



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 15th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued)

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued)

(b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 108: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (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

AGENDA ITEM 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 (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

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued)

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CONTENTS (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 111: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA; REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 112: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES; REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued) (A/42/23 (Part VI), 111, 178, 224, 357, 417, 601, 606, 651; A/AC.109/889 to 891, 892 and Add.1 and 2, 893 and Add.1, 894 and Add.1, 895, 896 and Add.1 and 2, 897, 898 and Add.1, 899 to 903, 904 and Corr.1, 905 to 912, 913 and Add.1, 914, 915, 918 and 921)

- (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 (continued)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 108: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/42/23 (Part IV), 171, 577/Rev.1)

- (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

AGENDA ITEM 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 (continued) (A/42/23 (Part IV), 264 and Add.1; A/AC.109/L.1620; E/1987/85)

- (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

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/42/3, chap. I, VI and VII; A/C.4/42/L.3)

AGENDA ITEM 111: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/42/628; A/C.4/42/L.2)

AGENDA ITEM 112: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/42/578)

1. Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria), referring to agenda item 110, recalled that since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) the international community had closely monitored the efforts of the vast majority of international institutions

(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

associated with the United Nations to support the colonial peoples in their legitimate struggle for liberation. The report of the Secretary-General (A/42/264 and Add.1) contained detailed information on their activities in the field of decolonization. The draft resolution proposed by the Special Committee on decolonization in its report (A/42/23 (Part IV)) urged the competent United Nations agencies to extend, as a matter of priority, material and other assistance to the front-line States which had an important role to play in the liberation struggles in southern Africa. The assistance which those States received was necessary to enable them to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the aggressions of the racist Pretoria régime. Bulgaria commended the international organizations which had expelled the racist South African régime and those which had established contacts and were strengthening their co-operation with the national liberation movements recognized by OAU. At the same time it agreed with the Special Committee that those activities did not fully meet the needs of colonial peoples and, in particular, the needs of the people of Namibia and of its national liberation movement, SWAPO. He expressed regret that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank continued to maintain links with racist South Africa but expressed the conviction that the draft resolution submitted by the Special Committee (A/42/23 (Part IV)) would contribute greatly to increasing material assistance to the colonial peoples, particularly in southern Africa, and to the national liberation movements which were recognized by the international community.

2. Mr. BUDAI (Hungary) said that although many colonial Territories had achieved self-determination and had freed themselves from military and economic domination, there were still quite a number whose social, economic and cultural development was hampered by foreign domination. Domination could take the form of brutal oppression, as in Namibia, or the more sophisticated form of economic dependence. In the latter case, foreign domination exploited the advantages which the Territories could offer without regard for the Territories' interests and even to the detriment of their own interests. Foreign interests did not promote the development of infrastructure and trade, but instead distorted the local economy, reducing it to one that provided services and raw materials. Dependent Territories did need assistance but assistance should benefit them instead of serving the economic, military or strategic interests of the Administering Powers. Specifically, local natural resources belonged wholly to the indigenous population. It was particularly important to bear that in mind in the case of Namibia. The foreign corporations which were helping South Africa maintain its economic domination were thus demonstrating that their condemnations of the apartheid system were empty words.

3. Local authorities and other influential bodies could associate themselves with the efforts being made by the United Nations to ensure that the principles set forth in the Declaration were fully implemented.

4. Mr. PHAM QUANG VINH (Viet Nam) noted that, while tremendous progress had been made since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the decolonization process was not yet complete. Certain colonial Powers pretended to be defending the interests of the dependent peoples but that was not confirmed by the facts. On the contrary, the measures which they were taking impeded the decolonization process and were detrimental to international peace and security. For example, the military installations situated in dependent Territories, such as the Falkland Islands, Bermuda, St. Helena, Puerto Rico, Guam or Micronesia, remained and had even been strengthened and modernized. What was even more dangerous, nuclear weapons were being stored and tested there. Viet Nam was particularly concerned about the maintenance of such bases in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The latter had been divided and its political status had been changed with the imposition of such forms of neo-colonialism as "free association" or "integration". Natural and human material resources, which should have been used for development, were thus being wasted on military goals.

5. The administering Powers had also deepened the economic dependency and imbalance of the Non-Self-Governing Territories by concentrating only on certain sectors that could ensure the greatest profits for foreign investors, without seeking to improve the infrastructure, diversify the economy or train a skilled indigenous labour force. The plunder of the natural resources of those Territories and the exploitation of their people continued, Namibia being the worst case in point. The colonial Powers were thus seeking by various economic, political or military means to maintain their domination in new forms, and the dependent peoples could not freely express their aspirations, nor could they decide their own future free from foreign interference or coercion. The elections held under those conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories were therefore unacceptable.

6. In southern Africa, the Namibians continued to be deprived of their inalienable rights, even the right to live as human beings. Only the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions could force South Africa to comply with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the only universally acceptable basis for the peaceful transition of Namibia to independence. Viet Nam condemned the policy of so-called constructive engagement and "linkage", which only delayed the granting of independence and the elimination of apartheid. Viet Nam fully supported the just struggle of the Namibian and South African people under the leadership, respectively, of SWAPO and ANC. It also supported the self-determination of New Caledonia and the inclusion of New Caledonia in the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and felt that the referendum recently held under unfavourable conditions and boycotted by the Kanak people could not be considered as the free expression of the true aspirations of the Kanaks. His delegation also supported the people of Western Sahara in their just struggle under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front and hoped that the parties to the conflict would soon enter into direct negotiations for the speedy attainment of the Saharan people's inalienable rights.

7. Nothing could justify the exploitation and colonial and military domination of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Some countries, however, were preventing the

(Mr. Pham Quang Vinh, Viet Nam)

imposition of sanctions against South Africa for refusing to comply with Article 73 e of the United Nations Charter and to participate in the work of the Special Committee on decolonization. The international community should therefore enhance its efforts to secure a speedy and full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

8. Mr. KOHLASE (German Democratic Republic) said that he was convinced that the majority of Member States were determined to work towards the accession to independence of the 19 remaining colonially dependent Territories. The economic and social situation in those Territories was still alarming, which was not surprising in view of the fact that their economic development and political status were dictated by the interests of the mother countries. Such practices were contrary to the United Nations Charter; each people had the right to decide upon the type of political and socio-economic development which it deemed most appropriate. The General Assembly had, in that respect, laid down clear provisions in its resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), which should be duly taken into account and should become a decisive element of the foreign policy of all States, especially of the colonial Powers, whose actions unquestionably had a negative influence on the decolonization process.

9. Recent developments in Micronesia clearly illustrated that some of those principles were being violated. Thus, the national unity and territorial integrity of the Territory had been destroyed by its division into four parts. The referendum held in Palau by the administering Power had in no way been democratic, and the "arguments" used to persuade the population to vote in a certain way had not been appropriate. The United Nations should therefore assume its responsibility for that strategic Territory, which was unquestionably one of its Trust Territories, having been recognized as such by the administering Power itself at one time.

10. Colonialism was absolutely incompatible with mankind's desire for peace. Its eradication was therefore an essential objective of the comprehensive system of international peace and security proposed by the socialist States, a system which took into account the legitimate interests of all peoples. A lasting peace was unthinkable without the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and unreserved respect for the peoples' right to self-determination and national sovereignty. It was the Organization's responsibility to work towards that goal. The German Democratic Republic fully supported such action.

11. The German Democratic Republic paid special tribute to several United Nations bodies - UNESCO, the Commission on Human Rights, ILO, FAO, WHO and UNDP. The seventy-third ILO Conference had made an important contribution by demanding comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime. It was deplorable, however, that the International Monetary Fund continued to give financial support to the racist régime of Pretoria, thus enabling that régime to stay alive and commit its crimes. Such support should be halted immediately.

12. Mr. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) noted that a new humanist and democratic political thinking was beginning to inspire international relations. That had been illustrated, inter alia, by the fruitful East-West dialogue, but forces hostile to that new thinking were still very active. Those forces, in particular, opposed the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Soviet Union, for its part, since its beginning, had always defended the right of peoples to self-determination and social progress and had tirelessly supported all peoples struggling for their independence.

13. Mankind was presently being threatened by unprecedented dangers. Under such conditions, as noted by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, M. S. Gorbachev, there was an urgent need to adopt new rules of coexistence. They might take the form of a comprehensive system of international security in which, inter alia, each people would have the sovereign right to choose the forms of its own development. Obviously, the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization would be an essential element of that system. In order for colonialism to be eliminated from the world, the administering Powers must contribute to the socio-economic development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and allow the indigenous peoples to use their own natural resources freely. However, despite the recommendations of the Special Committee on decolonization and the decisions of the United Nations, those Powers were not taking the appropriate measures, and were instead attempting to impose on the non-self-governing peoples a neo-colonialist statute, thereby keeping them under military and economic subjection.

14. Such oppression was nowhere more flagrant than in Namibia. The conflict in southern Africa could only, and should only, be settled by political means; however, for that to occur, South Africa must halt all aggression against the front-line States, grant immediate independence to Namibia and put an end to the apartheid system. The Soviet Union therefore called for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. In the other Non-Self-Governing Territories, the situation was hardly encouraging either. The United States had imposed a colonial régime on the Micronesian people. It did not hesitate to resort to extreme methods to convince the people of Palau to submit to its diktat, in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, which stipulated that only the Security Council was empowered to put an end to a trusteeship agreement. The peoples of Puerto Rico, New Caledonia and Western Sahara were also being prevented from exercising their right to self-determination and independence. There should not be two separate standards for decolonization: the provisions of the Charter and the relevant provisions adopted by the United Nations applied equally to all Non-Self-Governing Territories. Moreover, decolonization must not be restricted to a formal proclamation of independence. In order for it to take effect, the peoples of the former colonial and semi-colonial Territories must have economic independence and must free themselves from colonial structures in respect of culture, education and training. The Special Committee on decolonization must not lose sight of that question.

(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)

15. The international organizations of the United Nations system were providing invaluable moral and material support to the colonial peoples and national liberation movements. Unfortunately, that assistance was inadequate in many cases; it was also deplorable that the World Bank and IMF were continuing to maintain relations with South Africa.

16. Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia) said that the principles of freedom and independence enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had to a large extent been realized. Yet although many colonial peoples had thus become free and sovereign nations, over 3 million people still remained under colonial bondage. The sufferings arising from that subjugation were a scandal in the civilized world which diminished the credibility of the United Nations itself. In Namibia, in particular, the aspirations of the people to freedom were being ruthlessly muffled, while the South African oppressor was committing boundless atrocities; Namibia had been turned into a military base and its natural resources were being systematically depleted. Only the timely implementation of the decisions of the international community, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978), could put an end to that tragic situation by facilitating the Territory's accession to independence. In other parts of the world, the administering Powers were plotting various schemes to prevent the Non-Self-Governing Territories from gaining their freedom; they were consolidating their military bases, upsetting the demography of the peoples concerned and destroying indigenous cultures. Those Powers must desist from such acts and comply with Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter. Colonialism, however it was disguised, was an anachronism which must disappear.

17. Ethiopia was contributing, within its limited means, to the implementation of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa by making its institutions of higher learning available to students from southern Africa. It was intent on continuing that assistance, and even expanding it, and it viewed with satisfaction the increase in contributions to the Programme in 1987.

18. Bodies such as WHO, FAO, UNHCR, UNESCO, UNDP and ILO were doing much for decolonization. It was to be hoped that other specialized agencies would in turn support the cause of self-determination. They were not being asked to go against their mandates, which in any case could not possibly prohibit them from working for the freedom of non-self-governing peoples, but merely to demonstrate goodwill.

19. Development could not be realized without peace, and peace would not prevail unless the freedom and equality of all peoples were guaranteed. Ethiopia, which had made great sacrifices over a long period to safeguard its independence, would unflinchingly associate itself with all collective efforts to advance those causes, which it cherished to the full.

20. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) said that, before and after independence, his country had suffered the bitter experience of oppression, racism and the exploitation of man by man. It was therefore natural for it to express solidarity with those who were

(Mr. Auguste, Haiti)

struggling to defend their right to freedom and self-determination, and to reject any compromise in respect of that cardinal principle of its policy.

21. Colonialism, however, had changed over time. It was now disguised in the form of demographic readjustments, political overtures or social reforms. Sometimes constitutional arrangements even allowed the colonized population to participate in political life. It then had to be determined whether the change was real or merely apparent; whether, for example, decolonization was leading to international sovereignty or to integration within the political and social institutions of the metropolis, and whether it encouraged diversification of the economy, the safeguarding of cultural identity, and the training of personnel. Visiting missions were thus essential, because they made it possible to assess objectively whether the situation really corresponded to the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. If necessary, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the principle of non-use of force in international relations, and other factors must also be taken into account in order to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism which endangered international security. That applied when Powers exported their policies of militarization or nuclearization to regions which were often very reluctant, and sought to extend their exclusive maritime zones and their territorial waters. Every situation was different, as in the case, for example, of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). The individual characteristics of each situation required specific and differentiated solutions taking into account the interests of the peoples, the political and legal adjustments that were needed, the primacy of law and the requirements of peace.

22. Namibia was a typical case where the process of decolonization had been blocked. That situation resulted from the bad faith and rapaciousness of South Africa, which was relying on an apparatus of terror and oppression to prevent the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the fulfilment of the wishes of the United Nations. Member States must resolve to put the principles of the Charter and law before their own interests and order comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa which should be strictly monitored and implemented. The recommendations 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/42/23, part V) must be followed to the letter and, more particularly, Namibian refugees and SWAPO must be assisted.

23. It was necessary, even at the current stage, to prepare the Namibians fully for independence, as was well understood by United Nations bodies. The United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, in particular, was carrying out very useful work, inter alia, by concluding co-financing agreements for technical co-operation and making arrangements to enable students of the region to pursue their studies, and also concerning itself with employment opportunities. The Programme must be endowed generously so that it would be able to continue its work. It must be ensured, however, that the Namibian recipients were not attracted too far away from Africa; it would therefore be a good idea to check systematically the nature and location of their professional occupations, and their interest in the Namibian cause.

24. The CHAIRMAN announced that Morocco had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/42/L.2 and that Sierra Leone and Ethiopia had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/42/L.3. He suggested that the Committee should set a deadline of 6 p.m. on Wednesday, 21 October for the submission of proposals relating to agenda items 18, 108, 110, 12, 111 and 112.

25. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.