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at 3 p.m.

New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 21st MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus)

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1. Miss BROŠŇÁKOVÁ (Czechoslovakia) remarked that administering Powers readily argued, contrary to the requirements of resolution 1514 (XV), that the remaining

(Miss Brošňáková, Czechoslovakia)

Non-Self-Governing Territories had not attained the necessary degree of economic and social development for complete independence. Yet it was those same Powers that impeded the social development of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, because they could better serve the Powers' political and military objectives when they were largely dependent on foreign assistance. Despite repeated criticism by the United Nations, they had further increased their military activities in the small Territories. Such activities were completely at odds with the Charter of the United Nations and seriously hindered the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The presence of military bases brought about significant changes in the composition of the local population and was detrimental to the environment. The administering Powers should therefore dismantle their bases and cease to prevent the inhabitants of the Territories from exercising their right to self-determination.

2. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands provided an example of an administering Power which was not discharging its obligations as it ought. The United States, one of the richest and most advanced countries in the world, had been unable in 40 years of administration to create political, economic and social conditions that favoured the interests of the local population. Quite the opposite: the economic situation, for example, had deteriorated. The United States was not honouring its duties under the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, and had no intention of doing so. Furthermore, its military activities in the region were extremely dangerous to world peace and security. To prevent the Micronesian population from exercising their inalienable right to self-determination, they had divided the Territory into artificial entities and were seeking by all means to legalize that unlawful change in status. Her delegation emphasized once again that the only body with the authority to sanction such a change was the Security Council.

3. In efforts to do away with all instances of colonization once and for all, an extremely important role was played by United Nations institutions and by trade unions. All such organizations must pay due attention in their work to the problems of the small Territories. They could participate effectively in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as UNESCO, ILO, FAO, WHO and UNDP had already done. On the other hand, the co-operation of the International Monetary Fund with the racist régime of South Africa, which contradicted the decolonization efforts of the United Nations, could not be passively tolerated.

4. The nuclear epoch required a restructuring of international relations on the basis of principles preventing the emergence of situations likely to disturb world peace and security. That was precisely the aim of the comprehensive programme of international peace and security proposed by the socialist countries at the forty-first session of the General Assembly. The programme rested on the idea that all members of the international community had equal rights and equal duties, thus ruling out colonial and neo-colonial structures. Her country, as a sponsor of the proposal, believed that international organizations could, through still greater

(Miss Brošňáková, Czechoslovakia)

and more active engagement in such questions, contribute effectively to the elimination of the hindrances to the sound and harmonious development of relations among nations.

5. Mr. ORTIS-GANDARILLAS (Bolivia) said that his country unreservedly supported the just cause of the oppressed fighting to assert basic their individual and collective rights, and in particular the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. His country was especially sensitive to their difficult situation, having itself been the victim of colonialist occupation and expansionist interests, which had robbed it of its outlet to the Pacific Ocean.

6. The situation in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories was not encouraging. Despite long efforts, the decolonization movement seemed to be almost paralysed. Even in Namibia there was re-colonization and renewed oppression by the outmoded régime that had power in Pretoria. In South Africa, the blacks were suffering more than ever, in both dignity and person, from the abuses of racist policy. Another major cause of concern, Pretoria's destabilizing activities and attacks on the front-line States, had led directly to yet another serious problem - that of the refugees now seeking asylum in ever greater numbers in the front-line States, which had to share their meagre resources with them.

7. In the face of persistent colonialism, the international community's response had been clear and firm, as resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council and various plans of action, declarations and conferences on the problem went to show. The United Nations institutions had also been working to help the peoples affected. The work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in particular, deserved special mention, as did the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, although, in the latter case, the medium- and long-term results of the Programme needed to be evaluated, indicating what became of students when their studies ended.

8. Mrs. KING-ROUSSEAU (Trinidad and Tobago) said that the Organization's indisputable success in the field of decolonization proved that the mechanisms established to attain its objectives had been realistic and effective. However, for those mechanisms to work to the full advantage of the Territories concerned, the United Nations must closely monitor the situation there in order to protect the rights of the indigenous people and foster a climate of stability after independence. To that end, the Organization must pay special attention to the representatives of those Territories.

9. The representative of the United States Virgin Islands, for example, had reported that that Territory required external assistance to undertake a political education campaign. That issue was one the Committee should follow closely. Resources were also needed for a study on the question of territorial jurisdiction over customs and immigration services and other services. Such a study was particularly important since, according to document A/AC.109/907, the population of the Islands had increased by 52 per cent between 1970 and 1980, thus justifying an extension of the Territory's control over immigration. It was extremely important

(Mrs. King-Rousseau, Trinidad and Tobago)

that agreement should be reached to ensure that the funds required in those two instances to protect local interests, which must be paramount, were provided.

10. The results of such meetings between the Special Committee on decolonization and representatives of Non-Self-Governing Territories confirmed that the participation of indigenous authorities in the work of the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee could contribute significantly to decolonization.

11. Despite repeated calls by the United Nations, the Pretoria régime persisted in its illegal occupation of Namibia, where it was spreading its abhorrent policy of apartheid. All States must support the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and refuse to recognize any administration installed in the Territory illegally; States must also adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa and abide by Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.

12. The Fourth Committee was and must remain an important forum for dealing with the problems of decolonization. It gave administering Powers, particularly those which did not co-operate with the Special Committee on decolonization, an opportunity to brief the international community on the situation in the Territories for which they were responsible. While the Powers were justifiably proud of certain accomplishments in those Territories, they must also be receptive to criticisms and suggestions that might ultimately lead to the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It was indeed unfortunate that those Powers generally ignored General Assembly resolution 3420 (XXX), on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to be transmitted under Article 73 e of the United Nations Charter. The absence of such information forced the Special Committee on decolonization to turn to other sources and did not facilitate the task of those who sought to fulfil their responsibilities to the peoples of the remaining colonies.

13. Miss MILLAN (Colombia) said that colonialism continued to exist in both vestigial and new forms. While it could not be denied that the administering Powers had done much to help many countries become full-fledged nations, the early days of independence were all too often accompanied by huge problems which prevented the people concerned from exercising all the rights that went with freedom. The international community did in fact affirm the fundamental rights of peoples and promise to defend them everywhere. However, such declarations of good intentions had not been translated into concrete steps that would allow newly independent countries to solve endemic problems once and for all. Decolonization should not be reduced to the mere emancipation of a people, but must involve the economic, political, culture and military spheres. All countries without exception must steadfastly support that process by working to improve the living conditions of the people concerned and by doing their utmost to ensure that those people derived maximum benefit from their own resources. In that connection, top priority must be given to the protection of natural wealth that was the heritage of indigenous populations and the corner-stone of sustained economic development.

(Miss Millan, Colombia)

14. Namibia presented the most urgent case for decolonization. Colombia was prepared to do everything within its power to help that Territory gain genuine independence without delay. It was also to be hoped that the questions of the Malvinas Islands, Western Sahara and New Caledonia would be settled before long.

15. Mr. TAEB (Afghanistan) said that the question of Western Sahara was clearly a problem of decolonization which must be settled in accordance with the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The Saharan people must be able to determine freely its political status and to pursue its economic, social and cultural development without impediment. Unfortunately, that people had had to struggle for its independence, and the war it was being forced to wage endangered peace and stability in North Africa. The Afghan people and Government firmly supported the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, recognized by many States, and the Frente POLISARIO, in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

16. Resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Organization of African Unity and United Nations General Assembly resolution 41/16 provided a constructive basis for settling the conflict in Western Sahara. His delegation welcomed the fact that Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO had co-operated with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the current Chairman of OAU. He called upon the two parties to demonstrate the necessary political will and begin direct negotiations to develop a plan for a cease-fire and to prepare a referendum under the supervision of the United Nations and OAU. The decision of the two organizations to send technical mission to Western Sahara should make it possible to obtain the information needed to help the Saharan people exercise its inalienable rights fully, and at the earliest possible date, through an act of self-determination in accordance with the principles, norms and practices of the United Nations system.

17. Mr. CISTERNAS (Chile) agreed that United Nations efforts in the area of decolonization had been particularly fruitful. More than 100 former colonies had exercised their right to self-determination and become the masters of their political, economic, social and cultural destiny. Vestiges of colonialism remained in the world, however. The international community must strive resolutely to eliminate them once and for all.

18. First of all, the international community must address the problem of the self-determination of New Caledonia. It was to be regretted that United Nations efforts to find a common ground between the parties concerned had failed. The administering Power had, unfortunately, preferred to act on its own. It had unilaterally organized and conducted a plebiscite. A significant portion of the Territory's population had refused to take part in that event, judging it to be inconsistent with the principles and practices of the United Nations. However, it was not too late to begin a dialogue with a view to finding a solution that did not exclude an entire section of the population. In the mean time, his delegation would support draft resolution I in document A/42/23 (Part VI).

19. The situation of small Territories, while not ideal, was generally acceptable. Those Territories ought to obtain self-determination without too much

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(Mr. Cisternas, Chile)

difficulty if the administrative Powers fulfilled their obligations under the Charter. However, those factors which might handicap countries after independence must be studied carefully. It was therefore unfortunate that certain administering Powers had not seen fit to take part in the work of the United Nations bodies having competence in the matter, since that work was invariably of use in decision-making.

20. The rescinding of an act of self-determination taken in accordance with established principles, such as Puerto Rico's decision to become a freely associated State, was unacceptable under any circumstances. His delegation was also opposed to having the question of Micronesia discussed, for purely political reasons, in the Fourth Committee. That question fell within the purview of the Trusteeship Council alone.

21. The most dramatic case of colonial domination was that of Namibia. The Chilean Government recognized the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and condemned South Africa's occupation and extension to the Territory of the policy of apartheid and bantustanization. It whole-heartedly supported General Assembly resolutions on that subject as well as the plan outlined in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and urged South Africa to negotiate with SWAPO, for that was the only way in which the Namibian question could be settled peacefully.

22. Mr. DOUMA (Congo) said that national liberation struggles had led to the collapse of the colonial empires of the nineteenth century. However, more than a quarter of a century after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), a veritable manifesto of all anti-colonial forces, colonial situations continued to exist in certain parts of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

23. For instance, although it had the support of the entire international community, Namibia remained under South African occupation. The Territory should accede to independence in accordance with the plan outlined in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

24. The peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had a sacred right to self-determination, and should be allowed to exercise that right if they so wished. The administering Powers should fully respect the wishes of those Territories and should help to create conditions promoting their early independence.

25. Mr. OUNSENG (Lao People's Democratic Republic) said that the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had awakened the national consciousness of oppressed peoples, who had begun to fight against the anachronisms of imperialism, colonialism in all its forms, and apartheid. Although considerable progress had been made in the decolonization process, there were still millions of human beings who continued to suffer under colonial oppression.

26. In southern Africa, the Pretoria racist minority régime was waging an armed conflict against national liberation movements. Emboldened by its collusion with

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(Mr. Ounseng, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

imperialist Powers, Pretoria continued to defy United Nations resolutions and sought to subvert and destabilize the front-line States in order to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and maintain its criminal system of apartheid. The international community must take vigorous measures to liberate Namibia. It should exert pressure on Pretoria by imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, as authorized in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

27. It was time for the opposing parties in Western Sahara to begin negotiations in order to end the clashes and the suffering of the Saharan people. The Lao People's Democratic Republic gave its unreserved support to that people in its valiant struggle, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, to achieve recognition of its right to self-determination.

28. The Powers which administered the small colonial Territories of the Caribbean, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean should discharge fully their obligations under the Charter, ensure the economic, social and cultural development of those Territories and facilitate the establishment of political conditions which would permit the early accession of those peoples to national independence.

29. Mr. MUTSVANGWA (Zimbabwe) said that since the adoption, in 1960, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, France had had its chance to prove its good intentions by preparing New Caledonia for independence. Instead, France had used that time to consolidate its colonial domination of the Territory. Reliable population statistics showed that France had engaged in systematic social engineering in order to curb the influence of the indigenous population as had been seen during the recent biased referendum which France had unilaterally decided to hold. The issue of determining who had the right to vote, and of guaranteeing freedom of choice for the entire population, was central to any real decolonization process. The non-aligned countries considered that all peoples should be able to determine their own destinies free from any form of foreign interference, and that New Caledonia was definitely a Non-Self-Governing Territory. They deplored France's decision to carry out a referendum in conditions which did not permit the people of New Caledonia to exercise a genuine act of self-determination. France should engage in a serious dialogue with the Front de libération nationale Kanak socialiste. His delegation had been encouraged by France's decision to participate in the debate in the Committee, and hoped that it would finally understand the nature of its obligations.

30. The question of Western Sahara was one of decolonization. The two parties to the conflict should co-operate fully with the the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations, which were currently making efforts to encourage negotiations. Neither party should expect the international community to recognize the current situation, which had been created by force of arms. The problem would not be resolved unless both parties agreed to cease hostilities and allow an international mission to organize a referendum in conformity with United Nations principles. The parties should respect both the letter and the spirit of the relevant resolutions on the subject.

31. Mr. KAPAMBWE (Zambia) said that nothing was more debasing than colonialism. The most basic human right was to be able to live in freedom and dignity. That was a principle which should not be compromised. The African countries knew that better than anyone else because almost all of them had been colonized. It was therefore a matter of deep regret that one African country had sought to colonize Western Sahara. Morocco's stranglehold on the Territory became tighter every day, despite the fact that many countries had appealed to it to withdraw its troops in order to allow the Saharan people to exercise its inherent right to self-determination. Morocco had also just completed construction of a new section of a wall which threatened the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mauritania; that might have the effect of drawing Mauritania back into the conflict from which it had courageously withdrawn. The situation would be aggravated by the deliveries of modern military weapons which the United States of America intended to sell to Morocco. Moreover, Morocco was in favour of the massive resettlement of its nationals in Western Sahara, which would change the demographic makeup of that Territory. Today the world condemned that policy, but there was reason to fear that, tomorrow, certain countries might request the Organization to put its seal of approval on a so-called "referendum" in which a so-called "people of Western Sahara" rejected independence. Any choice the people of Western Sahara made, including association with Morocco, should be respected, provided that the act of self-determination was genuine and free and in conformity with the standards set by the United Nations, and that it was not falsified from the start by votes from groups which were not part of the Saharan people and by the presence of Moroccan forces.

32. The definitive settlement of the question of Western Sahara required the implementation of OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and of General Assembly resolution 41/16. Morocco must recognize and establish direct negotiations with the Frente POLISARIO.

33. The turn of events in the Non-Self-Governing Territories of the Pacific was cause for indignation. Too often, the administering Powers believed that their economic and military might gave them the right to deny with impunity the principles which they themselves had helped establish. No country could be called great if it refused to grant a less fortunate people its inalienable right to self-determination, to intimidate the opposition or imposed solutions prompted by selfish interests, as had been the case in New Caledonia. The referendum staged by France in September 1987 could not be considered to be an act of self-determination because of the conditions in which it had been prepared and carried out. There had been many irregularities, acts of intimidation (including the deployment of several thousand French troops in the Territory) and abnormal demographic changes. Moreover, the United Nations had been completely excluded from the process, and France had refused to supply the information on the Territory as requested by the Organization.

34. The growing militarization of the Non-Self-Governing Territories of the Pacific was cause for serious concern. The nuclear activities which the administering Powers were carrying out in those islands were not contributing to disarmament and, therefore, did not contribute to peace. That situation, and other

(Mr. Kapambwe, Zambia)

information which had been presented to the Committee, made it difficult for his delegation to recognize the Compact of Free Association signed between Palau and its administering Power as a genuine act of self-determination. It was also difficult to consider as an act of genuine self-determination an agreement which had required 20 years of difficult negotiations - which sometimes resulted in tragedy - and a series of referendums.

35. Mr. BUCZACKI (United States of America), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, and addressing the representatives of Czechoslovakia and Zambia, completely rejected the allegations that the United States did not respect the Charter and did not honour agreements it had concluded. Moreover, the Fourth Committee was not the place to discuss the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. That question fell within the competence of the Trusteeship Council, as reflected in its terms of reference; the Council had taken up that question and had continued to consider it. By referring to the Security Council, the representative of Czechoslovakia had at least acknowledged that the General Assembly had no business intervening.

36. The CHAIRMAN announced that Cameroon had become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/C.4/42/L.2 and L.3, Zimbabwe had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/42/L.3 and Uganda had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/42/L.5.

The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.