



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

AGENDA ITEM 18

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

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

(b) **Reports of the Secretary-General**

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

2. 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 Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Special Committee covering its work during the year 1984. The report, which relates, *inter alia*, to item 18 of the agenda, is submitted in accordance with paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 38/54 of 7 December 1983 on the implementation of the Declaration, by 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 that have not yet attained independence and, in particular:

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

3. The complete report of the Special Committee is contained in document A/39/23. An account of the Committee's examination of the situation in the individual Territories on the agenda of the Assembly's current session is set out in chapters IX, X and XII to XXVII. An account of its consideration of the other specific items referred to it in the relevant General Assembly resolutions is set out in chapters I to VIII.

4. In meeting between February and October and holding extensive consultations among members throughout the period, the Committee gave adequate consideration to, and submitted recommendations on, all the items on its agenda.

5. In the course of its work, the Special Committee, bearing in mind in particular the specific request addressed to it by the General Assembly in resolution 38/54, reviewed the implementation of the Declaration, as well as the various United Nations resolutions relating to the remaining Territories. On the basis of the review and in the light of developments, the Committee formulated recommendations for the application of further measures by States, by the competent United Nations organs and by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, with a view to accelerating the pace of decolonization and facilitating the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples concerned.

6. During the year, the Special Committee once again undertook a study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. In the light of the relevant decisions and resolutions of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, the Committee also continued its consideration of the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their domination which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. Under the terms of the relevant provisions of resolution 38/51, the Committee further examined the progress achieved in the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations. Regarding all those items just mentioned, the Fourth Committee has endorsed the related recommendations of the Special Committee.

7. As members will have noted from the relevant chapters of the report now before the Assembly, the Special Committee devoted considerable attention during the year to the decolonization of the small Territories and approved a number of concrete recommendations and proposals concerning individual Territories. The Fourth Committee has also approved those recommendations, which I hope will be endorsed fully by the Assembly.

8. In that connection, the Special Committee once again took note with satisfaction of the continuing readiness of administering Powers to receive visiting missions of the Committee. In September this year the Special Committee dispatched a visiting mission to Anguilla at the invitation of the Government of the United Kingdom. It also noted the dispatch by

the Secretary-General in April of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Cocos (Keeling) Islands. It is the firm view of the Committee that these visiting missions constitute an invaluable method of securing first-hand information on the situation prevailing in the Territories concerned as well as on the aspirations of the peoples regarding their future.

9. Within the context of the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable, the Committee took up separately an item entitled "Special Committee decision of 24 August 1983 concerning Puerto Rico". In this regard, the Committee, following the hearing of representatives of a number of organizations, took a decision on the item, as set out in chapter I of the report. In that decision, the Special Committee, *inter alia*, reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the peoples to self-determination and independence in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the full applicability of the fundamental principles of that resolution with respect to Puerto Rico" [see A/39/23, chap. I, para. 72].

10. As reflected in chapter III of its report, the Special Committee carried out a number of other tasks entrusted to it by the General Assembly in various resolutions, as well as those arising from its own previous decisions, including specific activities relating to the question of the publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. During the year the Special Committee held a seminar in Vienna with non-governmental organizations as part of its continuing effort to enlist their support in the dissemination of the relevant information and in the mobilization of world public opinion in the cause of decolonization. The Committee also took part in a number of international conferences and meetings convened by those organizations. It is the Committee's intention, in keeping with related decisions of the Assembly, to continue to hold consultations with the organizations concerned and to participate in conferences, seminars and other special meetings dealing with decolonization arranged by those organizations as well as by the United Nations bodies concerned.

11. With regard to the general aspects of the process of decolonization, I should like, on behalf of the Special Committee, to express the hope that the proposals outlined in section S of chapter I, entitled "Future work", will meet with the Assembly's approval so that the Committee may proceed with the tasks it proposes to undertake.

12. 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 Committee, in the light of the useful results achieved as a consequence of the active participation in its work of all the administering Powers, recommends that the General Assembly again request the administering Powers concerned to participate actively in its work relating to the Territories under their respective administration.

13. 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 in those Territories towards a position of equality with

States Members of the United Nations, the Special Committee 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 in the Special Committee on the items relating to their respective countries.

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

15. The year 1985 will mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. In that connection, the Special Committee has formulated a series of recommendations for consideration by the Assembly, as set out in chapter II of the report now before the Assembly. By adopting the draft resolution contained in paragraph 9 of that chapter, the Assembly would approve a programme of activities to be undertaken by the United Nations organs concerned and the United Nations system of organizations, Member States, the Secretary-General, the regional inter-governmental bodies and national governmental and non-governmental organizations in observance of the anniversary.

16. In the preparation of the proposed programme the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Koroma, has held exhaustive and extensive consultations throughout the year with all concerned. The arduous work carried out and the positive contributions made by Mr. Koroma are deeply appreciated by all the members of the Special Committee. Indeed, he has accomplished single-handedly—and at an extraordinary saving to the Organization, I might add—what on similar occasions in the past had to be prepared by a special group or committee of Member States especially appointed by the General Assembly to prepare such programmes. I wish to pay a warm personal tribute to Mr. Koroma for carrying out these important tasks on our behalf.

17. The Special Committee recommends that, in approving the programme of work outlined in chapter I and the programme of activities envisaged for 1985, as set out in chapter II, to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration, the General Assembly also make adequate financial provisions to cover all the activities envisaged by the Committee for 1985. Finally, 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.

Mr. Barma (Chad), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call now 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. G. Koroma of Sierra Leone.

20. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone), 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 an

account of the work of the Special Committee during 1984. I shall therefore confine myself to a few observations, as Chairman of the Special Committee, concerning some of the developments during the year in the field of decolonization.

21. At the outset of this year, the former British colony of Brunei became a sovereign independent State, and it is gratifying to note that, having joined the Organization as a full Member at the beginning of the current session, Brunei Darussalam has made an appreciable contribution to the related work of the Assembly.

22. It is indeed a source of deep satisfaction that since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 50 former Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, with an aggregate population of over 150 million, have attained independent nationhood. Through their active participation in the work of the United Nations and its system of organizations, they have greatly enhanced the ability of the world body to deal effectively with the many problems which afflict the international community.

23. These past achievements notwithstanding, we must at the same time be keenly conscious of the solemn obligation and responsibility placed upon us under the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration in respect of the remaining colonial Territories, the populations of which have yet to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

24. Of these Territories, our foremost concern is, of course, the grave situation which continues to prevail in Namibia. As I had occasion to elaborate only a few days ago in my statement to the Assembly [78th meeting], this ominous threat of a massive escalation of violence in the area exists because South Africa has chosen to defy the world. I wish only to reiterate here that, in light of the continuing defiance by South Africa of its Charter obligations and its persistent use of force to perpetuate its illegal domination of the Territory, the full and effective application of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations remains the key by which the United Nations can obtain South Africa's compliance with the decisions of the Security Council.

25. I wish to pay a particular tribute to the Governments of the front-line States for their steadfast support for and commitment to the cause of a free and independent Namibia and their determined efforts towards the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)—the only acceptable basis on which a peaceful transition in the Territory can be achieved. A well-deserved tribute is due also to the leadership of the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], for its continued statesmanship in working out an internationally acceptable solution and guiding Namibia to its long-awaited independence. The Special Committee will, within its own mandate, continue to extend all possible assistance in the achievement of that goal.

26. The other colonial Territories, particularly those in the Caribbean and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, face entirely different and often highly complex problems, partly because of their small territorial size and population and frequently because of their isolation and limited resources, as pointed out in the relevant conclusions and recommenda-

tions of the Special Committee. These considerations cannot, however, be allowed to interfere or limit the rights and privileges of the peoples concerned, particularly with regard to their right to make their own decisions in respect of their future. In the discharge of their obligations, the administering Powers concerned must recognize these rights and permit the peoples of those Territories to make their decisions freely and without inducement. To that end, I should like to underscore the responsibility of the administering Powers to intensify programmes of political education of the peoples of the Territories under their administration, in order to deepen their awareness of the purposes and the objectives of the Charter and the Declaration in relation to their future status.

27. In the discharge of their primary responsibility as defined in the Charter, the administering Powers should do their utmost likewise to ensure that the economies of the Territories they administer are placed on a sound basis, and to that end they should organize effective development programmes, enlisting to the maximum extent the assistance available from the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations. That such programmes carefully protect and safeguard the best interests, both present and future, of the peoples of the Territories concerned should be a paramount consideration.

28. Some of these and other important recommendations of the Special Committee, as approved by the Fourth Committee at its 18th meeting a fortnight ago, will shortly be considered by the Assembly, and I wish to express my confident hope that these recommendations will receive the Assembly's positive endorsement.

29. In connection with its consideration of the situation in small Territories, the Committee continues to receive the co-operation of the administering Powers concerned, for which we are grateful. As the General Assembly has repeatedly made clear in this regard, such co-operation enhances the capacity of the Organization, particularly the Special Committee, to assist effectively the peoples of the Territories in the realization of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter and the declaration on decolonization.

30. The dispatch in April 1984 of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, of which I had the honour to serve as Chairman, is a case in point. The Mission, invited by the Government of Australia as the administering Power concerned, was able to observe at first hand the act of self-determination by the people of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands and verified *in situ* their true wishes and aspirations as regards their future status.

31. The Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power concerned, likewise invited the Special Committee's Visiting Mission to Anguilla in September this year. As noted during the related debate in the Fourth Committee, members are unanimous in the view that these visiting missions constitute the most direct as well as the most effective means of securing information on the social, political and economic conditions prevailing in the colonial Territories and of ascertaining at first hand the real wishes and aspirations of the peoples concerned. It is hoped that the Committee will be able, with the continuing co-operation of the administering Powers, to dispatch such missions as and when appropriate.

32. In relation to those Territories which are the subject either of conflicting claims to sovereignty or of special interest to some Governments by reasons of geographical, historical, or other circumstances, the underlying principles embodied in the Charter and the Declaration continue to apply fully. At the same time, we must at all times be mindful of the need to facilitate the peaceful resolution of divergent claims and interests through negotiations, mutual accommodation and good will.

33. In this context, it is gratifying to note that dialogue continues in respect to Gibraltar towards the normalization of the border problem, as well as the working out of a solution acceptable to all concerned. I am confident that similarly complex issues confronting other Territories will be resolved amicably and expeditiously through negotiation and consultation, given the necessary will and commitment of the Governments concerned. The important role to be played by the Secretary-General in that connection cannot be overemphasized, and we are all grateful to him for his incessant efforts in that regard.

34. The Rapporteur of the Special Committee has already pointed out that the relevant chapters of the Committee's report 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 will, while discussing the item, give its most serious attention to the recommendations made by the Special Committee. I am confident that approval by the General Assembly of those and other important recommendations will further enhance the capacity of the Organization to deal effectively with the remaining colonial issues.

35. As will be noted in the report, it has been a long-standing practice in the Special Committee to attempt to arrive at decisions on the various matters of which it is seized by the broadest possible degree of consensus. This method has in the past always served well not only the Special Committee but also the Fourth Committee and has facilitated the Assembly's consideration of the related recommendations of the Special Committee. I am confident that members will continue to do their utmost to avoid contentious and divisive procedures and will thus continue to demonstrate their commitment to the cause of those whose right to self-determination and independence we have been entrusted with the task of ensuring.

36. I should like, in this connection, to pay a particular tribute to Mr. Renagi Lohia, the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, for his singularly outstanding leadership and statesmanship in enabling that Committee to conclude its work in an exemplary manner. His personal dedication to the cause of the peoples concerned is well known, and his contribution to the process of decolonization has been amply demonstrated throughout the session.

37. It is indeed with great pleasure that I note in a communication addressed to the President by Mr. Lohia the expressed readiness and wish of the Government of Papua New Guinea to join the membership of the Special Committee, particularly at a time when the situation affecting the region calls for our closer and intensified examination within the context of resolution 1514 (XV). I wish to assure Mr. Lohia of my unreserved support for and endorsement of the wish of his Government, and I look forward to

the opportunity of working closely with him in the Special Committee.

38. I am bound to record that the progress made in decolonization seems only to underline the anomaly that close to 3 million people continue to live under colonial rule and that one third of them live in Namibia under a racist régime which offers little hope of emancipation. It is with this concern in mind that the Special Committee has submitted a suggested programme to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration, as set out in chapter II of its report introduced by the Rapporteur at this meeting. Consultations on particulars of activities to be undertaken in observance of the anniversary at the national, regional and international levels began as early as the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and have continued throughout the year with Member States, regional intergovernmental bodies, the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations and senior officials of the United Nations, non-governmental organizations and liberation movements concerned. The proposed programme incorporates various suggestions and proposals received during those consultations and thus represents a broad consensus of the cross-section of the international community. In respect of some of the activities envisaged there are, admittedly, several members which question the wisdom of incurring the related expenditures. Their concerns—which I share—are genuine and sincere. I wish, however, to appeal to them for their understanding, for, while so much has been accomplished in the field of decolonization in the past, we do have the remaining tasks, which we know we can successfully carry out given the necessary will and dedication of all concerned. The suggested programme is addressed to that end. I sincerely hope that members will agree with me that the worthy objectives to which those activities are dedicated justify the expenditure entailed.

39. Permit me to make a few personal comments at this stage. This year, as in the previous year, I have enjoyed the fullest co-operation and friendship of my colleagues, both in the Committee and in the Secretariat, and I wish to express my sincere appreciation to all of them. My particular thanks go to my friends and colleagues and the other officers of the Committee. It has been an honour and a privilege to work with such dedicated colleagues. To each of them I owe a personal debt of gratitude for their devoted service in the cause of decolonization. My special appreciation goes to the outstanding work accomplished by the Rapporteur, Mr. Adhami. Having served with distinction as Rapporteur during the past four years, Mr. Adhami has become an indispensable institution within the Committee itself and has contributed immeasurably to the resolution of many a complex problem in connection with the work of the Committee. We are also grateful to him for his outstanding political acumen and skill in reformulating the Committee decisions into appropriate proposals for consideration by the General Assembly. We are all aware that his work facilitated the task of the Fourth Committee immensely in this regard. My deep appreciation also goes to Mr. Ammar Amari, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Small Territories, Mr. Pulz, in his capacity as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Petitions, Information and Assistance, and Mr. Leslie Rowe, Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on Small Territories. I am particularly

indebted to Mr. Amari for having undertaken the often long and arduous tasks of holding consultations and negotiations so as to arrive at consensus decisions. To all of them I owe a personal debt of gratitude for their devoted service and for their friendship.

40. The Secretary-General has shown consistent interest in the field of decolonization. We are grateful to him for his interest and for his co-operation and assistance in our work.

41. Having briefly reviewed some of the principal developments in the field of decolonization, and in keeping with long-established practice, I should like, on behalf of the sponsors, to introduce draft resolutions A/39/L.17 and Add.1 and A/39/L.18 and Add.1, which have been submitted under this item. As these two draft resolutions reflect both the developments and the problems that I have just outlined, I need not, I am sure, elaborate on their substance. Draft resolution A/39/L.17 and Add.1 deals with general aspects of decolonization, and by it, the Assembly would among other things, renew the mandate of the Special Committee. Draft resolution A/39/L.18 and Add.1 deals with dissemination of information on decolonization, and by it the Assembly would once again underscore the importance of publicity as an instrument for furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration. As noted in chapter III of the report of the Special Committee, it was understood that some of the conclusions and recommendations endorsed by the Special Committee would require appropriate consultations in connection with their implementation. Accordingly, it is my intention to hold such consultations in accordance with that understanding and as necessary. Speaking on behalf of the sponsors, I wish to commend these draft proposals to the members of the Assembly for their serious attention and unanimous approval.

42. Mr. RANDHAWA (India): On 21 September this year, the Assembly had the pleasure of welcoming into the United Nations the newest—its 159th—Member of this great family, Brunei Darussalam. The independence of Brunei Darussalam nearly a year ago and its subsequent admission to United Nations membership brought the Organization one step closer to the cherished goal of universality.

43. There can be no doubt that the emergence into independent nationhood in the course of recent decades of a large number of erstwhile colonies has changed not merely the geopolitical configuration of vast regions of our planet but has also had a profound and revolutionary impact on contemporary international relations. In this metamorphosis, the United Nations has played no mean role, particularly in the period after the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960, and following the establishment of the Special Committee.

44. Our debate today assumes special significance in that it takes place on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), an event that happily coincides with another milestone, namely, the fortieth anniversary of the very founding of the United Nations.

45. While we can legitimately derive satisfaction from the impact the Declaration has had over 25 years, let us not allow ourselves to be lulled into the belief that colonialism stands vanquished and that

our task is over. Our task is far from over, for the vestiges of colonialism that can manage to survive in this day and age must indeed be deeply rooted and firmly entrenched. Even while the colonial phenomenon progressively diminishes in strength and incidence, forces are at work, particularly in southern Africa, which attempt to stem, if not reverse, the tide of history. The silver jubilee of the declaration on decolonization must therefore be not merely an occasion for celebration; it must serve as an opportunity for us to rededicate ourselves to the objective of decolonization and to face the remaining challenges with fresh vigour and determination.

46. The most important of those challenges, and certainly the most daunting, is the question of Namibia. As my delegation mentioned in its statement on that item last week [79th meeting], the failure of the United Nations to bring independence to Namibia, in spite of its very special responsibility over the Territory, is a big blot on the otherwise commendable record of the Organization in the domain of decolonization. My delegation has already had occasion to express its views on the Namibian question. Suffice it for me to underscore here that the racist régime in Pretoria, by virtue of the obnoxious policies it pursues within South Africa itself and its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, in persistent defiance of the universal will, besmirches the effectiveness and credibility of the United Nations.

47. The Palestinian people remain without the national homeland that is their birthright, driven from their soil by foreign forces of occupation and buffeted about in a sea of uncertainty and adversity. We believe that the vexed question of Palestine cannot totally be divorced from the colonial context.

48. The report of the Special Committee gives us the reassurance that continuing efforts are being made to tackle the remaining problems which, though small in number, are complex in nature. The examination of the situation in various Non-Self-Governing Territories undertaken by the Special Committee has helped to identify the particular issues which relate to different Territories and the measures that the administering Powers should take to facilitate the speedy implementation of the declaration on decolonization with regard to those Territories. We believe that no single formula can be universally applied. The people of each Territory must determine the nature of their desired future State and the time frame within which that is to be achieved. It is imperative that the will of the people concerned be freely and fearlessly expressed and that it be respected.

49. The Special Committee has rightly recognized that the people of Non-Self-Governing Territories must be fully informed of options available to them in terms of their future status as part of a larger programme of fostering political awareness and education. It is also incumbent upon the administering authorities, as long as they function in that capacity, to promote the welfare of the local population and to refrain from engaging in such exploitative economic, military or other activities and arrangements which impede the decolonization process. We believe that the presence of military bases and installations on Non-Self-Governing Territories is an impediment to decolonization and, as such, unacceptable. Such bases and installations must be withdrawn from the Territories concerned. Non-Self-Governing Territories must not be used for any military purposes.

50. I should like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee for its tireless and thorough endeavours to monitor closely the situation in the various Non-Self-Governing Territories with a view to protecting and promoting the interests of the peoples of those Territories and guiding them towards self-determination. Under the competent stewardship of Mr. Koroma of Sierra Leone, the Special Committee continues to do commendable work. It has been India's privilege, as a founder member of the Committee, to partake of the joy that comes from colonial Territories of yesteryear emerging into sovereign nationhood. We hope that the day is not far away when the Committee can consider its task accomplished.

51. As I recalled earlier in my statement, next year we will observe a milestone in the life of the declaration on decolonization. My Government attaches great importance to this commemoration and looks forward to participating fully in the activities to be organized on the occasion, just as it has participated in the process of planning for the event. This would only be in keeping with India's profound commitment to the cause of all peoples under the colonial yoke, a commitment that our leaders proclaimed many years before our own independence. It would be in tune with the leading role played by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in championing the cause of decolonization. This would also be in consonance with what our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, stated: "We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and that the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war."

52. Mr. ESCHEIKH (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The United Nations is now on the eve of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". Moreover, it now has 159 Members, compared to the 90 it had when this resolution was adopted in 1960.

53. It is a matter of satisfaction for us to point out those facts and thereby to take stock of the progress made on the road to the liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke, as well as the significant contribution made by the Organization in that respect. We are all the more satisfied because we have a rather deep knowledge of the colonial phenomenon, as we were subjected to it for 75 years and engaged in a long and fierce struggle against it, by the most appropriate and varied means.

54. We learned fairly quickly that political independence is not an end in itself. It has meaning only to the extent that it promotes economic, social and cultural development. Hence, colonialism cannot be regarded as having been really abolished until all of its forms are done away with.

55. We make those observations now not only in order to express once again our satisfaction and pride at having made a contribution to the preparation of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) and then having participated in its implementation, but also and above all in order to point out that the very spirit of this Declaration and the principles it proclaims derive not from any intellectual exercise but, rather, from bitterly acquired experience.

56. During this second half of the twentieth century, we have seen the liberation of dozens of countries that had lived through these experiences and that, in

turn, are contributing to the liberation of human beings and peoples from the colonial yoke of oppression and exploitation.

57. My delegation regards decolonization as one of the major achievements of the United Nations, and we believe that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has made one of the most important contributions to this process. Tunisia, which is a member of the Special Committee, attaches great importance to its co-operation with the Committee and to the role the Committee has played and continues to play in bringing Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination and independence and in bringing the decolonization process closer to its conclusion. In this regard, the Special Committee's report [A/39/23] gives us a clear and accurate picture of the work done in 1984. While paying tribute to the Chairman and members of that Committee for the efforts they have made this year and for the timely proposals the Committee has made, my delegation emphasizes once again the seriousness of the situation, especially in southern Africa.

58. The General Assembly can draw up a clearly favourable balance sheet of the past 24 years, a balance sheet that should give it a feeling of justified pride. But it must note that colonialism and racial discrimination have not, unfortunately, been totally eradicated. The hideous ghost of *apartheid* and colonialism continues to haunt South Africa and Namibia. Stubborn colonialism and the effective domination by a white minority which constantly buttresses its hateful policy of *apartheid* are pitted against the inevitable emancipation of Namibia and South Africa. Instead of complying with the international community's decisions applying the sacred principles of the right of peoples to self-determination, the racist Pretoria régime has been constantly strengthening its military presence in Namibia and using that country as a base for launching devastating incursions into neighbouring countries for the purpose of subjugating them to its own will, thereby openly threatening peace and stability in the region. Moreover, it continues its all-out exploitation of the natural economic resources of the country, which benefit the indigenous population not at all, or very little. Worse still, it persists in applying the classic repressive colonial procedures of the past—that is, to cause one faction of the population of a country to subjugate another. Compulsory and forced recruitment of Namibians, who are incorporated into units that have no purpose other than fighting their own brothers in SWAPO, is a perfect example of this.

59. Those are the reactions of the racist Pretoria régime to the solutions envisaged by the international community for years now. The wisdom and patience of the Organization are met with defiance, arrogance and delaying tactics. These tactics no longer fool anyone. Indeed, at one time there was a glimmer of hope that these tactics might serve the cause of the truly peaceful solutions to which the Organization remains attached above all else. Today, however, they are significant only because they must be forestalled.

60. It is both regrettable and disturbing that some countries in the Organization, including those that have the greatest influence on the racist Pretoria régime and that have loudly and clearly condemned

apartheid and colonialism, continue—under the pretext of seeking openings and dialogue—to be so accommodating to that régime that one can no longer place any credibility in their political will to see the Organization's resolutions implemented. It is that attitude which, in fact, has encouraged Pretoria to stand in constant defiance of the Organization and to use the contact group for clearly diversionary purposes.

61. We therefore take this opportunity to appeal to those countries and to the contact group, which assumed a major responsibility for the preparation and adoption of the settlement plan, to exert the pressure necessary to induce the South African Government to comply with the provisions of the Organization's resolutions.

62. My delegation has had repeated opportunities to express its point of view on this question. It has done so again during this session through the voice of its Minister for Foreign Affairs [15th meeting]. Tunisia confirms its support of United Nations efforts to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which remains the cornerstone of any just and lasting solution to this question and the only valid context in which to view a solution that is in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people.

63. Tunisia reaffirms its unflagging moral and material support for all those struggling to free themselves from the colonial yoke and from oppression of all kinds. It wishes to express its solidarity to the fraternal Namibian people, under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, SWAPO, as well as to the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, in their struggle to establish a multiracial democratic society.

64. The commemoration next year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) will be the appropriate occasion for taking stock of the progress achieved during the past twenty-five years in the implementation of the Declaration, appraising the role played by the United Nations and the bodies connected with it, evolving measures aimed specifically at the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and increasing the efforts of the international community to ensure that the peoples still under colonial domination may rapidly achieve freedom and independence.

65. Chapter II of the report of the Special Committee contains the programme of activities to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration. This programme envisages activities at the international, regional and national levels. Convinced that the celebration of this anniversary is a special event that must be marked in an appropriate fashion, my delegation firmly supports the programme of activities. The fact that the process of decolonization is on the verge of completion is a source of satisfaction for us all and deserves to be celebrated appropriately by the Organization.

66. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): The problems relating to the final implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples continue to occupy an important place in the debates of the General Assembly, because they involve the attainment of a basic objective of the United Nations.

67. Next year we shall commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic resolution 1514 (XV), which was submitted to the Assembly by the USSR. Today, the United Nations has 159 Member States. This is convincing evidence of the value and effectiveness of the Declaration. Yet there is no denying the fact that close to 3 million people are still forced to live under colonial oppression. For the United Nations there is an imperative need to make every effort to ensure that the last vestiges of that anachronism of our time are eliminated. A great measure of responsibility for the completion of this urgent task falls on the Member States, because the questions of decolonization are closely linked to the striving for international peace and security. Peace and genuine freedom are indivisible.

68. In the present international situation this connection becomes more obvious than ever when it is a matter of fighting for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, against neo-colonialism and for independence, peace and the ending of the arms race. The most aggressive forces of imperialism have stepped up the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, to an unparalleled extent. They intensify their drive for military, political and economic expansion and declare large areas of our globe their spheres of vital interest. Existing military bases are being extended or modernized and new ones are being set up on foreign territory, *inter alia*, by using relationships of colonial dependence.

69. Peace cannot reign where the legitimate rights and interests of a people, large or small, are trampled upon. Examples are the use of force against the peoples of Grenada, Nicaragua and El Salvador, the continuing manifestations of imperialist military power in the Middle East, the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. Such cases of resort to gunboat policies undermine the system of relations, cement existing colonial or create neo-colonial dependence and oppression.

70. The German Democratic Republic follows with concern the continued expansion of the system of imperialist bases in almost all dependencies. Those bases are increasingly used for the deployment or testing of weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear devices, and they constitute a threat to the regions concerned and to world peace in general. Let me refer in this context to the facts set out in the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/39/23], especially as far as the Pacific Islands, Guam, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands and St. Helena are concerned. My country supports consideration of this important aspect of decolonization by the United Nations and calls upon the responsible Powers to give effect at last to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and thus to respond to the will of the overwhelming majority of Member States.

71. Likewise, we join in the demand of the Special Committee that all military bases be dismantled and all military activities stopped in colonially dependent Territories.

72. The situation in southern Africa makes it as dangerous a hotbed of tension as ever. Despite the decisions of the Security Council, the South African racist régime continues its illegal occupation of

Namibia. The German Democratic Republic emphatically condemns the imperialist policy, which, in disregard of world-wide protests and United Nations decisions, is now as before aimed at keeping alive the régime of *apartheid*—that threat to peace—as an instrument for destabilizing the region and opposing social progress. It advocates that Namibia be granted independence without delay in conformity with the entire range of relevant United Nations decisions, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The solidarity with the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and legitimate representative, and the support for its struggle contribute to the liquidation of a dangerous hotbed of tension and thus to the maintenance and strengthening of world peace.

73. The German Democratic Republic will maintain its active solidarity, as was underlined only a few days ago at the ninth session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

74. Developments in Micronesia show that, apart from the solution of the question of Namibia, there is another topical question of decolonization. The protests of the world public against the manoeuvres by the administering Power aimed at the destruction of the territorial unity of the Trust Territory and at its annexation are constantly growing. They show that the peoples cannot be deceived and that they recognize that the so-called free association status imposed upon parts of the Territory is nothing but the safeguarding of the military, strategic, political and economic interests of the administering Power and has nothing whatsoever to do with the implementation of the Micronesian people's right to self-determination. The transformation of the Pacific Islands into a United States military concentration area gives rise to great concern. If the existing plans are implemented—that is, the conversion of Micronesia into a deployment zone and testing area for nuclear weapons—it will constitute another serious danger to the security of all peoples.

75. The growing militarization is connected with attempts to deprive the United Nations of its right to consider and decide on specific problems of decolonization. This is obvious not only in the case of Micronesia but also with regard to Puerto Rico. However, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is indivisible; it applies to all peoples still under colonial oppression, whether in Namibia, in Micronesia, in Puerto Rico or elsewhere.

76. The German Democratic Republic will in the future also support all United Nations measures aimed at the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). There is no reason whatsoever to deny the still dependent peoples their right to self-determination and independence. My delegation expresses its expectation that, especially in connection with the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration and with a view to the full implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, further decisive progress will be made towards the final elimination of the vestiges of colonialism.

77. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In recent decades the world system of colonialism has been dealt a number of crushing blows. On the ruins of

colonial possessions there have arisen dozens of new sovereign States which have embarked upon the course of independent development, become Members of the United Nations and played an active part in the solution of pressing international problems. This confirms the prediction made many decades ago by the founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, concerning the historical role of the peoples of the colonies, which, having liberated themselves from the colonial yoke, would participate actively in deciding the fate of the world.

78. The United Nations, which was born as a result of the great triumph of peace-loving peoples over fascism, has made a weighty contribution to the cause of the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the colonies. The most important event in that regard was the adoption, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which solemnly proclaimed the "necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

79. That Declaration, the twenty-fifth anniversary of which will occur next year, and the decisions of the United Nations taken pursuant to it set forth the demand for the elimination of all colonial régimes, proclaimed the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of the colonies for their national liberation and called upon all States to give them material and moral support in their struggle. The declaration on decolonization has played and will continue in future to play an important role in helping peoples still under colonial rule in their struggle for freedom and independence and also in mobilizing world public opinion in favour of working towards the complete elimination of colonialism.

80. However, notwithstanding the considerable progress of the national liberation movements throughout the world, colonialism has not been completely eliminated. It is still alive. It is actively defending itself and even from time to time goes on the offensive in order to regain lost positions. Colonialism, racism and *apartheid* continue to poison the international atmosphere, constitute a dangerous source of tension and conflict and threaten international peace and security.

81. The people of Namibia continue to languish under the colonial, racist yoke of oppression. Disregarding repeated decisions of the United Nations, the Pretoria régime continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is exploiting the natural and human resources of that Territory and trying to destroy the national liberation movement of the Namibian people, under the guidance of their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO. For many years Pretoria, with the connivance of the United States and other Western countries, has blocked the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations on the granting of independence to Namibia and has tried to solve the Namibian problem on a neo-colonialist basis in order to convert Namibia into one of a sort of constellation of African countries all dependent on it, with which South Africa would like to surround itself.

82. There is also cause for serious concern about the intolerable position being created in connection with the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia), which the United States is in the process of annexing in order to turn it for ever

into a military and strategic beach-head and colonial appendage. The United States has been imposing on the people of individual parts of the Trust Territory of Micronesia long-term military agreements whereby the Pentagon can maintain and expand on the islands missile testing ranges, naval bases, strategic air bases and other military facilities, and also so that it can build up stockpiles of nuclear and chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. These actions mean that the United States is riding roughshod over the basic purpose of the trusteeship system, which according to the Charter of the United Nations is the strengthening of international peace and security, and its actions constitute a serious threat to the security not only of the people of Micronesia but of the countries of the region. The danger hanging over Micronesia that it may be absorbed by the United States calls for active intervention by the United Nations in defence of the Micronesian people and their right to genuine self-determination and independence.

83. Other Non-Self-Governing Territories scattered over the world's oceans and adjacent areas are still in a state of colonial dependence. The administering Powers not only are failing to transfer power to the peoples of those Territories but in a number of cases are trying to perpetuate their rule over them, asserting that the peoples of the Territories do not wish to put an end to their colonial status.

84. In a vain attempt to mask the modern forms of colonialism, the United States and the other colonial Powers claim that colonialism no longer exists except in Namibia, that the question of decolonization has been concluded and that there is nothing to discuss in this regard in the United Nations. They depict the national liberation movements as groups of terrorists, and they are trying to present the problem of decolonization as a question of East-West confrontation. In so doing, they slander the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

85. All this colonialist propaganda is designed to establish a pretext for continuing colonial exploitation of other peoples by the United States and its allies, particularly South Africa. It is designed to suppress by military means the national liberation movements, as is now happening in Namibia and other places. It is designed also to support the racists in southern Africa and to impose their hegemony upon the peoples of Africa, Latin America and other continents.

86. The fact is that today the problem of decolonization is primarily a conflict between South Africa, the United States and certain other Western Powers on the one hand and the peoples of Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Pacific Ocean basin on the other. It is a conflict between the national liberation movements in Africa and other regions, which rely on the support of all progressive forces, on the one hand, and the combined forces of imperialism, colonialism and racism on the other.

87. Everywhere in the colonial and other dependent Territories, we see continued plunder by those in foreign economic, financial and other circles and by Western transnational corporations, which are exploiting the human and natural resources of these Territories. United Nations decisions have affirmed that these activities by foreign monopolies in colonial Territories constitute one of the principal obstacles to the prompt and full implementation of the Decla-

ration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

88. The imperialist States are solely to blame for the consequences of the exploitation of the human and natural resources of colonial Territories in the past and for the continuing neo-colonialist plunder of such Territories today. It is entirely justifiable and correct to demand that those to blame for the dire plight of the peoples of former and present colonial Territories and countries should pay compensation for the damage they have done to the economic and social development of those countries.

89. There is cause for particular concern in the military activities of the colonial Powers in Trust and other dependent Territories and in their clear desire to make use of those Territories for their global strategic purposes, contrary to the cause of strengthening international peace and security. The military bases of the colonial Powers and their military activity in dependent Territories—whether it be Namibia, Micronesia, Puerto Rico, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands, Guam, the United States Virgin Islands, Diego Garcia, the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands or anywhere else—are in no way intended to increase employment among the local populations, as the colonial Powers frequently claim, but are used above all for their direct military purpose, to suppress the national liberation movements of the peoples and to interfere in the internal affairs of independent States. We do not have to look far for examples of this. It is well known that the huge United States military air base that occupies one third of the territory of the island of Guam was used by the Pentagon to wage the United States war of aggression against Viet Nam.

90. During the Special Committee's annual consideration of the question of Puerto Rico, it was pointed out that that island had been turned into a military beach-head for the dispatch of United States rapid deployment forces to any part of Central or South America. Puerto Rico was used by the United States for its armed aggression against the sovereign State of Grenada in order to restore colonialism to that island.

91. The war waged by the United Kingdom to restore the colonial status of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands showed how dangerous it is for the cause of peace that there should continue to be any colonial possessions, however small. The colonial Powers are trying to hold on to those possessions, even if it means waging large-scale colonial wars. It is therefore easy to understand the concern of the Latin American countries at the measures taken by the United Kingdom to militarize the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands still further.

92. Another example of that same policy motivated by the military and strategic desires of imperialism is the retention in colonial status and the conversion into a military base by the United States of the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia.

93. Recently the international community has witnessed increased efforts by the forces of imperialism and racism—primarily the United States and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]—to undermine the unity and solidarity of the African countries and to declare Africa, particularly southern Africa, a sphere of their "vital interests" and to draw the peoples of Africa into their

imperialist strategy of global political and military confrontation.

94. The United States and South Africa have been trying to impose their will on the peoples of southern Africa using the carrot-and-stick method, gambling on the desire of the African peoples to live in peace and stability. Knowing full well that African unity is a political weapon for Africa in its struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, South Africa, the United States, certain other Western countries and Israel have been trying to disrupt that unity and to split the African countries into opposing groups, thereby diverting the attention of the African peoples from the solution of the pressing national problems of the day and from their common struggle in favour of peace and against the danger of nuclear war.

95. That imperialist policy of the Western Powers, which is designed to split the African countries, is clearly seen here at the United Nations as well, where at this very moment, at this session of the General Assembly, they are working hard to block the implementation of decisions of the Group of African States and to amend draft resolutions with a direct impact on the interests of African and other non-aligned States.

96. The Soviet delegation is convinced that it is important for the success of the struggle against racism and colonialism that there should be purposeful, single-minded and united action by African and other non-aligned countries and all others which advocate the liberation of the oppressed peoples. We have no doubt that all countries that advocate the elimination of colonialism will resolutely refute the Western countries' policy of curtailing the anti-colonial activities of the United Nations and diminishing the role of the United Nations bodies working in the field of decolonization.

97. In considering the important and acute problem of the fight against colonialism, we must pay a special tribute to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Committee has been carefully following the world situation and making very appropriate recommendations, and its decisions must be fully supported by the General Assembly.

98. It is the duty of the United Nations to secure the most prompt and complete implementation of the Declaration on decolonization. The Organization must ensure that colonialism, racism and *apartheid* are completely and definitively eliminated. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must give a new impetus to the efforts of the United Nations and the entire international community in the struggle for the prompt completion of the decolonization process. The Soviet delegation supports the programme adopted by the Special Committee in connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration.

99. It is time to put an end to the colonialists' disregard of the decisions of the United Nations concerning the granting of independence to Namibia and other dependent Territories. In this connection, the Soviet Union supports the demand of the African countries that the Security Council adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions, as provided for in

Chapter VII of the Charter, against the Pretoria régime. To achieve that it is necessary to overcome the resistance of the United States and other Western Powers permanent members of the Security Council which have been impeding the adoption of effective, comprehensive international sanctions against South Africa.

100. On the basis of its position of principle, the Soviet Union has been providing and will continue to provide comprehensive assistance and support to the peoples still living in colonial slavery in their struggle for freedom, independence and the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

101. Mr. NENGRAHARY (Afghanistan) (*interpretation from French*): Next year we shall be celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960. On that happy occasion we shall be celebrating an event that has pride of place among the most important achievements of the United Nations.

102. Since then, millions of men, women and children have been freed from domination imposed upon them by colonial Powers in close collaboration with imperialist circles and their exploiting monopolies. A certain number of States have assumed their place within the great family of nations, and these former victims of the colonial yoke have now, hand in hand with other independent and sovereign States, made their sincere contribution to the acceleration of the process of decolonization, which assumed great impetus after the adoption of the Declaration.

103. Unfortunately, it is sad to observe that there continue to be on our planet peoples that are deprived of the right to enjoy the relevant provisions of the Declaration and who suffer the adverse and deleterious consequences of the most inhuman system of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

104. Namibia is the cruellest example of colonialism mankind has known throughout the whole of its history of bloody struggle against foreign domination. The Territory of Namibia, which continues to be illegally occupied, still does not know the shining sun of independence simply because the racist régime of South Africa and its imperialist protectors do not wish to renounce their selfish interests in exploiting and pillaging the richest resources of the world—those in Namibia—which should be used in the interest of its oppressed people in an independent and sovereign country free from any kind of foreign exploitation and domination.

105. Benefiting from the full support of the imperialist circles, the racist régime of South Africa is using all possible means to prolong its armed occupation of Namibia for the purpose of satisfying the economic interests of transnational companies that have their headquarters in South Africa and in some of the Western and other countries and are exploiting and pillaging the natural and human resources of Namibia. Elsewhere, the Pretoria régime is playing an important role in safeguarding the so-called vital interests of the United States and its allies in this part of the world. Evidence of this abounds, and several delegations have referred to it during the general debate on the question of Namibia during the last few days in this very Hall.

106. That is why the régime of occupation and its imperialist protectors find it difficult to abandon their inhuman policy *vis-à-vis* the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa. Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in his message on 27 August, on the occasion of Namibia Day, addressed to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar expressed the position of principle of my Government as follows:

"The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan condemns the infamous collaboration of imperialist circles with the *apartheid* régime in their brutal activities against the heroic people of Namibia. We are convinced that final victory will surely belong to the Namibian people, guided by its vanguard, SWAPO.

"While restating their brotherly solidarity and their wide-ranging support for the just and noble struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence, the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are convinced that strict compliance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations will contribute to a just and peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem."

107. Another critical situation the Assembly must deal with seriously prevails in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which the United States was mandated to prepare for the free exercise of the right to self-determination and independence and to assure its legitimate defence, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement signed between the United Nations and the United States Government in its capacity as the administering Power.

108. Unfortunately, the course of events has been manoeuvred in a direction opposite to that which had been defined in the pertinent provisions of the Charter and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The administering Power, instead of taking into consideration what had been entrusted to it by the Organization, has attempted by all possible means deriving from the policies of colonialist and imperialist Powers to annex the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The strengthening of its economic dependence, the imposition of American culture under the pretext of political education—specifically with respect to the younger generation, in order to prevent the organization of a political and economic struggle against the colonialist and imperialist practices—the evacuation of the population from their own land in order to conduct tests of various types of arms, including nuclear weapons, and lastly, the turning of this Territory into a military fortress going well beyond the needs of legitimate national defence—all that is typical of the situation in this Territory since it has come under the administration of the United States.

109. As in the past, my delegation condemns the expansionist, aggressive policies of United States imperialism, which is a serious threat to the peace and security of the Pacific region and of the world as a whole. Similarly, we reject the attempts of the United States to remove trusteeship of this Territory from the United Nations, and we appeal to the

international community to act in a decisive fashion before it is too late.

110. The Assembly must not limit itself to examining the situation in the Territories to which I have just referred. It has another primary responsibility with respect to the peoples that are victims of the colonialist and imperialist policies of the United States and of other imperialist circles in Puerto Rico and in the so-called small Territories to which the Declaration fully applies. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration is thoroughly examining the various aspects of the situation in each Territory, taking into account its specific circumstances.

111. As for Puerto Rico, after examining the question the Special Committee each year adopts resolutions calling for respect for the right of its people to self-determination and independence. But the United States, in defying the will and aspirations of the Puerto Rican people, not only persists in dominating the Territory by economic, military and political means, but also involves it in military activities against the liberation movements and the countries that have chosen an independent course of political, economic and social development. The aggressive and expansionist policies of the United States Administration with respect to this Territory in the Caribbean must be condemned by us all.

112. The fact that the Declaration remains unimplemented in certain colonial Territories is not because of a lack of will by the peoples still under colonial domination, nor can it be ascribed to the resolutions and decisions strengthening the appropriate ways for its implementation. Rather, it is the efforts of the colonial Powers and their imperialist financial monopolies which, through wide-ranging co-operation, are creating obstacles in the way of the Declaration's implementation.

113. Bases and installations are still maintained and activities of a military character continue in colonial Territories, despite the many resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and its subsidiary organs. In our opinion, they constitute a major obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration. Recently, the General Assembly, in resolution 38/54, adopted on 7 December 1983, made the following unambiguous appeal. In paragraph 10 it: "Calls upon the colonial Powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones". It is appropriate to ask the colonial Powers once again to comply with the will of the international community.

114. As for the activities of foreign economic and other interests, my delegation believes that they threaten the development of the national economies of the colonial Territories because they strengthen the dependence of those economies on foreign investment and therefore deprive the colonial peoples of the necessary ability to lead their countries once they gain independence.

115. In conclusion, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as a member of the Special Committee and in conformity with its basic principles and article 14 of the provisional Constitution of the country, which stipulates:

"The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan supports the struggle of various nations and peoples of the world for peace, national and social freedom,

democracy and progress, against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism and against zionism, racism, fascism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.*

will continue to support the heroic struggle of the colonial peoples for national liberation and will make its sincere contribution to speeding up the decolonization process.

116. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): The triumph of the anti-fascist forces in the Second World War was a telling blow to international imperialism because it brought about recognition of the principle of the equal rights and right to self-determination of peoples, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. By the same token, it was a strong encouragement to peoples still under colonial domination. Since that historic victory we have witnessed extensive and unprecedented steps in the development of national liberation movements in the world. The peoples in various countries, from Asia and the Pacific to Africa, from the Middle East to Latin America and the Caribbean, strengthened by the awakening of millions of people refusing to live in slavery, oppression and exploitation, rose up vigorously and shattered colonialist and imperialist domination and then advanced along the road of national independence and social progress.

117. At a time when the Second World War was drawing to an end, the Vietnamese people stood up and seized power from the militarists. They founded an independent, unified State on 2 September 1945. But again the colonialists dispatched expeditionary troops to attack Viet Nam; the Vietnamese people were compelled to wage a nine-year war of resistance against the aggressors, a war which was brought to an end with the Dien Bien Phu victory in July 1954. That victory was a telling blow to old-type colonialism, and through it the Vietnamese people had the honour of making a worthy contribution to the common victories of colonial peoples and countries in the cause of national liberation and the process of decolonization.

118. A few months ago, our people jubilantly celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Dien Bien Phu victory, and now we are going joyfully to join all other nations in observing, this coming year, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

119. Great changes in the international arena as a result of uprisings, with their attendant sacrifice and hardship, by the oppressed peoples from the Second World War to the 1950s in fact contributed significantly to the emergence of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. Before the Declaration the history of decolonization was marked by significant international events such as the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China, following the Dien Bien Phu victory with solemn international recognition of the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, and the 1955 Asian-African Conference at Bandung, with the participation of 27 Asian and African States, demanding freedom and liberation for all oppressed peoples.

120. It is of great significance that the Soviet Union, the glorious cradle of the Great October Revolution, a widespread revolution that blazed the

way for social and national liberation, was responsible for the initiative on decolonization put before the General Assembly, which was finalized and adopted at the fifteenth session and entitled "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples". The Declaration fully reflects the great changes I have mentioned. It therefore has extensive theoretical content as well as practical significance.

121. The most outstanding points that the Declaration confirms are the following.

122. First, it confirms the inevitable victory of the struggle of the oppressed peoples for liberation in this era as an inevitable and irreversible process. The mighty strength that guarantees victory stems from the peoples' consciousness of their decisive role in the struggle; hence their determination to take control of their own destinies with all the ways and means they have, with the vigorous sympathy and encouragement of the international community.

123. Secondly, it highlights the main objectives and content of the struggle for the right to self-determination at the present time. Generally speaking, it confirms, first of all, the fundamental national rights—that is to say, the right to independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity—which each people has achieved. In new circumstances, it is the assurance of the right of all peoples to choose in freedom their political system and ways of independent development in the economic, social and cultural fields and to fulfil their aspirations to social progress and advancement towards socialism. In emphasizing the need to eradicate all forms and manifestations of neo-colonialism, the Declaration specifies concrete objectives of action. It marks a new stage in the struggle for national liberation and the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, as well as for the complete elimination of all oppression and exploitation by neo-colonialists.

124. Looking back at the process of decolonization since the year of the adoption of the Declaration, we find that nearly 70 countries have gained political independence and become Members of the United Nations. Hundreds of millions of people have rid themselves of the colonial yoke and are now playing a very important role in international life. Though the old colonialism is coming to an end, it still remains tenacious and continues its cruel repression in small Trust Territories and colonies, mainly in southern Africa, and sporadically in some other parts of the world.

125. For many years, although the General Assembly has adopted many resolutions and decisions aimed at speeding up the implementation of the Declaration, the situation in a number of Trust and colonial Territories remains deplorable and unacceptable. It is an undeniable and arrogant challenge to the international community, United Nations resolutions, morality and international law that the Namibian people are still facing insurmountable obstacles on the road to independence, even though the United Nations has had direct responsibility for this Territory since 1966. The racist régime of South Africa, which has been given financial, political, diplomatic and military support and assistance by the United States and a number of other NATO States, is doing its utmost to cling to this area of strategic importance. Most States in the world have rejected as completely absurd and groundless the

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

linkage theory put forward as a pretext to delay the granting of independence to the Namibian people.

126. With complete disregard of the Puerto Rican people's aspirations and the relevant decisions 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 United States Administration continues to impede the exercise of its right to self-determination by the Puerto Rican people. It has expanded its military bases and installations, which constitute a threat to the sovereignty and security of the countries in the Central American and Caribbean region and to international peace and security.

127. In regard to the small Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Pacific, it is unacceptable that Micronesia, after 37 years under the trusteeship of the United States, has been divided into four neo-colonies and gradually annexed by the administering Power under the cloaks of referendums, plebiscites, the Compact of Free Association and the Federated Union of Micronesia.

128. These are just a few examples that show how difficult are the struggles for self-determination of the peoples still under colonial and imperialist domination. They also indicate the major obstacles that the Special Committee often faces in its continued efforts to support those struggles.

129. This year the Special Committee has made new efforts and submitted a number of conclusions and recommendations to the General Assembly. Although the content of some relevant documents insufficiently reflect realities concerning the Trust Territories, they are of great help in the encouragement of public opinion and in the struggle to accomplish the noble mission enshrined in the Declaration.

130. The struggle to oppose neo-colonialism is a complicated one, for neo-colonialism is a grave danger to the independence, sovereignty and free development of all countries. Since the colonialist and imperialist Powers are unable to maintain the old type of colonial domination, they have sought by all possible means to safeguard their interests, domination and exploitation by new methods and manoeuvres. They have resorted to all forms of carefully disguised repression and exploitation. The struggle against neo-colonialism, therefore, is becoming the focal point of the endeavour of the developing countries to maintain their right to live in freedom and equality, their economic liberation and independent development. It is indeed an arduous and complex struggle, as the experience of many countries has shown.

131. Taking advantage of the dependent situation and economic difficulties experienced by former colonial countries that have just gained political independence, the colonialist and imperialist Powers are trying to keep or draw the former within their orbit and to oppose the demand for the establishment of a new, just and equitable international economic order based on relations of equality and mutual interest.

132. In fact, the international political and economic relations of recent years have exposed the great danger of neo-colonialism. Apart from the threat or use of force against those countries that pursue the policy of social progress and independence, the colonial and imperialist Powers have resorted to

economic blockades and sanctions, economic and political pressure and injustice and inequality in trade, as well as in international monetary systems and financial relations. We are not surprised to hear in this forum strong criticism of financial colonialism, that burden on developing countries. It is true that the concerted activities of international banking and financial centres and transnational corporations constitute a new type of collective colonialism that is dangerous to all peoples.

133. Next year, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration will be commemorated. At the same time, the Vietnamese people will commemorate the tenth anniversary of the liberation of South Viet Nam and the reunification of our beloved motherland. In the spirit of Dien Bien Phu, we mobilized our forces nationwide and defeated the attempt to occupy South Viet Nam and to turn it into a neo-colony. Once again, history gave us an opportunity to have the honour of striking a deadly blow at a bastion of neo-colonialism. That victory constituted a contribution by our people to the common struggle of nations for the eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. With sincere gratitude, we attribute our victory to the sympathy and support of progressive peoples throughout the world, including the American people.

134. This situation is not the result of a mere coincidence. It reflects, to some extent, the close relationship between nations in the complex struggle for the strict implementation of the historic Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples the world over. That is why the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam once again reaffirms its constant solidarity with and support for the just cause of the independence, freedom and authentic self-determination of all peoples.

135. We strongly reaffirm our sympathy with and complete support for the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic and legitimate representative, in their struggle for independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, having recognized and established diplomatic relations with the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, fully supports the struggle of the Saharan people, under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front,¹ for the exercise of self-determination and national independence, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and of the General Assembly. We support the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for self-determination and independence, on the basis of the fundamental principles of the Declaration. We support the right to self-determination of the people of East Timor. We extend our militant solidarity to the remaining colonial Territories in their struggle for independence.

136. History evolves in accordance with objective laws, and it cannot be hindered. The foundation of colonialism has been shaken since 1917, when the colonial countries and peoples were awakened by the October revolution. National liberation movements since the Second World War have tolled the knell of colonialism and are striking heavy blows at neo-colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. As a matter of fact, the more defeats they suffer, the more closely the imperialists, colonialists, racists and international reactionaries collude with each other and the more cunning and brazen manoeuvres they use.

137. The Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) "solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". It indicates the common aspirations of all nations to independence and freedom. We believe that all obstacles to the process of decolonization will be eliminated. The peoples in colonial and dependent Territories will certainly gain their independence and play valuable roles in the United Nations.

138. Mr. CÉSAR (Czechoslovakia): Decolonization is an important achievement of nations, constituting a breakthrough in the history of whole continents and contributing to a qualitative change in the character of current international relations. Most oppressed colonial peoples, often facing strong opposition and cruel repression on the part of colonialists, have succeeded in asserting their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Their endeavours have resulted in giving concrete form to the ideals pronounced for the first time in the very first documents of the revolutionary Soviet Government.

139. The United Nations could not remain indifferent to the struggle for the elimination of colonialism and fail to support the liberation efforts of the colonial peoples. A milestone in these efforts was the adoption, as a result of a Soviet initiative, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration has become a new stimulus to and, at the same time, an irreplaceable guideline in the intensified anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle of the progressive forces of the world for the freedom and independence of colonial peoples. We consider the fact that the impact of the Declaration and the concrete conclusions of the Organization have helped dozens of States attain independence and self-determination to be one of the most important results achieved by the United Nations.

140. In spite of these indisputable successes in the anti-colonialist struggle, the elimination of all forms and practices of colonialism has not yet been completed. The deliberations of the General Assembly on the colonial situation in Namibia, which have just concluded, highlighted once again all aspects of the cruel colonial oppression of the Namibian people perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa, with the support and assistance of the United States and a number of other imperialist States. Also, the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee have analysed those still outstanding colonial issues on the agenda of the United Nations. The conclusions adopted in respect of the developments in Micronesia, in Puerto Rico, in the Malvinas Islands, in Western Sahara, in Guam, in the British colonies in the Caribbean and in other colonial Territories whose situation has been discussed stress the grave nature of the persisting colonial practices. They prove that the declaration on decolonization is still a living and topical document and emphasize the imperative and urgent necessity of completing the process of decolonization.

141. Yet, full implementation of the declaration on decolonization is still opposed by the colonialist Powers and their allies, which strive to maintain their military and political influence in those parts of the world controlled from the colonies, misusing their geographic positions for their own military-strategic purposes. With direct participation of Western monopolies, they profit from the exploitation of

the natural and mineral resources of a number of colonies—as well as of their human potential—failing in a number of respects to fulfil the obligation to provide for the political, economic and social development of the populations of colonial countries that is clearly stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations and highlighted in a number of conclusions the Organization has adopted on decolonization.

142. The result is an alarming social situation in many of the remaining colonies—lack of economic self-sufficiency, vulnerability and insufficient viability. The exploitation of colonies and the misuse of colonial rule for military purposes by the colonial imperialist Powers have nothing in common with the interests of colonial peoples, with their economic, social, political and cultural advancement. Such practices violate the obligations of colonial Powers as embodied in the Charter; they block decolonization and, moreover, pose a threat to international peace and security and cause a deterioration of the world's situation.

143. What is the response of the colonial Powers to the conclusions of the United Nations, to the calls of the international community for the completion of decolonization and to the justified desires of colonial peoples? What are the arguments used to justify the protraction of colonial rule?

144. Efforts to put off the decolonization of the remaining colonies are in many cases combined with attempts to annex Territories and impose upon them neo-colonial models of political and economic dependence. Moreover, there have been tendencies to downplay outstanding decolonization issues. As we witnessed this year again, while the colonial Powers speak of their so-called proud decolonization record, they are carrying out such practices. They pronounce themselves against resolute means in the struggle for self-determination and independence, ignoring the fact that a number of former colonial countries now Members of the United Nations were forced to seek their independence through armed struggle. They speak of some responsibility of the authorities established in the colonial countries during the era of colonial rule for the development of those countries, thus denying the existence of the obligation incumbent upon them in the Charter to create conditions for the self-determination and independence of colonial countries, including appropriate economic infrastructures.

145. In spite of the fact that they themselves have kept the colonial peoples in bondage and backwardness for centuries, in some cases they now put forward arguments about the low level of the development of peoples as a reason for "specific approaches" to, and postponements of, the accession of those peoples to independence. They try to justify their military presence in the colonies by describing it as a measure designed to safeguard the security of those Territories. They try to place decolonization in the context of the so-called East-West confrontation, with the usual anti-communist rhetoric. In our opinion, any such approach to questions governed by the Charter, other norms of international law, the declaration on decolonization and many other conclusions of the Organization are unacceptable and insincere.

146. The way to the realization of the imperative of self-determination for all colonial peoples lies in the colonial Powers consistently complying with their

obligations, under the supervision of the international community. It is also necessary to intensify all-round support for the national liberation movements and to recognize the legitimacy of their struggle for self-determination, even when this includes armed struggle. Full implementation of the ideals of decolonization is also promoted by the dissemination of objective and topical information about the situation in the remaining colonies. We regard it as particularly essential to stand up against the attempts of some Western countries and their mass media to discredit the national liberation movements and to portray them as terrorists.

147. The accomplishment of decolonization still requires considerable efforts. A guideline on how to free mankind from the colonial anachronism is provided in the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration as contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 35/118. Its fulfilment is undoubtedly promoted by the conclusions of the Special Committee, of which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is a member and a Vice-Chairman. May I be permitted on this occasion to express our appreciation for the responsible, qualified and dedicated work of Mr. Koroma of Sierra Leone as Chairman of the Special Committee. In the discharge of his duties he has proved his strong commitment to the ideals of decolonization and personally contributed to the work of the Committee which, this year too, presented a number of timely and consistent conclusions aimed at the immediate unconditional completion of decolonization. The Czechoslovak delegation supports these conclusions, as well as any other measures designed to put an end to the colonial stage in the history of mankind.

148. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): The General Assembly is considering the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at a crucial time. Next year the United Nations and progressive mankind will mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic Declaration, and in that connection the international community will evaluate the progress achieved during the 25 years of its implementation and will formulate specific measures for the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

149. The adoption of the Declaration by the General Assembly and its subsequent implementation, involving a wider decolonization process, have undoubtedly constituted one of the major achievements of the United Nations. I hope that when the Organization celebrates its fortieth anniversary next year evaluation of the Declaration and the decolonization process will cause them to be accorded a proper place among the Organization's achievements. However, there is very little time left for formulating and carrying out broad measures for the eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism. Thus, in the preparations for the celebration of the anniversary of that historic document in a meaningful and worthy manner, much has to be done in the remaining short span of time.

150. Today the question of the situation in and around Namibia remains outstanding and is a cause of deep concern to the international community. The peoples of about 20 small Territories to which the Declaration applies are still deprived of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The recent full-scale debate on the question of

Namibia revealed the gravity of the situation in the south of Africa and the urgency of a solution. Not only are the people of Namibia deprived of their inalienable right to self-determination and freedom, but their Territory, illegally occupied by the racist régime, is used for acts of aggression against independent African States, while its human and natural resources are being ruthlessly exploited and plundered by the imperialist monopolies and the racist authorities. The question of Namibia has always been treated as a decolonization issue and as such should be resolved in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration and other relevant United Nations resolutions.

151. As far as the so-called specific or small Territories are concerned, we fully share the conviction reiterated by the Special Committee that questions of territorial size, geographical isolation or limited resources should not in any way affect the inalienable right of the inhabitants of those Territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration. In this regard, special attention should be paid to the situation in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The United States, the administering Power, instead of creating appropriate conditions and preparing the local populations for the exercise of their right to self-determination, uses the Trust Territory for its own economic and strategic interests in violation of the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement and the provisions of the Declaration. The economies of the Territory remain fully dependent on the administering Authority, while the lands are turned into military bases. The same could also be said with regard to Puerto Rico. The presence of military bases and installations in the colonial Territories not only constitutes a major obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration but also poses a threat to international peace and security. We have witnessed how these bases have been used for acts of aggression against sovereign States and repression of national liberation movements. That is why we join in the demand that the military bases and installations of the colonial Powers be immediately and unconditionally withdrawn from colonial Territories.

152. The activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial Territories, manifested in the ruthless exploitation and plunder of the natural and human resources, are recognized by the world community as being among the major obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration. The indigenous peoples, which have so far lived under colonial domination, have the full right to own and freely dispose of the natural resources of their Territories. This inherent right should be safeguarded and guaranteed. It is most regrettable that the imperialist and colonial Powers not only allow their monopolies and transnational corporations to plunder the natural wealth of the dependent Territories but also collaborate with one another in the political, economic and strategic fields in order to prolong their colonial and racial domination in colonial Territories. I refer to the special relations between some Western Powers and South Africa.

153. We once again condemn the collusion by the Governments of the United States and some other Western Powers with the racist régime of South Africa, in particular in the nuclear field, and we join in the call for States to terminate all collaboration with South Africa and to refrain from entering into any relations with the racist Pretoria régime. In our

opinion, this purpose will best be served by the application against South Africa of comprehensive mandatory sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

154. Our delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Special Committee, which has done commendable work in the period under review. We have no difficulty whatsoever in endorsing the recommendations contained in its report and its future work programme. We appreciate the Special Committee's intention to pursue its efforts in seeking the best ways and means to ensure the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and to continue to examine compliance by Member States with the Declaration and other relevant resolutions on decolonization. That is all the more important in view of the celebration next year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration. The best way to celebrate this historic date would be by the complete elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism and racism.

155. Mr. SAIGNAVONGS (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Next year we shall be celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This historic Declaration has almost completely transformed the political map of the world, because since its adoption in 1960 a large number of countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America which were then under colonial domination have acceded to independence and have become Members of the Organization. This year, with the admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations, we have witnessed a further victory of the progressive forces in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism and for peace and freedom for the peoples.

156. However, in spite of the recommendations in the 1960 Declaration and the programme of action and Plan of Action for its full implementation, contained, respectively, in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) and the annex to resolution 35/118, colonialism has not yet disappeared. There remain in certain parts of the world—particularly in southern Africa and in the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, the south Atlantic and the Caribbean—Territories still under colonial domination and peoples deprived of their right to equality and self-determination. Indeed, it is a scandal that at the beginning of the space age major Territories such as Namibia and Puerto Rico retain an anachronistic colonial status inherited from a bygone era. Moreover, those that have become independent are far from having finished with neo-colonialist domination and the attempts of the colonialists and imperialists to regain their lost positions.

157. What, then, still delays the decolonization process, which began so well?

158. First, there are the military and strategic interests of the colonial Powers. It is well known that the Non-Self-Governing Territories which the administering Powers do not wish to relinquish are those which have a certain strategic importance for those Powers, either because of their location in a sensitive region or because they control one or more international shipping lanes. In most cases, in view of

that importance, the administering Powers have built or planned to build military bases or installations in these Territories in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

159. The presence of these military bases or installations not only prevents the populations of the Territories from exercising their right of self-determination and independence, but can also involve the Territories in acts of hostility or interference against other States. That happened in the case of Guam, which was virtually annexed by the administering Power, which in the recent past used it as a base for aggression against Viet Nam. It happened in the case of Puerto Rico, which was transformed by the United States into a staging area for its aggression in the Caribbean and from which last year the United States launched its invasion of Grenada. It happened in the case of Diego Garcia, which was emptied of its indigenous population and transformed into a United States naval air base to control the Indian Ocean and for the stationing of rapid deployment forces ready to intervene at any time in the Middle East and Persian Gulf region to protect the so-called vital interests of the United States. It happened in the case of Micronesia, which the administering Power has split up and is transforming into a strategic naval air base, a testing ground for missiles and a storehouse for weapons of mass destruction. It happened in the case of Namibia, which is illegally occupied by South Africa, which has built up its military presence there to repress the national liberation movement of the Namibian people and to carry out acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States, particularly Angola.

160. It is clear that the maintenance of military bases and installations and the other military activities of the colonial Powers in these colonial Territories constitute a direct threat to international peace and security. The vast majority of the States Members of the Organization are opposed to this.

161. Another obstacle to the decolonization process is the economic and financial interests of the administering Powers and their allies, represented by their monopolies or transnational corporations. Having invested capital in the low-cost exploitation of the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories where they enjoy certain privileges, these monopolies seek only to amass and repatriate large profits, to the detriment of the indigenous populations. The activities of these foreign economic interests in their pursuit of massive profits and their careless exploitation of the natural resources of these Territories deprive the indigenous populations of their rights over the wealth of their own countries. The most striking example of this is to be found in Namibia.

162. These monopolies, the true heirs of traditional colonial exploitation, are based in certain Western countries, which protect them, help them or encourage them to continue their expansion.

163. These Powers pay lip-service to the rejection of colonialism. In the case of Namibia they even associate themselves with anti-colonialist and anti-*apartheid* declarations, but at the same time they protect, support and assist the Pretoria régime they condemn. Whenever it is a question of adopting effective measures or sanctions against that régime, these Powers block the proposal. When such measures are adopted, these Powers bypass or ignore them.

164. The truth is that the colonialist and imperialist Powers are not prepared to reconcile themselves to being deprived of the wealth of the colonial Territories. They are afraid of losing those Territories as sources of profit and as strategic bases. This also explains why the administering Powers delay the adoption of effective measures to allow the peoples of certain colonial Territories to exercise their right of self-determination and independence. But the more these colonialist Powers and régimes try to prolong their occupation of these Territories by stifling the aspiration of their peoples to independence and freedom, the more fierce and resolute the resistance to oppression of those peoples, through their national liberation movements, becomes.

165. Certainly, at the outset no people under colonial domination favours violence. But, confronted with the increasing intransigence and arrogance of the oppressors, these peoples, determined to gain their freedom and independence, find themselves inevitably committed to armed struggle, which has been recognized as legitimate by the international community.

166. For its part, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, as a peaceable country, joins other Members of the Organization in demanding the full, immediate implementation of the Declaration, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Having itself made enormous sacrifices in its own 30-year national liberation struggle, the Lao people stands in solidarity with all peoples still under colonial or foreign domination struggling for independence and freedom.

167. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Special Committee, whose activities were outlined at the beginning of this afternoon's meeting by its Rapporteur and its Chairman. The Committee has made a praiseworthy effort to analyse the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. My delegation hopes that the Assembly will support and co-operate in the fulfilment of the Committee's mandate.

168. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America): I hope that members will indulge me if I begin on a personal note. This is the first time I have spoken formally in this Hall representing my country, the United States of America. It is with a heart filled with pride and awe that I, the grandson of immigrants who came to these shores 78 years ago, now stand in this historic place to address the representatives to the United Nations assembled here in New York.

169. I think it is particularly appropriate that decolonization should be the subject of my first statement. It is precisely because of the process of decolonization which began here in America 206 years ago that my grandparents were able to come to this country. That first decolonization process began in July 1776 when another group of delegates assembled just a hundred or so miles from here, and a few days later they adopted a decolonization resolution which read, in part:

“When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that

they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed—that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

Those words of Thomas Jefferson, written more than two centuries ago, must echo still in all their majesty as we look yet again at the problems of colonialism and decolonization.

170. Most attention has been given to Mr. Jefferson's statement on inalienable rights, and this is just and proper. But in this debate we should focus on what is in fact the charter of decolonization:

“It is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

Written at a time when shahs and kings, sultans and rajahs claimed that God had given them the right to rule as they pleased and to rule whomever they could conquer, this Declaration said: It is the people who are sovereign, and they may select the Government that seems to them best. The basis of that selection was not the pleasure of rulers or the whim of conquerors, but rather their own decision as to what would be most likely to ensure their safety and happiness.

171. The effect of those words has been far-reaching indeed. It is natural for people to seek liberty and just Government. So, throughout the nineteenth century there were repeated waves of decolonization and the struggle for national liberation. In Latin America there were the great heroes Simón Bolívar the Liberator, José San Martín, Benito Juárez and the others who freed a continent and created the republics of the inter-American system.

172. In Europe the nineteenth century brought freedom from foreign domination to Greece, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Belgium and Norway. Meanwhile, the cities and principalities of Germany and Italy coalesced into nation-States. Australia, Canada and New Zealand became self-governing dominions within the British Empire.

173. But even as these countries achieved independent nationhood some of them—and some of the older Powers—set out to colonize Asia and Africa and to transform the proud old States of the Middle East into dependencies. So the end of the nineteenth century became, at one and the same time, an era of growing prosperity and freedom for some and a time of arbitrary rule and exploitation for others.

174. Someone has called colonialism “the poisoned rose”, corrupting even as it attracts. The era of colonialism brought roads and schools and hospitals, yet it brought dehumanization as well. How were those who preached justice and humanity at home to explain their denial in the colonial Territories they

ruled? They could do so only by inventing fantasies of racial or other superiority. And so they created societies of two castes, the occupiers and those they occupied. And so those who were the occupied were dehumanized, and those who did the occupying were corrupted. The poisoned rose kills all who come near.

175. All that has passed, and we may be thankful for it. The end of the First World War saw ancient Poland resume its place in the family of nations along with Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Czechoslovakia. In the even greater wave of decolonization after the Second World War many proud States were reborn or created—India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Indonesia all became independent, and the period of enforced tutelage ended for Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Sri Lanka, Burma, Sudan and Morocco. Algeria followed and then, in a great rush, the late 1950s and early 1960s saw the dismantling of the Belgian, French and British Empires in Africa and elsewhere. In fact, by the time General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted most of the work of decolonization had either taken place already or was in process.

176. Some here may recall the name C. Northcote Parkinson, the British economist, philosopher and humorist best known for Parkinson's Law. Parkinson's Law has it that work will expand and expand until it occupies all the time of those available to perform the work—and this without reference to the intrinsic value of the work done. Parkinson also observed that it is easy to tell the difference between a dynamic, growing organization and one which is past its prime. In the vibrant, growing organization people work in a jumble of makeshift offices using whatever furniture they can lay their hands on. This is because they are too busy working to worry overmuch about housekeeping. Yet in the tired, past-its-prime organization the offices are immaculate and very well furnished; everyone has a place, and all they do is read each other's reports.

177. Obviously, all should tremble at such analysis, but it seems to me that none need tremble more than we who work on decolonization matters in the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee, for we have evolved increasingly elaborate structures for dealing with less and less.

178. We should recall that, excluding Namibia, the total population of all of the areas on the General Assembly's list of Non-Self-Governing Territories is just about 500,000 people. That is to say, that total is just about equal to the population of Staten Island, the smallest of New York City's five boroughs. Surely, we should be thinking of making our machinery less elaborate and more proportional to the problems that remain. Yet we are considering resolutions which call for the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, as though some were proposing a wave of re-colonization. And we are asked to greatly increase, at some very considerable cost, the Department of Public Information's anti-colonialist publicity, especially in Western Europe and the Americas.

179. Does it sound in any way suggestive to the Assembly that we are asked to fund new propaganda efforts primarily in Western Europe and the Americas? Do members somehow get the idea that what is at work here is yet another attempt by those who are pursuing a cold-war agenda? Do those who pursue these topics seriously wish us to believe that there are cabals in Western Europe and that unless we spend

all this money Portugal will again seize Mozambique or that the United Kingdom will return in colonial splendour to Ghana?

180. And while we are speaking of those who use decolonization as a vehicle for cold-war propoganda, let me say that my delegation deeply resents the efforts of those cold warriors—including those whom we have heard this afternoon—who seek to interfere in the internal affairs of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, a completely self-governing territory, where repeated acts of self-determination have taken place and have been recognized by the Assembly, and where free and fair elections are held every four years, most recently in November this year. In those elections, the Puerto Rican people do not have to choose from a single slate of candidates and they are not given only the right to vote "yes" or "no" against that single slate. Instead, they may choose from a multiplicity of ideological and political stands, including independence. We recognize no right to interfere in those internal affairs. In view of the repeated action by this Assembly, and in view of the fact that Puerto Rico has full internal self-government recognized by the Assembly, we consider that the attempts by some to have the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee take up Puerto Rico to be completely *ultra vires*. So too would we regard any attempt to drag this matter in through the back door by having the Secretariat prepare a special report. Those who have adopted this tactic should be aware that it is no more legitimate than would be an instruction to the Secretariat to prepare a special report on the separation of Slovakia or independence for Kazakhstan. We are gratified that the Chairman of the Special Committee has assured the Assembly that further consultations must and will precede any action in this regard. Surely, we need not drag cold-war politics into our work, or at least not any more than has already been done this afternoon.

181. If the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee are not to be the areas where the cold-war junta presides, what should they be, what should they become? I think it is time we took a hard look at the entire question of dependency, free of mythology and free of false rhetoric. Within the Special Committee and within the Fourth Committee some of the speakers come very close to asserting that each and every small group, each and every ethnic group, must constitute a nation in and of itself. Yet the very nations that make this assertion very often themselves are multinationality States. Indeed, almost every Member of the United Nations is in fact an amalgam of ethnic groups and tribes. Should Papua New Guinea be forced to divide into 700 mini-states because there are 700 tribes living there? This obviously is an absurdity. But some of these tribes live on islands of their own. Why should these islands not come to constitute separate nations? The difference should be obvious. They choose not to. They know that in political unity lies strength and the possibility of progress, so they join together in the new and dynamic nation of Papua New Guinea, just as the original 13 colonies here joined together in a political unity.

182. But meanwhile, as we all know, resolution 1514 (XV) says that small size or adverse geographic location may not be used as reasons to avoid decolonization. So, therefore, shall we demand nationhood for Pitcairn Island and its 53 inhabitants? Would it be rational for us to do that? And if the

Special Committee did so, would Great Britain be obligated to comply with such a prescription?

183. It seems to me that we have to learn to draw better and wiser distinctions now that the basic work of decolonization is completed. We should begin with the distinction that decolonization does not necessarily mean we must break things down into smaller and smaller and yet smaller units. We need to go back to the words of Thomas Jefferson and remember that the object of Government is the safety and happiness of the governed. A very famous statesman, a former Prime Minister, once said that we must give independence to all ethnically distinct territories, even if only a small minority of the population concerned wishes it. Even if only 3 per cent wishes it, he said. He was mistaken and he remains mistaken. If the Cook Islands choose free association with New Zealand as a matter of their safety and happiness, so be it. If the people of Kazakhstan believe that their safety and happiness is best assured as a Republic within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that should be, that must be acceptable to all of us.

184. The United States of America, which began the enterprise of decolonization 206 years ago, will continue its efforts to bring the last chapter of traditional colonialism to an end. We will continue to work actively, hard and patiently to bring Namibia to independence on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Of course, we will co-operate with the Trusteeship Council to terminate the last remaining Trust Territory of the United Nations in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants of those islands. We will continue self-rule; we will continue to further self-expression in American Samoa, Guam and the Virgin Islands and we will co-operate closely with the Special Committee in its consideration of those Territories. Looking beyond, looking into the future, we will work together with all to do everything we can to ensure legitimate self-determination for all dependent peoples and Territories.

185. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

186. Mr. MILES (United Kingdom): The representative of the Soviet Union repeated a statement which he made in the Fourth Committee, implying that British military activity in the Falkland Islands was directed against some kind of Falkland Islands liberation movement. I asked him then in an off-the-cuff exercise of the right of reply for details and, off

the cuff, he had nothing to say on the subject. I find it amazing—and indeed a matter of some gravity—that he should now mislead the Assembly by repeating the same insinuation in the debate in the plenary meeting. I really think he owes it to us all to attempt to justify his statement or to withdraw it. For the record, no such movement exists.

187. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I am surprised at the statement just made by the representative of the United Kingdom because, just as in the Fourth Committee, he quoted inaccurately what I said.

188. Neither in the Fourth Committee nor here in the plenary meeting did I talk about the national liberation movement in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. The representative of the United Kingdom could consult the records of the meetings of both the Fourth Committee and the Assembly. Let me repeat what I said:

“The war waged by the United Kingdom to restore the colonial status”—the colonial status—“of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands showed how dangerous it is for the cause of peace that there should continue to be any colonial possessions, however small. The colonial Powers are trying to hold on to those possessions, even if it means waging large-scale colonial wars.”

That is what I said, and it was indeed a colonial war waged by Great Britain in the second half of the twentieth century.

189. Mr. MILES (United Kingdom): I think the representative of the Soviet Union is looking at a different text from the one he used this afternoon. The text that he used this afternoon—and which his colleagues were kind enough to give me—contains a paragraph which lists a number of dependent Territories, including the Falkland Islands, and goes on to say that “military activity in dependent Territories [is] used above all . . . to suppress the national liberation movements”.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.