



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 19:	
Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (<i>continued</i>):	
(a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;	
(b) Report of the Secretary-General	1201

President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Thunborg (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 19

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

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

1. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Special Committee covering its work during the year 1981 [A/36/23/Rev.1]. The report which relates, *inter alia*, to item 19 of the agenda, submitted in accordance with paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 35/119 on the implementation of the Declaration, in which the Assembly requested the Special Committee:

“... to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of ... resolution 1514 (XV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular:

“(a) To formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism ...”

An account of the Committee's examination of the situation in individual Territories is set out in chapters VIII to XXVIII of the Committee's report. An account of its consideration of the other specific items referred to it in the relevant General Assembly resolutions is set out in the remaining chapters.

2. As in previous years, the programme of work of the Special Committee in 1981 was heavy. Having met be-

tween January and August and held, as appropriate, official and unofficial consultations among members, the Committee gave adequate consideration to and submitted recommendations on most of the items on its agenda. As regards the remaining items the Committee decided to transmit to the General Assembly information which should facilitate their consideration at the current session.

3. In the course of its work during the year, the Special Committee, bearing in mind in particular the specific requests addressed to it by the General Assembly in resolutions 35/118 and 35/119, reviewed the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration, as well as various United Nations resolutions relating to the colonial Territories.

4. On the basis of the review and in the light of developments, the Committee formulated recommendations for the application of further measures by States, by the competent United Nations organs and by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system with a view to accelerating the pace of decolonization and the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples concerned.

5. During the year the Special Committee continued, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/28, its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. In the light of the related recommendations of the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee has already formulated its own recommendations on this question, which the Assembly considered and on which it adopted resolution 36/51.

6. The Committee, in the light of the relevant provisions of resolutions 35/22, 35/25, 35/118 and 35/119, continued its consideration of the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration and adopted a consensus on the question.

7. Further, under the terms of the relevant provisions of resolution 35/29, the Committee also continued its examination of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations. The Special Committee considers it a matter of principle that every effort should be made by the international community to provide the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements with the assistance they require throughout the period leading to their liberation.

8. As members will have noted from the relevant chapters of the Committee's report now before the Assembly, the Special Committee also devoted considerable attention during the year to the decolonization of the small Territories and in that regard approved a number of concrete

* Resumed from the 70th meeting.

recommendations and proposals concerning individual Territories. The importance which the Special Committee attaches to this question was clearly echoed, I might add, in the debate which the Fourth Committee concluded recently on this aspect of the implementation of the Declaration, as a result of which it submitted five draft resolutions, six amendments to the draft resolutions and 10 draft decisions for the attention of the General Assembly, which have since been adopted, or will be adopted by the Assembly this afternoon. In the same connection, the Special Committee once again noted with satisfaction the continued readiness of the administering Powers to receive visiting missions of the Committee.

9. As has been noted by the Assembly, the Committee, at the invitation of the Governments of New Zealand and the United States, was able this year to dispatch visiting missions to Tokelau and American Samoa. It is the firm view of the Committee that these visiting missions constitute an invaluable method of securing first-hand information on the situation prevailing in the Territories concerned, as well as on the aspirations of the people regarding their future.

10. In its consideration of the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable [*ibid.*, chap. I, para. 70], the Committee took up separately an item entitled "Special Committee decision of 20 August 1980 concerning Puerto Rico", and considered it in plenary meetings. In this regard, the Committee heard representatives of a number of organizations and took a decision on the item [*ibid.*, para. 87]. Contained in that decision is a recommendation to the effect that the General Assembly should examine the question of Puerto Rico as a separate item at its thirty-seventh session. It is hoped that the Assembly will indeed endorse this recommendation by approving the report of the Special Committee covering its work for the year, including the programme of work it envisages during 1982.

11. Finally, the Committee fulfilled a number of other responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly in various resolutions, as well as carrying out other tasks arising from its own previous decisions, including specific activities relating to the question of the publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. The Special Committee also held consultations during the year with several non-governmental organizations and took part in a number of international conferences and meetings convened by those organizations. The Committee's proposed future activities on this question are set out in its report [*ibid.*, para. 179].

12. Having regard to the general aspect of the process of decolonization, I should like, on behalf of the Special Committee, to express the hope that the Assembly will give due consideration to the various recommendations as reflected in the relevant sections of the Committee's report and that the proposals which are outlined in the section entitled "Future work" [*ibid.*, paras. 171-183] will meet with its full approval, thus enabling the Committee to carry out the tasks it proposes to undertake next year.

13. The Special Committee also recommends that the General Assembly renew its appeal to the administering Powers concerned to take immediately all the necessary steps for the implementation of the Declaration and the relevant United Nations resolutions. In that connection, the Special Committee, in the light of the useful results achieved as a consequence of the active participation in its work of all the administering Powers, recommends that

the Assembly again request the administering Powers concerned to participate actively in its work relating to the Territories under their respective administration.

14. Further, bearing in mind the affirmation by the General Assembly that direct association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies is an effective means of promoting the progress of the peoples of those Territories towards a position of equality with States Members of the United Nations, the Special Committee also recommends that the Assembly invite the administering Powers to allow representatives of the Territories concerned to participate in the discussion in the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee on the items relating to their respective countries. The Assembly might also wish to renew its appeal to all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to comply with the various requests addressed to them by the United Nations in the resolutions on the question of decolonization.

15. As regards the consultations with respect to changing the title of the "Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa, Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights" [A/36/23/Rev.1, chap. II, para. 23], the related consultations among the United Nations bodies concerned have not been concluded as of this date. It is hoped that it will be possible to reach an agreement on the matter before conclusion of the current session.

16. In conclusion, the Special Committee recommends that, in approving the programme of work outlined in the report, the General Assembly also make adequate financial provisions to cover the activities envisaged by the Committee for 1982. The Committee expresses the hope that the Secretary-General will continue to provide it with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the discharge of its mandate.

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

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

19. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago), Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: The General Assembly has just heard a detailed account of the work of the Special Committee during the past year, which was eloquently outlined by the Rapporteur of the Committee, our colleague, Mr. Adhami of the Syrian Arab Republic. I shall, therefore, confine myself, as the Chairman of the Special Committee, to a few observations concerning some of the developments that have taken place during the year in the field of decolonization, as well as some of the issues which have continued to engage the close attention of the Committee in the discharge of the tasks entrusted to it by the Assembly.

20. Before I comment on these developments and issues, allow me, on behalf of the Special Committee, to note with deep satisfaction some positive developments. I refer to the emergence of two independent States, Belize and Antigua and Barbuda, which, together with a former

Non-Self-Governing Territory, Vanuatu, have become Members of the Organization as independent and sovereign States. There is no doubt in my mind that the emergence of these new independent and sovereign States constitutes a clear demonstration of the role the international community can play—and has indeed played during the past decades—in hastening the decolonization process and in assisting the peoples of the remaining colonial Territories in their efforts to achieve the objectives of the Declaration. That these developments will soon be followed by other similarly happy events is, I trust, a wish that is shared whole-heartedly by all the Members of the Assembly, and one for the realization of which we in the Special Committee will continue to work tirelessly.

21. It is a pleasant duty for me to cite achievements of the kind to which I have just referred. Regrettably, however, this pleasure must be tempered by the fact that the progress in the process of decolonization that has taken place in certain parts of the world remains overshadowed by the grave situation still prevailing in Namibia.

22. In this regard, the commitment demonstrated in the recent past by all concerned in order to bring about a peaceful transition to majority rule in Namibia and the efforts and arduous negotiations conducted to secure an internationally acceptable solution, as endorsed in the Security Council's resolutions, in particular 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), should be noted with great satisfaction. It is hoped that these initiatives will at long last lead to an end to the bloodshed in the region and to the recovery by the Namibian people of their long-lost freedom and nationhood.

23. The successful outcome, however, although within reach, cannot be taken for granted, as we are fully aware that the coming months will be critical for the people of Namibia. I believe it is hardly necessary in this Assembly to underscore the dangers inherent in dealing with a régime that has succeeded, by deceit and ruthlessness, in maintaining its rule over Namibia, in total disregard of world-wide opposition. That doubts still remain for some as to the sincerity of its present intentions is, therefore, to be expected, and the need for maximum vigilance in regard to its attitude in the coming months is only a natural consequence of its past record in this matter.

24. As was repeatedly pointed out by a number of representatives during the recent debate in plenary meeting on this question, at this stage of the Namibian conflict the international community must continue to give its unequivocal moral, political and material support to the Namibian people, under the leadership of its national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. Our duty is clear, and we must continue to resort to every available means to ensure that the oppressed people of the Territory are finally enabled to exercise their legitimate right to freedom and independence.

25. During the year under review the Special Committee has given considerable attention to the problems affecting the colonial Territories in the Caribbean and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Because of their small size and population, and frequently because of their isolation and limited resources, these Territories, as we are aware, are facing different and often highly complex problems which may compound existing difficulties. In this regard, I would once again emphasize the position of principle of the Special Committee and the General Assembly, which is that, these special circumstances notwithstanding, the

peoples of the Territories concerned, like those of all other Non-Self-Governing Territories, have all the rights and privileges set out in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

26. In the light of their solemn obligation under the Charter and the relevant decisions of the United Nations, it is the responsibility of the administering Powers concerned to ensure that these rights are fully respected at all times and that the aspirations of the peoples of the Territories for which they are responsible are fulfilled.

27. At the same time, as has often been pointed out by United Nations visiting missions, it is incumbent upon the administering Powers to intensify programmes of political education of the peoples of the Territories under their administration so as to enhance their awareness of the purposes and the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration with respect to the process of decolonization, including all the options available to them as regards their future status. The administering Powers concerned must also continue to strengthen the economies of these Territories by organizing systematic programmes of assistance and economic development, while ensuring at the same time that steps are taken to safeguard the paramount interest of the peoples in the enjoyment of their natural resources and territorial integrity.

28. In this connection, the Special Committee, in its consideration and examination of the conditions in those small Territories, has again received during the year the co-operation of the administering Powers concerned. I need hardly stress the importance of such co-operation if the Special Committee is to be able to assist effectively the peoples of those Territories and to facilitate the full and speedy implementation therein of the Declaration.

29. As has already been pointed out by the Rapporteur, the Special Committee was this year able to send two visiting missions to colonial Territories. These were to Tokelau, under the administration of New Zealand, and to American Samoa, under United States administration. Given the proven value of visiting missions, it is hoped that the Special Committee will be able to continue to dispatch such missions to Territories in 1982.

30. In the last decade we have indeed seen measurable progress in the process of decolonization after years of what appeared to be a total impasse. We must, however, guard against laying too much stress on this progress lest it prove harmful by making us complacent about our future efforts to complete that process. There are still over 4 million people in some 20 remaining colonial Territories who have yet to exercise their inherent right to self-determination and independence. Until they have attained these objectives, the obligations of the United Nations under the Declaration and the relevant Articles of the Charter will remain unfulfilled.

31. The Rapporteur of the Special Committee has already pointed out that the relevant chapters of the Committee's report now before the Assembly contain a number of concrete recommendations concerning the various problems existing in the remaining colonial Territories. It is my firm belief and hope that the General Assembly, while discussing this item, will give its most serious attention to the recommendations made by the Special Committee. I am confident that the approval by the General Assembly of these and other important recommendations will enhance the capacity of the Organization to deal more effectively with the remaining colonial issues.

32. As will be noted from the report placed before the Assembly, it has been a long-standing practice of the Special Committee to attempt to arrive at decisions on various matters which it is considering by the broadest possible degree of consensus. This method has served well not only the Special Committee but also the Fourth Committee in the past and has facilitated the Assembly's consideration of the related recommendations of the Special Committee.

33. The coming year will test the ability of the members to abjure confrontation and to work in the interest of those whose right to self-determination and independence we, on behalf of the General Assembly, have been entrusted with the task of ensuring.

34. I am confident that the members will continue to do their utmost to avoid contentious and divisive procedures and will thus continue to demonstrate by their good sense of co-operation and accommodation that they are equal to this task.

35. I should like at this stage to make a few personal comments. This year, as in previous years, I have enjoyed the fullest co-operation of my colleagues both in the Committee and the Secretariat. My particular thanks go to my friends and colleagues, the other officers of the Committee: Mr. Abdul G. Koroma of Sierra Leone, Mr. Niels Helskov of Denmark and Mr. Stefan Kalina of Czechoslovakia, our three Vice-Chairmen, and Mr. Farouk Adhami of the Syrian Arab Republic, Rapporteur. For me, as Chairman of the Special Committee, it has been an honour and a privilege to work with such dedicated colleagues.

36. The Secretary-General has shown consistent interest in the field of decolonization. We are grateful to him for his interest, which has ensured the maximum co-operation and assistance on his part.

37. I should like also to pay a particular tribute to the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, Mr. Djermakoye, for his assistance and continued collaboration, and through him, my gratitude goes also to all the members of his Department, particularly the hardworking and dedicated Secretary, Mr. Tanaka.

38. Before concluding my statement, I should like, on behalf of the Committee, to express thanks to the delegation of Denmark for its co-operation and the invaluable contribution it has made to the Special Committee's work during the last two years. Denmark is retiring from the Committee at the end of this year and I am fully confident that its successor, which I understand will be Norway, will continue the great tradition of the Nordic countries and assist in carrying out the important tasks entrusted to the Special Committee by the Assembly.

39. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Sierra Leone, who will introduce draft resolutions A/36/L.20 and A/36/L.21.

40. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): It is almost 21 years now since the Assembly adopted the now famous resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. During that period we have witnessed the disintegration of the colonial system and its replacement by the emergence of almost 100 States.

41. This process of decolonization, of which the United Nations has been an active catalyst, is one of the glorious chapters in the annals of its history.

42. But if colonialism has by and large been in retreat all over the world, in southern Africa, and particularly in Namibia it has continued to exist in its most perverse and most pernicious form. Today, in Namibia, South Africa has entrenched itself and unrepentantly refused to let the Namibian people go, while it has continued to keep the majority of its indigenous population in perpetual bondage.

43. During the debate in this forum and in the Fourth Committee, the international community has expressed its strong abhorrence of colonialism, and declared itself in favour of the exercise of the right to self-determination by all peoples.

44. Since my country, Sierra Leone, was admitted to membership of the Organization, it has been steadfast and unremitting in its pursuit of colonial freedom for all peoples, and my Government has consistently maintained this policy.

45. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples postulates that all peoples have the right to self-determination and, by virtue thereof, the right freely to determine their political status. It is precisely to enable those Territories that have not yet been able to do so to exercise this right that the Special Committee has continued to exist and to ensure the implementation of the Declaration. Draft resolution A/36/L.20, which the Sierra Leone delegation has the honour to introduce on behalf of its sponsors, shares the latter objective.

46. In the preamble to draft resolution A/36/L.20, the General Assembly would recall the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, together with all the subsequent resolutions concerning the implementation of that Declaration, in particular resolution ES-8/2 of 14 September 1981 on the question of Namibia. It would condemn the Government of South Africa for its persistent, illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia, condemn the policies of those States which, in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, have continued to collaborate with the Government of South Africa in its domination of the people of Namibia, welcome the achievement of independence by the peoples of Belize and Antigua and Barbuda and approve with satisfaction the work accomplished by the Special Committee and the co-operation and active participation of the administering Powers concerned in the relevant work of the Special Committee. The Assembly would also reiterate its conviction that the total eradication of racial discrimination, *apartheid* and violation of the basic human rights of the peoples of colonial Territories will be achieved most expeditiously by the faithful and complete implementation of the Declaration, particularly in Namibia.

47. In operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution the General Assembly would reaffirm resolution 1514 (XV) and all other resolutions on decolonization and call upon the administering Powers to take all the necessary steps to enable the dependent peoples of the Territories concerned to exercise fully and without further delay their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. In operative paragraph 3 it would express its determination to take all necessary steps with a view to the complete and

speedy eradication of colonialism, and in operative paragraph 5 the Assembly would approve the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1981, including the programme of work envisaged for 1982. In operative paragraphs 6 and 9 it would call upon all States, in particular the administering Powers, and the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to give effect to the recommendations contained in the report, and request all States to withhold assistance of any kind from the Government of South Africa until the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence within a united and integrated Namibia, including Walvis Bay, has been restored, and to refrain from taking any action which might imply recognition of the legitimacy of the illegal occupation of Namibia by that régime.

48. In operative paragraph 13 the Assembly would call upon the administering Powers to continue to co-operate with the Special Committee in the discharge of its mandate.

49. Draft resolution A/36/L.21, which I also have the honour to introduce on behalf of its sponsors, reiterates the importance of publicity as an instrument for furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration and emphasizes the continuing pressing need for taking all possible steps to acquaint world public opinion with all aspects of the problems of decolonization with a view to assisting effectively the peoples of the colonial Territories to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence. In operative paragraph 1 the Assembly would approve the chapter of the Special Committee's report relating to the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, and in operative paragraph 3 it would request the Secretary-General, having regard to the suggestions of the Special Committee, to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

50. In conclusion, I commend these draft resolutions to the Assembly for adoption.

51. Mr. BEREZHKOVA (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The United Nations has entered upon the third decade since the adoption by the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of resolution 1514 (XV), containing the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The importance and significance of that Declaration resides in the fact that, first of all, it contains the basic provisions and principles of decolonization and, secondly, it has in succeeding years remained the basic guideline for the United Nations in this sphere. The basic principles of that document, such as the right of peoples to self-determination and to the preservation of national unity and territorial integrity, the inadmissibility of armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against peoples still under the colonial yoke, and others, are still highly relevant today.

52. In the more than 20 years which have elapsed, more than 50 sovereign States have emerged on the political maps of the world, half of them on the African continent. We see in that development a tangible contribution by the United Nations to the cause of the attainment of independence by the peoples of dozens of former colonial Territories.

53. Now the struggle for the definitive elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* has entered its concluding phase. As the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, stated in his message of congratulations to the African States and peoples on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day: "The barbarous rule of the colonialists and racists is coming naturally to its ignominious end".

54. It is well known from the experience of history that the colonialists have never given up and will never give up their positions voluntarily. The establishment of a free Africa is taking place against the background of a fierce struggle by the forces of national liberation and progress against the stubborn resistance of the forces of imperialism and reaction, which are trying to slow down that irreversible process. The imperialists, and primarily the United States, are with increasing openness pursuing a policy designed not only to give the fullest possible support but indeed to move closer to the colonialist régime of Pretoria, which is feverishly trying to hold on to that bastion of racism and colonialism in Africa.

55. The General Assembly, in its numerous decisions, particularly in resolution 35/119, affirmed once again

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

56. The racist rule of South Africa is like a cancerous tumor on the body of Africa. Notwithstanding the many decisions of the United Nations and the demands of the international community, the South African racists continue to pursue their criminal policy of *apartheid*, suppression and brutal repression against the indigenous African population of the country. They accuse people indiscriminately of "subversive actions" and "anti-State activities". The racists carry out systematic acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States. This year alone South African troops, in an act of massive aggression, carried out barbarous bombing raids on schools, hospitals and houses, flattened a number of villages, killing and wounding many inhabitants and destroyed bridges and roads, causing immense harm to the People's Republic of Angola. That is clearly the conduct of Fascists. In their policy of plunder the racists rely on their Western protectors, primarily the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], which pursue their own selfish economic, political, military and strategic interests in southern Africa and view South Africa as a potential ally in the military and strategic concepts of the aggressive NATO bloc in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

57. Many hundreds of Western companies, particularly British and American, are co-operating very closely with Pretoria. Let us look at the facts. Foreign investments in South Africa, according to the data of the Centre against *Apartheid*, amount to more than \$35 billion. As United Nations documents show, particularly the "Studies on the effects of the operations and practices of transnational corporations"¹, the main source of foreign capital for South

Africa is provided by the loans of the transnational banks and other financial institutions. In 1979 and 1980 alone the total volume of foreign loans to South Africa amounted to \$1,090 million.

58. In the constant financing of the economy of the *apartheid* régime an active part is played by the banks of all the main Western Powers. The volume of the trade operations of those countries with South Africa is also very impressive and runs into billions of dollars. With direct assistance from the main Western Powers, important sectors of the South African economy have been set up, including the nuclear industry, the repressive military and police apparatus and the war machine for the acts of aggression of the Pretoria racists. The main transnational oil corporations of the West are blithely and constantly supplying South Africa with oil.

59. A particular danger for the peace and security of the peoples of the African continent and beyond is posed by the continuing military and indeed nuclear co-operation of the Western Powers and Israel with the South African racists. Serious concern is aroused also by their disregard of the embargo on the supply of weapons to the Republic of South Africa. In the Declaration of the International Seminar on the Implementation and Reinforcement of the Arms Embargo against South Africa [see A/36/190, annex], we read that Security Council resolution 418 (1977) was not effectively implemented because of the resistance of certain Western and other States. It is also noted that the situation in South Africa and southern Africa generally has since the adoption of that resolution by the Security Council "become much more serious and explosive".

60. The international community is also alarmed at the overt or covert establishment by the United States of friendly relations with the South African régime and indeed co-operation in matters such as the efforts of the racists to destabilize the situation in neighbouring southern African States that give assistance to the national liberation movements of southern Africa, particularly SWAPO, in keeping with decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

61. In the letter dated 11 November from the representative of Angola to the President of the Security Council in connection with the sixth anniversary of the declaration of independence of that country we read that

"The racist régime could not have become the terrorist monster it has without overt and covert support from its friends. And this monster will not be controlled and subdued within international action. Now is the time for action, because the fragile peace and stability of southern Africa are threatened as never before."²

62. My delegation is firmly convinced that the General Assembly must resolutely demand the immediate and complete cessation of the aggressive actions of South Africa against neighbouring sovereign States, primarily Angola, and propose to the Security Council the adoption of effective measures against the Pretoria régime in accordance with the Charter.

63. In its resolution 36/51, adopted at the 70th meeting, on the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration, the General Assembly

"Calls upon all States, in particular the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, Belgium, Israel and Italy, to take urgent, effective measures to terminate all collaboration with South Africa in the political, diplomatic, economic, trade, military and nuclear fields and to refrain from entering into other relations with the racist régime of South Africa in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity".

64. Notwithstanding all the decisions of the United Nations and the OAU and the demands of the international community, South Africa maintains its illegal occupation of Namibia and continues to exploit ruthlessly the indigenous African population, mercilessly plundering the natural resources of that country.

65. The actions of the racist régime of South Africa in Namibia are impeding the implementation of the Declaration and the decisions of the Security Council and resolutions of the General Assembly in respect of that country. The tactics of the racists with respect to Namibia are aimed at undermining the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem. Under the cover of talk about negotiations and with the connivance of their Western protectors, the Pretoria régime has been trying to bring about conditions that would ensure a settlement favourable to it and give it time to install and consolidate a neo-colonialist puppet régime in Namibia.

66. In order to force the Pretoria racists to put an end to their criminal policies and lead them to respect United Nations decisions and the opinion of the international community, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes it is essential for the Security Council immediately to adopt comprehensive and binding sanctions against the South African racists in keeping with Chapter VII of the Charter.

67. The Byelorussian SSR has always advocated and continues to advocate the exercise of the inalienable rights of the peoples of southern Africa to self-determination and independence, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal by South Africa of all its troops and its administration from Namibia, including Walvis Bay, the transfer of full power in Namibia to SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. My delegation has always advocated the elimination of the ignominious system of *apartheid* from South Africa.

68. The ultimate ends of the Declaration have not yet been achieved in respect of a number of other so-called small Territories, particularly in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and the Caribbean. The continuance of what is essentially the colonial exploitation of the small Territories by imperialist monopolies and the use of those Territories by the Administering Authorities as military bases is a grave obstacle to the attainment of self-determination and independence by the peoples of those Territories and the realization of the purposes of the Declaration. The policy of the administering Powers in respect of the small Territories is designed to achieve well defined aims: to slow down, if not to bring to a complete halt, the economic and social development of those Territories; to maintain their roles as colonial appendages of the metropolitan countries; to turn them into military and strategic strongholds that can be used for the suppression of the aspirations to freedom of the colonial and dependent peo-

ples; and to use them as bases from which to carry out acts of aggression against independent States. That is evidenced by the position of the United States, which is virtually preventing the convening of an international conference on the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

59. The military bases of the imperialist Powers in Guam, Puerto Rico, Diego García, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands, Micronesia and other colonial and dependent Territories, and the military activities of those Powers are—no matter how certain Western representatives try to whitewash them here at the United Nations—directly contrary to the vital interests of the peoples of those Territories and the decolonization aims proclaimed in the Declaration, the implementation of which they impede.

70. The General Assembly should pay particular attention to the situation that has arisen in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands as a result of the activities of the administering Power, the United States. Here we are not just confronted with the administering Power's failure to carry out its Trusteeship throughout a period of 34 years. Micronesia is threatened with complete absorption by the United States through the dismemberment of the Territory and the imposition upon the inhabitants of its various parts of different types of status of colonial or semi-colonial dependence.

71. In this connection, the Byelorussian delegation wishes to emphasize again that the solution of the question of the future of Micronesia is a part of the overall problem of decolonization and the granting to colonial countries and peoples of the right to self-determination and independence. Any alteration in the status of Micronesia as a Trust Territory pursuant to the Charter of the United Nations must take place only on the basis of a Security Council decision. Unilateral actions by the administering Power in respect of either the entire Trust Territory or individual parts of it are unlawful and there can be no justification for them.

72. The Byelorussian SSR has always supported and continues to support the struggle of all peoples for the prompt and complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism. Their inalienable right to self-determination and independence must be guaranteed, in keeping with the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

73. A great deal has been done and immense progress has been made towards the implementation of this historic Declaration. However, the United Nations should make further efforts to ensure its final implementation and the implementation of other United Nations decisions on decolonization. The Byelorussian delegation will always give its full support to this noble cause.

74. Mr. NGUYEN THUONG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): When at the thirty-fifth session, during a special meeting [93rd meeting], we solemnly commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we were all gratified to note the success that had been achieved in the process of national liberation, as marked by the entry to the Organization of more than 100 new Members since it was established, most of which joined in the course of the last two decades. The beneficial effect of that Declaration, which was adopted as the struggle of peoples to achieve their right to self-

determination began to gather strength, is proven by the fact that it has become a universally recognized juridical basis and a most useful political support for oppressed peoples which can give an impetus to the process towards new progress. As the Declaration has emphasized and as experience has confirmed, this process of national liberation is irresistible and irreversible. This constitutes a truth of our time which must be recalled to those who try in vain to turn back the course of history. The non-aligned movement, established during that same period, has since played an important role as an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial force in the common struggle of peoples to achieve peace, democracy and social progress.

75. The consideration of this question, which is resumed yearly, provides us with an opportunity to take note with appreciation of the productive work and praiseworthy efforts of the Special Committee and the United Nations Council for Namibia and to bring to those competent bodies any ideas and thoughts in order to make a contribution to the full and speedy implementation of this Declaration.

76. It is in this spirit that my delegation, while congratulating the authors, would like to make a few comments concerning the report of the Special Committee and the draft resolutions put before this session.

77. As regards new developments during the past few years in various colonial Territories, in following the statements made in the general debate and in various committees, my delegation has noted two particularly worrying aspects which have an evident impact on the implementation of the Declaration. We have also noted at the same time that despite new difficulties, the process is none the less demonstrating its great vitality and potential.

78. In connection with their adventurist and warlike policy of arms races, cold war and increased intervention, the imperialists are accentuating the militarization of colonial Territories under their domination. Whether it be in Namibia, the Arab territory of Palestine or the small island Territories of the Pacific, the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean or the Caribbean, despite the wishes and contrary to the vital interests of the peoples, those still-dependent countries are engulfed in the global or regional strategies of those dominating Powers, above all the United States, with the enlargement and establishment of increasingly sophisticated bases, the build-up of military arsenals and the intensification of warlike activities. These trends and practices are dangerous, since they constitute major obstacles to the exercise of the right to self-determination by those peoples, provide fictitious reasons for delaying the day of their accession to independence and constitute a real threat to peace and security in these regions.

79. In connection with the exacerbation of the economic crisis, the great foreign economic interests are tightening their grip on colonial Territories, plundering and squandering their natural resources, mercilessly oppressing the local Coloured manpower, preventing the diversification of their economies on an independent basis and are thus attempting to put the burden of the crisis on the backs of the peoples of the countries under their domination and of the developing countries. A new attempt has emerged in recent years in these colonialist circles to reconquer economic and strategic positions that they considered they had lost with every advance in the liberation process of the peoples of southern Africa, the Middle East and the Near East, and elsewhere.

80. These two factors are joined by another fact that should be emphasized, that is, the increased collusion and, since the installation of the new Administration in the United States, the strategic alliance announced between the United States, Israel and South Africa, which is directed in particular against the right to self-determination of peoples and the sovereignty and security of States in those two regions, not to mention that other common strategy, which is no less harmful, between the imperialists and the great-nation hegemonists in this plot against international peace and security.

81. Because of all this the struggle for the right to self-determination has become even keener so as to eliminate these last bastions of colonialism, large and small. It has become increasingly complex and demands greater vigilance and clear-headedness on the part of the peoples who are fighting as well as those who are supporting them. In the new circumstances of the development of the forces of peace, independence and social progress, those colonial Powers frequently join brutality with perfidy, alternating or combining force and fraud according to the circumstances. Thus, in Namibia as well as in Palestine, the colonial Powers are escalating violence, repressing the population, liquidating patriots and carrying out aggressive attacks against neighbouring States in implementation of a policy of institutionalized international terrorism that is really an undeclared war against those of their neighbours that are most energetic in opposing them. At the same time, they are seizing the land of peasants, through administrative action, establishing settlements and bantustans in various areas, dismembering small Territories and by these several means preparing for the annexation of those Territories by absorption, bit by bit, beginning with the regions that are the richest or of greatest strategic importance. On the international level, they are attempting to keep political settlements within their control—their own and that of the friendly Western Powers—and attempting to impose pseudo-solutions such as the Camp David accords or the pseudo-solution in the United States has lately been advocating in place of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Domestically, they are encouraging so-called internal solutions, ignoring the aspirations of the populations and denying the role of their authentic representatives, SWAPO and the Palestine Liberation Organization; they are transferring power to their puppets by setting up neo-colonial régimes or so-called régimes of "free association", integration or some other types of union, such as those in Guam or Puerto Rico, without the right to self-determination having been exercised at all.

82. In that context, and in view of those new facts—new because of their degree of intensification rather than by their nature—my delegation is gratified by the plan of action and draft resolutions, taken as a whole, submitted by the Special Committee, and in particular by the following specific points.

83. We support the clear affirmation of draft resolution A/36/L.20 that the continuing activities of foreign and other economic interests are impeding the implementation of the Declaration, as well as the justified and timely call in the same text upon the colonial Powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations and to refrain from establishing new ones.

84. In supporting the plan of action, we would suggest that a timetable be established for the accession to independence of the last Territories that remain dependent, whether non-self-governing or under mandates in various regions, particularly the island Territories, and that rec-

ommendations towards this end be submitted to the Security Council with regard to the so-called strategic Territories.

85. We support the request made in the same draft resolution that all States and international organizations refrain from taking any action which might imply recognition of the legitimacy of the illegal occupation of Namibia—and I would say also the illegal occupation of Arab lands—as well as any form of neo-colonialism or recolonization undertaken by the colonial Powers, in order to ensure total implementation of the Declaration within the allotted time.

86. We also support the recommendation in draft resolution A/36/L.21 for the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, on the struggle of the colonial peoples to achieve self-determination and on assistance being provided them by the international community, in particular the front-line African States and the Arab States, and we suggest that United Nations information centres focus increased attention on those problems, not only in Western Europe, but also in North and Central America, where, among others, the struggle against the *apartheid* régime would enjoy great support among those sectors of the population with an awareness of their origins as well as among men of conscience faithful to their traditions.

87. The people and Government of Viet Nam, with deep fellow-feeling towards all peoples fighting for the sacred cause of independence and freedom, strongly support the just struggle of dependent and colonial peoples for their national emancipation. It is in that spirit that my delegation is among the sponsors of draft resolutions A/36/L.20 and A/36/L.21 in the firm hope that they will be adopted with the votes of an overwhelming majority of the Assembly. We shall continue to lend our full co-operation to the Special Committee in carrying out this great task.

88. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): Last year the General Assembly observed the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as a major achievement of the United Nations and adopted the Plan of Action for its full implementation [*resolution 35/118, annex*].

89. Since the adoption of the Declaration, more than 50 countries and Territories have, in the course of some 20 years, attained self-determination and independence. Today one can say for sure that the world colonial system, with its classical form of exploitation and oppression, has been brought to an end forever. During this session, all of us witnessed an auspicious event in the history of the peoples of Vanuatu, Belize and Antigua and Barbuda, who after years of struggle attained their political independence and became full Members of the United Nations.

90. All those achievements once again underline the historic significance of that Declaration, which was adopted at the initiative of the Soviet Union and which represented an important stage in the struggle of nations for national liberation against imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination.

91. While reviewing with satisfaction the achievements in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we cannot fail to note, however, that the process of decolo-

nization is not yet completed and that millions of people still remain deprived of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence.

92. Vestiges of colonialism still exist in the south of Africa and in Non-Self-Governing Territories, the so-called small Territories. The indigenous peoples of those Territories and regions are deprived of elementary human rights and subjected to every kind of exploitation, humiliation and repression. The continuing existence of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* impedes the socio-economic development of peoples and poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

93. One cause for grave concern is the fact that the Territories remaining under colonial and racial domination are increasingly being used for military purposes, as a springboard for committing acts of aggression against neighbouring States or as sites for building military bases. This has relevancy with regard to the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria, as well as with regard to the actual annexation of Micronesia and the expansion of military facilities on Diego García, Guam, Bermuda and other small Territories by the United States. In addition, those Territories serve as a source of a cheap labour force and of huge profits for the transnational corporations of the imperialist Powers. It is the economic and strategic interests of the imperialist Powers that impede the exercise by the indigenous populations of their inalienable right to freedom and independence, as provided by the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The imperialist and racist Powers resort to force and every kind of manoeuvre in order to retain those Territories under their domination. The deliberations on the question of Namibia have revealed in its full extent the danger of such a policy, not only for the cause of national liberation, but for international peace and security as well.

94. Seeking to suppress the will of peoples to exercise their legitimate rights, the imperialist circles recently launched a campaign against the national liberation movements. In order to discredit the national liberation movements they equate the just struggle of peoples for national and social liberation with terrorist acts. Such attempts should be rejected outright as running counter to the very spirit of the Declaration and of other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, which has time and again reaffirmed the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle to that end by all means at their disposal.

95. Despite the intrigues of forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the national liberation movement gains strength and with every passing year more and more countries embark on the road of national independence and social progress. Today it is becoming more evident and being realized that true independence cannot be achieved without undertaking deep socio-economic changes, without combining the struggle for national liberation with that for social progress.

96. The task of overcoming socio-economic backwardness inherited from colonialism is, in its turn, closely linked with the struggle for strengthening international peace and security, for halting the arms race and for eliminating the military threat.

97. It is gratifying to note that newly independent States have become an important factor of international relations

and play an active part in the struggle for the elimination of hotbeds of tension, promoting peace, mutual understanding and co-operation among nations.

98. The Mongolian's People's Republic has consistently supported, and will continue to support, the just struggle of nations for national and social liberation. It will do its best to facilitate in every possible way the efforts to remove existing obstacles to the full implementation of the Declaration and to eliminate colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

99. In our view, all oppressed peoples, irrespective of their geographical position, the size of their territories and the level of their economic development, have an inherent right to self-determination, freedom and national independence.

100. It is imperative to put an end to the illegal occupation, annexation and use of the Non-Self-Governing Territories for military purposes in order to create the necessary conditions for the indigenous peoples to exercise their right to freedom and self-determination. Our delegation calls for the adoption of effective enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against South Africa, which is the main bastion of colonialism, racism and aggression and the tool of neo-colonialist policies.

101. The General Assembly should once again strongly condemn the policies of those Powers which assist the racist régime of South Africa in political, economic and military fields, in disregard of the relevant decisions of the United Nations, and prevent the adoption of effective measures that would facilitate the attainment of independence by oppressed peoples.

102. We fully share the view that every nation waging a just struggle to throw off the colonial yoke should enjoy increased support and assistance from the United Nations, its specialized agencies and Member States.

103. Mongolia, together with all the progressive forces of the world, will continue to foster its co-operation with the national liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to eradicate all forms and manifestations of colonialism and speedily bringing about the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

104. In conclusion, the Mongolian delegation expresses its appreciation of the work carried out by the Special Committee and our support for its recommendations, including that concerning Puerto Rico.

105. We support the view that the Special Committee should be invited to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence, and in particular to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session.

106. We are confident that full implementation of the Declaration will lead to the eventual elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and to the completion of the ongoing process of decolonization, which in our view is irreversible.

107. Mr. HUTCHENS (Australia): The consideration of decolonization issues this year has been marked both by important achievements and by serious and unfortunate confrontation. On the one hand, we have witnessed the accession to independence of Belize and Antigua and Barbuda, and the admission of both those new States and Vanuatu to membership of the United Nations.

108. Those are developments which we warmly welcome. They are manifestations of the successive steps by which the peoples of those formerly dependent Territories reached the stage where they felt confident to make an important and decisive choice about their political status. Having achieved their independence those new States applied, almost immediately, for membership of the United Nations. This reflects a commitment by their Governments to as active a participation in the international community as possible. Moreover, the fact that they have chosen initially to do this through the United Nations bears witness to their confidence in and support for the Organization.

109. However, as I have indicated, there have also been serious and unfortunate incidents of confrontation. I am not referring to the debate covering agenda items allocated to the Fourth Committee. Given the degree of commitment of Member States to questions of decolonization, it would be unusual not to expect a spirited give-and-take during our debates.

110. What I am referring to is the fact that a number of draft resolutions which have been put before the Fourth Committee and the Assembly have been directed more at scoring points and at attacking some countries in a highly selective manner than at seeking to formulate proposals which can constructively take us forward in our work. There is no denying that the number of items before the Fourth Committee has, over the years, grown smaller. That, in fact, is ample testimony to the substantial achievements of the Committee and its intersessional body, the Special Committee. But that does not mean that the issues which still occupy our attention should not be dealt with in a fairminded and objective fashion.

111. Regrettably, this has not been the case. In respect of the small Non-Self-Governing Territories the Fourth Committee witnessed the process whereby the delegations of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Cuba and Syria unilaterally submitted draft resolutions on Guam and the British Territories, thus bypassing the normal practice in which there are complete consultations with all interested parties before any draft texts are submitted. This action introduced a divisive element into the normal procedures by which the texts on small Territories are adopted without a vote.

112. We could perhaps begin to understand this element of confrontation if the administering Powers that have responsibility for these Territories had been delinquent in the discharge of their functions. But this has not been the case. The administering Powers, in full consultation with the territorial governments, have carried out their functions in full conformity with the Charter. Moreover, they have co-operated fully with the relevant bodies of the United Nations in supplying information on the Territories they administer, in being available at all times to answer specific questions, and in receiving visiting United Nations missions on a periodic basis.

113. What we urge is that all concerned respect the fact that this co-operation of the administering Powers has

been willingly and completely given. Without that co-operation the work of the Special Committee would be far poorer.

114. Even more serious have been the attempts to highlight the questions of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and of Puerto Rico. In the case of the Trust Territory we have seen attempts to bring a draft text before the Fourth Committee. Not only was this without precedent but one of the initiators of this move is itself a member of the Trusteeship Council—the body fully empowered by the Security Council to deal with the question of the Trust Territory.

115. In the case of Puerto Rico, Australia has for many years argued in the Special Committee that this is not a question of decolonization, since the General Assembly, in 1953, took a decision that the people of Puerto Rico had effectively exercised their right to self-determination [resolution 748 (VIII)]. For this reason, we do not consider that any delegation should press to bring the question of Puerto Rico before the General Assembly and we are firmly opposed to this move.

116. Let me turn briefly to several other contentious issues. Over the years, the resolution on the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration has become distorted and imbalanced. This year was no different. The resolution in a highly selective manner, names certain countries. Moreover, the general thrust of the text condemns all foreign economic activities in dependent Territories as a barrier to decolonization, thereby contradicting other resolutions on small dependent Territories in which countries, including administering Powers, are called upon to render all necessary economic assistance in programmes of development.

117. It is fair to say that Australia has for many years been an active and supportive member of the Special Committee and of the Fourth Committee. The fact that the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, a Territory which we administer, has been dealt with in a frank but co-operative manner has been a clear demonstration that decolonization issues can be discussed objectively and constructively.

118. For the most part, we can state confidently that a spirit of co-operation and conciliation has marked the work of the Special Committee. Bearing this in mind, we would urge that the divisions we have seen this year be put aside and that we return to that constructive approach which has always had at its centre the well-being of the peoples in dependent Territories and the objective of enabling them to exercise fully and freely their right to self-determination.

119. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Last year, at a solemn meeting during the thirty-fifth session, we celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the adoption, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the now historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration opened up new prospects for the national liberation movements of colonial peoples. Since then, finding the just solution of problems inherited from colonialism has been one of the most pressing tasks and aims of the United Nations.

120. Developments over the 20 years since the adoption of the Declaration have shown that the Declaration and the Organization have, on the whole, played a significant

role in this sphere, as we had every reason to observe at the solemn meeting of the United Nations last year. That celebration of the great progress and achievements in the process of decolonization was not, of course, an expression of complacency, because the final purpose has not yet been achieved. Last year, therefore, the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration was adopted, which gives concrete expression to the work to be done by the United Nations to eliminate the last vestiges of the colonial system.

121. The Government of Czechoslovakia responded to the Secretary-General's appeal to all Member States in this respect, and on 19 August this year we sent our comments on measures already adopted, or intended for adoption, in order to implement the Plan of Action. The Czechoslovak reply *inter alia*, states the following:

"As a co-sponsor of the Plan of Action, Czechoslovakia not only fully agrees with all its provisions, expresses its support for them and speaks out for their strict observation, but is itself also actively engaged in their implementation.

"Czechoslovakia takes decisive steps to bring about the adoption of effective measures for the full implementation of the Declaration, extends support to the people of all Non-Self-Governing Territories struggling for their self-government, exerts great efforts towards securing the implementation of all other United Nations resolutions relating to the problems of decolonization, condemns the activities of transnational corporations of the leading imperialist countries in Non-Self-Governing Territories as a serious obstacle to the implementation of the right of the people of those Territories to self-determination and as activities infringing on the principle of sovereignty of nations over the natural resources located in their Territories. As a matter of priority, Czechoslovakia orients its foreign policy towards efforts for the halting of the arms race and for disarmament and, within that framework, it advocates the unconditional removal of all military bases and equipment from Non-Self-Governing Territories and speaks out against any military activities by the administering Powers in colonial Territories, including those of mercenaries. On the other hand, however, armed conflicts in which national liberation movements of Non-Self-Governing Territories are fighting for independence are regarded by Czechoslovakia as conflicts under international military law."³

122. This year a number of newly independent States have made their appearances on the political map of the world: Vanuatu, Belize, Antigua and Barbuda—States which rightfully occupy their place as full-fledged members of the international community in the Organization. The achievements of the Organization in the field of decolonization would have been even greater if the efforts of the United Nations had not encountered the overt and covert manoeuvres of the forces of international imperialism and neo-colonialism, which have been doing their utmost to consolidate the *status quo*, in contradiction with the Declaration. However, regardless of the efforts of those forces, acting individually or collectively on a broad scale, whether they call their actions initiatives or claim to be serving as intermediaries or in some other way, their real aims are no secret to anyone: they are the selfish aim of preventing the colonial and dependent peoples from attaining their inalienable rights and maintaining domination of those forces over them.

123. A bastion of colonialism and racist oppression remains in existence in southern Africa, more precisely in the Republic of South Africa, whose Government is doing its utmost to maintain its rule over the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia and preserve its inhuman system of *apartheid* in regard to the oppressed indigenous population of South Africa. Despite the fact that the Pretoria Government, with the active support of Western monopolies and a number of Western Governments, continues through obstruction, as in the past, to impede the attainment of a just settlement of the Namibian question, its efforts are doomed to failure.

124. Czechoslovakia has frequently stated its position, and it did so recently at the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held at Paris from 20 to 27 May 1981, at the eighth emergency special session, on Namibia [7th meeting], and also during the discussions on the question of Namibia at the present session [67th meeting]. At present, the full implementation of the inalienable rights of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence is the important task. To that end it is necessary that all South Africa's military units, police and administrative organs be withdrawn from Namibia; all powers should be transferred to the people of Namibia, whose sole legitimate and genuine representative is SWAPO, and the unity and integrity of the Territory should be preserved. We give our full support to the increasingly intensive struggle against *apartheid* and fully support the demands for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, so as to compel that régime to respect the will of the international community.

125. At the present time, when the attention of the world community is concentrated on the Namibian question, we cannot fail to refer to the fate of other Territories, particularly small Territories. The arms race and the war hysteria, which has been intensified by the military-industrial complex of the Western countries, particularly the United States, are reflected in the practice of the colonial and administering Powers. This may be seen particularly in the establishment and maintenance of military bases and facilities in the so-called small Territories and the clearly exhibited desire to expand them. Particular attention in this respect should be paid to the present situation in the Pacific Islands. It can only be described as a virtual annexation of Micronesia by the United States, which is trying to turn it into a single large-scale military base. The existence of military bases and military activity on Guam, in Puerto Rico, on Diego García, on Bermuda, on the Turks and Caicos Islands and in other Territories constitutes one of the most serious impediments to the implementation of the Declaration.

126. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that it is essential that all progressive forces give comprehensive support and assistance to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and also to the peoples of the so-called small Territories that are fighting for their freedom and independence, thus making sure that *apartheid*, that criminal phenomenon of the last quarter of the twentieth century, as well as the vestiges of colonialism, will at long last become a thing of the past.

127. Czechoslovakia greatly values the work of the United Nations and its organs, particularly the Special Committee, whose work has been conducted so competently by its Chairman, Mr. Frank Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago. Thanks to these efforts in regard to the decolonization process, some very definite results have been

achieved. We have been making active efforts ourselves to contribute positively to the carrying out of the Special Committee's work. We take an optimistic view of the tasks still facing us. We are firmly convinced that the just struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples will, in spite of all obstacles, ultimately prevail.

128. Mr. SOMOGYI (Hungary): The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly in 1960, has proved to be of great historical importance. Initiated by the Soviet Union, it was based on a deep understanding of the political, economic and social processes in colonial countries as well as of the sentiments and aspirations of peoples under colonial domination. For many centuries colonialism had been the most brutal form of exploitation of man by man. The colonial Powers had grown rich, and the inhabitants of forcibly subdued Territories had remained in poverty. The colonial Powers had been plundering the human and natural resources of colonial Territories in the most ruthless way. That was a period in the history of mankind in which the weak were defenceless victims of the strong. That was the era of gunboat diplomacy in international relations, one in which military strength was the final argument in disputes among nations. The colonial countries and peoples were always in the position of the weak and defenceless in the face of imperialist domination.

129. With the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), the United Nations decided to finally liquidate such injustice with the help of the progressive world community. Since the adoption of that historic resolution the political map of the world has changed considerably, with newly independent and sovereign States emerging in the place of former colonial Territories, with new hopes and a strong determination to raise their peoples from poverty and humiliation. In this process the United Nations has played an important role, promoting the just aspirations of the colonial countries and peoples by every available means, by moral, political and material support. Now it is a great pleasure to have among us in the United Nations the representatives of former colonial Territories as independent sovereign States, which are making great contributions to our common efforts for international peace and security.

130. While expressing great satisfaction at the achievement in decolonization we cannot avoid stating that this process is far from completed. In addition to the neo-colonial ambitions that can be identified *vis-à-vis* the newly independent States, there are still Territories under foreign colonial domination. The remnants of the colonial past have not entirely disappeared from the face of the earth. The United Nations has made considerable efforts to eliminate these remnants, but there exist outside factors which constitute a grave impediment to the implementation of its resolutions on decolonization.

131. During the debate in the Fourth Committee representatives of Member States have repeatedly pointed out that foreign economic interests are a major obstacle in the way of decolonization. The thesis is very simple. The interests of foreign corporations are in contradiction with the interests of the people in territories under foreign domination. The foreign corporations are interested in gaining as much profit as possible by plundering the human and natural resources of Non-Self-Governing Territories, just as it was the main objective of imperialist Powers to make profit by colonizing whole continents during past centuries. The peoples of colonial Territories want to use their resources for their own sake, to improve

the living conditions of the population by eliminating poverty, illiteracy and economic backwardness.

132. As historical experience shows, the profit interests of colonial Powers and the aspirations of the peoples under colonial oppression to independence and economic well-being cannot be reconciled. Therefore the plundering of the human and natural resources of colonial Territories must be stopped. During the deliberations of the Fourth Committee the role of foreign military bases and other installations was also noted as a grave impediment to the process of decolonization. Those military bases are remnants of gunboat diplomacy, reminders of the danger that they could be used again to dash the hopes of peoples for independence. Furthermore, the military bases of imperialist Powers in colonial Territories serve to heighten the tension in the region in which they are deployed. In accordance with the draft resolution before the Fourth Committee [A/C.4/36/L.4 and Corr.1], the Hungarian delegation condemns all military activities in colonial Territories which are detrimental to the self-determination and independence of those peoples. We also condemn all foreign economic interests which constitute an obstacle in the way of decolonization.

133. The question of Namibia must be given the most serious consideration in the debate on this urgent issue. The independence of Namibia is long overdue, yet Namibia is under military occupation by the South African racist régime in spite of numerous United Nations resolutions. The General Assembly has just discussed the question of Namibia and has adopted relevant resolutions. It is the general view, shared by the majority of Member States, that Namibia must become independent in the very near future. The illegal South African military occupation must be terminated and the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence must be restored. South Africa has defied the United Nations resolutions for a long time, as a result and direct consequence of the overall support received from its Western partners. The political, economic, military and other kinds of support given by the imperialist States to South Africa have contributed to its intransigence and aggressiveness. Therefore the strong condemnation of the collusion of certain Western States with the racist régime of South Africa is fully justified.

134. We firmly believe there should be no further delay in the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on the question of Namibia. Any negotiations on a settlement must be based on Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as a minimum programme. It is the right of the Namibian people to determine the future of its own country. No one is entitled to tell that long-suffering people what principles it should follow in writing a constitution or setting up the structure of government. Any attempt to deny SWAPO its rights as the authentic representative of the Namibian people must be condemned.

135. There are some other Territories of the world where obstacles can also be found to the process of decolonization, and a lack of attention by the United Nations may lead to the deterioration of the situation. I refer to the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Under the Trusteeship Agreement the Administering Authorities are obliged to promote the political, economic and social development of these small Territories until full independence is achieved. The resolutions of the United Nations have repeatedly emphasized that size, geographical location, population and limited natural resources should not delay the self-determination of the Territories under such admin-

istration. One of the most important pre-conditions of the independence of these Territories is a relatively balanced economy. According to the report of the Special Committee, the structural imbalances in the economy of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands have not been significantly reduced [see A/36/23/Rev.1, chap. XVII, para. 13]. The Administering Authority does not ensure the proper use of the natural resources of the Pacific Islands. It is a matter of utmost concern that lands are alienated for military installations. The use of land to build military bases is not the most reasonable way of exploiting this important natural resource and does not serve the interests of the indigenous people at all. On the contrary, the military installations do irreparable harm to the economy of these Territories and at the same time contribute to the heightening of tension in that region of the world. That is why the United Nations should pay attention to the military activities of the colonial Powers on the Territories under their administration. My delegation fully supports the proposal by the Special Committee⁴ that the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat should undertake an intensified campaign of publicity in order to inform the world public of the facts concerning the military activities in colonial Territories. In our view, the military installations serve the strategic interests of the colonial Powers and are detrimental to the interests of the indigenous people.

136. Finally, I should like to express the sincere hope of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic that the peoples under colonial domination will gain independence in the near future and will take their place in the United Nations.

137. Mr. CHORNY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mankind is now in the phase of conclusion of the historic process of the elimination of the colonial system of imperialism. Convincing proof of that is provided by the enormous gains made in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

138. The Declaration, the twentieth anniversary of which was solemnly observed last year, and also the decisions of the United Nations that were adopted to develop that Declaration further, have elevated the task of the elimination of colonialism to the status of one of the principal tasks on the world political scene and have given powerful impetus to the process of the collapse of the colonial empires. In this respect, in the view of my delegation all States should pay fundamental attention now to carrying out the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration.

139. We are gratified to note that the persistent policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community in pursuit of international détente, a policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, has significantly facilitated and accelerated the emancipation of oppressed peoples. The political map of the world has been given an entirely new shape. Today, apart from the racist colonial preserve in southern Africa, there are only a few "dark spots"—as it were—where colonial possessions remain.

140. But it is not only in that respect that we see a sign of the times. It is also to be seen in the more prominent role played by the States which have emancipated themselves from colonial dependence and embarked on the course of independent development as well as in their increasing contribution to the struggle for peace and the se-

curity of peoples. Their voice is heard more resolutely in efforts undertaken for the solutions of the basic problems of our day, and we are convinced of that here at the United Nations.

141. As one might expect, however, the greater the gains of the young sovereign States, the more fiercely the former colonialists, and their allies and assistants cling to any chance to preserve their privileges and to hold onto and, if possible, even extend their positions in order to suppress the will of the dependent peoples and plunder their national wealth. They are trying to impose their understanding of a world order on the international community—an understanding that would justify their "modern", refined methods of diktat and violence and, if necessary, direct neo-colonialist plunder and brigandage, freeing the hands for the suppression of the national liberation movements by various means. The policy of the most aggressive forces of imperialism, primarily certain circles of the United States, is precisely addressed to those ends; they are the very forces which have declared various parts of the world as spheres of vital interest, in their attempts to equate national liberation movements with international terrorism.

142. No matter how the forces of imperialism and reaction try to slow down the movement of the oppressed peoples towards progress and prosperity, to bind them with the chains of neo-colonialism and deny them the legitimate right to freedom and independence, they will fail to turn back the universal process of history. The march of history does not stop.

143. However, the struggle is not yet over. The focal-point of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* still exists in southern Africa. It is a direct threat to the peoples of the continent and to world peace and security as a whole.

144. It grossly violates the Charter of the United Nations and the demands of the overwhelming majority of States for the elimination of all forms of racism and colonialism, as expressed in many resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Pretoria régime is carrying out a criminal policy of *apartheid* within South Africa and continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. Attempting to frighten the peoples of neighbouring independent States and slow down the process of their free and progressive development and compel them to discontinue the aid which they give to the national liberation movements in southern Africa, the South African racists carry out acts of open aggression against Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. The latest evidence of that was the massive invasion of Angola by South African troops, from Namibia, which was universally condemned.

145. The attempts of the Pretoria racists and their Western protectors to impose a neo-colonialist solution of the Namibian problem, a solution outside the framework of the United Nations has caused grave concern.

146. It is a secret to no one why the racist régime of South Africa has for many years been so bold as to challenge the international community and sabotage United Nations decisions on Namibia. It is not at all because of the strength of the Pretoria régime itself but rather because of the policy of the main imperialist Powers, primarily the member countries of NATO and Israel, as well as various international monopolies which have been supporting the racist régime and giving it extensive military and economic aid. They regard South Africa as an important natural ally and are highly interested in keeping the

racist system in existence there. While hypocritically condemning the racist régime of Pretoria and declaring their dedication to the ideals and principles of the Declaration, certain Western Powers, principally the United States, are counting on the Republic of South Africa as a counter force to the national liberation movements on the continent and as an instrument of pressure to be used against the independent African States.

147. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to declare that the present situation, when the aggressive imperialist forces have begun to step up the arms race and are trying to extend their network of military bases in foreign territories and to strengthen and deepen their co-operation with South Africa in the political, military, economic, nuclear and other fields, is having a very grave impact on the state of affairs in southern Africa and is creating a serious threat to international peace and security. As a result, the question of the complete and definitive elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa remains unsolved.

148. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is firmly convinced that effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter are needed to compel the Pretoria racists to give effect to United Nations decisions on the granting of independence to Namibia and to force them to put an end to their aggression against neighbouring States.

149. The Declaration must be fully implemented without any exclusions or omissions, and not with respect to southern Africa alone. A number of so-called small Territories are still to this day under colonial rule.

150. It is the view of the Ukrainian SSR that no reference to the small size of a Territory, the small number of its population or the low level of social and economic development can justify delaying the granting of independence to them. Unfortunately, however, the administering Powers are not exactly in a hurry to carry out the provisions of the Declaration with respect to those Territories. Far from it, they are doing their utmost to impede the decolonization process in those Territories and are trying to hold on to them forever. The imperialist Powers are using them extensively as military bases and strategic beachheads.

151. We are particularly concerned, as is world public opinion, by the policy of dismemberment of Micronesia being conducted by the United States in violation of its obligations under the Trusteeship System. The United States is imposing on individual islands which form part of Micronesia a new colonial status of "free association". In that way the United States is trying to preserve its control over vast areas of the Pacific and strengthen its military and strategic positions in that part of the world.

152. Such annexation and the accompanying militarist actions run counter to the Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other decisions of the United Nations. They cannot in any way be regarded as justified and as having legal force. Under the Charter, any changes in the status of Micronesia can be brought about only through a decision of the Security Council.

153. Recognizing the historic responsibility for the future of peoples, we feel that it is essential to do everything possible to bring about the complete elimination of colonialism after the lengthy struggle in which the international community has been engaged. The delegation of

the Ukrainian SSR is prepared to support any proposals that will assist in the attainment of that noble purpose.

154. Mr. SHERMAN (United States of America): On 20 August 1981, the Special Committee, in a very divided vote, adopted a decision concerning Puerto Rico [A/36/23/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 87] that, *inter alia*, recommends that the General Assembly examine the question of Puerto Rico as a separate item at its thirty-seventh session. Only 11 of the 25 members of the Committee supported this recommendation.

155. Puerto Rico is associated with the United States in a Commonwealth relationship or one of an associated free State. This relationship has existed since 1952, when the Commonwealth Constitution was prepared by a constitutional convention of delegates elected by the people of Puerto Rico and following a plebiscite in which the people approved this Constitution.

156. In 1953 the General Assembly recognized, in resolution 748 (VIII), that "when choosing their constitutional and international status, the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico have effectively exercised their right to self-determination". It also recognized that within the framework of the Constitution and the relationship with the United States the people of Puerto Rico "have been invested with attributes of political sovereignty which clearly identify the status of self-government attained by the Puerto Rican people as that of an autonomous political entity". In the same resolution the General Assembly considered that because of status developments "the Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories and the provisions established under it in Chapter XI of the Charter can no longer be applied to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico".

157. Since 1953 the United States has consistently taken the position that the future of Puerto Rico is for the people of that Commonwealth to decide and that any changes in status should be made in response to the freely expressed wishes of the Puerto Rican people.

158. The people of Puerto Rico, through their political process, their elected leaders and their domestic laws, have the institutions and the means to express their political wishes. Most recently, the elected Governor, Mr. Carlos Romero Barcelá, proposed the establishment in October this year of a political status commission.

159. The position of the United States on the recommendation contained in the decision of the Special Committee of 20 August 1981 is that it is unwarranted by the facts, politically motivated and represents a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations in that it would constitute interference in the internal affairs of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and those of the United States.

160. My delegation is therefore glad to see that the proponents have not tried to introduce a draft resolution or decision on this very questionable recommendation, which, I should emphasize, did not receive the support of even half the members of the Special Committee. However, the statement of the Rapporteur would seem to argue that the adoption of draft resolution A/36/L.20 would show that the Assembly had somehow approved the Committee's recommendation. We dismiss this argument as totally without merit, and we believe it important that members of the Assembly make it clear that the Assembly has

taken no decision whatsoever on the question of the inclusion of an item on Puerto Rico in the agenda of the Assembly at the next session.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹ E/C.10/83.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1981*, document S/14749.

³ See A/AC.109/687.

⁴ See A/AC.109/674.
