres aimed at diverting attention from the essence of the problem and impeding Namibia's accession to independence.

Their latest manoeuvre was to inject a new element which is totally extraneous to the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia: the linkage of independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, a matter considered as interference in the internal affairs of Angola that has been condemned by the international community. There is no doubt that South Africa is also trying to perpetuate the internal solution and sidestep SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, through the installation of a puppet régime in Namibia nurturing its interests as well as those of the colonial Powers that encourage the régime to persist in such a policy by providing it with assistance of all kinds. Hence South Africa has flouted the will of the international community and continued to occupy Namibia and part of the territory of Angola.

170. As for South Africa itself, the black citizens are still struggling to attain majority rule and eliminate the abhorrent system of *apartheid*. They expect increased assistance from the international community to secure their fundamental rights.

171. Lately, the racist régime has resorted to new methods to reinforce its policy through the establishment of a sham bicameral parliament for the Coloureds and those of Asian origins in an effort to spread disunion among various groups of people, and through the recruitment of Asians and Coloureds, using them in acts of suppression against their black brothers. The international community has not been deceived by this ploy. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have rejected this attempt and have underlined the fact that the policy of *apartheid* is irreparable and should be eliminated altogether.

172. On this occasion the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya confirms that it is necessary to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime in South Africa in order to compel it to abandon its policy of *apartheid* and put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia, thus enabling the peoples of the two territories to regain their rights to self-determination and independence.

173. Many other peoples are still struggling to attain independence and self-determination. The Palestinian people heads this list. This people is still displaced, leading a tragic life after its expulsion from its territory. So far, the United Nations has not been able to help it regain its right to self-determination, recover its territory and establish its own independent State, like the other peoples of the world.

174. Equally, the people of Puerto Rico is still struggling for its right to self-determination and decolonization. Its cause was the subject of lengthy debates 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, in respect of which many resolutions were adopted, all affirming the right of this Territory to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

175. Many other Territories all over the world are still colonized. In particular, I wish to address the subject of the Malvinas. Colonialism there should be eliminated and Argentine sovereignty upheld. The Comorian island of Mayotte should be restored to the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros. The military base on Diego Garcia should be dismantled

and the Territory should be restored to Mauritius and its population returned to the island.

176. The administering Powers should safeguard the interests of the colonial Territories and their right to self-determination. The United States should also safeguard the interests of the peoples of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and abide by their wishes. It should ensure the return of the population of Bikini to their island as soon as possible.

177. My delegation sincerely hopes that the efforts of the United Nations will soon be crowned with success. Those efforts are aimed at the speedy elimination of colonialism in all its traditional manifestations, such as the occupation of Territories, the domination of peoples, the usurping of their freedoms and the exploiting of their riches. The Organization could then apply itself to combating neo-colonialism as embodied in political hegemony and in the imposition of economic and cultural dependence on weaker States and peoples—a practice that in recent years has widened in scope.

178. We have also recently witnessed neo-colonial aspirations to restore colonialism in and control over a number of small independent and non-aligned countries. Furthermore, there have been acts of military provocation and economic blackmail and threats of force by the big imperialist States against small countries, so as to intimidate them and undermine their development, impose economic hegemony over them and tie them to the wheel of colonialism. Last year one imperialist State occupied a small State, toppled its Government and placed it under its direct control.

179. The United Nations still has a long and arduous road before it in the area of decolonization. It must see to it that all necessary measures are taken in order to compel the colonialists who usurp the territories and the rights of peoples to withdraw from those territories and to respect the will of the peoples and their desire for self-determination and freedom.

180. The international community must remain vigilant with regard to the *modus operandi* of certain colonial States. The greater the pressure of international public opinion on them, the more they step up their manoeuvres allegedly aimed at a peaceful solution, in a desperate attempt to sidestep the genuine liberation movements and impose doubtful solutions that result in the installation of puppet Governments which safeguard the interests of the imperialist States and remain under their control.

181. The commitment of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the cause of liberation and decolonization speaks for itself. That commitment stems from the conviction of the Libyan people that its freedom will not be complete as long as some peoples still languish under colonialism and racism and are denied their fundamental rights. My country stands by those colonial peoples in their struggle. We shall continue to give them material and moral support of all kinds until all the peoples gain their freedom, until their rights are restored in full and until the age of colonialism ends once and for all.

182. 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 the efforts they have made to speed up the

decolonization process. We confirm our absolute support of its recommendations.

183. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speakers for this morning. I shall now call those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

184. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America): I was pleased, though a bit surprised, a few moments ago to hear the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic explain that he was not attacking me at all. It was a bit hard to tell the difference, particularly when he referred to statements I had made as "contemptible", "distorted", "impertinent", "ignorant" and so on. However, I shall let that pass simply with the observation that it is often as fortunate to be known by one's enemies as by one's friends.

185. I was struck, of course, by his repeated attempt to drag Puerto Rico on to our agenda. Of course, it is not on the agenda but, nevertheless, he touched my heart when he expressed such deep concern for what he termed the destruction of Puerto Rican culture and the Puerto Rican people. I am sure the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic is not in the habit of riding the New York City subways—I am quite sure he travels about by limousine—but were he ever to take the subways he would see that all of the public signs there are in Spanish, as well as in English, and that New York City has a very extensive programme of bilingual Spanish-English education. That is in New York, not in Puerto Rico. Of course, Spanish remains the language of Puerto Rico. So much for the destruction of Puerto Rican culture.

186. As far as the Puerto Rican polity is concerned, I think we all know that there are elections there every four years. There were elections there for Governor at the beginning of November, and the Puerto Rican Independence Party, as it does every four years, contested those elections. Normally it receives about 6 per cent of the vote; this time it received a little under 4 per cent.

187. Now, as I have said, Puerto Rico is not on the agenda and I do not think it is proper or—if I may use a sexist term—manly to drag it in by the back door. If the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic wishes to place Puerto Rico on the agenda, I suggest he call for a meeting of the General Committee and we will debate his proposition, but until that happens I have to insist that it is not on the agenda.

188. I cannot forbear, however, to note his remark that force is the principle of the régime for which I spoke. That in itself was rather amusing. Of course, the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic is the representative of a Government which seems to be interested in the freedom of all peoples other than its own and, when it comes to force, I wonder if he would enlighten us about the circumstances which surrounded the destruction by artillery of the Syrian city of Hama, undertaken by the Syrian Arab Government, in which I understand somewhere between 10,000 and 50,000 people perished?

189. Mr. MILES (United Kingdom): I would like to mention three small points, small because, as I think will be clear from my statement, there are not really any big points left for us in this annual debate.

190. The first is about the Turks and Caicos Islands, which were mentioned by a number of speakers as one of those dependent Territories in which sinister and dangerous military operations are being carried out. First, the facts, which I think are

well known, since they have been stated several times in the Committee: there was one United States officer stationed in the islands until this year but, on 29 February, he left, not to be replaced. Now we do not take the view that one officer, even an American officer, constitutes a military base, but apparently some delegations do. The representative of Bulgaria said that there had been no reaction from the administering Powers to the call from the General Assembly to close down military facilities in dependent Territories, but we have to tell him that we have closed down a base in the Turks and Caicos Islands. The representatives of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and Byelorussia still include the Turks and Caicos Islands in their list of dependent Territories in which military operations are going on. Perhaps they know something that we do not.

191. The second point I want to mention is the question of the armed struggle and the complaint by the representative of Bulgaria that none of the administering Powers had accepted appeals for recognition of the legitimacy of the armed struggle against colonial domination. I am glad to say that the United Kingdom does not face any such problem in any of the Territories administered by it. But I am reminded of the saying that one man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist, and I would like to remind the Assembly that this emerged very clearly from the statement made in the debate on Afghanistan by the representative of the Soviet Union when he said that those States which assisted people who are resisting the occupation of Afghanistan are indulging in a policy of State terrorism. Not much recognition of the legitimacy of the armed struggle there.

192. Finally, I just want to comment on the remarks I made and the reply which was made by the representative of Byelorussia on the question of self-determination. I would like to say in all sincerity that I was in no way meaning to suggest seriously that Byelorussia should declare its independence, or something of that kind. I was making a different point. I fully accept that it is for Byelorussia to decide

on its own status and future. I accept the historical explanation given to us by the representative of Byelorussia, and I accept that Byelorussia has made its choice. That is what self-determination means. In the same way it is for people in British dependent Territories to decide about their future. If they wish for independence, that is fine; if they wish for some other solution, that is fine. It is not for me, or for the representative of Byelorussia, or, indeed, for the General Assembly to try to tell them what their choice should be. That is what self-determination means.

Appointment of Members of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law (Concluded)

193. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members of the General Assembly to resolution 38/129 of 19 December 1983, whereby the Assembly decided to appoint 13 Member States as members of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law. I should like to recall that at its 67th meeting, held on 20 November, the Assembly appointed 10 members of the Advisory Committee. In this connection, I have now been informed by the Chairman of the Group of African States that that Group has endorsed the candidacies of Ghana, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Sierra Leone. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to appoint those States as members of the Advisory Committee?

It was so decided (decision 39/308).

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24, vol. I, annex II.