



/ A COLLECTION

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 16TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua)

CONTENTS

REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS

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

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

AGENDA ITEM 109: 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 111: 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 /...

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CONTENTS (continued)

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

- (a) REPORT OF THE COUNCIL
- (b) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
- (c) REPORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

AGENDA ITEM 112: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 113: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

OTHER MATTERS

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS

1. The CHAIRMAN suggested that, if there was no objection, the Committee should grant a request for a hearing concerning Namibia which had been circulated in document A/C.4/40/8.
2. It was so decided.
3. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received a communication concerning a request for a hearing on the question of Namibia (A/C.4/40/8/Add.1). He suggested that, if there was no objection, the communication should be circulated as a Committee document.
4. It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued) (A/40/3, A/40/23) (parts V and VII), A/40/113, 121, 429, 529, 692 and Corr.1; A/C.4/40/L.2; A/AC.109/801 and Corr.1, 802-807, 808 and Corr.1, 809-815, 816/Rev.1, 817-820, 823, 827 and Corr.1, 829, 832 and 834)

- (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 109: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/40/23 (part V) and A/40/629)

- (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 111: 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/40/23 (part V), A/40/318 and Add.1; A/AC.109/L.1558 and L.1561)

- (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/40/3, chap. I-VI E)

(a) REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

(b) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

(c) REPORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

AGENDA ITEM 112: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/40/781)

AGENDA ITEM 113: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/40/718)

5. Mr. EDON (Benin) emphasized that the question of Western Sahara was indeed a question of decolonization. It was a matter for regret that 10 years after the withdrawal of the former administering Power the item should still be appearing on the agenda of the General Assembly. A new occupying Power had invaded the Territory. Since that Power refused to enter into direct negotiations with the Frente POLISARIO, a move which would enable the Saharan people to exercise its right to self-determination, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had been right to admit the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to membership. Morocco had, indeed, recently made promises about a unilateral cease-fire and a referendum. But a referendum could not take place until after the withdrawal of the foreign occupying troops and the start of negotiations. It could not be organized by Morocco, for Morocco could not be both judge and party. Only the United Nations and the OAU had the necessary authority. In that connection, the manoeuvre by which Morocco was trying to remove the problem of Western Sahara from the competence of OAU and entrust it to the United Nations must be denounced. It was important for OAU to be involved in the organization of the referendum, which must take place in the normal conditions defined in OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX).

6. Mr. LUKANGA (Mozambique) said that in the last decade the national liberation movements had made considerable progress and that all the progressive countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America had advanced along the paths they had chosen. Those successes were important for the United Nations, because they were in keeping with two of its objectives: the establishment of international peace and security and the liberation of the peoples still under the yoke of foreign domination.

7. With regard to Western Sahara, the Frente POLISARIO had just made some proposals for a peaceful solution to the conflict, proposals which had been accepted by OAU. In its resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), OAU had called for direct negotiations between the Frente POLISARIO and Morocco and for an immediate cease-fire so that a referendum organized by OAU and the United Nations could take place. Any Moroccan solution which did not involve OAU in the organization of the referendum would be rejected by Mozambique, and he believed that it would also be rejected by all the countries of Africa. Morocco must heed the appeal made by those countries and accept the proposal as a means of solving the problem of the Western Sahara peacefully.

(Mr. Lukanga, Mozambique)

8. The military occupation of East Timor by Indonesia was preventing the population from exercising freely its inalienable right to self-determination. It was absolutely false to claim, as the occupier did, that the forces in the Territory had been called in by the local people to restore order. Israel and South Africa were not the only countries to intervene as they pleased in neighbouring territories, and United Nations organs must seek to maintain an equal balance among the various States which carried on military operations outside their own territory. It was impossible to invoke the Charter of the United Nations on the question of the Middle East and at the same time applaud the war of aggression and annexation waged by Indonesia against a defenceless people. If the United Nations forgot the moral values which were its strength, it ran the risk of being completely discredited.

9. Indonesia claimed that East Timor was too small and too poor to constitute an economically viable independent State. That argument did not hold water. There were, for example, some 30 even smaller and less populous States. It must be noted, however, that the population of East Timor had declined since the Indonesian invasion, which had caused many deaths. Furthermore, the Territory had sizeable resources of oil, natural gas and minerals, as well as great agricultural potential. The subsoil of the exclusive economic zone, in particular, was very rich. It must be emphasized in that connection that the negotiations between Indonesia and Australia on the delimitation of the Territory's sea boundaries constituted a violation of its sovereignty over its resources; the negotiations had led to a protest from the legal administering Power, Portugal.

10. Nearly five centuries of Portuguese colonization had been followed by an even harsher rule. But the people had not yielded in its resistance, despite the ferocious repression it had been subjected to. The best means of solving the problem was to begin serious negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General, bearing in mind the right of the people of Timor to self-determination.

11. Mr. JASSNOWSKI (German Democratic Republic) said that the United Nations was the international forum which had given the greatest support to peoples struggling for their liberation. It therefore bore primary responsibility for the destiny of all the Territories - Namibia and the small Territories in the Pacific, Atlantic and Caribbean - which were still under colonial domination.

12. Much remained to be done to implement fully the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The situation in the small Territories, in particular, was a cause of great concern. Not only were the administering Powers engaged in economic plundering; they also used the Territories for strategic and military purposes, thus posing serious obstacles to the granting of independence. One example was that of Micronesia, currently in a position of almost total dependence under the label of a so-called "free association" with the administering Power, which intended to pursue its military activities there. That was a violation of Article 76 of the United Nations Charter, according to which the administering Power was required, on the contrary, to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or

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(Mr. Jassnowski, German Democratic Republic)

independence. The specialized agencies of the United Nations, particularly UNESCO, as well as FAO, WHO and UNDP, had made significant contributions to the economic and social advancement of colonial Territories. It was important to denounce all attempts to misuse their activities for colonial ends, as in the case of IMF, which assisted the South African régime of apartheid in its domination of the black population and its occupation of Namibia by granting it loans.

13. Mr. WOLFE (Jamaica) said that the emancipation of colonial peoples, which had not been mentioned in the Covenant of the League of Nations and had received only incidental mention in the Charter itself, had become a basic principle of the United Nations with the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In 25 years, the Declaration had enabled 59 countries to attain independence and had established the principle that self-determination was a fundamental right. Its application, however, had not been universal.

14. The situation in Namibia was the most pressing decolonization issue. It had significantly worsened since the Pretoria régime had sought to entrench its illegal occupation by establishing a puppet administration and stepping up its militarization of the Territory. His delegation was equally concerned that Western transnational corporations continued to exploit the mineral resources of Namibia. The argument that such activities were of benefit to the Namibian people and that their termination would be harmful to the economic development of the country could not be sustained. In fact, such activities only helped South Africa to remain in Namibia and to legitimize its presence there, although that presence had been condemned by the International Court of Justice. All Member States were under a legal and moral obligation to oppose the occupation of the Territory.

15. The economic and social development of the other Non-Self-Governing Territories should be constantly monitored. Moreover, the administering Powers should be continuously reminded of their obligation to promote such development and to inform the dependent peoples of the various options open to them for the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination. In that regard, the reports of the visiting missions of the Special Committee were extremely useful. The Non-Self-Governing Territories differed greatly in size, geographical location and population, and innovative approaches were therefore required. Moreover, their economic and social infrastructures were, in many cases, too underdeveloped to enable them to exercise freely their right to self-determination. In certain instances, as in the case of Anguilla, factors such as small size and limited resources had influenced the way in which the people envisaged their political future. The Administering Authorities should therefore seek a closer involvement of the specialized agencies of the United Nations in efforts to improve the situation. The participation of the United States Virgin Islands, for example, in the activities of major regional development organizations as an associate member, had proved to be extremely beneficial. Such multilateral and regional assistance programmes were of crucial importance to dependent Territories. The Commonwealth heads of State, for their part, had adopted a programme of bilateral and multilateral action to assist small States. It would, however, be useful for that programme to be extended to include the dependent Territories as well.

(Mr. Wolfe, Jamaica)

16. The reports of the Special Committee suggested that social and economic development programmes did not always go hand in hand with political awareness and educational programmes. That was particularly true in the case of the United States Virgin Islands, although a Select Committee had been established there to study the question of political status before addressing the question of writing a constitution. The mechanisms for informing Non-Self-Governing Territories of their options for self-determination should be strengthened. He thanked the various United Nations bodies which were assisting those Territories and the liberation movements in South Africa.

17. Mr. PHAN DINH TRUC (Viet Nam) said that the Special Committee had played an eminent role in the process of decolonization within the framework established by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Many countries throughout the world had attained independence and had become Members of the United Nations, which now enabled them to play a very significant role in international life and to support, in turn, the Special Committee. The conclusions and recommendations adopted by the Special Committee for the fortieth session of the General Assembly would be very useful in mobilizing public opinion in opposition to colonialism. Some of those documents, however, did not contain a satisfactory analysis of what the administering Powers had said and done, or of the fundamental obstacles created to delay the granting of independence. In order to be properly informed of the aspirations of the peoples concerned and of the real situation in their Territories, it was necessary to refer to the testimony of petitioners or to the debates in those organs which dealt with the question of decolonization. It then became clear that it was quite incorrect to say that colonialism no longer existed. It continued to exist under various disguises throughout the world, and there was a pressing need for the international community, and the Special Committee in particular, to continue to defend the right to self-determination.

18. The people of Namibia were still facing insurmountable obstacles in their struggle for independence, although United Nations resolutions had already set forth the basis for a political solution. Every effort to bring about a peaceful settlement had been frustrated by South Africa with the support of certain countries - particularly the United States, the United Kingdom and Israel - and with the collaboration of the transnational corporations. Certain members of the Security Council, for example, had repeatedly vetoed resolutions calling for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. For South Africa and certain Western States, the policy of "constructive engagement" and "linkage" and the setting up of a so-called interim government in Namibia were only a means of delaying the independence of the Territory, weakening Angola and limiting the support which the front-line States provided to the national liberation movements in the region. The people of South Africa, meanwhile, continued to be subjected to the policy of apartheid.

19. In Western Sahara, the right of the Saharan people to self-determination had not been achieved. It was to be hoped that the parties to the conflict would undertake negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the conditions for a fair referendum under the auspices of OAU and the United Nations.

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(Mr. Phan Dinh Truc, Viet Nam)

20. Puerto Rico had not been granted national independence. The administering Power, while ignoring the people's right to self-determination, had used the Territory as a springboard for aggression against neighbouring countries.

21. It was unacceptable that Micronesia had been divided into colonies and gradually annexed under the cloak of "compacts"; that had destroyed the independence, unity and territorial integrity of the indigenous people. Micronesia and Guam had been turned into military bridgeheads and testing-grounds or stockpiles for nuclear weapons that posed a danger to the peace of the world.

22. Those Territories, and others too, still found their way to independence blocked by major obstacles. The practical experience of the 25 years that had elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been that the forces of imperialism and colonialism did not respect United Nations resolutions on decolonization and would never voluntarily give up their domination. That had been the experience of very many States, where the people had had to shed their blood in the struggle for independence. The legacy of hatred and division left by colonialism had been joined by aggression and subversion. Many peoples faced insurmountable difficulties in achieving genuine independence and freedom. Viet Nam, which had undergone 30 years of war against colonialism and imperialism, fully supported the right to self-determination of the peoples of New Caledonia and East Timor, the sovereignty of Argentina over the Malvinas and the right of the Kanak people to independence.

23. Mr. SIMA (Equatorial Guinea) expressed his regret that the question of Western Sahara was dividing fraternal peoples that otherwise shared so many common ties such as race, religion, culture and language. At the Organization of African Unity, two opposing factions had produced contradictory resolutions on the subject that had nearly destroyed the Organization and had led Morocco, a founding member, to withdraw from it. However, common ground was beginning to emerge at the United Nations, on the holding of a referendum on self-determination. A consultation to determine the status of the Territory, if held under the supervision of international observers and with a guarantee that the parties to the conflict would respect its results, would provide a means for a final settlement of the problem. The General Assembly should set a date for such a consultation during the present session. The Moroccan Government, which had proposed the consultation, had on two separate occasions indicated that it would abide by whatever result the vote on self-determination produced. That procedure would provide the most democratic way of solving a problem which had existed long enough. It would be better to devote the vast resources now being spent on destruction to badly needed development programmes.

24. Mr. PHEDONOS-VADET (Cyprus) said that the only way to solve the problem of Western Sahara was to hold a referendum in which the Saharan people could decide their future for themselves. However, before they could truly exercise their right to self-determination, it was essential to halt the war, which was draining the human and material resources of the Maghreb, and enter into negotiations for a cease-fire followed by talks. OAU resolution AHG/104 (XIX) gave a basis for such

(Mr. Phedonos-Vadet, Cyprus)

an initiative. Cyprus, which had also had the painful experience of colonialism and invasion, but which had been flexible enough to engage in talks even under unfavourable conditions, when part of the national territory remained under occupation, appealed to the parties to the conflict to make the necessary political decisions to open the way to peace. A referendum on self-determination would be an honourable solution. It was also feasible especially as an African peace plan was already on the table and the adversaries shared a common history, culture and language. Cyprus had therefore joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2.

25. Mr. FILALI (Morocco), after reviewing the question of Western Sahara, said it was deplorable that the credibility and the good name of Morocco had been called in question. Since the start of the debate on the matter in 1975, serious allegations had been made against Morocco despite its championship of the struggle against colonialism. Those allegations had to be rebutted, not in any polemical spirit, but in order to initiate a constructive debate.

26. Morocco had been accused of being a colonial Power dominating the Territory. It had not, however, entered the Territory as a conqueror. It had had and still had the law on its side. By virtue of the Madrid Agreement, which had been signed on 14 November 1975 between Morocco and Spain, and had been recognized by the United Nations in a resolution, Morocco's presence was legitimate, legally attested and accepted by the international community. Furthermore, Morocco had always said that it considered Western Sahara to be an integral part of its national territory. It had been alleged that Morocco was oppressing the population, but all sectors of the world press and other visitors could freely see that the population was living in peace. Furthermore, it was absurd to speak of a "people of Western Sahara". Why was there not also a people of the central Sahara or of the eastern Sahara claiming national sovereignty?

27. As far as the so-called national liberation movement, the Frente POLISARIO, was concerned, it should be noted that when the Territory had been under Spanish occupation before 1975, no national liberation movement had ever been mentioned in the Fourth Committee. The movement had been created, organized and financed by a foreign Power to serve unacknowledged purposes. Morocco could in no way negotiate with that movement, which had no legitimacy and consisted of foreign elements imposed on the Territory from outside. Until the population had expressed its will through a free and unrestricted referendum, no movement could claim to represent it with any legitimacy.

28. Morocco had never been opposed to direct negotiations. It had been engaged in talks for some time with the Algerian Government, which had asked for them at the same time that it had sought United Nations support for the Frente POLISARIO. Between January and March 1985, meetings had been held every week between Algiers and Rabat; Algiers had never once mentioned the Frente POLISARIO but had instead put forward concrete proposals for the future of the Territory. The problem was one for the two countries alone. Morocco therefore approved the idea of direct negotiation, but only with Algeria. It categorically refused to deal with puppets in the service of a foreign Power. The Frente POLISARIO was, moreover, something

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(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

of an oddity, claiming to be a national liberation movement, although it was not recognized by OAU, and at the same time claiming to represent a Saharan State which was not acknowledged by the Arab world.

29. The way to solve a deepening conflict was not through somewhat unrealistic resolutions but through a new approach. Ever since 1975, Morocco had, in all sincerity, encouraged OAU's peace initiatives in the conviction that OAU as a regional organization was in the best position to deal with a regional conflict. The Implementation Committee on Western Sahara established by the OAU heads of State had, in collaboration with the United Nations, worked out virtually all the arrangements for a referendum on self-determination. Some, however, had seen fit to sabotage those efforts by having a legal monstrosity, a "Saharan Arab Democratic Republic", admitted to OAU in violation of its principles and Charter. OAU was now in an impasse. Having accepted a new member State, how was it possible for it then to ask for the principle of self-determination to be applied to that State? It could not fall back on the African peace plan, which, in any event, was not in line with reality.

30. The Fourth Committee, if it were to adopt the same resolution as in 1984, would merely immobilize the problem. The solution lay in holding a referendum in Western Sahara. The King of Morocco had proposed that measure to OAU in Nairobi, and had later confirmed to the General Assembly in 1983 that Morocco undertook to respect whatever results a referendum produced. The basic principle of resolution 1514 (XV), the principle of the right to self-determination, should therefore be applied to Western Sahara, and a free consultation accompanied by all the necessary safeguards should be held. The best machinery for that exercise could be provided by the United Nations, which had considerable experience in the field and represented the entire international community. The African peace plan put forward by OAU was no longer applicable to Morocco, since Morocco no longer belonged to that Organization.

31. Even though it was no longer a member, Morocco did not refuse to co-operate with OAU, which had done useful work with which Morocco had no quarrel. It was with regret that Morocco had felt itself obliged to leave the Organization, since it was and would always be an African country and, moreover, maintained excellent bilateral relations with the other countries of the continent. It had the highest regard for the current President of OAU, Mr. Abdou Diouf, who was also the President of Senegal, a country with which Morocco had for centuries had a very close relationship. Mr. Abdou Diouf was very familiar with the problems of the Maghreb and could make a valuable contribution to a settlement of the conflict. Morocco, for its part, was willing to consider any peace initiative but would accept no diktat. Morocco and Algeria, which were neighbours and fraternal countries united by cultural and historical ties, were called upon to live together. The Fourth Committee should help them to overcome the obstacles dividing them, which it was hoped were only temporary.

32. Mr. SMERAL (Czechoslovakia) said it was regrettable that, 25 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a number of small Non-Self-Governing Territories still remained and South Africa continued to impede Namibia's progress towards self-determination and independence. It was the duty of all members of the international community and all international organizations to seek to change that situation. It was therefore perfectly normal that the agenda of the General Assembly should include an item relating specifically to the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies.

33. It was not sufficient for the agencies to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements and the newly independent States, to contribute to the development of the small Territories and to work towards Namibia's membership in the United Nations; they must also be uncompromising in their resistance to anti-decolonization forces. It was also imperative for international organizations not to allow themselves to be used in operations aimed at subordinating the economies of newly independent States to the interests and objectives of supranational capital. Most of the agencies had played an active role in the decolonization process, for example by assisting the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa. Reference should be made to the activities of UNDP, UNESCO, UNCTAD, WFP, UNHCR, FAO and WHO. In Namibia and South Africa, the agencies were also seeking to create the pre-conditions for the exercise of the right to independence by training national cadres, for instance. UNESCO was attempting to promote the dissemination of fair and objective information. However, the assistance provided to the colonial peoples still fell far short of requirements. The United Nations organizations must therefore intensify their efforts in that area. Czechoslovakia was concerned that certain organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund still had relations with South Africa. Such relations only encouraged Pretoria to continue its aggressive and racist policy. Czechoslovakia therefore joined the other States parties to the Warsaw Pact in calling on international organizations to cease supporting the racist régime.

34. Mr. AKYOL (Turkey) said that since the establishment of the United Nations, over 100 colonies, in other words millions of people, had been liberated from colonial domination. Because of the constructive role played by the United Nations, the process of decolonization initiated by the Charter, which embodied the principles of equality of rights and self-determination of peoples, had gained fresh momentum with the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, certain colonial situations persisted, for example in Namibia, which was also subjected to South Africa's policy of apartheid and exploitation. There was no doubt that the Namibian people would eventually achieve independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In the other Non-Self-Governing Territories, it was essential to help create the necessary conditions to enable the inhabitants to exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination, regardless of the size of the Territories, their geographical situation or their natural resources, and to proceed calmly to independence. That was primarily the responsibility of the administering Powers, which had a duty to promote the economic progress of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, to protect their cultural heritage and to educate them. Of great

(Mr. Akyol, Turkey)

importance in that connection were the educational and training programmes for young people in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and southern Africa. Turkey would continue, and was even trying to increase, its contributions to such programmes.

AGENDA ITEM 112: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/40/781)

35. The CHAIRMAN referred the Committee to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.5.

36. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway), Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, introduced draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.5 and announced that Cyprus, Guyana and Romania had become sponsors.

37. It would soon be 20 years since the Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa had been established as a merger between existing programmes for Namibia, South Africa and the Portuguese Territories. Every year over 1,000 applications for scholarships were received, and more than 5,500 persons had completed training under the Programme. That proved how necessary it was. During the latest reporting period, 929 scholarships had been awarded, the highest number since 1980-1981. At present, 67 per cent of the scholarship-holders were studying in low-cost countries, in keeping with the general guidelines of the Programme. The proportion of Namibians sponsored by the Programme had increased from 5 per cent in 1983-1984 to 15.5 per cent in 1984-1985; 40 per cent of the new awards had been granted to women. The award-holders were studying a wide range of subjects in a number of countries. The scholarships were now reserved for Namibian and South African students.

38. As had been noted by the Advisory Committee in the report on the Programme (A/40/781), it was inevitable, given the worsening political situation in southern Africa, that there would be a larger outflow of South African and Namibian refugees seeking educational and training opportunities. The Programme must act to meet the increasing demand. In that connection, the Advisory Committee had made a number of recommendations in order to promote the development and expansion of the Programme. It had called for cost-effective management and fund-raising activities, as well as increased co-operation between the Programme and other scholarship agencies. Such co-operation had already been intensified, in particular with the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Assistance, which had offered to provide placement facilities and administer scholarships in Commonwealth countries at no cost to the Programme. A joint effort was being undertaken with various scholarship agencies with a view to selecting universities in the United States and Canada that would waive tuition for students sponsored by the Programme, thus enabling it to sponsor even more.

39. He was grateful to the countries which had supported the Programme by providing contributions or placing students in their educational institutions. He urged Member States to support draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.5 and to pledge

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

financial support for the Programme, which was a humanitarian effort designed to prepare the young people of southern Africa to play a full role in society and build a better future.

OTHER MATTERS

40. The CHAIRMAN announced that the following Member States had become sponsors of the respective draft resolutions: draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2: Saint Lucia, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe; draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4: El Salvador; draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.6: Guyana.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.