



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 13th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GBEHO (Ghana)

later: Mrs. KING-ROUSSEAU (Trinidad and Tobago)

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

AGENDA ITEM 19: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued) (A/C.4/41/7)

Hearing of petitioners

1. The CHAIRMAN reminded members that at its 12th meeting the Committee had granted the request for hearing concerning the Turks and Caicos Islands contained in document A/C.4/41/7.
2. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Francis and Mr. Malcolm (former ministers) took places at the petitioners' table.
3. Mr. MALCOLM (former minister) said that the United Kingdom administration was not as progressive as that country made out since the Turks and Caicos Islands still remained firmly in the iron grip of colonialism after almost 500 years of direct or indirect British involvement. Owing to the neglect of the Islands and the shortfalls in economic and institutional development combined with a lack of natural resources, the almost total absence of opportunity gave rise to heavy emigration. The possible sources of revenue were primarily tourism and exports of marine resources, which were dwindling; a light manufacturing industry could be developed and attract "off-shore" investment, but such activities had yet to be undertaken. There were no jobs or possibilities for training and education.
4. The people had therefore clamoured for a more progressive constitution better suited to the urgent needs of a developing country. As a result, the 1976 Constitution had been promulgated. However, it had not set up an autonomous Government but had provided only for a somewhat restricted ministerial Government of which only some members were elected and over which the Governor presided. The Governor had retained a special reserve power and veto power; responsibility for financial matters was vested in an official appointed by the United Kingdom Government. Nevertheless, although it provided the Territory with only limited scope, that Constitution had enabled the elected ministers to work for progress. Thus, the national revenue had increased by virtually 80 per cent. But since the budget could be balanced only with infusions of aid from the United Kingdom, the latter had seized on that pretext to claim absolute control of the Territory's budget. It had manoeuvred to have the Constitution revoked using the pretext of alleged public corruption and exploiting a string of fabrications produced by a biased inquiry. Thus, the responsibilities of the elected Ministers had been further reduced and the Legislative Council had lost the few powers it had had while those of the Governor had increased. An additional ruse was that those measures were temporary - but could continue until such time as the people were "consulted" with a view to the formulation of a new constitution.
5. All of those things were manifestations of the most repressive colonialism and flouted the basic tenets of freedom and democracy and the right of peoples to determine their own destiny as enshrined in the United Nations Charter. The people

(Mr. Malcolm)

demanded the restoration of its Constitution and a total reversal of the despotic policy of a régime which had proved to be incapable of developing a small country to its full potential with a view to its emancipation.

6. In view of that political and constitutional set-back imposed by the United Kingdom régime, the issue of self-determination needed to be addressed realistically. Thus, at first, consideration could be given to placing the Territory under the international trusteeship system of the United Nations. To that end, he invited the members of the Committee to observe the proceedings of the Constitutional Commission which was shortly to visit the Islands in order to see for themselves what matters were raised and to make whatever recommendations they deemed necessary.

7. Mr. Malcolm and Mr. Francis withdrew.

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8. Mr. MOUSHAITI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that the international community had already discussed the Namibian question at length and had done so again recently at the Paris World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa and the Vienna International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia. The Security Council had, for its part, unanimously adopted a resolution reaffirming the need to bring about the Territory's independence, the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the problem. The Fourth Committee's meetings were attended by the very same Powers which had established and now supported the racist entity in southern Africa, which was responsible for the Namibian problem, and which had also established the Nazi entity occupying Palestine, whose racism had been denounced by the United Nations itself.

9. If the Pretoria régime could continue to repress, torture and massacre Namibians, that was due to the multifaceted support it received from its allies. The odious policy of constructive engagement was the elixir which kept that régime alive and enabled it to continue to commit aggression against the black majority and the neighbouring countries. The support of IMF, demonstrated again recently by a loan exceeding \$1 billion, and of the World Bank encouraged that advanced base of imperialism to pursue its intrigues, as Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana had recently noted at their expense.

10. At the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of Namibia, those who approved of the imperialists' plunder of Namibia's resources had, as in the Fourth Committee, done their utmost to prevent comprehensive sanctions being imposed on the Pretoria régime. The Government which "sponsored" the apartheid régime, together with the Western countries for which it was the spokesman, bore the responsibility for all the misfortunes of the peoples of southern Africa, occupied Palestine and other still dependent Territories. Cynically distorting language and ideas, it tried to make the international community believe that sanctions against Libya, Cuba or Nicaragua were legitimate, while sanctions against Pretoria would run counter to the interests of the Namibian and South African populations and hinder their progress towards independence. That Government was in reality merely a vassal, going so far in subservience as to place its territory, against the wishes of its own population, at the disposal of its international terrorist suzerain, the United States, when the latter had launched a savage and brazen attack against the peaceful Libyan population.

(Mr. Moushaiti, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

11. Those who opposed the application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) were in fact colonialists and racists guided by the interests of international trusts. How else was it possible to explain their use of their veto when their own Parliament decided that sanctions against the racist entity were necessary? The true designs of the champions of the "new globalism", who stockpiled weapons of mass destruction and established bases for aggression in the Pacific and elsewhere in defiance of the will of the people concerned, thus became clear. Bogus referendums and allegedly "free" associations could deceive no one.

12. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was suffering the assaults of the forces of terrorism and aggression because it supported the liberation movements recognized by the international community - SWAPO, ANC, the PLO, PAC and others. Neither acts of aggression, nor economic blockades, nor the freezing of its assets would stop it from continuing to accomplish its anti-colonialist duty and defending freedom in South Africa, Namibia, occupied Palestine and all other territories still under colonialist domination.

13. Everyone was aware of the organic links existing in every field between the racist entity in South Africa and that which dominated occupied Palestine with the blessing of the imperialist forces, with the Fascist Government of the United States in the forefront. But those two entities were doomed to disappear, for they were contrary to the nature of things and to the march of history. It would be a mistake, however, to entertain the illusion that verbal exhortations and good will would be enough. Faced with the development of the racist régimes' nuclear capacity, in which the West was co-operating, the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and occupied Palestine had no other choice but armed struggle if they wanted to avoid the fate of the American Indians who had been so naive as to believe the promises of the white colonizers.

14. The freedom and democracy the imperialist States spoke of were above all freedom and democracy for the white man, the other face of those States' schizophrenic personality being constituted by the transnational corporations which supported the Nazi terrorist régimes in southern Africa and occupied Palestine and tried to destabilize the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the front-line African States as well as Nicaragua, Cuba, Viet Nam and other countries. Where, in the United States, were there freedom and democracy for blacks and all the other minorities? Why was the Puerto Rican people deprived of its right to self-determination and independence and forced to take part in acts of aggression launched against countries thousands of kilometres away?

15. Mr. CHACON (United States of America), speaking on a point of order, said that there was no item concerning Puerto Rico on the Fourth Committee's agenda. He requested the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to confine himself strictly to the subject under discussion.

16. Mr. MOUSHAITI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), continuing his statement, reaffirmed his country's commitment, in conformity with resolutions of the international organizations and with the Declaration of the Establishment of the Authority of the

(Mr. Moushaiti, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

People, which it had itself promulgated, to the cause of the liberation of all colonial peoples. The Jamahiriya vigorously condemned the racist entity of Pretoria and its inhuman practices, and demanded that the South African occupier should withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Namibia so as to allow that Territory to achieve independence. It also condemned the collaboration of the Western countries and certain specialized agencies, particularly IMF and the World Bank, with the racist entity of Pretoria and the Zionist entity of Tel Aviv. The international community, and particularly certain specialized agencies which were not irreproachable in that respect, should grant due support to the colonial peoples' liberation movements in order to hasten their self-determination and independence.

17. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya condemned the collusion of certain international information organs with the racist entities. His delegation recalled the numerous examples of disinformation directed towards international public opinion - from the Bay of Pigs incident to the attack against the Jamahiriya on 15 April 1986 - which robbed the perpetrators of all credibility, revealing them as nothing other than the allies of the racist entities guilty of repeated expropriations, imprisonments, murders, executions of militants and children and other human rights violations against the populations under their domination.

18. The transnational corporations collaborating with the racist entities were bleeding the dominated countries of their resources so as to leave them destitute and make their independence spurious. The Jamahiriya condemned those companies, their shareholders and the countries which protected them and demanded that they should bow to the will of the international community, for their activities constituted a major obstacle to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other resolutions relating to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

19. Mr. PROKOPOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) recalled that international organizations had a major role to play in the decolonization process. ILO, UNESCO, WHO, FAO, UNICEF, UNDP and other bodies were already giving practical assistance to the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa and to their national liberation movements, as well as to the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was regrettable, however, that, at a moment when the liberation struggle in southern Africa was entering a decisive stage, the assistance of certain specialized agencies to SWAPO was still very inadequate. It was also deplorable that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund continued to help the racist régime in Pretoria. Those organizations should break off all links with that régime and all United Nations bodies should intensify their support for the front-line States and for national liberation movements recognized by the United Nations and the OAU. His delegation approved the draft resolution submitted by the Special Committee (A/41/23, Part IV) and was convinced that it would contribute effectively to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization.

20. Mrs. King-Rousseau (Trinidad and Tobago) took the Chair.

21. Mr. AHMED (Pakistan) welcomed the progress achieved by the United Nations in the field of decolonization. However, some Non-Self-Governing or Trusteeship Territories still remained, and the fact that their list had considerably diminished in no way reduced the importance of the task still to be done. In that connection, the question of Namibia represented a particular test of the international community's commitment to the decolonization process. That Territory, for which the United Nations had borne direct responsibility for 20 years, had formed the subject of many resolutions and, in particular, of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) containing an internationally accepted settlement plan for the achievement of Namibia's independence. Yet the plan remained a dead letter, because some insisted on linking its implementation to extraneous considerations which the Organization had always firmly repudiated. Pakistan associated itself unreservedly with the cause of the Namibian people, whose Territory remained illegally occupied by the racist South African régime.

22. Although the hearing of petitioners and reports on the Non-Self-Governing Territories were useful, the extent to which that exercise effectively furthered the decolonization process was not entirely clear. The objectives of decolonization would be better served by close co-operation between the Special Committee of 24 and the Administering Authorities, for the purpose of collectively erecting appropriate institutions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, thereby paving the way to self-determination. Every effort must be made to buttress and develop the often fragile economies of those Territories. In that connection, while financial and commercial activity should be organized on the basis of a more equitable sharing of benefits, priority must be given to the development of local human skills and technological expertise, which were often acutely lacking in those countries, although they were indispensable to self-supporting economic development.

23. Pakistan, for its part, would do its utmost to promote the satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of all the dependent peoples for freedom, self-determination and national independence.

24. Mr. BUDAI (Hungary) recalled General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which stated that colonialism was an obstacle to international economic co-operation, to economic, social and cultural development, and to world peace. Yet, colonialism still existed and often resulted in the plundering of the natural, cultural and human resources that were the heritage of the local population. Such exploitation constituted a flagrant violation of the rights of such populations, of the principles of the Charter and of the resolutions of the United Nations. The colonial Territories would have long since acceded to independence were it not for the foreign, colonialist or neo-colonialist interests, which were concerned solely with their own profits, and for all the various pretexts invoked to delay their liberation. It was unacceptable that repressive measures should be imposed on the Non-Self-Governing Territories with a view to their eventual annexation, that those Territories should serve as strategic military bases or as nuclear test-sites, or that they should be reduced, as Namibia was, to the role of mere supplier of raw materials. The Hungarian People's Republic pledged its unconditional support to the colonial peoples in their struggle for independence and self-determination, and would spare no effort to assist them in the realization of their noble goals.

25. Mr. DIARRA (Mali) noted with satisfaction that some progress had been made recently in respect of the small Non-Self-Governing Territories which were on the way to direct rule, whose inhabitants were receiving education and training, and whose economic and social conditions had improved in some cases. The administering Powers were trying. However, material conditions as well as international-security considerations were slowing down those Territories' progress towards self-determination, although that was an inalienable right embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, a right which Mali had consistently upheld.

26. In that respect, Western Sahara undoubtedly posed a problem in terms of decolonization. Mali supported the efforts that had been made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and by the current Chairman of OAU to bring about a peaceful settlement of that question, and was gratified that those efforts had recently set in motion a process of peaceful settlement. Reason must not give way to emotion; any action aimed at the organization of a just and equitable referendum in Western Sahara would be unreservedly supported by Mali.

27. Mr. TALAAT (Egypt) said that if the decolonization process undertaken by the United Nations in the aftermath of the Second World War was to be completed in order to build a better world, the first task confronting States was to provide the inhabitants of the Territories concerned with education and training, as had been pointed out by the General Assembly in resolution 845 (IX). Egypt was making every effort to that end, by offering scholarships and educational facilities to inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing or newly independent Territories, and by providing technical assistance in the framework of its bilateral relations. It was hoped that a growing number of States would also provide generous support to the Non-Self-Governing Territories to prepare them for self-government following their independence. In particular, more resources should be made available for the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, which was producing very satisfactory results. The specialized agencies must also co-operate actively in that area.

28. Turning to the question of Western Sahara, he thanked the Secretariat of the United Nations, as well as Senegal and the Congo, for their mediation efforts, the results of which were described in the report of the Secretary-General (A/41/673). Definite progress had been made, and a more co-operative approach should lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace. Since agreement had already been reached on the principle of a referendum to be held under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to enabling the Saharan people freely to express its will, all the parties concerned must make the further effort required to reach agreement on the details still pending.

29. Mr. TAEB (Afghanistan) noted with satisfaction that the international bodies associated with the United Nations had provided effective support to the colonial peoples struggling for self-determination and independence. The International Labour Organisation, for example, had provided extensive technical assistance to the national liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa and to the front-line States. FAO, WHO, UNDP, WIPO, UNIDO, UNHCR and WFP had also provided valuable assistance. The Universal Postal Union had included some small Non-Self-Governing Territories in its programme of assistance.

(Mr. Taeb, Afghanistan)

30. It was regrettable, however, that other organizations were continuing to disregard General Assembly resolution 40/53. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, for example, were still granting credits and loans to South Africa, which were contributing to the stabilization of its economy and, therefore, to the consolidation of its illegal occupation of Namibia and the extension of apartheid. All forms of co-operation with the Pretoria régime must be terminated. The World Bank and IMF must also take an active part in the decolonization process. His delegation, which was co-sponsoring the draft resolution in document A/41/23 (Part IV), suggested that the international bodies associated with the United Nations should increase their moral and material support to SWAPO and to the national liberation movements of South Africa recognized by OAU and the United Nations, and that they should also pay attention to the small Non-Self-Governing Territories.

31. Mr. PAIC (Yugoslavia) said that the international community had realized that all peoples were entitled to respect for their dignity, freedom and independence, and that world peace could be established only on the basis of equitable co-operation among sovereign States. Yet, the colonial Powers had stubbornly opposed and were continuing to oppose the aspirations of the colonial peoples. It was completely wrong to claim - as certain administering Powers were doing - that the decolonization process had been completed and that the question should be removed from the agenda of the United Nations.

32. In Namibia, the problem of colonialist aggression and oppression was particularly acute. The population was aspiring to independence, and neither strategic interests nor East-West confrontation could take precedence over that Territory's right to self-determination. The question of Namibia must be settled without delay, to prevent the explosive situation in that region from leading to a dangerous crisis with unforeseeable consequences for international peace.

33. Similarly, in Western Sahara, measures must be adopted to enable the population to exercise its right to self-determination and independence as soon as possible. That was possible only through direct negotiations between the parties concerned and on the basis of a referendum organized under the auspices of OAU and the United Nations.

34. The fact that decolonization only involved relatively small Territories, apart from Namibia and Western Sahara, did not diminish the clear obligation of the international community to intensify its efforts to solve the remaining colonial problems and to prevent them from being politicized and artificially placed in the context of the East-West rivalry, as had been attempted in the past few years. The international community must not allow the diminutive size of Non-Self-Governing Territories to be used as a pretext to deny their right to decide sovereignly on their own affairs, or allow them to be used for military purposes because of their strategic position or as pawns in the rivalries between the super-Powers, by indefinitely postponing their independence, which would afford them the only genuine possibility of accommodating their legitimate concerns.

35. Mr. Gbeho (Ghana) resumed the Chair.

36. Mr. OSNACH (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that international organizations should work actively to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He paid tribute to UNESCO, which had helped to inform colonial populations about the possibility of achieving independence, and had assisted national liberation movements through its educational programmes. Those movements had great need of trained personnel in all spheres. In that regard, the assistance of UNDP, ILO, WHO, FAO and UPU had also been extremely valuable.

37. It was heartening to note that certain organizations recognized the essential part being played by the front-line States in the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa, and had helped to mobilize international public opinion in support of the national liberation struggle of colonial peoples. However, it would be useful for them to take more effective action to counter the effects of the economic blockade imposed by Pretoria on the front-line States. It would also be good if they were to establish closer contacts with OAU, ANC and SWAPO.

38. Although the General Assembly and the Security Council had frequently enjoined the various organizations to stop all collaboration with the South African régime, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had not ceased providing it with funds. The Ukrainian SSR strongly condemned that policy, which amounted to subsidizing the criminal apartheid régime.

39. Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia) pointed out that small and sparsely populated Territories had often been an important element in serious crises. For example, the island of Tinian had served as the take-off base for the bomber that had dropped the nuclear bomb on Hiroshima. Even today, the small Non-Self-Governing Territories, still too many in number, were playing a considerable part in the strategic plans of certain great Powers.

40. Devices that introduced quantitative standards to evade the issue of self-government were completely inadmissible. As the United Nations had frequently emphasized, neither geographic nor demographic characteristics nor the lack of natural resources could preclude the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination.

41. The information contained in the documents submitted to the Committee could not help causing concern. It appeared that the Non-Self-Governing Territories were increasingly dependent on foreign aid because of the weakness of their economic and social infrastructure. They had numerous human and social problems. Moreover, their welfare and medical services were very inadequate. The administering Powers certainly used part of the profits that they extracted from those countries to keep the local economy afloat, but they claimed the right to use their territory for military purposes as the price for such "services". Thus it was that Great Britain, while claiming that it would be too much of a burden to build a civil airport on St. Helena, had nevertheless managed to find considerable funds to modernize its military bases on Ascension Island.

(Mr. Kulawiec, Czechoslovakia)

42. Decolonization was not a definitive state; a country whose self-government had been proclaimed sometimes lost its real independence. The United Nations would have to take account of that phenomenon. Moreover, the world was witnessing artificial manoeuvres organized on the pretext of abrogating non-self-governing status. That was what the United States had done in holding six successive referendums in Micronesia, thus staging a real political farce, with the assassination of the President of the Republic of Palau as the backcloth.

43. Ms. BYRNE (United States of America), speaking on a point of order, said that the question of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was not on the Committee's agenda.

44. Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia) said that a compact of "association" such as that allegedly concluded with Palau had no legal value since it was incompatible with the Territory's Constitution. Moreover, as had been emphasized by the petitioners appearing before the Special Committee of 24, it was doubtful whether the population had been able to reach a decision in full knowledge of the facts because the great majority of voters had not been informed what was at stake in the ballot. Such practices were unacceptable.

45. His delegation categorically refused to accept that the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories was settled because they were being made totally dependent on colonial Powers; it would support all measures taken by the United Nations to promote the genuine decolonization of those Territories. It hoped that Great Britain would reverse its decision not to take part in the work of the Special Committee of 24, a decision which impaired the co-operation that should normally exist in that sphere.

46. Mr. AMARI (Tunisia) said that colonialism constituted a major obstacle to international co-operation and the promotion of human rights. But there still existed several million colonized human beings awaiting the chance to exercise their right to self-determination. It was a fact that each of the Territories concerned presented specific problems; but although the solutions varied, the basic principle established by the Charter and by General Assembly resolution 1544 (XV) remained the same: peoples must be free to determine their destiny. In particular, any problems posed by the physical, demographic or economic characteristics of a Territory must in no way serve as a pretext to impede the implementation of that principle. All possible options should be considered, and the international community should be guided solely by the interests of the populations concerned, not by abstract norms. It was important above all to obtain the views of those populations locally, hence the importance of United Nations visiting missions.

47. Definite progress had been made in many small Territories, but the Administering Authorities should make greater efforts to develop their economies, educate the population and train personnel, which were indispensable measures in preparing for independence.

(Mr. Amari, Tunisia)

48. All organizations associated with the United Nations should work for decolonization as vigorously as possible, because they had a very important part to play. Some of them had increased their assistance to colonial peoples by means of specific programmes. But others were still hesitating to become actively involved, and it was important that they should change their attitude.

49. The Special Committee of 24 was doing much to mobilize world public opinion and to propose ways and means of securing the early liberation of those peoples who were still colonized. In order to reinforce that action, the Secretary-General should mobilize all the resources at his disposal to disseminate information on what the United Nations was doing with regard to decolonization and on the situation in southern Africa, with special reference to the struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples.

50. He then reported briefly on the Visiting Mission which he had led to Tokelau in July 1986. After recalling the Mission's mandate, he quickly listed the series of interviews that it had had both with the population and its leaders and with the representatives of the administering Power, interviews which were reported in detail in the Mission's report (A/AC.10/377). The Mission had established that, for the moment, the population of Tokelau wished unequivocally to preserve its current status and maintain its relations with New Zealand.

51. Mr. BROWNE (New Zealand) said that, during the Special Committee's third Visiting Mission to Tokelau, the people of that Territory had made it clear that they wanted to retain their links with New Zealand and build their own economic, social and administrative structures. Those were the aspirations of the people of Tokelau themselves, as summarized in the draft resolution before the Committee.

52. In that connection, the physical, geographical and economic conditions of the islands limited their development potential and, to some extent, determined their political future. In those circumstances and in view of the growing importance of Tokelau's indigenous political institutions, the evolving process of consultation with New Zealand regarding the Territory's future and the role of Tokelau in the regional affairs of the South Pacific, it could be said that the Territory in fact administered itself.

53. The Committee should be aware of such realities in taking a decision on the Territory in conformity with the Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and United Nations practice in the process of decolonization in the South Pacific. New Zealand had been involved in that process for many years and had worked closely with the United Nations which, like it, was motivated above all by the interests of the peoples of the South Pacific. In that connection his delegation recalled the role played by the Organization in the process of self-determination of various Territories of the region and paid tribute to those who had contributed to a peaceful decolonization process in the South Pacific.

54. The CHAIRMAN congratulated New Zealand, on behalf of the Committee, on the manner in which it was fulfilling its obligations as administering Power of Tokelau and on its co-operation with the United Nations in the process of decolonization of the South Pacific.

55. Mr. SINGH (Fiji) said that the Visiting Mission to Tokelau, of which he had been a member, had been warmly welcomed by the people of Tokelau and had enjoyed the unstinting co-operation of the New Zealand Government. It had witnessed first-hand the Territory's geographical and economic constraints, which had a direct bearing on its political status. For the time being, the people of Tokelau did not wish to change their political status or their present relationship with New Zealand. While the inhabitants were satisfied with the manner in which the Territory was being administered, they had readily drawn attention to the need for better facilities in the areas of education, health, transport and economic development. They had expressed their views clearly, firmly and frankly and it was incumbent on the United Nations to respect their wishes.

56. His delegation believed that New Zealand was discharging its responsibilities fully towards the people of Tokelau, and was confident that New Zealand would continue to respect the islanders' unique and fragile way of life.

57. Ms. BYRNE (United States of America) said that support for the right of self-determination had been a central tenet of United States policy ever since her country had achieved independence two centuries earlier. That right was still far from being universally respected, however, and many of those who had sat in judgement on acts of self-determination denied that right to their neighbours and even to their own citizens. Decolonization did not require that there be a body of water between the colonizer and the colonized; "colonization by contiguity" was a concept that required further attention.

58. It was perhaps appropriate to remind Member States that two historic General Assembly resolutions (1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV)) should be read as a single document, which, made it clear that self-determination could result in different forms of political status, including independence, free association, and integration into another State. The key element was freedom of choice, without coercion of any kind, otherwise the act of self-determination would be invalid.

59. Guam, American Samoa and the United States Virgin Islands had become virtually self-governing. Each Territory was represented in the United States House of Representatives by an elected delegate who could vote in any committee and could chair sub-committees. Congressional committees were the fundamental organs of the United States legislative system. The peoples of the three Territories had affirmed repeatedly their desire to exercise self-determination while maintaining a close relationship with the United States.

60. The people of American Samoa would shortly be called upon to vote on a number of amendments to the Constitution. The economy of the Territory had been strengthened and diversified through privatization, the attraction of new industries and the expansion of certain companies. In the field of education, several important changes had been made to improve school curricula, administration and facilities.

(Ms. Byrne, United States)

61. In the United States Virgin Islands, the freely elected Government had decided to delay a proposed referendum on future political status in order to give voters more time to study the implications of the various options open to them. The United States Government would respect their wishes whatever future status they chose. The entire economy was prospering as a result of the Territory's active tourist trade. Her Government had also provided assistance and facilities for the expansion of the private sector. Social and educational services were receiving close attention.

62. The population of Guam, where the economy was booming, had, in the 1982 plebiscites, made it clear that they wanted to maintain their association with the United States on the basis of commonwealth status. In the spring of 1987, they would be asked to vote on a draft Commonwealth Act which, if approved, would be submitted to the United States Congress. In that connection, she reminded members that the only condition required of a voter in Guam was that of residence, to the exclusion of all other considerations, and that the only United States military personnel who could vote were Guamanians.

63. It was simply not true that the presence of military facilities and personnel on Guam was an impediment to its self-determination. The Special Committee of 24 had itself heard a Guamanian leader say that the population welcomed the United States armed forces and that a very high percentage of military personnel were Guamanians, including many Chamorros. The United States military presence was viewed as providing essential security guarantees. Finally, it should be noted that the United States Department of Defense was preparing to release to the Government of Guam 3,546 additional acres of land currently used for military purposes. There were no United States military bases or troops in Samoa or the United States Virgin Islands.

64. Concerning Puerto Rico, she wished to stress once again that the Fourth Committee had no jurisdiction regarding that Territory, whose act of self-determination had been recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 748 (VIII). The Cuban representative, who had raised the issue of that island repeatedly, would do well to read the book recently published by a Cuban who had tried to exercise in his own country the rights embodied in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV).

65. Mr. THAPA (Nepal) said that his country, which had never suffered under the yoke of colonial rule, had none the less always supported the principle of self-determination and the right of colonial peoples to independence. It had joined with the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa in their search for a new international order based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

66. Despite the admirable role played by the United Nations in the decolonization process, pockets of colonialism still remained. The failure of the United Nations to force South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia was a matter of particular concern. In the South Pacific, freedom was being denied to certain

(Mr. Thapa, Nepal)

Territories and weapons testing, including nuclear weapons testing, was being carried out to the detriment of the health and well-being of their populations. In Asia, former colonial peoples were subjugating other freedom-loving peoples. Such colonial tendencies were also in evidence in western Asia, particularly in the occupied Arab territories.

67. What could the international community do in such circumstances? In the case of South Africa, the only peaceful course of action was to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against that country under Chapter VII of the Charter. It was also necessary to increase further the moral and material assistance provided to peoples struggling for liberation from colonial rule. In that context, his delegation expressed appreciation to all the countries that had contributed to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. Lastly, the administering Powers of Non-Self-Governing Territories must transmit all relevant information to the Secretary-General in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter.

68. His delegation praised the initiatives undertaken by the Secretary-General on the question of Western Sahara. It was encouraged by the flexibility displayed by the parties concerned and by the note in the Secretary-General's report (A/41/673) that a "credible framework for negotiations" existed.

69. Mr. TANOH (Ghana) observed that, almost without exception, the economies of the Non-Self-Governing Territories ran the risk of being permanently reduced to enclave economies. Tax and other advantages had attracted large foreign banking, insurance and tourism operations which hardly helped to establish a viable economy. Bermuda, the Cayman Islands and Guam, among others, were cases in point. It was paradoxical that, despite large flows of foreign capital, many of the island Territories lacked sufficient capital for infrastructure development and exhibited the same structural imbalances as most developing countries, particularly the existence of large service sectors that relied on external elements. Other factors such as land speculation and immigration policies also threatened the social and cultural integrity of indigenous communities. Economic instability, coupled with the presence of metropolitan political and military interests, endangered the future political status of those Territories in many respects. Despite the apprehensions generated by those realities, however, independence remained at the centre of political debate in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

70. It was unfortunate that the economic difficulties of post-colonial societies had done little to compel administering Powers to ensure the viability of the economies of the Territories they administered. It was therefore incumbent on the specialized agencies, in consultation with administering Powers, regional development agencies and local authorities, to take co-ordinated action in the areas of manpower training, infrastructure support systems, and agricultural and technical advice for both public and private investment options and strategies. As a supplement to bilateral and multilateral efforts, non-governmental organizations had a key role to play in mobilizing resources for small-scale development projects, particularly in the very small Territories.

(Mr. Tanoh, Ghana)

71. In view of the particular responsibilities vested in administering Powers by the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), it was unfortunate that the United Kingdom had terminated its participation in the work of the Special Committee of 24. By contrast, New Zealand continued to exhibit exceptional sensitivity to its obligations with regard to the Tokelau Islands.

72. In conclusion, his delegation reiterated that the utmost scrutiny must be given to the constitutional arrangements proposed for various Territories that had the potential for reducing them to mere geographical extensions of metropolitan Powers. The warnings issued in that connection on the subject of the Pacific Islands deserved the Committee's full attention.

73. Mr. MORTIMER (United Kingdom), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statement by the representative of Czechoslovakia implying that the United Kingdom maintained military installations on Ascension Island for the purposes of aggression was utterly preposterous. Besides, if that had been the case, that representative should have addressed his comments to the Security Council. One could certainly not quarrel with the United Kingdom over the question of the well-being of the population, since the island was uninhabited, but what did that Territory, to which the question of decolonization was entirely irrelevant, have to do with the Fourth Committee? Moreover, the island could not be amalgamated with St. Helena, which was a totally separate entity and situated too far away for any matters relating to Ascension Island to be of any concern to it at all. Familiarity with the geographical make-up of St. Helena was sufficient to show that it would be very difficult to operate an airport there. In any event, Czechoslovakia should remember that the military installations on Ascension Island, which had been there since 1942, had played a decisive role in the struggle against fascism in Europe, an action from which that country had itself benefited. Such a trumped up quarrel strongly resembled an attempt to rekindle an outdated animosity between East and West.

74. Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia) replied that, had the United Kingdom not decided in January 1986 to terminate its participation in the work of the Special Committee on decolonization, its representative would have known that the Czechoslovak delegation had invented nothing but had quite simply based its statement on factual data contained in documents drawn up by the United Nations Secretariat on the basis of information provided by the United Kingdom itself. All those documents could be placed at the disposal of the United Kingdom delegation. To divert the discussion towards questions of East-West relations, as certain parties always attempted to do, was certainly not conducive to co-operation.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.