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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINETY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 2 December 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)  
later: Mr. MOSELEY (Vice-President) (Barbados)

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [18] (continued)
  - (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
  - (b) Report of the Secretary-General
  - (c) Draft resolutions
  - (d) Report of the Fifth Committee
- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Fourth Committee [18] (continued)
- Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Fourth Committee [109]

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- Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa: report of the Fourth Committee [110]
- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations: report of the Economic and Social Council: report of the Fourth Committee [111 and 12]
- United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa: report of the Fourth Committee [112]
- Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Fourth Committee [113]
- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [18] (continued)
  - (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
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- Financing of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Forces in the Middle East: [126 (a)]
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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 18 (continued)

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 (A/40/23, A/AC.109/801 and Corr.1, 802-807, 808 and Corr.1, 809-815, 816/Rev.1, 817-820, 827 and Corr.1, 832 and 834)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/40/692 and Corr.1)
- (c) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/40/23 (Part II), A/40/L.21, A/40/L.22)
- (d) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/40/955)

Mr. ZUYONOK (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The struggle of peoples for their freedom and national independence dates back many centuries. However, the most tangible successes in achieving these lofty objectives are indissolubly linked with a specific historical period in the development of mankind, beginning with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. It is indeed from the birth of the world's first socialist State of workers and peasants that history marks the beginning of the era of a social renewal of the world, a reaffirmation of the rules of social justice and the collapse of the system of colonial oppression and the enslavement of peoples.

The vigorous growth of the anti-colonialist national liberation movement of oppressed and dependent peoples and the creation of real bases for concluding the assault on the colonial system of imperialism were facilitated by the victorious conclusion, 40 years ago, of a battle unprecedented in scale and in intensity, a battle of peace-loving peoples against the forces of fascism, militarism and aggression. A decisive contribution to achieving victory was made by the peoples of the Soviet Union. A result of this great victory was the creation of the United Nations, the Charter of which specifically enshrined the inalienable right of

(Mr. Zuyonok, Byelorussian SSR)

peoples to self-determination and the fundamental principles for terminating all forms and manifestations of colonial domination.

An important mobilizing factor in accelerating the process of the decline of the colonial system of imperialism was the adoption by the United Nations, at the initiative of the Soviet Union and other States, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the twenty-fifth anniversary of which is being celebrated this year.

(Mr. Zuyonok, Byelorussian SSR)

The abiding historic significance of this Declaration lies in the fact that it solemnly proclaimed

"the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations" (resolution 1514 (XV), twelfth preambular paragraph)

by granting full independence and freedom to all the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. This document and United Nations decisions adopted during the course of its development also contained demands for the elimination of all colonial régimes, proclaimed the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples in the colonies for national liberation, reaffirmed the inalienable right of those peoples to struggle by all means available to them and called upon all States to give them moral and material support for the achievement of genuine freedom and independence.

As a result of that powerful impetus and of the active moral and political assistance rendered by the United Nations, during recent years the national liberation struggle of colonial and dependent peoples, supported by all the progressive forces of the international community, has been crowned with significant successes. Colonial empires have crumbled under the onslaught of the struggle of peoples for their freedom, independence and human dignity. Hundreds of millions of persons have been liberated from the colonial yoke. The new States that have emerged have acquired national independence and embarked on a path of independent development and social renewal. Every year the influence of those countries on the course of the development of world policy has increased, as has their role in shaping the world's destiny.

Those indisputably impressive results in the cause of the struggle for the elimination of the colonial enslavement of peoples call to mind ever more urgently the vestiges of this shameful phenomenon of our time. They remind us that the process of decolonization has not yet been fully concluded. Colonialism, racism

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and apartheid still poison the international atmosphere and are still a dangerous source of tensions, conflicts and threats to international peace and security.

A major hotbed of colonialism and racism still exists, as is well known, in the southern part of the African continent. The colonial racist régime of South Africa, with the mad fury of the doomed, continues massively and cruelly to trample under foot the fundamental human rights of the indigenous population, the overwhelming majority in South Africa and of illegally occupied Namibia. Any action on the part of the Africans to defend their human dignity results in an increase in the acts of oppression by the despotic Pretoria régime, which resorts to the shooting of unarmed persons, to torture and to the execution of patriots as well as the banning of the activities and the actual elimination of organizations that unite the indigenous population. Absolute terror and mass violence have been raised by the South African racists to the level of State policy.

Having transformed South Africa and Namibia into private preserves of colonialism and racism, where the indigenous African population, the overwhelming majority, have been made disenfranchised aliens on their native soil, the Pretoria régime ceaselessly carries out barbaric acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring independent, sovereign States. It is creating a constant hotbed of tension in southern Africa, which threatens peace and security both in that region and throughout the world.

Foreign colonial domination continues to exist in a large number of so-called small dependent and Trust Territories scattered throughout the basins of the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans and adjacent regions.

The principal reasons for the recent halt in the process of the full and total elimination of the system of colonial oppression in southern Africa and in the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories were defined long ago and have frequently been condemned by United Nations decisions. There are in-depth and comprehensive

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United Nations studies which, with utter clarity, attest to the fact that almost all the well-known obstacles to the speedy and full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have been erected and are constantly being refurbished by certain imperialist and racist circles to protect their specific political, economic, military and strategic objectives. Wherever there are colonial or dependent Territories, we see that, despite United Nations decisions and despite the growing demands of the overwhelming majority of the international community, the plundering of these Territories by economic and other circles in certain Western countries is not only continuing but taking ever-more-sophisticated forms. The existing colonial régimes in those Territories ensures the monopolies extremely favourable conditions for extorting fabulous profits through the inhuman exploitation of the local population and through the unimpeded and rapacious pillaging of irreplaceable natural resources. In turn, economic, financial and other circles that act as partners and accomplices of the colonial régimes are direct conduits for the global policy of imperialism aimed at transforming colonial dependent and Trust Territories into beachheads and bridges at the very doorstep of independent States.

The efforts of certain Western Powers to strengthen and give comprehensive support to the racist régime of South Africa, to champion it and protect it from the effect of international sanctions, doubtless form part of the broader plans of imperialism to recoup the positions they have lost in Africa, to deprive African peoples of the gains they have made during their national liberation struggles and to bind them with new fetters of neo-colonialist dependence.

A sphere for the unimpeded domination by imperialist monopolies is the so-called small colonial and Trust Territories. As is well known, in those Territories foreign monopolies have, for all practical purposes, full control over the use of their natural and human resources; they utilize these for their own

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selfish objectives. They are not in the least concerned about the fate and well-being of the indigenous population. All their so-called philanthropic activities boil down to the desire to make use of the extremely difficult economic situation in the dependent Territories in order to impose on them and perpetuate there new forms of colonial dependence under all kinds of slogans, such as association, co-operation and various other types of integration.

That is particularly obvious in connection with Micronesia. The mandate for the administration of that Trust Territory was granted over four decades ago for the purpose, as is stated in the United Nations Charter, of promoting

"the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence".

But the Administering Authority, the United States, throughout that period not only has not created an independent and viable economy for the Territory but is doing everything in its power to make the Territory a neo-colonial appendage for, inter alia, military purposes.

A particular concern of the international community is the military activities of colonial Powers in the dependent and Trust Territories. Those activities constitute one of the fundamental and most serious obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization in regard to those Territories. The aim of the military bases of the colonial Powers and their other military activities in the dependent Territories - be it Namibia, Micronesia, Puerto Rico, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands, Guam, the United States Virgin Islands, Diego Garcia, the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands or any other colony - is by no means to raise the level of employment of the local population, as is asserted by the colonizers. The sole aim of these bases and activities is to serve the efforts to crush the national liberation movements, to preserve the military presence of the colonial Powers and to interfere in the internal affairs of neighbouring independent States.



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A great deal has been done to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and very positive results have been achieved. However, the United Nations must make new efforts to ensure the speedy and full achievement of the ultimate objective of decolonization by implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

As noted in the message by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Mikhail S. Gorbachev, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

"Success in these important tasks is vitally dependent on the progress made in strengthening world peace and international security, on the halting of the destructive arms race and on a return to the policy of relaxing international tension." (A/40/757, p. 6)

The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic believes that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be marked by new and decisive United Nations action aimed at the complete and definitive elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid. It is the duty of the United Nations to support the struggle of the peoples of Namibia and of other dependent Territories by all effective measures to ensure their independence, using the powers of the Security Council for that purpose.

For those reasons, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic supported all draft resolutions on decolonization issues and has sponsored some of them, inter alia, the resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Mr. DAZA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): With the hindsight of history, today we realize that 40 years ago those who met in San Francisco to sign the Charter, seeking to eradicate the terrible scourge of war from the face of the earth not only wished to avoid confrontation between peoples, but sought ways of helping mankind to find peace and harmony within their respective borders. The fact that today the number of countries represented in this Organization is more than three times the number of countries that initially signed the Charter is the clearest proof that, during this period, we have indeed been able to provide a large number of peoples with appropriate peaceful means to achieve their own fulfilment in peace and harmony, without the bitterness of confrontation and death. Many peoples have attained their freedom without having to undergo the painful experience which we Latin Americans had in attaining our independence.

At this time, in considering the latest report of the Special Committee on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we see that resolution 1514 (XV) is still being implemented fully and that the progress made demonstrates the effectiveness of the Committee on Decolonization and of the action taken in this Assembly. The principle of self-determination in its broadest sense, that is to say, to give every people the opportunity of a free and sovereign choice of its destiny, remains one of the corner stones of our activities. The certainty that this principle continues to guide our activities and our concerns is the best tribute that we can pay today on the twenty-fifth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV).

Chile, as a member of the Committee of 24, feels intimately associated with the process of decolonization and today wishes to reiterate its formal commitment to continue to work enthusiastically for the full and comprehensive implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

In that regard, Chile once again expresses its hope that action by the Committee of 24 and the resolutions adopted by this Assembly concerning the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be devoid of any partisan interest alien to the cause of decolonization. The fate of peoples should not be a matter for dispute between East and West, since the future of men and women still living in dependent territories is far more important than any conflict of interest between countries, important and powerful though they may be. The problems of decolonization are too serious; they are far too important to be related or linked to the international policy problems of certain countries. The problems of decolonization are related to the fate of men and women, and to link them to the international policies of certain countries is, in addition, a manifestation of selfishness. I cannot conclude these words expressing Chile's commitment to the process of decolonization nor this tribute that we are paying to the results achieved in recent years, without expressing our deeply felt gratitude to Ambassador Abdul Koroma from Sierra Leone for his work and for his exemplary dedication and selflessness that he has shown as Chairman of the Committee of 24. His commitment to the cause of decolonization has many times been the compass pointing the way in the work of the Committee. He has spared no effort in striving for the ideals set out in resolution 1514 (XV). At a time that his Government has entrusted him with important functions away from New York, my delegation reiterates to Mr. Koroma its appreciation and gratitude.

Once again my delegation wishes to express its condemnation of all forms of colonialism, and at the same time to renew its support for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), especially in the Territory of Namibia, towards which we feel a sense of responsibility as a member of the Council for Namibia. Chile has been, is and will be at the side of peoples wishing to exercise their right to self-determination and will remain vigilant to prevent interests alien to that right from preventing its proper implementation.

Mr. BAAISA (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): This year is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That famous Declaration is embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and has become one of the main pillars of the activities of this Organization. Perhaps our Organization would not have attained its present high level of universality without this Declaration and the basic principles it contains, such as those of independence, justice, equality and self-determination for colonial countries and peoples and the elimination of all forms and manifestations of colonialism, dependency and exploitation. The world used to be dominated by a handful of nations which, thanks to their military might, were able to extend their influence and hegemony beyond their borders and subjugate the vast majority of peoples of the world to their will and the diktat of their power. That mighty few imposed their logic, dictated their will and arrogated to themselves the voice of righteousness.

Since then, many developments have taken place. From experience our peoples have become aware of their condition, and of their right to live in freedom and independence, free from domination by any Power. Solidarity among our peoples is a unique source of power for us. Anxious to realize their aspirations, our peoples are prepared to sacrifice everything dear to them. Traditional colonial methods have gone for ever. The theory of colonial prosperity and well-being has been swept away, together with a civilization based on domination and exploitation. Instead, the theory of coexistence among equal and independent nations has emerged. The colonial Powers were not able to resist this historical inevitability or the struggle of peoples for liberation, equality and the free choice of their own destiny.

(Mr. Baaisa, Democratic Yemen)

The United Nations brought with it a dream and a hope, the dream of living in a world of security and stability, free from the spectre of war, free from domination and hegemony. Then came the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was intended to consolidate that dream and confer legitimacy on it under international law. It became a source of inspiration and support for peoples struggling for their independence and progress.

The Charter of the United Nations was adopted in the name of all nations of the world. The Declaration was adopted in the interest of the colonial countries and peoples. But in spite of the principles of independence, decolonization and the elimination of all forms of dependency and exploitation - principles which have won world-wide recognition - and despite all the efforts made to ensure the implementation of the Declaration, many attempts are being made in some quarters to obstruct the full implementation of the Declaration. There are peoples which are still trying to achieve political and economic independence in all spheres and to establish inter-State relations on the basis of equality and justice. Many peoples are still subjected to pressure, blackmail, interference in their affairs, threats to their independence and acts of destabilization. Narrow selfish interests still dominate the thinking of some countries, which refuse to recognize what is in the interest of all countries and peoples in the world. In that refusal lies the basic divergence and dissonance.

The vast majority of the developing and recently independent countries are resisting the new and renewed efforts being made to limit the impact and consequences of the historic Declaration and to reverse the march of history, efforts based on all sorts of methods such as military might, transnational corporations, cultural colonialism, continued dependency and the subordination of the interests of the peoples to the economic and strategic interests of the colonial Powers.

(Mr. Baaisa, Democratic Yemen)

At this very moment many peoples and countries are still subject to colonial domination. Those peoples and countries turn to the United Nations for help in realizing their legitimate rights as contained in the Declaration. The Ministerial Meeting of the non-aligned countries held in Luanda last September issued a Declaration in which it was emphasized, that in spite of the many resolutions adopted, Namibia, New Caledonia, Puerto Rico, the Malvinas Islands, Micronesia and other regions were still subject to colonial domination. The Luanda Declaration went on to say that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, including apartheid, Zionism, foreign domination and colonial wars against national liberation movements, were contrary to international law and constituted serious threats to international peace and security.

Oddly enough, some colonial countries follow a policy of double standards in the field of decolonization and racism at the present time when various basic principles, such as the Charter principles of freedom and self-determination, are widely recognized. The crime of the usurpation of Palestine and the continued colonial settlement therein is a blot on the record of this Organization, which, after all, has been instrumental in promoting the struggle of colonial peoples for independence and sovereignty. Certain imperialist Powers have not hesitated to support Israel to enable it to consolidate its occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories and to oppose the struggle of the Palestinian people under the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative. Despite United Nation resolutions which chart the road towards a just and comprehensive solution, Israel, together with its allies - particularly the United States - defies this Organization which has granted legitimacy to the Palestine Liberation Organization, and still defies world public opinion which has condemned racist oppression. This Organization should therefore devise ways and means of ensuring

(Mr. Baaisa, Democratic Yemen)

the implementation of its resolutions in order to safeguard its credibility and enable the Palestinian people to exercise their right of return and of self-determination and to establish an independent State of their own.

The people of Namibia are waging a heroic struggle against the vicious might and the repressive machinery of the racist Pretoria régime. World public opinion is fully aware of the true nature of the apartheid régime, which manoeuvres to project an image different from its real nature. But some countries which have special ties with that régime still provide it with support and enable it to continue. The United Nations reached a consensus regarding the importance of granting immediate independence to Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

(Mr. Baaisa, Democratic Yemen)

We have a duty to support the heroic Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

It is no coincidence that the two racist regimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv defy the will of this Organization and continue their disregard of United Nations resolutions and their violations of international law and international norms.

In this year, which is of particular significance since it is the year of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration, we should pause to reflect and draw from history some lessons that can help us. We believe that the most important thing is to renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and the principles of the Declaration. Our main purpose is to enable man to live in freedom and happiness, in a new world, based on security, peace, progress and stability, a world free of war, flashpoints of tension and the desire to possess and dominate. Therefore, we should ensure that the Organization's role is enhanced, so that the United Nations remains a symbol of peace and justice and a source of support for all colonial countries and peoples.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): In speaking on agenda item 18, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", the delegation of Zaire reaffirms its faith in, and dedication to, the purposes and principles that have, since its creation, inspired the United Nations in its approach to the problem of decolonization.

In setting as a goal the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, our Organization has had to devote a great part of its efforts to asserting its role as the main champion of colonial peoples.



(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

It is in that context that in Chapter XI, entitled "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories", the Charter assigns to Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of Territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government the obligation to recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories are paramount. Those Members must also accept the sacred trust of promoting to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security, the well-being of those Territories.

The Charter therefore gave the United Nations the right to oversee the administration of all Territories under colonial domination. It is in that sense that the positive role played by the United Nations before the General Assembly's adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, should be recognized. For, despite the opposition of most of the administering Powers of the day, the principle that in the final analysis it is up to the Organization to decide whether a given Territory is or is not self-governing, within the meaning of Chapter XI, was recognized towards the beginning of the 1950s. However, it allowed only a dozen of the 74 Territories listed as non-self-governing to become independent between 1946 and 1959.

It was therefore necessary to wait for the Assembly's adoption of the Declaration in 1960 for the beginning of a general movement towards real independence for most of the colonized countries, including my own, a movement which gave those oppressed peoples an opportunity to make their voices heard. In that regard, we cannot ignore the impetus given to the Assembly by the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, which took root in 1955 in Bandung, and which gained strength to become a genuine non-aligned movement in 1961 in Belgrade. The outcome of the

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Bandung Conference was that the participating countries declared that colonialism in all its forms was an evil that had to be rapidly eliminated; expressed their support for the cause of the freedom and independence of all dependent peoples; affirmed that any subjection of peoples to foreign subjugation, domination and exploitation was a denial of fundamental human rights; and appealed to the colonizing Powers to grant freedom and independence to those peoples.

At its sixteenth session the General Assembly decided to establish a Special Committee of 17 members charged with seeking appropriate ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all the Territories involved. By enlarging the Committee with the addition of seven new members a year later, the Assembly sought to increase the Committee's effectiveness with regard to updating the list of Trust Territories and Non-Self-Governing Territories; sending missions to the administering Powers to discuss with their representatives questions coming within the Committee's mandate; the supervision of plebiscites and elections in the Non-Self-Governing Territories; and visits to Non-Self-Governing Territories to obtain reliable information on the situation there. That explains the specific and very important role that the Assembly entrusted to the Special Committee.

Having read the Special Committee's report (A/40/23), my delegation believes that certain outstanding questions deserving attention by the Committee were indeed carefully examined, but that the Committee should have made use of certain initiatives which should have been or had been taken by some of the Powers involved. In paragraph 9 of his report (A/40/692), the Secretary-General has revealed what happened at his meeting on 20 July 1985 with His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco on the Western Sahara question. He reports that he conveyed to the Chairman of the Special Committee the position of the Moroccan

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Government, which is that it accepted the holding of a referendum, under United Nations auspices, to ensure the self-determination of the inhabitants of the Territory. The Chairman of the Special Committee mentions this in Chapter X of his report (A/40/23, Part VII), stating that during its consideration of the item the Special Committee had before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat containing information on developments concerning the Territory (A/AC.109/832) and a communication dated 2 August 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/40/529).

At its 1284th meeting, on 8 August 1985, the Special Committee decided to consider the item at its next session, without, however, dealing with the specific proposal of the Kingdom of Morocco on the organization of a referendum in the Western Sahara.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

It was pointed out that the Special Committee, which has as its primary task ensuring the full and total implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, should have taken the opportunity given to it to ensure a definitive settlement of that question by making concrete proposals and by organizing elections. In the light of the fact that the Special Committee was not able to take a stand on this question and decided to wait for the General Assembly to lay down guidelines at its fortieth session, my delegation, as well as the delegations of other friendly countries, took the initiative of introducing, in the Fourth Committee a draft resolution, A/C.4/40/L.4, in which the General Assembly, while recalling the commitment of the Kingdom of Morocco fully to respect the results of a referendum for self-determination, organized under the auspices of the United Nations, would decide on the organization, in January 1986, of a free and democratic referendum designed to enable the indigenous peoples of Western Sahara fully to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, and also to request the Secretary-General to take appropriate measures to organize that referendum, taking into account the decisions of the Implementation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations practices in this sphere.

Unfortunately, this most praiseworthy and relevant initiative met with a lack of understanding and rejection on the part of certain countries, countries for which the solution of the question of Western Sahara is not found through a peaceful settlement of disputes. Thus, the authors simply decided to withdraw their draft, one which in the view of a good number of delegations signified real progress and a new turning point regarding this question of Western Sahara.

My delegation remains convinced that only wisdom, dialogue and mutual understanding can promote the establishment of a climate of peace and understanding in that sub-region of Africa, and we continue to hope that the Special Committee entrusted with the study of the situation regarding the implementation of the

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, will show determination by establishing contact with all the parties concerned with a view to organizing the referendum in Western Sahara.

Only the outcome of the referendum will show what the indigenous population of Western Sahara deeply wish and will determine once and for all the political status of that Territory.

Some countries then will understand that the fact of having admitted Western Sahara to membership of the Organization of African Unity, on the same footing as independent and sovereign States, has in no way contributed to a settlement of this issue.

My delegation fully supports the Government and people of Indonesia in the efforts at development which have been made in East Timor, and we hope that this question will no longer have to appear on the agenda of the General Assembly.

Regarding the independence of Namibia and the recognition of the fundamental freedoms of the black people of South Africa, my delegation has had an opportunity to state its position on these two questions in detail when they were considered, and we intend to give our full support to the draft resolutions which have been worked out to that end.

Zaire will support the heroic struggle of the black peoples of South Africa and of Namibia as long as the blood shed by the innocent victims continues to prick the conscience of mankind.

Mr. DJOKIC (Yugoslavia): The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization are two events more than symbolically linked. In the 40 years of its existence, the United Nations has achieved most remarkable results precisely in the field of decolonization.

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

Over 100 new countries, freed from colonialism with the assistance of the world Organization, have joined its ranks as equal Members. The liberation and emancipation of nations has once and for all changed the composition and role of the world Organization itself and brought it ever closer to the cherished goal of universality.

The Charter of the United Nations and, subsequently, the Declaration on decolonization, gave a lasting affirmation to the supreme principle of self-determination and to the position that colonial domination, or any other form of foreign exploitation, is inadmissible and unacceptable. They enshrine the same principles which have been the main inspiration in the emergence of the new political map of the world in the spirit of self-determination and independence. With the power of its political prestige, the United Nations has played a historical role in it.

The liberation of each and every country from colonialism has been a further contribution to the freedom and independence of peoples and individuals. It gave added strength to the policy of non-alignment and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which has thus become the mainstay of these aspirations.

Despite great achievements and a dynamic and vital role by the world Organization in the process of decolonization, freedom and dignity have not yet been achieved everywhere. In a world plagued by constant threats or use of force, and the violation of freedom and independence, the maintenance of colonialism is not to be tolerated.

At the recent Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Luanda, Angola, it was, inter alia, assessed that the maintenance of colonialism and the waging of colonial wars which repress the national liberation movements is incompatible with the norms of contemporary international relations and poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

It is the conviction of non-aligned countries that the sovereign will of the peoples under colonial rule must not be obstructed in any way and that it should be expressed without impediments and delay. The attempts to portray the remaining colonial problems as conflicts between blocs or individual countries, and invest them with irrelevant and extraneous issues, are unacceptable and should be rejected.

The fate of each colonial Territory must be decided through the exercise of the free will of its people, without foreign interference, pressure, military presence, or imposition of any foreign economic and political model of development whatsoever. The point of departure in the process of decolonization should be the inalienable rights of peoples to self-determination, independence, and the free choice of their own development in accordance with the conditions prevailing in each and every Territory.

In his statement, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, Mr. Radovan Vlackovic, stated that it is precisely here in this world forum that we bear a common responsibility to continue mankind's march forward, to speed it up and to have the objectives of the United Nations Charter become a reality for all in this interlinked and so interdependent world. We must not relent in our effort to complete the process of decolonization and liberation of peoples since there can be no freedom, peace, security, justice, equality and development if they are not enjoyed by all.

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

Namibia is today one of the most evident examples of the maintenance of colonial domination and foreign intervention, presence and interference. Support for the régime whose political creed is apartheid, and racial discrimination and colonial domination the political manifesto, is morally unjustifiable and politically short-sighted.

Namibia was and remains the question of the right of a people to self-determination and independence and that right must be achieved as a priority task of the United Nations and each Member State. Attempts to delay independence and freedom to the people of Namibia is fraught with unforeseeable danger for the entire region of southern Africa.

There are other examples, too. Foreign presence in the remaining colonial Territories is often prolonged due to the strategic advantages of certain Territories in global rivalry of big Powers. Foreign military presence and the militarization of Non-Self-Governing Territories threatens the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring, most frequently non-aligned, countries.

There is no need to point out that the overwhelming majority of States Members of the world Organization is resolutely opposed to this situation. Stability in the world cannot be realized as long as there exist relations of subjugation and domination in any of its parts. For the people of Namibia, as well as for all peoples who are still under colonial rule, the question of the achieving of their right to self-determination and free choice of their own independent development is second to none.

Proceeding from the principle and goal of the policy of non-alignment and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Yugoslavia is ready, just as it has always been in the past, to render its full contribution to that end.



(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

The successful political action within the framework of the United Nations Special Committee for decolonization and within the United Nations system as a whole must be continued with even greater resolve. Yugoslavia, as a member of the Special Committee ever since its founding, will continue to give whole-hearted support and contribute to its noble efforts to realize the goals of the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh): The role of the United Nations in the field of decolonization has been constructive and fruitful, and has had far-reaching implications for international order. The post-Second World War era has seen truly dynamic changes in world affairs as a consequence of the evolving process of decolonization. In that process, the historic Declaration of 1960 served as a powerful stimulus to the struggle of people, subjugated under colonial yoke, for self-determination and independence. The Declaration unmistakably signalled that colonial domination was fated to fail. As we commemorate this year the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration, we do so with a certain feeling of fulfilment as we see so many new nations taking their rightful place in this Assembly.

In deliberating on agenda item 18 entitled, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", we have before us reports of the Secretary-General and the Special Committee on implementation of the Declaration on decolonization. The reports of the Special Committee contain comprehensive, thorough and painstaking studies of the situation in the various Non-Self-Governing Territories. We should like also to recall here the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his illustrious predecessors in upholding and promoting the cause of the peoples under colonial subjugation.

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

The Special Committee on implementation of the Declaration has played a commendable role in the field of decolonization in the various Non-Self-Governing Territories. Ever since its establishment in 1961, the Special Committee extended its utmost efforts in support of the heroic and persistent struggle waged by the peoples for national liberation, dispatching special missions to various places, meeting in African countries that bordered the areas where liberation struggles had been under way, and observing or supervising the democratic process such as elections, plebiscites and referendums. As the Secretary-General mentioned at the General Assembly last month on the occasion of the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration, those activities of the Special Committee greatly enhanced the capacity of the United Nations to promote and protect the interest of the peoples concerned.

With regard to observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration we should, in particular, like to express our satisfaction at the work done by the Special Committee, in pursuance of resolution 39/93 and decision 39/420 adopted by the General Assembly last year. It was with close interest that we followed the proceedings of the extraordinary plenary session that the Committee so successfully held in Tunis early this year. We have also noted that the regional seminars, held at Port Moresby and at Havana contributed to further sensitizing public opinion in support of the peoples under colonial rule. The Special Committee's resumed session in New York last August has also come out with useful recommendations.

The historic Declaration of 1960, as well as the debates it generated on the issue of decolonization at the United Nations and other forums over the years, have had a number of important consequences of far-reaching significance. It has signalled a new phase of the liberation of peoples from the chain of colonial domination. It has helped to accelerate the historic march of humanity towards greater freedom as promised in the Charter. It is manifested in the fact that the

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

number of dependent people has diminished from some 800 million to fewer than 3 million, while at the same time membership of the United Nations has increased threefold through entry of newly-independent countries. That has helped the world body significantly to come closer to achieve the cherished goal of universality.

The Declaration also acted as a principal source of inspiration for the peoples struggling for independence all over the world, and encouraged solidarity among the newly emerging nations. This has been particularly reflected with regard to the Non-Aligned Movement which has had a symbiotic relationship with decolonization. Indeed, countries attaining independence in the process of decolonization became members of the Movement, almost without exception. The Movement, on the other hand, championed the cause of the dependent peoples and strongly reinforced the process of decolonization by actively supporting their struggle for independence.

Another important consequence has been the progressive development of a substantial body of international jurisprudence, based on certain principles of the Charter, such as the right of peoples to self-determination, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

International law, which was in the past shaped mostly to suit the interests of colonial empires, has experienced a massive twist in its course of evolution since the adoption of the Declaration. In this context, we also recall adoption by the General Assembly of such historic documents as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources, the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

As was noted by many at the commemorative session of the General Assembly on the observance of the adoption of the Declaration, the process of decolonization has not yet been completed, notwithstanding the successes of the United Nations in the field to date. Vestiges of colonialism still remain. Namibia is a prime example. Namibia represents a glaring manifestation of a colonial situation in its worst possible form, which encompasses the twin yoke of colonial occupation and apartheid. The Territory has been a special responsibility of this world body, and it is incumbent on us all to take concrete and effective measures to bring about the dawn of Namibian independence. It is time for those who still hold on to colonial possessions to respond to the call of the international community speedily to eradicate colonialism in all its form and manifestations.

While a large number of countries have attained political independence during the last 40 years, such independence is hardly meaningful if concomitant independence in economic, social and cultural fields is not attained. Political self-determination is an empty slogan if the future holds no hope for the newly independent countries for freedom from the vicious cycle of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy. May I ask how far have these countries been able to establish sovereignty over their own natural resources? How far have they been

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

able to free themselves from the shackles of external economic relations that are very much colonial in nature? How far have they been able to determine their socio-economic system freely without any diktat from outside? The last four decades have not only witnessed a process of decolonization, they have also seen the gradual exposure of a hitherto concealed phenomenon, the division of our planet into two worlds, one characterized by a life-style based on abundance and waste, and another suffering from deprivation and despair. For the last 40 years since the establishment of this world body, we have been working towards a better world, a better future for all mankind. During the same years, we have also seen a progressive widening of the gap between the two worlds. By adopting the Declaration on decolonization, the world community did not simply seek to put an end to the political domination of one country by another. The intention was also to usher in a new and equitable world order in which all peoples of the world, free from colonial subjugation, would enjoy genuine independence - independence in the total sense of the term. This dream of mankind still remains unfulfilled. Political independence of the countries of the third world has not yet been accompanied by realization of the hopes and aspirations of their peoples for a better world. The process of decolonization will reach full fruition if, and only if, genuine independence for all countries of our planet can be secured.

Fourteen years ago at this very moment we ourselves were at the final juncture of our own war of liberation. Our solidarity with and commitment to the peoples struggling for independence is intrinsically ingrained in our national consciousness. It was thus only natural that upon achieving independence, Bangladesh enshrined in its constitution its commitment to support oppressed peoples all over the world who are waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and racism. The Government and people of Bangladesh continue actively

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

to support the cause of peoples strangled by the evil hands of colonialism in all its manifestations until the total and complete eradication of this scourge from the face of the Earth. On the auspicious occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization, we would also like to rededicate ourselves to its spirit and objectives and to reaffirm our deep and abiding commitment to its full realization.

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): On 14 December next we will celebrate a quarter century of resolution 1514 (XV) known as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. December is also a month which is closely intertwined with the history of Cuba for special reasons, since in that month, facing the colonial occupier of my country, General Antonio Maceo fell. He taught us that one should not beg for freedom; that one should conquer it with the edge of the machete.

Throughout these years, the map of colonialism in the world has radically changed. Most of the enormous possessions of the traditional colonialist Powers attained political independence and it was precisely in this area that the United Nations played an important role, lending moral support to the national liberation movements of all peoples subjected to imperialist colonial domination in all its forms and manifestations.

However, some of the metropolitan countries retain under domination important Territories, such as Namibia, Western Sahara, Guam, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, American Samoa, Bermuda, the United States Virgin Islands, the British Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, the Malvinas Islands, Diego Garcia, Mayotte and others which, regardless of whether the metropolitan countries acknowledge them as colonies or not, constitute what is euphemistically termed "vestiges" of colonialism aimed at diverting world public opinion away from the colonial phenomenon.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

That colonialism is in its final stages is a reality from the historical standpoint. But we must remain alert when these arguments are used to mask the importance, seriousness and extent of colonialism, which still persists, and to conceal the strategic and military scope of this phenomenon aimed at imperialist political and economic world domination.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

Fundamentally, imperialists work on the basis of annexation under various legal forms, making use of the specific characteristics of each place. That means that the struggle for the liberation of peoples is at present increasingly complex and difficult and that, in the international organizations, confrontation with the metropolitan countries is ever more intensified.

Acts such as the Malvinas war, South Africa's refusal to withdraw from Namibia, United States opposition to allowing the Special Committee, which is charged precisely with speeding up the decolonization process, to consider the questions of Puerto Rico and Micronesia show the scope and complexity of the work that still has to be done by our Organization in the area of decolonization. They not only prove that colonialism survives in its most anachronistic form but demonstrate the will of metropolitan countries to conserve to the utmost extent possible their possessions everywhere in the world.

Colonial Powers also use these Territories to carry out acts of aggression and terrorism against neighbouring States. It is important to note the strategic location of these Territories. Puerto Rico is a springboard from which to project the military strength of the United States against Latin American and Caribbean countries, as shown by the invasion of Grenada, Guam and Micronesia, in the Pacific, play the same role vis-à-vis other countries in that ocean and on the Asian continent. From Namibia, racist South Africa practises an unwarranted and cruel policy of State terrorism against Angola.

The colonialists allege that in many of these territories there are no indigenous people interested in their independence. Perhaps they are referring to some desert islands, because that is certainly not the case of Namibia, which is inhabited by the Namibian nation, of the Sahara, which is inhabited by the Sahraouis, of Guam, which is inhabited by the Chamorro people, of Puerto Rico, which is inhabited by the Boricua people - and there are many others, so that the list is almost interminable. All those peoples even have representatives who



(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

have been internationally recognized as legitimate. The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the POLISARIO Front and the parties and independent and progressive organizations of Puerto Rico, among others, are nothing less than living proof that those people do not want any historical or cultural links with their occupiers.

In accordance with their interests, the colonial Powers resort to much subterfuge, pressure and blackmail to keep their names out of the Assembly's resolutions. Well, when the imperialists cease their occupation practices there will be no further direct mention of their countries. The imperialists should remember that history shows that pressures only delay a process; they never destroy feelings, and their accumulation, as shown by physics, brings about qualitative changes.

However, sooner or later, history itself will settle accounts. We must never forget - and imperialists know this, although they may appear not to - that on our planet there is not a single people resigned to living subjected to a foreign Power. What will bring down the colonial policy of imperialists is the struggle of oppressed peoples and the support that the international community gives them in this forum and other international forums.

The day will come when we shall gather here to celebrate the anniversary of the declaration on the economic and cultural decolonization of our peoples, and we must devote our energies more resolutely to that end.

On a day such as this I cannot but refer to the praiseworthy work done by the Special Committee on decolonization. For 24 years the Special Committee of 24 has been promoting such progressive ideas as the right to self-determination and independence, the legitimacy of national liberation movements and the right of peoples to resort to armed struggle in seeking their freedom.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

In taking this opportunity to emphasize the positive role played by the Special Committee in the successful implementation of the resolution whose twenty-fifth anniversary we are celebrating, we wish to express clearly Cuba's recognition of the contribution made by Ambassador Abdul Koroma to the Committee's work during the period when we had the honour to work under his chairmanship. We wish him every success in the tasks entrusted to him by his Government.

Cuba strongly maintains its anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist and anti-racist position and, on this anniversary, reiterates its readiness to co-operate in all possible ways in the decolonizing work of the Special Committee and this Assembly. The day is not far off when decolonization will simply be a subject to be reflected on and learned about in schools and social research centres by those who wish to know the pre-history of human civilization. The history of a more human civilization will be that in which no man will be exploited by another. There is a tomorrow for everyone. Meanwhile those who have so generously shed their blood on the path of freedom and independence have earned eternal glory.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

AGENDA ITEMS 18 (continued), 109, 110, 111 AND 112 AND 113

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/40/906)

INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/40/884)

ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERESTS WHICH ARE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES IN NAMIBIA AND IN ALL OTHER TERRITORIES UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION AND EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/40/883)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/40/885)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/40/886)

OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/40/887)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Under rule 69 of the rules of procedure, I call on the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, the Ambassador of Nicaragua.

Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua), Chairman of the Fourth Committee (interpretation from Spanish): I wish first, on behalf of my people and Government, to reiterate the deep satisfaction we feel at having been recognized and elected to preside over the Fourth Committee's work this year.

If there is an area in the work of the United Nations where a very large number of people have seen concrete results and worked towards their just objectives with great hopes it is undoubtedly the area of decolonization. That is why my people, which struggled so courageously against colonialism and today is ready to sacrifice the last of its children to preserve its independence and dignity in the face of neo-colonialist policies that attempt to return us to a past of servitude, agreed this year - such a significant year for free peoples and those

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Fourth Committee)

which have not yet attained their independence - to preside over the Committee dealing with our Organization's work for decolonization.

As Chairman of the Fourth Committee and the representative of a country which fully identifies with the just objectives of that Committee, I wish to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his support, his co-operation and his deep interest in our work, which enabled us to labour skilfully and dynamically, with satisfactory results and high hopes.

We also wish to thank you, Mr. President, for the valuable co-operation we have always received from you and the other members of the Bureau, for your support and for the excellent manner in which you have led our work. These were determining factors in the fulfilment of our responsibilities.

(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Chairman,  
Fourth Committee)

We wish to express our deep gratitude for the support which we continuously received from the Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, Mr. Ahmed, and from the Deputy to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Rifai, and for the experience, impartiality and wise counsel of Mr. Tanaka, the Secretary of the Fourth Committee. We are also deeply grateful for the excellent work done by the Special Committee on decolonization, with whose Chairman, Ambassador Abdul Koroma, we were in constant communication and from whom we received extremely valuable support. The Special Committee, known as the Committee of 24, has through its excellent work earned the admiration and respect of many peoples whose national liberation movements placed great hopes in it and expected support for their just struggles and who are today among us as independent peoples.

The co-operation and support which we receive from the United Nations Council for Namibia are also of enormous value. Its Acting Chairman, my friend Ambassador Sinclair, was always in constant touch with us and offered us his support and counsel. The Fourth Committee wishes to express to him its deep gratitude.

It is a shame that we, the international community, had to celebrate, this year, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples without having fully freed ourselves from colonialism. There are still many examples of colonialism which are a blot on the human conscience.

At this stage, when civilization has attained an extremely high degree of technological progress, where trips to the moon are easily grasped by man's imagination, it is shameful and inadmissible to have peoples whose independence and self-determination are still a distant goal.

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Fourth Committee)

Territories in Latin America and the Caribbean, in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, whose peoples still live under colonial domination, have become a challenge and a major objective for our Organization and for the work of the Fourth Committee. Each of these Territories deserves the careful attention of the international community to help it achieve its independence and self-determination without its size, geographical location or number of its population being an obstacle to attaining those rights.

The most shameful and reactionary example of colonialism is Namibia. After almost 100 years of colonial occupation, Namibia continues to be the victim of a situation which is an affront to the international community and which violates all principles governing international relations.

Despite numerous appeals by the United Nations to halt co-operation with South Africa and to suspend immediately all transnational investments in that country, some Governments and transnational corporations continue their policies towards South Africa without fundamental changes, thus being accomplices in the crime against mankind being perpetrated in that country.

There is no doubt that the racist régime in South Africa, with its illegal occupation of Namibia, its insistent policy of destabilization against the front-line States and especially against Angola and its manoeuvres aimed at intensifying and institutionalizing the apartheid régime, is kept in power as a result of the co-operation of its allies and the economic benefits it derives from foreign investments in its territory and in Namibia.

A few weeks ago our Organization witnessed the joint veto of the United States and the United Kingdom to a draft resolution in the Security Council which responded to the universal call for mandatory economic sanctions against and the isolation of, the South Africa régime.

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Fourth Committee)

The policy of the United States towards South Africa continues without change or reform of any kind. The support and the co-operation which the South African régime receives from the so-called policy of constructive engagement are directly responsible for the illegal occupation of Namibia, for aggression against front-line countries and for the perpetuation of the martyrdom of the South African black majority.

Transnational corporations with branches in Namibia operate in an illegal framework since their activities are not authorized by any legitimate Government, nor will they ever be, so long as racist troops occupy that Territory and there is no strict compliance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). These firms are exploiting very valuable non-renewable resources which are the sole property of the Namibian people and whose use has not been authorized by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the entity which is responsible for that Territory until Namibia attains its independence.

Our Organization has affirmed that South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal. This has been reaffirmed by the International Court of Justice. However, these affirmations are defied by transnational corporations, some of which have State participation and which carry out activities in Namibia further helping to consolidate the Pretoria régime.

Military activities by South Africa in Namibia provide the basic security framework for the pillage and plunder of that Territory by the racists and by the transnationals which sustain them and which, by the mere fact of their presence, violate international law. More than 100,000 racist troops are occupying Namibia and using it as a spring-board to launch actions against its neighbours, mainly Angola and Mozambique. Acts of sabotage, training, financing and infiltration of

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Fourth Committee)

mercenary bandits, very much like similar actions undertaken against my country by the United States, are carried out from occupied Namibian territory.

Military activities in Namibia and in all Territories under colonial domination are an obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and should be immediately discontinued.

Our Organization must set for itself the historical goal of celebrating next year the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 2145 (XXI) with a free and independent Namibia represented at the United Nations by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), its sole and legitimate representative.

Another cause of deep concern to our Organization is the situation which prevails in Western Sahara. In considering this situation it is distressing to see that an African country with a glorious history of anti-colonialist struggle, has decided to keep the Territory of Western Sahara in a colonial status.

The people of the Sahraoui Democratic Arab Republic, with its vanguard, the POLISARIO Front, for a long time has been struggling to conquer its inalienable rights.



(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Chairman,  
Fourth Committee)

As a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Nicaragua again expresses its support for all the points on Western Sahara contained in the Final Declaration of the Ministerial Meeting of the Movement held in Luanda. The question of Western Sahara is, in the final analysis, a question of decolonization. That has been recognized by our Organization and the international community. We repeat that the solution to the problem lies in the implementation of resolution AHG/104 of the Organization of African Unity, adopted at the Nineteenth Conference of Heads of State or Government, held in Addis Ababa in 1983.

At the conclusion of its deliberations on agenda item 18, the Fourth Committee adopted a draft resolution in which it stressed the need for the two parties to the conflict to sit down at the negotiating table with a view to reaching an agreement on a cease-fire that would make possible, after the withdrawal of the Moroccan troops and administrative machinery, the entry into force of the pan-African plan for a peace-keeping force and the creation of the necessary conditions for the holding of a referendum for self-determination, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. As stated in the African peace plan, the referendum should be carried out without military or administrative pressures.

A large number of the Territories under colonial domination are in Latin America and the Caribbean. In the Caribbean, there are Territories whose peoples, far from having seen any progress in the fulfilment of their aspirations to independence, are being subjected to even broader and more harmful occupation.

Nicaragua believes that the case of Puerto Rico is a clear example of what I have just said, since its inhabitants are bombarded with colonialist propaganda, its resources are exploited by the metropolitan Power and it has become an enormous military base from which invading adventures depart for neighbouring countries, including my own country, Nicaragua.

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Nicaragua also shares the concern of the international community and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at the increasing militarization of the Malvinas Islands. We repeat our position that the Malvinas Islands are Argentine and that a solution to this problem should be reached through direct negotiations between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom. Latin America attaches vital importance to the prompt and final solution of this problem.

We are deeply concerned at the fact that in some Non-Self-Governing Territories the true purpose of resolution 1514 (XV) and subsequent General Assembly resolutions and decisions is not being fulfilled. We must insist that the administering Powers continue, without interruption, to submit information on the situation of the Territories under their administration, in conformity with Article 73 of the Charter.

We have travelled far on the difficult road of decolonization, but we cannot allow ourselves to be satisfied so long as there are still colonized peoples. I am not referring only to the purely political or administrative colonization of a Territory. Today there are countries in our community of nations that are allegedly independent but that really live in a profoundly colonial situation. Their economies are colonized; they work and operate for and in accordance with the designs of the metropolitan country. The minds of their peoples are injected every day with very subtle doses of propaganda that distorts their own culture. The information that reaches them has been manipulated or embellished in favour of the metropolitan country or foreign interests. The education of their citizens is directed by people who are not interested in ensuring that a sense of nationalism, patriotism or the common good prevails over personal gain. We must be belligerent, intolerant and inflexible against that type of colonialism also. That is a more harmful and distorting kind of colonialism and is even more dangerous. The

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international community and our Organization must also struggle on all fronts against the most modern and sophisticated form of colonialism - neo-colonialism, of which so many peoples are victims - until it is eliminated once and for all from the face of the earth.

For that reason, and given the difficult task ahead, we must strengthen the Special Committee of 24 and the work of the Fourth Committee. For the peoples living under colonial domination and for those suffering from the onslaught of neo-colonialism, that work must continue and be reinforced. With the support of the Committee of 24 and of the Fourth Committee, our peoples will continue their ardent struggle for a world free of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, a truly free world.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, Mr. Stefano Stefanini of Italy, will present the six reports of the Committee in one intervention.

First, however, I call on the representative of Papua New Guinea on a point of order.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): I apologize for interrupting the proceedings at this stage but, in order that the Assembly may properly conclude the general debate on this item, I would request you, Mr. President, to allow my delegation to make a statement in exercise of the right of reply before the Assembly proceeds to the vote. I am of course prepared to abide by your ruling, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I would point out to the representative of Papua New Guinea that statements in exercise of the right of reply are made at the end of meetings. In any event, the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee has not yet presented the reports, and I would be grateful if the representative of Papua New Guinea would bear that in mind.

Mr. Stefanini (Italy), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee (A/40/906, A/40/884, A/40/883, A/40/885, A/40/886 and A/40/887) and then spoke as follows:

Mr. STEFANINI (Italy), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration six reports of the Fourth Committee relating, respectively, to items 18, 109, 110, 111 and 12, 112 and 113 of the agenda. As these reports are self-explanatory, I shall simply point out the main thrust of some of the recommendations contained therein.

The first report, contained in document A/40/906, relates to those Territories which were not covered by other items of the agenda and which the Committee took up under agenda item 18. Set out in the report are 10 draft resolutions, three draft consensuses and one draft decision. These draft proposals of the Fourth Committee relate to: Tokelau, Pitcairn, St. Helena, American Samoa, Guam, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, the Turks and Caicos Islands, Anguilla, the United States Virgin Islands, Gibraltar and Western Sahara.

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Fourth Committee)

By adopting these proposals the General Assembly would reaffirm the full application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the right of the peoples of the Territories concerned to decide their own future political status, irrespective of the size of their population or their geographical location, in accordance with the Declaration and their freely expressed wishes. The Assembly would also urge the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to increase their assistance with a view to accelerating the social and economic development of these Territories.

In noting with appreciation the continuing co-operation of the administering Powers concerned in that regard, the Assembly would emphasize once again the importance of dispatching visiting missions to these small Territories to enable the United Nations to be fully apprised of the conditions obtaining therein. In this regard, the Assembly would welcome the invitation extended to the Special Committee jointly by the Government of New Zealand, the administering Power concerned, and the people of Tokelau to send a further visiting mission to the Territory in 1986.

As regards Western Sahara, the General Assembly would, inter alia, reaffirm that

"the question of Western Sahara is a question of decolonization which remains to be completed on the basis of the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence".

With respect to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Fourth Committee decided without objection to adopt the Chairman's suggestion that the Fourth Committee should not take any action at this stage with respect to the relevant draft resolution submitted by the Special Committee.

(Mr. Stefanini, Rapporteur,  
Fourth Committee)

The second report (A/40/884) relates to agenda item 109, on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations. The Fourth Committee recommends, among other things, that the Assembly reaffirm that, in the absence of a decision by the General Assembly itself that a Non-Self-Governing Territory has attained a full measure of self-government in terms of Chapter XI of the Charter, the administering Power concerned should continue to transmit information under Article 73 e with respect to that Territory.

The third report (A/40/883) relates to agenda item 110, on the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration and efforts to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa. Among other provisions, the General Assembly, in condemning the intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests which continue to exploit the natural and human resources of Namibia and other colonial Territories, would call once again on all Governments to take the necessary steps to put an end to such activities and to prevent new investments which run counter to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories.

The General Assembly would also urge the administering Powers concerned to take effective measures to safeguard and guarantee the inalienable right of the peoples of Namibia and the other colonial Territories to their natural resources and to establish and maintain control over their future development.

In a separate decision on the military activities and arrangements in colonial Territories which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration, the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly that it once again call upon the colonial Powers concerned to terminate such activities, in compliance with the relevant resolutions.

(Mr. Stefanini, Rapporteur,  
Fourth Committee)

The fourth report (A/40/885) relates to items 111 and 12 of the agenda, concerning, respectively, implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations and the report of the Economic and Social Council. The General Assembly would emphasize, among other things, the need for co-operation between the organizations concerned and the Organization of African Unity and request them to render or continue to render, as a matter of urgency, all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples struggling for liberation from colonial rule. Focusing on the critical situation in southern Africa, the General Assembly would also reiterate its conviction that the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies of the United Nations system should refrain from taking any action which might imply recognition of or support for the legitimacy of the occupation of Namibia by South Africa.

The fifth report (A/40/886) relates to item 112, on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. In expressing its appreciation to all those that have supported the Programme by providing contributions, scholarships or places in their educational institutions, the Assembly would once again appeal to all States, institutions, organizations and individuals to offer greater financial and other support to the Programme to ensure its continuation and expansion.

The last report (A/40/887) relates to offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories - agenda item 113. In expressing its appreciation to those Member States that have made scholarships available to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Assembly would invite all States to make or continue to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the peoples of the Territories.

(Mr. Stefanini, Rapporteur,  
Fourth Committee)

On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I should like to commend these reports to the serious attention of the General Assembly.

Before concluding, I wish to thank the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, Ambassador Javier Chamorro Mora of Nicaragua, for his outstanding leadership and for his constructive advice and guidance to me in connection with my tasks as Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee. I should also like to express my gratitude to members of the Fourth Committee for the co-operation and assistance extended to me during the session.

After a few years as a representative at the United Nations I am grateful to have had this opportunity to work more closely with the Secretariat. In particular I wish to express my appreciation to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Ahmed, and his Deputy, Mr. Rifai. Last, but not least, I should like to mention the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Tanaka, and his invaluable staff. I am convinced that all members of the Fourth Committee would agree with me in acknowledging the credit they deserve for the smooth and effective organization of our work, and most particularly for my report.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): If there is no proposal under rule 66 of the rules of procedure, I shall take it that the General Assembly decides not to discuss those reports of the Fourth Committee.

It was so decided.



The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Statements will therefore be limited to explanations of vote.

The positions of delegations on the various recommendations of the Fourth Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

May I remind delegations that, in paragraph 7 of its resolution 34/401, the General Assembly decided that when the same draft resolution was considered in a Main Committee and in a plenary meeting a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote once only, that is, either in the Committee or in the plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in the plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee.

May I also remind the Assembly that, in accordance with resolution 34/401, explanations of vote should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

The Assembly will now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 18 (A/40/906) concerning chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to specific Territories not covered by other agenda items.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting on any or all of the recommendations of the Fourth Committee in its report on this item. Representatives will also have an opportunity to explain their vote after all the votes on this report have been taken.

Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): My delegation will vote for the series of draft resolutions in document A/40/906, but we intend to make some comments in explanation of our vote and our perspective with regard to the draft resolution in document A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1, touching upon the subject-matter of Western Sahara,

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

because we think it is consistent with the spirit of the decisions taken by the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity. Our position regarding decolonization as a whole and its kindred institutions is generally well known and we do not wish to reiterate it here.

With regard to Western Sahara, we would like to reiterate our nation's concern for international peace and security, especially in the African region, where problems of development make armed conflict undesirable and good-neighbourliness imperative. We continue to share a sense of common destiny with our sister countries and fraternal peoples of the north western part of the continent. It has never been our policy or desire to aid any process of destabilization or to disrupt the bonds of friendship we maintain with all the parties concerned. We expect our perspectives to be judged against that background.

We wish to seize this opportunity to appeal to our Moroccan friends not to abandon their quest for a peaceful and speedy solution to the problem of Western Sahara. Their nation is much too settled in a tested civilization to be dissuaded in a just cause for peace by the simple rejection of a draft resolution. We appeal to all in the African region to join in a collective effort to help restore elements of lasting peace and security in that subregion. Africa must address problems of development and of survival in general. We cannot afford the luxury of permitting ourselves to drift aimlessly along, dangerously providing an opportunity for others to benefit from an immoral trade in arms and other weapons of destabilization and destruction of wealth, by which the sanctity of human life is systematically undermined.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We will turn first to the 10 draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 28 of its report (A/40/906).

(The President)

Draft resolution I is entitled "Question of American Samoa". The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 40/41).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Draft resolution II relates to the question of Guam. The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 40/42).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Draft resolution III deals with the question of Bermuda. The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 40/43).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Draft resolution IV is entitled "Question of the British Virgin Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 40/44).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will turn next to draft resolution V entitled "Question of the Cayman Islands". That draft resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 40/45).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Draft resolution VI, entitled "Question of Montserrat", was adopted by the Fourth Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution VI was adopted (resolution 40/46).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Draft resolution VII deals with the question of the Turks and Caicos Islands. The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution VII was adopted (resolution 40/47).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Draft resolution VIII deals with the question of Anguilla. The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution VIII was adopted (resolution 40/48).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Draft resolution IX is entitled "Question of the United States Virgin Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution IX was adopted (resolution 40/49).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution X, entitled "Question of Western Sahara".

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guatemala, Morocco, Philippines, Zaire

Abstaining: Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Canada, Chad, Chile, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guinea, Iceland, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Portugal, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Draft resolution X was adopted by 96 votes to 7, with 39 abstentions (resolution 40/50).\*

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\*Subsequently the delegation of Honduras advised the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I now invite representatives to turn to the draft consensus recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 29 of its report (A/40/906).

Draft consensus I is entitled "Question of Tokelau".

The Fourth Committee adopted draft consensus I without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft consensus I was adopted.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Draft consensus II deals with the question of Pitcairn.

The Fourth Committee adopted draft consensus II without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft consensus II was adopted.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Draft consensus III deals with the question of Gibraltar.

The Fourth Committee adopted draft consensus III without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt the draft consensus?

Draft consensus III was adopted.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We turn next to the draft decision on the question of St. Helena recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 30 of its report.

I shall now put that draft decision to the vote.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Belize, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Turkey

The draft decision was adopted by 121 votes to 2, with 31 abstentions.\*

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

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\*Subsequently the delegation of Brunei Darussalam advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): My delegation voted for the draft resolution on the Western Sahara, because we are convinced that it contains valid elements for a just and lasting solution of the question, which, as we are all aware, is a source of concern to the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Whilst it gives the Secretary-General a very important role, the resolution entrusts to the current Chairman of the OAU, President Abdou Diouf of the Republic of Senegal, a mission of the highest importance, extending his pan-African responsibilities. On his behalf, I thank the General Assembly for the confidence it has thus shown in the Head of State of Senegal.

In carrying out that mission during his mandate, President Abdou Diouf will appeal for the co-operation of all men of good will - above all, the Secretary-General. Here I am happy on behalf of the current Chairman of the OAU to pay tribute to the Secretary-General's dedication, objectivity and willingness, qualities he has always shown in carrying out his task. His report on the question of the Western Sahara was a shining example of that.

The current Chairman of the OAU also hopes to count on the full co-operation of all the parties and States involved. He is convinced that if we all show both political will and creative imagination in implementing both the letter and the spirit of the resolution our efforts can lead to a just and final solution to the problem of the Western Sahara.

Mr. ALAQUI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): For more than 10 years the Kingdom of Morocco has ceaselessly made every effort at the bilateral, regional and universal levels to contribute to working out a harmonious, compromise solution to end once and for all the tension artificially created in our region. Since 1981 my country has told the international community at the highest level - through His Majesty King Hassan II himself - that it accepts the organization of a



(Mr. Alaoui, Morocco)

referendum on self-determination to enable the international community to note the free and democratic expression of the will of the people of the Western Sahara. The King of Morocco repeated that proposal for the second time in his message to the United Nations on its fortieth anniversary, simultaneously announcing a unilateral cease-fire.

Those proposals took shape in a draft resolution submitted by a number of sponsors to the Fourth Committee, but unfortunately it came up against the manoeuvres of those who try to distort all peace initiatives, in such a way as to leave the matter at an impasse.

In voting against the draft resolution that the General Assembly has just adopted, the Kingdom of Morocco reaffirmed the position it had already expressed in Committee with regard to a completely negative text, whose unstated purpose is to prevent the free and democratic expression of the wishes of the population and to continue, if not worsen, the state of tension. As the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Morocco told the Fourth Committee on 12 November this year:

"Morocco will respond to that tension with the calmness and determination that springs from the unanimous will of its 25 million inhabitants, who, together, speaking with one voice, have stood up against all attempts at destabilization in the region and all attempts at hegemony, which result from outdated and totally obsolete ideas".

(Mr. Alaoui, Morocco)

All the observers have noted the sacrifices made by my country, which has exhausted all possible recourses and encouraged all initiatives designed to bring about conciliation and compromise and reach the just, equitable and lasting solution that all the peoples of the international community desire. But while, in keeping with our traditions and our past, we have always been faithful to dialogue and compromise, we have never compromised and will never compromise our principles.

Everyone will recognize and understand, therefore, that Morocco can no longer participate in debates or discussions which have proved vain and which are now bogged down and totally deadlocked.

We are sorry to note that what is called the question of Western Sahara has now been built up into a huge item of mystification which the Kingdom of Morocco, concerned for its own credibility and that of our Organization, does not intend to sanction in any way. Therefore, as far as we are concerned, the file on this item is closed for this Assembly and all its commissions and committees.

Morocco is not trying in this way to sidestep the issue or to avoid it. We are dedicated to the fundamental principles of our Charter, which we champion, and shall continue to champion in all forums of our Organization. As regards the search for a just and definitive solution to this question, the so-called question of Western Sahara, our country remains ready to assist. As our Minister of Foreign Affairs said in the statement from which I have already quoted:

"The Secretary-General of the United Nations has our full confidence and the day the General Assembly deems it necessary or timely to enable him to exercise his prerogatives in accordance with our Charter, and gives him the means to facilitate a peaceful and just solution based on the organization of a referendum, he will find in Morocco a dedicated and trusting interlocutor."

(Mr. Alaoui, Morocco)

I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless action in promoting a climate conducive to the re-establishment of confidence and healthy co-operation in Morocco. I once again assure him of the continuing readiness of Morocco to take any steps which may be deemed useful to find a way out of the impasse and to promote the advent of peace in the region.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly has thus concluded consideration of the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 18.

We turn now to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 109, entitled "Information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations" (A/40/884).

The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report (A/40/884).

A recorded has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe,

Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The draft resolution was adopted by 149 votes to none, with 3 abstentions (resolution 40/51).\*

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): This concludes our consideration of agenda item 109.

The Assembly will now take up the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 110, entitled "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa" (A/40/883).

The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report (A/40/883).

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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\*Subsequently the delegation of El Salvador and the United Republic of Tanzania advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

**In favour:** Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

**Against:** Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

**Abstaining:** Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lesotho, Malawi, Norway, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden

**The draft resolution was adopted by 125 votes to 9, with 16 abstentions (resolution 40/52).\***

**The PRESIDENT:** The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft decision recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 10 of its report (A/40/883).

A recorded vote has been requested.

**A recorded vote was taken.**

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\*Subsequently the delegations of El Salvador and the United Republic of Tanzania advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour; the delegation of Botswana had intended to abstain.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden

The draft decision was adopted by 125 votes to 10, with 15 abstentions.\*

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): This concludes our consideration of agenda item 110.

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\*Subsequently the delegations of El Salvador and the United Republic of Tanzania advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour; the delegation of the Netherlands had intended to vote against; the delegation of Botswana had intended to abstain.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We turn now to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 111, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations", and item 12, "Report of the Economic and Social Council" (A/40/885).

The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report, (A/40/885). A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Israel, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden

The draft resolution was adopted by 126 votes to 3, with 22 abstentions (resolution 40/53).\*

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): This concludes our consideration of agenda item 111 and of chapters I and VI, section E, of the report of the Economic and Social Council.

We now turn to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 112, entitled "United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa" (A/40/886).

The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report, (A/40/886). The Fourth Committee adopted this draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 54).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): This concludes our consideration of agenda item 112.

We turn next to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 113, entitled "Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories" (A/40/887).

The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report (A/40/887). The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 55).

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\* Subsequently the delegation of El Salvador and the United Republic of Tanzania advised the Secretariat that they have intended to vote in favour.



The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): This concludes our consideration of agenda item 113 and of all the reports of the Fourth Committee.

AGENDA ITEM 18 (continued)

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 (A/40/23, A/AC.109/801 and Corr.1, 802-807, 808 and Corr.1, 809-815, 816/Rev.1, 817-820, 827 and Corr.1 832 and 834)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/40/692 and Corr.1)
- (c) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/40/23 (Part II), A/40/L.21, A/40/L.22)
- (d) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/40/955)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly has before it various draft resolutions and recommendations in the report of the Special Committee (A/40/23 (Part II)) and documents A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22.

I have to announce the following additional sponsors of draft resolutions before the Assembly: draft resolution A/40/L.21: Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Madagascar, Mongolia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Venezuela; draft resolution A/40/L.22: Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Madagascar, Mongolia, the German Democratic Republic, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Romania and Venezuela.

The Assembly will now take decisions on the recommendation in paragraph 42 of the Special Committee's report (A/40/23 (Part II)) and on draft resolutions A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22.

I shall first call on representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting on any or all of those draft resolutions.

Mr. JOFFE (Israel): Much to our regret, my delegation cannot support draft resolutions A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22 because they both refer in the first preambular paragraph, to the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with

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regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Draft resolution A/40/L.21 refers to the above-mentioned report, which in its chapter VII, page 12 - recommendation of the Special Committee - singles out my country in its eighth preambular paragraph, while draft resolution A/40/L.22 refers to the same report, which in its chapter III, page 11 - conclusions and recommendations - also singles out my country in a discriminatory way.

The Committee is dealing with a most important issue, that of the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. If it wanted to ensure the full co-operation of all United Nations Members it should have carried out its important task objectively and not succumbed to the pressure exerted by some Member States carrying out their political and propaganda warfare against certain Member States.

If singling out had been justified, the Committee should have published a list of at least 50 Member States from all political and regional groupings that maintain various trade, commercial, economic and other links between their countries and South Africa.

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In the plenary meeting and in the Third and Fourth Committees the representatives of my country were able to furnish documentation on clandestine ties, especially in the oil supply business, between some Arab oil suppliers and South Africa. As a blatant example: on Wednesday, 30 October 1985, during the afternoon session of the plenary meeting debating item 35 "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa", the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran, speaking in exercise of his right of reply, stated:

"...all the oil tankers carrying oil from the Islamic Republic of Iran have promised not to deliver their cargo to South Africa. Thus, all such claims have been carefully investigated by my Government, and we have come to the conclusion that in all the suspect cases evidence has been produced that the oil in question was unloaded in one of the European ports."

(A/40/PV.55, p. 176)

What an unfortunate coincidence! On the same day as the Iranian representative's declaration, the latest survey of the Shipping Research Bureau dated 30 October 1985 was published in Amsterdam, dealing especially with clandestine Iranian oil supplies to South Africa. I quote from page 13 of that report:

"A crew member of the oil tanker KAREN MAERSK has been interviewed: 'The empty KAREN MAERSK was anchored off Port Bahrain in the Arabian Gulf. We stayed there for a long time waiting for orders. Then suddenly a Chinese tanker came alongside and pumped about 20 thousand tons of oil into our ship. Next we sailed to Iran; there our tanker departed fully loaded. The purported destination was Italy, however, we once more sailed to Bahrain where we anchored off for about two weeks. In these weeks a Dutch Antilles tanker, the FLEURTJE and a Norwegian tanker, the HAVDROTT came alongside. Each did mix part of its cargo with the oil on board of the KAREN MAERSK. As a result of

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this blending, it was no longer possible to identify - by laboratory analysis - the country of origin of the cargo. This camouflage was performed because Iran officially boycotts South Africa. After the mixing operations, we sailed to South Africa. Near Durban, the radio operator started to use the code name "B13" to make sure that the name KAREN MAERSK would not appear in any of the official shipping documents'."

Distortion and hypocrisy characterize United Nations discussions about Israel's attitude to South Africa when dealing with apartheid, Namibia, South Africa or decolonization. We are accused of conducting massive trade with South Africa and are singled out as if we have a unique co-operation with South Africa in every field. We cannot lend a hand to this policy and that is why, regretfully, we will be obliged to cast our negative vote.

Mr. de MEDINA (Portugal) (interpretation from French): The work 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 has always been of the greatest interest to my delegation because of the importance and scope of that Committee's work. Allow me therefore to express my delegation's appreciation for the competence and dedication demonstrated by the Chairman of that Committee, Ambassador Koroma. I am merely reaffirming here what I had the opportunity of saying when my delegation took part in the extraordinary meeting in Tunis to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV).

My delegation's devotion to the principles contained in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples - in particular, the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination - is well known to this Assembly. I would not emphasize this now if it were not that my delegation finds itself obliged to abstain on paragraph 42 of document A/40/23 (Part II) although it supports draft resolutions A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22.

(Mr. de Medina, Portugal)

In fact, although we support most of the recommendations contained in the first-mentioned resolution, and the general thrust of the text, my delegation regrets that it cannot support that draft resolution, in particular because of some of the wording that has been used, certain associations of ideas, and references to measures that my delegation is unable to support in a text which, in our view, ought to have been conceived in such a way as to win consensus.

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): The role of the United States in encouraging the decolonization movement which has swept across the globe, beginning in the eighteenth century but with mounting force after the Second World War, is well known. As a nation whose revolution against colonial rule served as an inspiration to other peoples, first in Europe and Latin America, later in Asia and Africa, our birthright compelled us to leadership in the fight for self-determination. Americans fervently believe that the right of people to rule themselves and to resist foreign masters - so dear to Americans from our own experience - cannot be restricted to one race, one creed, one class or one nation.

American support for self-determination and decolonization has not been merely theoretical. It has found practical expression from Thomas Paine, whose support for the rights of man led him to support movements of liberation throughout the European continent in the 1790's, through the 1820's, when American statesmen provided critical moral and political support to the founding fathers of Latin American independence, led by Simon Bolivar, San Martin, Hidalgo and Morazan; through the struggle for self-determination in Italy, in Germany and Ireland with which so many Americans so passionately identify; to President Wilson's 14 Points, which championed the rights of the peoples of Eastern Europe to self-rule and nationhood; and finally to the close of the Second World War, when the American granting of independence to the Philippines began the movement which was to sweep the world.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

With that birthright and that history, the United States of America of course has supported peoples seeking to exercise their right to self-determination both before and since the founding of the United Nations. This strong American position on occasion has caused us international difficulties by pitting our principles against the short-term interests of friends. Thus, the American commitment to self-determination and decolonization, conceived in the intellectual atmosphere of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, has been tested in the hard experience of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and has been strengthened by that test.

That is history. But where are we today? Some 159 countries, many former colonies, are Members of this Organization. The United Nations list of Non-Self Governing Territories, the yardstick for measuring the progress of decolonization, has only a handful of small Territories remaining on it. The total population of the Territories on the list still under the administration of Western countries subject to the scrutiny of the General Assembly, excluding the particularly difficult case of Namibia, is about 400,000. Of these Territories, only the people of Namibia are seeking independence.

We are voting on a number of resolutions today. Although my comments in explanation of vote are offered on the new resolution the Assembly is considering this year on the twenty-fifth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV), most of what I have to say applies with even greater force to the other resolutions not previously considered by the Fourth Committee.

In reading the resolution before us, I am reminded of the light cast from a burnt out star. The source has ceased to generate energy, but the light continues to reach us years later. This resolution, like many decolonization resolutions

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which we consider, seems to date from a bygone era. It presumes that imperialism is a continuing presence, a continuing threat in the developing world, against which peoples must struggle with the full resources of the United Nations and its specialized agencies mobilized behind them. Again, leaving aside the important question of Namibia, to whose self-determination under Security Council resolution 435 (1978) the United States is firmly committed, this presumption simply does not describe the realities of our world and has not for many, many years. To continue to assert that it does, contrary to fact, serves the interests of those who seek to stoke burnt out embers and feed old resentments.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

Indeed, it would seem that the purpose of some in keeping alive this outdated notion of an imperialist Western threat in the developing world is precisely to obscure the real colonial threat. To be a colonialist one need not send navies and conquistadores to conquer overseas lands. Those who dispatch troops, install proxy Governments and maintain armies of occupation in neighbouring or nearby States on the Eurasian land mass are every bit as colonialist. To be dominated and oppressed by a neighbour is no more pleasant for a proud people than to be oppressed from afar. This kind of domination is the true colonial problem of the modern age.

I do not propose a detailed examination of the provisions of the draft resolution before us, since as I have explained our decision not to support it is based as much on its ethos as upon its details. I would simply note that by focusing exclusively on resolution 1514 (XV) as the fountainhead of decolonization, the draft resolution does a disservice to history. In fact, the majority of former Territories had achieved independence long before resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted. Indeed, it is the international community, whose ideals were embodied in the United Nations Charter, and the peoples of the Territories themselves that deserve the lion's share of the credit for this achievement, worked out in most cases relatively peacefully with Administering Authorities.

I should also point out that resolution 1514 (XV), most of whose ideals and objectives my Government supported, was not the only important document on decolonization promulgated by the United Nations. There was also resolution 1541 (XV), adopted the following day, which listed independence, free association and integration into another independent State as acceptable outcomes of the self-determination process.

I would also note that there are sections in this draft resolution which seem to encourage politicization of the United Nations specialized agencies, assert



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principles of sovereignty over resources in Territories contrary to internationally accepted principles and call for courses of action in southern Africa under the United Nations Charter contrary to the policy of my Government.

Because of these and other specific defects, but also because of the seemingly urgent call for action on a problem which, we are thankful to say, is largely behind us, my delegation has decided to abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.

In voting against two other draft resolutions today on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, draft resolutions A/40/L.21 and L.22, I should also like to note my Government's opposition to singling out countries for selective condemnation. While the draft resolutions do not do so, the reports which they endorse contain such unacceptable references.

Mr. KURPERSHOEK (Netherlands): This year the United Nations commemorates not only the fortieth anniversary of the Organization but also the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It seems indeed appropriate that the two anniversaries should coincide, for the almost completed process of decolonization stands as one of the proudest achievements of this world body.

In the year of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) no fewer than 17 countries acceded to independence. Now, 25 years later, the original membership of 51 nations has expanded more than threefold to 159 Member States. We may therefore be justified in concluding that the goal of global membership has almost been attained.

On the occasion of the commemoration of this landmark event in the history of the United Nations, my delegation hopes that the recognition thus given to the

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fundamental importance of the principle of the equal rights and self-determination of peoples will provide us with an added impetus towards achieving the purposes mentioned in Article 1 (2) of the Charter - the development of friendly relations among nations and the strengthening of universal peace.

If there is reason to look back with satisfaction at the progress in the domain of decolonization over the past decades, we should also remind ourselves that one major exception continues to claim the attention of the international community. I refer of course to the question of Namibia. As long as the Territory of Namibia remains under South African occupation and its people are denied the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), the chapter on decolonization will remain uncomplete.

In view of the commemorative character of this session and the unanimous feeling that this Organization has played a particularly useful role in the decolonization process, it was only natural to expect that a draft resolution on this subject would reflect the existing consensus. To our surprise and dismay, however, the text submitted to us ignores the great strides which have been made towards the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and clings to the fiction that colonial domination is still the predominant reality in many parts of the world. Furthermore, the draft resolution is needlessly unbalanced and grating in its comments on the role played by the colonial Powers. The Netherlands is fully confident that the Powers administering the remaining dependent Territories continue to do so in the best interests of their inhabitants and in accordance with the Charter.

We deeply regret that the Special Committee has submitted this text without consideration of the need for consultations with other Members and has chosen to forgo an opportunity to enhance the lustre of the commemorative event by a

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display of united resolve. Instead it has led to unnecessary controversy, for it was clear from the outset that this draft resolution would not command unanimous approval.

One of the flaws in the text submitted to us is its persistent suggestion that independence is the only possible outcome of the exercise of the right to self-determination. It also overlooks the fact that independence has not invariably been wrestled from the grip of a reluctant colonial Power. Furthermore, my delegation cannot agree to the characterization of the situation in South Africa as a colonial one. The dangerous equation of apartheid with colonialism seems responsible for the curious suggestion in the sixteenth preambular paragraph that racial discrimination is practised not only in Namibia but also in other Territories entrusted to administering Powers. We also object to the notion implicit in operative paragraph 5 that those Powers administer the remaining dependent Territories against the wishes of their inhabitants and in violation of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For these reasons my delegation feels compelled to abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.

I shall now turn briefly to the other two draft resolutions under this agenda item. My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/40/L.21 because of the traditional support of the Netherlands for the full implementation of the principles embodied in resolution 1514 (XV). We continue to have reservations, however, on some elements in operative paragraphs 2, 4, 7, 8 and 10.

The Netherlands will abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/40/L.22, concerning the dissemination of information on decolonization. We regret that once again the report of the Special Committee (A/40/23 (Part III)) does not focus on the existing consensus on the subject of decolonization and that some of its recommendations seek to use the resources of this Organization for a campaign of unwarranted and selective criticism against one particular group of countries.

Mr. AOKI (Japan): My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolutions A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22 because we firmly support the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and hope that it will be duly implemented. My delegation appreciates the efforts of the authors of these draft resolutions to avoid the insertion of various unnecessary and controversial elements, which have often appeared in resolutions relating to decolonization. At the same time, however, my delegation must regretfully express its reservations on certain provisions contained in these documents. We cannot support some parts of the report of the Special Committee, to which operative paragraph 5 of L.21 and operative paragraph 1 of L.22 give unreserved approval, and it thus wishes to indicate its reservations on these paragraphs.

For reasons we have made clear on a number of occasions, including meetings at this session of the General Assembly, my delegation has reservations on other paragraphs of L.21, particularly operative paragraphs 4, 6 and 10. Moreover, it is our understanding that operative paragraph 7 of the same draft resolution is not intended as a condemnation of all foreign economic activities, but rather of a particular type of them which in fact impedes the process of self-determination in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

My delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/40/23 (Part II), Chapter II, paragraph 42, entitled "Twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" because my delegation finds that certain paragraphs, in particular, operative paragraphs 20 and 21, do not fit in with our position.

Mr. BROWNE (New Zealand): New Zealand's support for decolonization and for the achievements of the United Nations in this field has been consistent for 40 years. The record of that support has already been outlined in the debate on this item. That support will continue.

(Mr. Browne, New Zealand)

New Zealand will vote for the three draft resolutions before us today. My delegation wishes to record, however, that New Zealand continues to have difficulty with operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/40/L.21. In addition, we wish to make it clear that the reference to the "violations of the right to self-determination and basic human rights of the peoples of colonial Territories" in operative paragraph 2 of that draft resolution has no relevance or applicability to Tokelau, which is the one remaining Non-Self-Governing Territory for which New Zealand still has responsibility. The records of the Special Committee on decolonization, and especially the reports of the Visiting Missions from that Committee to Tokelau, demonstrate this clearly.

Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): My delegation was both surprised and disappointed that no attempt was made to consult us on the drafting of the twenty-fifth anniversary draft resolution contained in document A/40/23 (Part II). We are aware of the strenuous efforts of some delegations to produce a text that was both moderate and balanced. But it will come as no surprise when I say that the version before the General Assembly this afternoon still contains much to which we take exception.

In the first place, we are struck by its inordinate length: does it really require 17 preambular and 24 operative paragraphs to commemorate the adoption of a United Nations resolution 25 years ago? The answer of course is that this draft resolution serves less as a commemoration than as yet another vehicle from which to trumpet tendentious propositions about colonialism.

The draft resolution is flawed in a number of respects. For example, it talks disparagingly of the needs for "speedy eradication" of colonialism, as if it were some sort of political virus; it implicitly and patronizingly pours contempt on colonial peoples by calling for the removal of the remaining "vestiges" of

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colonialism, irrespective, apparently, of the wishes of the people concerned. It refers dismissively to colonialism in terms of "oppression" and "domination"; and it comes very close to equating colonialism with racial discrimination and violations of basic human rights.

There is more to which we object and on which, as a vitally interested party, we should surely have been consulted. Suffice it to say that this document is at best grudging in its acknowledgement of the great strides made in the field of decolonization over the years. Moreover, it fails to recognize that the era of colonialism, at least colonialism in the sense generally accepted by the United Nations, is all but over. It is time we recognized this fact. It is time we set aside the disobliging rhetoric of past decades that has served only to keep this subject artificially alive and to deflect our attention from other more pressing matters, such as the military occupation of a small non-aligned country, or the application of self-determination to Namibia.

This draft resolution does indeed have a good deal to say about the situation in Namibia. It is right that it should do so since, with the exception of Namibia, the process of decolonization is close to an end. No one is more concerned than we to see the peaceful transition of Namibia to independence. We are staunch upholders of the principle of self-determination in Namibia as elsewhere. Nevertheless, Namibia is sui generis. It is in effect a ward of the United Nations and is in a different legal position from all other Territories. Accordingly, the special provisions that apply to Namibia should be taken for what they are, namely, special arrangements to apply to a unique and particular set of circumstances; they do not apply elsewhere.

This draft resolution is as irrelevant to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization as it is to the real needs of the people of our dependent Territories.

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We regret that we have no alternative but to abstain in the vote.

I need say less on the other two draft resolutions, A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22, since they are virtually indistinguishable from their counterparts in previous years, which we voted against. Our views on both drafts are well known. It will come as no surprise when I say that we shall vote the same way again this year. Like the twenty-fifth anniversary draft resolution the language in both drafts is disobliging and ungenerous. L.21, on the "Implementation of the Declaration ...", takes scant account of the real needs and wishes of dependent peoples; L.22, on "Dissemination of information ...", calls for an intensification of information work in the decolonization area when, in our view, this should diminish as the era of decolonization draws to a close.

But to come back to the twenty-fifth anniversary, the distortion and falsity which characterize some parts of the commemorative draft resolution damage the respect which ought to belong to those in the United Nations concerned with decolonization. Decolonization has been one of the great success stories of the United Nations and my delegation wishes that this commemoration could have brought out that fact and treated it as a matter for congratulation and not for misrepresentation. With the exception of Namibia, the process of decolonization is virtually at an end. Nevertheless, in so far as that process still has a future, my Government reaffirms that our policy towards our remaining dependent Territories will continue to be guided by the principle of self-determination. We regret that the overriding importance of that principle, which was so lightly treated in last week's vote on the future of the Falkland Islanders, does not appear to be shared by others, including, notably, members of the Committee of 24. However, we will stick by our principles. We respect the wishes of the peoples of our dependent Territories as we take seriously the obligations placed on us by the Charter of the

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United Nations as an administering Power; and we shall do nothing to stand in their way if independence is what they want. Meanwhile, those who attack the small peoples who wish to exercise their right of self-determination in favour of retaining their links with the United Kingdom should reread the Charter and rededicate themselves to the principle of self-determination. That would be appropriate to a twenty-fifth commemoration.



(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

I had not intended on this occasion to enter into the substance of the Falkland Islands question. However, I listened with astonishment, about an hour ago, to the speech of the Chairman of the Fourth Committee. My delegation is a member of the Fourth Committee, so he is my Chairman as well as the Chairman of other delegations, including the Nicaraguan delegation.

It is, I believe, the convention of the General Assembly that Chairmen of its Committees should behave impartially when acting as Chairmen. I thought of raising a point of order, but as a matter of courtesy I refrained. However, it would also be an act of courtesy if Chairmen refrained from taking partisan positions when acting in their capacity as Chairmen.

If I heard correctly, the Chairman of the Fourth Committee spoke of his support for Argentina's sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. Is that an impartial position? Hardly. How could the Chairman of the Fourth Committee - of all Committees - fail to refer to the wishes of the Falkland Islanders? What does the Chairman of the Fourth Committee think of operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution before us? It reads:

"Reaffirms the inalienable right of all peoples under colonial rule to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)". (A/40/23 (part II), p. 10)

When the very first operative paragraph is neglected in that way, no wonder we have to abstain.

Mr. ROWE (Australia): The fortieth anniversary of our Organization and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have given us all a further opportunity to reflect on the very substantial contribution made by the United

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Nations in the field of decolonization. Australia is proud to have played its part in furtherance of this cause and in bringing all Territories for which it was previously the administering Power to self-determination. We remain firmly wedded to the goal of self-determination for the people of all Non-Self-Governing Territories, in accordance with their wishes.

Despite the substantial progress that has been made in the field of decolonization, we share the particular concern of the international community at the situation in Namibia, where South Africa has consistently refused to bring the Territory to independence in accordance with the United Nations plan.

As a country in the South Pacific, our attention is focused naturally on those Territories in our region which have yet to complete the process of self-determination. In this regard, Australia fully supports the conclusions arrived at in the communiqué issued by the Sixteenth South Pacific Forum, held at Rarotonga in August this year. The Forum welcomed the progress which had been made by the people of Micronesia in achieving self-determination and looked forward to early termination of the Trusteeship Agreement by the United States, in accordance with the wishes of the people. The Forum also reaffirmed its support for the self-determination and early transition to independence of New Caledonia, in accordance with the innate active rights and aspirations of the indigenous people and in a manner that guaranteed the rights and wishes of all the inhabitants of that multiracial society. The Forum will consider developments in the Territory at its next meeting, in 1986. Australia believes that the course of action upon which the French Government has embarked contains positive elements appropriate to assisting New Caledonia in its evolution to independence, and welcomes these actions.

Turning to the draft resolutions before us, Australia will vote in favour of the draft resolutions contained in paragraph 42 of document A/40/23 (part II) and

(Mr. Rowe, Australia)

in documents A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22, despite reservations we have about certain elements contained therein. In particular, Australia does not believe that the existence of Non-Self-Governing Territories constitutes a threat to international peace and security, as asserted in operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/40/L.21. Moreover, Australia has consistently dissociated itself from any endorsement of armed struggle and remains committed to the view that this Organization ought to seek to resolve international disputes by peaceful means. We cannot, thus, support the implied endorsement of armed struggle in operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/40/L.21.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The General Assembly will now begin the voting process and will take decisions on the draft resolution recommended in part II of document A/40/23 and on draft resolutions A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22.

The programme budget implications of those draft resolutions are contained in the report of the Fifth Committee in document A/40/955.

The Assembly will vote first on the draft resolution contained in paragraph 42 of part II of the report of the Special Committee of 24 in document A/40/23. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras,

Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

**Against:** None.

**Abstaining:** Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

**The draft resolution contained in paragraph 42 of document A/40/23 (Part II) was adopted by 139 votes to none, with 13 abstentions (resolution 40/56).**

**The PRESIDENT** (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/40/L.21. A recorded vote has been requested.

**A recorded vote was taken.**

**In favour:** Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria,

Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi.

Draft resolution A/40/L.21 was adopted by 141 votes to 3, with 7 abstentions (resolution 40/57).\*

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I now put to the vote draft resolution A/40/L.22. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone,

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\*Subsequently the delegation of the Dominican Republic advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands.

Draft resolution A/40/L.22 was adopted by 142 votes to 3, with 6 abstentions (resolution 40/58).\*

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\*Subsequently the delegation of the Dominican Republic advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now call on the representatives who wish to explain their votes.

Mr. KEISALO (Finland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland. The Nordic countries' abiding commitment to the process of decolonization is well known and was explained in their statement last Friday on item 18. That process has very nearly run its course. This is one of the historic achievements of this Organization. However, a most important and urgent colonial issue, that is, Namibia, remains to be resolved.

The Nordic countries voted in favour of the three draft resolutions just adopted. We regret, however, that we could not do so without reservations with regard to all three resolutions. For example, operative paragraph 4 in draft resolution A/40/L.21 contains formulations to which we cannot give our consent and which are contrary to the principle upheld by the Nordic countries that in conformity with its Charter the United Nations should always encourage only peaceful solutions. Furthermore, we find operative paragraph 10 too general, and too categorically formulated and it should, in our view, have been restricted to those activities that are detrimental to the peoples of the non-self-governing Territories and their right to self-determination and independence.\*

Furthermore, our vote on operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/40/L.22 regarding the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on Decolonization relating to the dissemination of information should, in our view, not be interpreted as an approval of all the specific parts of that chapter.

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\*Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. ERKMENOGU (Turkey): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution concerning the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in document A/40/L.21, in keeping with the firm support of the Turkish Government for the efforts being exerted for the total elimination of colonialism in the world today. At the same time, I wish to place on record our reservation with regard to operative paragraph 10 of the resolution, as we do not believe this paragraph has been drafted in a sufficiently balanced manner.

Ms. O'FARRELL (Ireland): Ireland has, whenever possible, supported resolutions under this item in order to reaffirm its support for the process of peaceful decolonization based upon resolution 1514 (XV) and for the work of the United Nations generally in the decolonization field. In this spirit, my delegation has voted in favour of the draft resolution in paragraph 42, chapter II of document A/40/23 (Part II), relating to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We also voted in favour of draft resolutions A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22.

My delegation, however, has reservations on some of the generalizations in A/40/L.21. We also have reservations in relation to some of the recommendations and 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, although we support in general the work of that Committee.

With regard to operative paragraph 10 of A/40/L.21, I should like to reaffirm that in determining our attitude towards specific military bases and installations, my delegation will be guided by the attitudes, freely expressed, of the inhabitants of the Territories in question.



Mr. STEFANINI (Italy): It is with some regret that Italy has abstained on the resolution on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization. Unfortunately, in our view, the commemorative character of this resolution would have been better served by avoiding some of the elements contained in the text just adopted by this Assembly. In particular, we cannot fully agree with operative paragraphs 10, 19, 20 and 21.

It is unfortunate, we believe, that after 25 years we are not able to reach a consensus on the celebration of decolonization, which is undoubtedly a most remarkable success story at the United Nations. Nevertheless, we remain firmly committed to it. We are aware that there are still peoples waiting to be freed from colonialism, Namibia being by far the most significant and urgent case. In this context, Italy wishes to reaffirm its support for a free and independent Namibia under the United Nations plan, and its condemnation for the policies of South Africa in the region.

With regard to our vote on the text on the dissemination of information, I can only recall our statement of last year. We put on record our strongest reservations on a particular section of the report of the Special Committee. We find very little change in this part of the report (chapter III of document A/40/23, part III). Therefore, we have once more abstained in the vote on this question.

Let us be absolutely clear about our position. We believe that information has been and still is instrumental in carrying out the Declaration on decolonization. To the extent that the process of decolonization has not yet been fully completed, that information still has a role to play, we all agree. But we cannot agree on unjustified criticism of Member countries or groups of countries, or on references to questions which are not included within the mandate of the Committee of 24. Moreover, we see as inappropriate any request to the Department of Public Information which might result in unfriendly activities towards Member countries of the United Nations.

Ms. MUCK-BERTRAND (Austria): Austria considers that the process of decolonization constitutes one of the outstanding achievements of the United Nations. Austria has therefore consistently supported the efforts of the United Nations in this regard.

It is because of its sincere commitment to the process of decolonization and to the right of peoples of self-determination that Austria has supported all three draft resolutions submitted under item 18. However, that should not be interpreted as approval of all the provisions contained in these three texts. We have reservations with regard to some of them. In particular, I should like to refer to operative paragraph 4 of resolution A/40/L.21 and to underline that Austria understands that paragraph as referring exclusively to the struggle by peaceful means as behoves an organization which is built on the principles of non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Mr. SVOBODA (Canada): The story of decolonization has been one of the United Nations great success stories over its first four decades. This historic process is, with certain major exceptions, now unquestionably drawing to a close. Canada firmly supports the view that these remaining questions should continue to be pursued with all appropriate means, taking into account limited resources available for the purpose, but of course bearing in mind the importance of the process involved.

Canada has supported and continues to support the process of decolonization, and we would have wished to have voted for all of the resolutions that have just been considered, in paragraph 42 of document A/40/23 (Part II), as well as in documents A/40/L.21 and A/40/L.22. We sincerely wanted to do so, both because this year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and because of the symbolic value of the resolutions themselves.

(Mr. Svoboda, Canada)

Unfortunately, however, due to the inclusion in certain paragraphs of those draft resolutions of what we consider to be unnecessarily repetitive and excessively polemical phraseology, we could not support the first two draft resolutions. We do not believe such hortatory language contributes to the effective action that should ideally have the consensus endorsement of this Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind representatives that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and five minutes for the second, and that they should be made by representatives from their seats.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): During the course of my statement in the general debate on agenda item 18 on Friday, 29 November, the representative of France saw fit to interrupt me three times in succession and challenged the right of my delegation to refer to New Caledonia. On his third intervention, moreover, he had the temerity, in purported retaliation, to refer to internal affairs of my country. The fact that the representative of France apparently suffered a temporary lapse of memory, and disregarded one of the basic obligations assumed by Members of this Organization - namely, non-intervention in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State - does not come as any surprise at all to those of us who are familiar with the now well-known practice and policy of his Government, as amply demonstrated in the Greenpeace affair, as well as in France's continued nuclear testing in the Pacific, in total disregard of the well-being of the peoples in the region.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

In order to set the record straight, and in the hope that the representative of France may in future refrain from being disruptive, discourteous and out of order, and from committing the same procedural errors as he did at our earlier meeting, I should like to draw his particular attention to the fact that, by virtue of its own decisions, the ultimate authority rests with the General Assembly itself in respect of the list of Territories to which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is applicable.

In this connection, the Assembly has requested the Special Committee of 24 to undertake annually a review of the list and to make appropriate recommendations thereon. In pursuance of its mandate the Special Committee has this year once again submitted a report on an item on its agenda entitled "Question of the list of the Territories to which the Declaration is applicable", as set out in section G, of chapter 1 of Part I of document A/40/23. Accordingly there should be no doubt whatsoever that the question has been, is and will be a proper subject to be discussed within the context of the general aspects of the process of decolonization under the present item of the agenda.

I should like, therefore, to underscore the right of any Member State to submit its views under the present item as to why a particular Territory should or should not be included in the list of Territories.

I should like also to remind the representative of France that my delegation requested the Special Committee to examine at its 1980 session the applicability of the Declaration to New Caledonia, having regard to the fast deteriorating situation in that Territory. Mindful of the related developments in respect of New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea chose not to press for Committee action at its subsequent session.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

During the course of this year, however, the world has witnessed a further deterioration in the situation in that Territory, including the loss of innocent lives, bloodshed and a stepped-up military presence. The concern shared by Member States over these developments led to the adoption of a passage relating to New Caledonia in the Rarotonga (Cook Islands) Declaration of the South Pacific Forum adopted on 6 August 1985. That document has now become an official document of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council.

Against that background, on 2 October this year my delegation addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Special Committee, drawing the attention of the Committee to the relevant passage of the Rarotonga Declaration and requesting it to take up once again the question of the applicability of the Declaration to New Caledonia in the light of the concern expressed by the Forum members.

As will be noted from the draft resolution A/40/L.21, just adopted by the General Assembly, the Assembly approved, among other things, the report of the Special Committee, including the section of the report to which I have referred. In so doing it requested the Special Committee to continue to review the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable. I wish to express my sincere hope that, in discharge of that task, the Special Committee will at its 1986 session take into account in particular some of the points I raised in my statement on 29 November.

Having clarified beyond a shadow of doubt - I hope - the legitimate right of any delegation to refer to the deplorable colonial situation obtaining in New Caledonia within the context of the present item, I should like at this stage to place on record my delegation's strong reservations on the highly irregular manner in which the presiding officer at our earlier meeting dealt with the so-called points of order raised by the representative of France, which in fact were out of order. Twice the presiding officer requested me to bear in mind the

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

remarks made by the representative of France. When I was interrupted for the third time the presiding officer requested me to conclude my statement forthwith at that stage. With due deference to the high office of the Assembly presidency, I did not at that stage insist on completing my statement. I should therefore now like to be allowed to deliver that part of my general debate statement which I was prevented from delivering due to the incorrect and inappropriate proceedings at our meeting of 29 November.

Not only did the representative of France interrupt my statement, he also chose the occasion to smear the reputation of my country by making outrageous allegations of human rights violations, crime and corruption in Papua New Guinea. I wish to assure the representative of France that such undignified tactics will not stop Papua New Guinea from addressing the issue of New Caledonia's decolonization.

Papua New Guinea is a developing country and, like any other country whether developed or developing - perhaps with the exception of France - we have our share of crime and of unemployment problems but we are not ignoring them; we are doing something about them.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

Perhaps we can learn from France how it manages to avoid problems of crime and unemployment and other social evils.

New Caledonia was included in the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories in resolution 66 (I), of 14 December 1946, concerning information on Non-Self-Governing Territories to be transmitted to the United Nations by the administering Power under Article 73e of the Charter. In 1947 France unilaterally ceased to transmit information on New Caledonia and a number of other Territories under its administration. That action led to resolution 222 (III), adopted after a heated debate, requesting information on the constitutional position and status of such Territories.

The PRESIDENT: I must, with regret, remind the representative of Papua New Guinea that the period allocated to him has expired, and ask him if he would be good enough to conclude his statement.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): I have much to say, Mr. President. As I have already shown, I was unable previously to complete what I had to say.

When my delegation speaks of human rights, rights to self-determination, freedom and equality, it believes in their universal application, not their selective application to one's own advantage. Human rights, freedom and the equality of women in Papua New Guinea are well enshrined in our Constitution.

Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I wish to exercise my right of reply to refer to an intervention by the representative of the Zionist base occupying Palestine, in which he spoke of the sale of Persian Gulf oil to South Africa. That load of rubbish has previously been poured out from the same mouth in the Assembly, but such false allegations will bear no fruit, no matter how often they are repeated. They are false and definitely have certain political motivations behind them.

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Islamic  
Republic of Iran)

As for the substance of the point, as I have said before, we sell our oil to certain legitimate and legitimately registered companies which have committed themselves not to carry or sell our oil to the Pretoria régime. But they usually unload the cargo at European ports, and we do not know what happens to that oil when it goes from there through certain chains of transactions.

International Zionism has a very powerful network, and everybody's oil might well go to South Africa through that network. The Zionist régime occupying Palestine does not have oil. Where does it get its oil? It gets it from the Zionist network that governs many international companies and multinational corporations.

However, I think that the point was not made simply for its substance. Indeed, it has no substance. The idea was to hide the dirty face of Zionism behind such allegations, because the Zionist régime occupying Palestine has the closest co-operation of all kinds with the South African régime. They are both racist. They are both Zionist. They collaborate and co-operate in various technical fields, and they also co-operate in the intelligence and information fields. The conspiracies, spying and intelligence activities of the Zionist base occupying Palestine are nowadays even known to its mother country, the United States. It is now biting its own mother, and I think the mother deserves that bite.

However, it is a great shame that an illegitimate entity can gain recognition in this Assembly and then make allegations against everybody else. If the independent States could have united and defended the right of the Palestinian people honourably and fully, permission would never have been given to such illegitimate entities to come here and make baseless allegations against other people.



Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): I shall be brief, because the representative of Papua New Guinea does not deserve a long answer, owing to the weakness of his arguments. He brought the matter down to a personal level; the texts that he read with such emphasis were only the result of his personal initiative. It is not he who has the duty of interpreting the rules of the Assembly and deciding when they apply.

The question of New Caledonia is a delicate and painful one. Never has a Government done so much to find a just and balanced solution. I was happy to hear the representatives of Australia and New Zealand pay tribute to the efforts of the French Government. Everyone in the Assembly knows that New Caledonia is not on the Assembly's agenda. Mr. Lohia is making personal efforts of a personal nature, which do not deserve any further answer.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply for the second time and remind them that second interventions are limited to five minutes.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): I wish to declare at the outset that my statement is in accord with the views of my Government.

We are told that in the French colony of New Caledonia the French police force and army have been collaborating with anti-independence white settlers to carry out violent actions against the Kanak people, in order to demobilize them. Kanaks have been killed. French forces are known to raid villages. Kanaks are being arbitrarily arrested today. White settlers continue to attempt to bomb Kanak radio stations. It is no longer possible for Kanaks to demonstrate. Their freedom has gone. Only the settlers and other foreigners are enjoying such freedoms.

I repeat that our statements in the Assembly are very much in line with the policy of my Government. I also remind representatives that although we have just had a change of Government our policy on decolonization remains firm.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): What the representative of Papua New Guinea has just stated so emphatically does not deserve any reply.

## AGENDA ITEM 126

## FINANCING OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST:

(a) UNITED NATIONS DISENGAGEMENT OBSERVER FORCE: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE  
(A/40/957)

Mr. Falk Meltke (German Democratic Republic), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/40/957) and then spoke as follows:

Mr. MELTKE (German Democratic Republic), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: It gives me great pleasure to introduce the report of the Fifth Committee relating to agenda item 126 (a) entitled "Financing of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Forces in the Middle East: United Nations Disengagement Observer Force" (A/40/957).

The Fifth Committee, at its fifty-first meeting, adopted two draft resolutions relating to the financing of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. These draft resolutions are found in paragraph 6 of the Committee's report. In draft resolution A, the General Assembly would appropriate an amount of \$18,282,000 for the operation of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, covering the period 1 December 1985 to 31 May 1986 inclusive, and would authorize the Secretary-General to enter into commitments for the Force at a rate not exceeding \$3,047,000 gross per month for the period from 1 June to 30 November 1986 inclusive, should the Security Council decide to continue the Force beyond the period of six months authorized under its resolution 576 (1985).

In draft resolution B, the General Assembly would decide that the provisions of financial regulations 5.2 (b), 5.2 (d), 4.3 and 4.4, in respect of the amount of

(Mr. Meltke, Rapporteur,  
Fifth Committee)

\$3,250,131, which otherwise would have to be surrendered pursuant to those provisions, shall be suspended, and this amount shall be entered in the account referred to in General Assembly resolution 33/13 E and be held in suspense until a further decision is taken by the Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: The recommendations of the Fifth Committee, contained in paragraph 6 of its report (A/40/957), consist of draft resolutions A and B. The Assembly will take a decision first on draft resolution A.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Albania, Syrian Arab Republic.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Algeria, Benin, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Iraq, Morocco, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 96 votes to 2, with 13 abstentions (resolution 40/59 A).\*

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\*Subsequently the delegation of Viet Nam advised the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution B.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Syrian Arab Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Algeria, Benin, Iraq, Morocco, Romania, Yemen.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 93 votes to 10, with 6 abstentions (resolution 40/59 B).

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of sub-item (a) of agenda item 126.

#### ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to inform the General Assembly that I have received one additional formal request to extend the deadline for the submission to the Fifth Committee of all draft resolutions with programme budget implications. The Chairman of the Third Committee has requested an extension until 3 December in connection with agenda item 106.

(The President)

May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to extend the deadline accordingly?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.