



**SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 11th MEETING**

**Chairman: Mr. PETERS (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines)**

**CONTENTS**

- AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued)
- AGENDA ITEM 108: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 g OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued)
- AGENDA ITEM 110: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS (continued)
- AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued)
- AGENDA ITEM 111: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA (continued)
- AGENDA ITEM 112: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

\*This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned within one week of the date of publication to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, room DC2 740, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.4/43/SR.11  
24 October 1988

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued) (A/43/23 (Parts IV and VI), 226, 671, 680\* (reissued); A/C.4/43/L.2; A/AC.109/934-936, 937 and Corr.1, 938-941, 942 and Corr.1, 943, 944 and Corr.1, 945 and Add.1-2, 946-950, 952 and Corr.1, 953-957, 959, 963 and 964)

AGENDA ITEM 108: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/43/23 (Part IV), 219, 226, 658)

AGENDA ITEM 110: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/43/23 (Part IV), 355 and Add.1-3; A/AC.109/L.1665; E/1988/81)

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/43/3 (chaps. I and VI), 226)

AGENDA ITEM 111: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA (continued) (A/43/681)

AGENDA ITEM 112: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES (continued) (A/43/677)

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. DIARRA (Mali) said that the constant renewal of the mandate of the Special Committee on decolonization over three decades testified to the international community's sensitivity to the question of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to its importance for the United Nations. Since 1960 colonialism had undergone an evident decline. However, the work must be continued so that by the dawn of the new millenium, no people would remain under colonial domination.

2. The African States, most of which had suffered under colonialism, had a basic concern with the equal rights and self-determination of peoples. Accordingly, within the United Nations the African States could not help but support any process designed to restore to colonial peoples their fundamental rights. His delegation believed that factors such as the size of a Territory, geographical location, population density or scarcity of natural resources should under no circumstances serve as a pretext for hindering the exercise by a people of its right to self-determination and independence.

3. It was incumbent on the administering Powers to create conditions favourable to the political, economic and social evolution of the Territories under their control. He welcomed the co-operation shown by some administering Powers in participating in the Special Committee's work, and urged them to continue providing

(Mr. Diarra, Mali)

information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories, under article 73 g of the Charter. Such data, and the information gathered locally by the periodic missions of the United Nations, were an effective means of evaluating the actions taken in the Territories.

4. His country, deeply attached to the principle of self-determination, continued to support the implementation of General Assembly resolution 40/50 and resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which provided an internationally agreed basis for a solution to the conflict in Western Sahara. It was to be hoped that the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the current Chairman of OAU would soon lead to the organization of a referendum for self-determination in the Territory. His delegation welcomed the adoption of Security Council resolution 621 (1988) and the appointment by the Secretary-General of a special representative for Western Sahara.

5. Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu), reviewing the history of international efforts to end colonialism, said that the full and unqualified implementation of the Declaration on decolonisation had been a long and difficult process. Despite the sacrifices of previous generations, the final chapter of the decolonization epic remained to be written.

6. The conflict in Western Sahara had reached a new stage and a final resolution appeared to be within reach. However, a number of obstacles remained. His delegation joined those who appealed to Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) to negotiate a settlement of all outstanding issues. Such a settlement was the only true road to self-determination and peace for the Saharan people. The search for a just and definitive solution to the conflict must continue and, in particular, the people of the Territory must feel that they were the masters of their own fate.

7. That principle also applied to the situation in New Caledonia, where a dialogue was currently under way. To its credit, France was encouraging a new atmosphere of toleration and mutual respect in the Territory. Although a great deal remained to be done, the people of New Caledonia were now on the verge of a major breakthrough. His delegation therefore commended to the Committee the consensus text on New Caledonia adopted in August 1988 by the Special Committee on decolonization. However, the United Nations must continue to monitor closely the political evolution of the Territory.

8. Mr. SANTOS (Cape Verde) said that the question of Western Sahara had always merited sustained attention at the regional and international levels. His delegation upheld the principle of a negotiated solution based on respect for the inalienable rights of the Saharan people and on observance of the relevant norms and principles of OAU and the United Nations. It noted with appreciation the recent joint efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the current Chairman of OAU with a view to the holding of a referendum for self-determination under international supervision. Close collaboration of the two

(Mr. Santos, Cape Verde)

parties to the conflict with the United Nations and OAU was of vital importance to the diplomatic dialogue. His delegation therefore appealed to Morocco and to the Frente POLISARIO to spare no effort in the search for a peaceful solution, bearing in mind that the peace and security of the region were of paramount importance.

9 Mr. JASSNOWSKI (German Democratic Republic) said that a look into the economic and social situation of the so-called small Territories revealed a wide gap between the realities and the international standards as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two international human rights covenants. That situation would change only if and when colonialism was ended and the right to self-determination was granted to all peoples. The Committee was therefore called upon to maintain its strong commitment to the final implementation of the Declaration on decolonization in the interests of the colonial peoples.

10. The policies pursued by the Administering Authority of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands needed to be carefully watched, since there was serious doubt that it had lived up to its duties under the Charter, and the Declaration on decolonization. The Declaration provided for the preservation of the territorial integrity of dependent Territories, and that principle has been clearly violated by the unilateral division of the Trust Territory into four separate Governments, against the will of its people. Only the Security Council was authorized to decide on such matters.

11. On the other hand, even complex situations could be resolved if good will, reason and realism prevailed. That seemed to be the case in Western Sahara. The German Democratic Republic welcomed the peace proposals recently put to Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO by the Secretary-General and the current Chairman of OAU, and their acceptance by the parties.

12. As long as a single dependent Territory was left, the Organization must work for its independence. In the process, more weight should be given to the information supplied by petitioners, who gave the United Nations a true picture of the living conditions of dependent peoples that was most useful. Lastly, the important contribution to decolonization made by the specialized agencies would continue to have his country's backing.

13. Mr. KABINGA (Zambia) observed that there was no such thing as voluntary acceptance by one people of domination by another. The peoples of the many dependent island Territories had the inalienable right to self-determination and independence, and the respective administering Powers should take steps to ensure early and genuine decolonization. As the Special Committee had clearly indicated in its various reports, the maintenance of military bases on the island Territories was completely inconsistent with the Declaration on decolonization. His delegation also urged the administering Powers to recognize that the size, resources and location of a Territory did not disqualify its people from exercising their inalienable rights.

/...

(Mr. Kabinga, Zambia)

14. Western Sahara, like Namibia, was a dramatic example of a place where decolonization had run its course: denying the people their right to freedom and independence constituted a major regional threat in both instances. Zambia welcomed the recent developments regarding Western Sahara outlined in the report of the Secretary-General (A/43/680\* reissued), and hoped that a credible referendum would soon lead to a satisfactory outcome for the people of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. A number of issues still needed to be resolved, and that could only be done on the basis of direct talks between the parties and a cease-fire.

15. He reiterated his Government's position on the question of Namibia, which had been considered earlier by the Committee under item 109.

16. Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that active efforts by States had brought about positive changes in the international situation. The process of establishing comprehensive security on an equal basis for all States and building a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world was making headway. The concept of the freedom of all peoples to select their path of development was a key aspect in that new thinking. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples would continue to play a leading role in promoting the just struggle of colonial peoples for independence and mobilizing the world community to achieve that goal. In view of the numerous independent States which had shaken off colonial rule and become full-fledged members of the international community, the remnants of colonial domination in various parts of the world were an unnatural anachronism.

17. In 1988 the Special Committee on decolonization had considered various aspects of the situation in the colonial Territories. The Soviet delegation supported the Special Committee's recommendations and decisions aimed at bringing about the speedy implementation of the inalienable right of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and independence. The discussions in the Special Committee had reflected the serious concern of the international community at the fact that three decades after the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization peoples were still under colonial rule in a large number of Territories in various parts of the world. The administering Powers were not taking the necessary measures to implement speedily the Declaration and in certain cases attempts were being made to perpetuate the dependency of the peoples of those Territories.

18. The Soviet Union supported the quadripartite talks on a political settlement in south-western Africa to ensure the security of Angola and bring about Namibian independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and hoped that agreement would be reached speedily. He also supported the repeated appeals made in the Committee to step up efforts to force South Africa to take into consideration the will of the people of Namibia, the United Nations and the international community.

19. The discussions in the Special Committee concerning the situation in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands had revealed an unseemly picture. Having divided

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

the Trust Territory into separate parts, the administering Power was imposing neo-colonial status on the people of Micronesia through political and economic pressure. In actual fact, the objective was to annex the Territory and establish a military beach-head there. Those actions, which were carried out in circumvention of the Security Council, were in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the 1947 Trusteeship Agreement for the Former Japanese Mandated Islands, and the provisions of the Declaration on decolonization. The measures carried out by the administering Power with regard to Micronesia were one-sided, arbitrary and, therefore, devoid of legal force. Until the right of the people of Micronesia to true self-determination and independence was implemented, the United Nations bore the responsibility for the fate of that Territory and the administering Power was obliged to transmit to the Secretary-General information on the situation in that Territory.

20. The Special Committee had discussed in detail the situation in the other small colonial Territories. The Soviet Union supported the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on decolonization. The Soviet people remained on the side of peoples struggling for liberation from colonial dependence throughout the world. His country supported the position of the African countries calling for increased assistance from specialized agencies and international organizations to national liberation movements and the front-line States, which were the target of South African aggression. The Soviet Union supported the appeal by the Special Committee to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to halt co-operation with South Africa until apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia had ended.

21. The celebration of the forthcoming thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples would give further impetus to the cause of liberating the peoples in the remaining colonial holdings and strengthen activities in all areas of decolonization. It might be useful if the General Assembly gave the Special Committee appropriate instructions in that regard. Furthermore, the idea that the General Assembly should proclaim the 1990s an International Decade for the Elimination of Colonialism, with the elaboration of an action plan, was of particular interest to his delegation.

22. Mr. MAJENGO (United Republic of Tanzania) said that, although decolonization was one of the most impressive achievements of the United Nations, there were still Non-Self-Governing Territories that had not yet attained independence. It was regrettable that, 28 years after the adoption of the historic Declaration on decolonization, many people in small Territories, including Namibia and New Caledonia, were still denied their basic human right to self-determination and independence.

23. The question of Western Sahara was clearly one of decolonization. A just and durable solution to the problem could be achieved only when the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO agreed to hold direct talks in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and OAU. Unfortunately, Morocco had

(Mr. Majengo, United Republic  
of Tanzania)

continued to refuse to heed the call of the international community to abide by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on decolonization. The right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination had been denied because Morocco had not withdrawn its troops from that Territory. In that connection, he appealed to the parties to the conflict to observe the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and OAU in order to bring about a cease-fire leading to the holding of a referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara. That was the only acceptable solution to the long-standing problem of Western Sahara, and had been endorsed by various international forums, including the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

24. It was encouraging to note that the parties to the conflict had indicated their acceptance of the peace proposals put forward by the current Chairman of OAU and the Secretary-General. Nevertheless, much remained to be done in order to bring about a cease-fire and hold a referendum without administrative and military constraints in Western Sahara. Accordingly, he called upon Morocco to demonstrate the necessary political will to conduct negotiations with the Frente POLISARIO in order to bring about a just and lasting solution to the problem.

25. Mr. BELLINA (Peru) said that his country would continue to support the right of self-determination and independence, basic to the Peruvian Constitution as well as to the United Nations Charter, in all the remaining colonial Territories.

26. It was encouraging that, in New Caledonia, the parties seemed well disposed towards a just and rapid solution that would take into account the aspirations of the inhabitants of the islands, as evidenced by the success of the recent talks held between the legitimate representatives of the Kanak people and the French Government. The New Caledonian example showed that negotiations were the only honourable way to a peaceful settlement.

27. Proving the value of multilateralism, the situation in Western Sahara had recently improved as a result of the negotiations involving the good offices of the Secretary-General. Peru fully supported the peace proposals put forward by the Secretary-General and the current Chairman of OAU and endorsed by the Security Council, since they offered impartial terms for a peaceful settlement of that dispute. It was important for the General Assembly to send a clear signal of encouragement to the Secretary-General. The parties must now do their utmost to eliminate all obstacles to an immediate implementation of the peace plan. The recent appointment of an eminent Latin American as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Western Sahara was a further guarantee of progress.

28. It was to be hoped, as well, that the quadripartite agreements relating to Namibia would be implemented on schedule, so that the United Nations plan for that Territory's independence could be put into effect. It was the international community's obligation to ensure strict compliance with those agreements.

29. Mr. WAN HUSSAIN (Malaysia) said that the Committee had two main tasks: to accelerate the political process leading to independence for Non-Self-Governing Territories, in conjunction with like-minded organizations outside the United Nations; and, in co-ordination with the United Nations specialized agencies, to prepare peoples on the verge of independence for the responsibilities of governing an independent State. Malaysia paid special tribute to the work done by UNDP, UNESCO, WHO, FAO, UNICEF and other specialized agencies in assisting former and present Non-Self-Governing Territories, by providing the necessary manpower training

30. The United Nations must expand its role in decolonization, through closer co-operation with the administering Powers, under agreed political compacts, to ensure the establishment of the institutions necessary for the eventual independence of the Territories. The Committee should see to it that the administering Powers had a clear framework for economic, social and educational programmes, and that the people were made aware of all the political options available to them. In general, the record of the administering Powers had been less than satisfactory.

31. Malaysia welcomed recent developments regarding Western Sahara, the result of the laudable efforts of all concerned. With the appointment of the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Western Sahara and further constructive efforts by the parties themselves, a solution should be found in the near future. Malaysia was also particularly happy with developments in New Caledonia, in which the South Pacific Forum countries had played a constructive role, and congratulated the Government of France for its efforts.

32. Malaysia was troubled by the apparent impasse in the current talks on Namibia and doubted South Africa's sincerity. The liberation of Namibia would be a major step towards dismantling South Africa's reign in southern Africa and the Committee must work tirelessly towards that objective.

33. Miss BYRNE (United States of America) said that the people of the United States firmly supported the principle of self-determination. General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) showed that the process of self-determination could result in different forms of political status, including independence, free association or integration into another independent State. The participation of the citizens of American Samoa, Guam and the United States Virgin Islands in the electoral process demonstrated that the people of those Territories exercised responsibility for local government and local political affairs. Each Territory had a completely free press and an independent judiciary. They had repeatedly expressed their strong desire to maintain a close relationship with the United States. The United States Government stood ready to respond to the wishes of the people of those Territories regarding their future political status whenever they indicated the direction in which they wished to proceed.

34. The Government of American Samoa continued to improve the Territory's infrastructure and had increased its efforts to minimize environmental damage caused by water pollution. It considered education a high priority and had



(Miss Byrne, United States)

increased the number of classrooms and programmes in both elementary and secondary schools. The economy of the United States Virgin Islands was expanding rapidly. Unemployment stood at 2.7 per cent and tourism continued to grow. An ambitious long-range capital improvement programme focused on transportation, electrical power, the water system, waste disposal and flood control. The Virgin Islands Government offered a complete range of social, medical and educational programmes and services to its people.

35. If the people of Guam enacted the draft Commonwealth Act, they would achieve a full measure of self-government under a document of their own creation. At the same time, the draft Act would explicitly recognize the cultural identity of the Chamorro people. Guam's economy continued to grow and that Territory ranked third among States and Territories in Federal Government spending per capita. The Government of Guam continued to improve the island's economic infrastructure. In the area of health, the Department of the Interior had provided \$2 million to construct a new mental health facility. Guam's Department of Education had an annual budget of \$80 million, the largest budget of any territorial government department. The Federal Government continued to work to release land in Guam which was no longer necessary for military purposes.

36. Her country had traditionally joined the consensus in Fourth Committee resolutions concerning the three Territories and was prepared to do so again. She wished to remind the Committee that Puerto Rico was not on its agenda. The act of self-determination by the people of Puerto Rico had been recognized in General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII) in 1953. She reiterated her delegation's position that Article 83 of the Charter clearly assigned responsibility for strategic trusts to the Trusteeship Council and the Security Council. She had repeatedly refuted the false charges put forward in that regard by the representative of the Soviet Union in the Trusteeship Council. Lastly, she agreed with the view that the Committee should consider the changed and changing circumstances of Non-Self-Governing Territories and the valuable contributions made by transnational corporations to the social and economic development of those Territories.

37. Mr. CHABALA (Zambia), introducing draft resolution A/C.4/43/L.3 on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, said that the Programme, which had been in operation for 21 years, had spent millions of dollars and trained nearly 6,000 students at the vocational, undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate levels in a wide range of disciplines. Many of the graduates had assumed their rightful role in their countries of origin, contributing to their political, economic and social development.

38. The Programme had maintained its level of activities through a cost-effective use of its resources and co-operative activities. It should be pointed out that more and more scholarship agencies were turning to the Programme for possible co-sponsorship of students, co-financing and other arrangements. Only a lack of resources had prevented the implementation of such approaches. With increased prospects for a political settlement in Namibia, the Programme's educational activities were likely to become more significant and urgent. It was hoped that

(Mr. Chabala, Zambia)

the international community would make a further effort to provide the Programme with support commensurate with the extensive educational and training needs that were so crucial to an independent Namibia and a post-apartheid South Africa. The broad regional sponsorship of draft resolution A/C.4/43/L.3 augured well for the future of the Programme.

39. Mr. ESHAGHZADEH (Islamic Republic of Iran) said that the oppressed people in all colonial Territories had been hoping that the United Nations would intensify the decolonization process, but unfortunately, that body had failed to meet their expectations.

40. The core problem of Namibia was racism and those who supported it. Lack of political will on the part of certain countries and collaboration between certain specialized agencies and the racist régime ruling South Africa had contributed to the continuation of apartheid.

41. Racism was racism regardless of what name it bore. Its principal element was suppression of the indigenous people and acts of aggression against neighbouring countries. In that respect, co-operation between racist régimes was of vital importance.

42. The Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans were still being deprived of their right to self-determination. Military bases still existed in those Territories, creating a major obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those bases were opposed by the indigenous populations and also constituted a threat to security in those areas. To claim that military bases and foreign investments could ever contribute to development in these Territories was simply colonial logic.

43. The question of Western Sahara had reached a delicate phase. The Secretary-General had made considerable progress towards a settlement of the conflict, and his Government was optimistic about a peaceful solution based on respect for the legitimate rights of the people of Western Sahara.

44. Colonialism in any form was unacceptable, and it was the responsibility of the international community to contribute to the decolonization process.

45. Mr. HLASOA (Lesotho) said that his Government had strongly appealed to all the countries concerned to hold settlement talks. Lesotho again called upon those countries which were illegally occupying the territories of others to withdraw so that the occupied countries could exercise their sovereignty free from outside interference.

46. His delegation was heartened by the current proposals on granting self-determination to the people of Namibia and restoring peace to Angola, as well as on withdrawing foreign troops and administrative machinery.

(Mr. Hlasoa, Lesotho)

47. His Government believed that all nations had a right to exist, regardless of race or creed. Those countries engaged in conflicts should lay down their arms and begin talks. The use of force was not an appropriate way of bringing about peace.

48. As a landlocked country, Lesotho appealed to the nations of the world to bear in mind its geographical position when imposing sanctions on South Africa. Sanctions were the only peaceful weapon for bringing about a dismantling of apartheid, which was incapable of reform.

49. Mr. SEVILLA BOZA (Nicaragua) said that, having won its own independence, Nicaragua supported as a matter of principle the struggle to abolish colonialism once and for all and firmly defended the right of peoples to independence and self-determination, regardless of their geographical position, the size of their territory or the number of their inhabitants.

50. Although much progress had been made since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which was a sort of Magna Charta of decolonisation, the decolonisation process was still not completed. There were still peoples and Territories in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific whose legitimate right to independence was being unnecessarily delayed by colonial Powers in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter. Therefore, the United Nations was under a moral obligation to continue the struggle for full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

51. The international community must focus its attention on the need to bring about the rapid liberation of the peoples of Namibia and Western Sahara. Both Territories continued to suffer under illegal occupation by foreign troops, South African in one case and Moroccan in the other. Their resources were being exploited for the benefit of the home country, and their peoples were denied their legitimate right to self-determination and independence.

52. Nicaragua welcomed the holding of the quadripartite talks because it hoped that they would lead to independence for Namibia and an end to South African aggression against Angola, and it was to be hoped that in November 1988 implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) would begin.

53. For his Government, it was a matter of principle that the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic could not continue to be denied its independence and right to self-determination. The peace proposal was an event of major importance, offering a real opportunity to resolve the conflict without delay. The best way to achieve that end would be through direct talks between the Frente POLISARIO and the King of Morocco so as to agree on a cease-fire and create the conditions needed for holding a referendum free of administrative or military restrictions, under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. Despite 13 years of war, the West Saharan people had not abandoned their legitimate right to independence and self-determination.

(Mr. Sevilla Bosa, Nicaragua)

54. Another case of a regional situation in which colonial domination must cease without delay was in the Malvinas, the South Georgia Islands and the South Sandwich Islands, over which Argentina must recover its full sovereignty. Nicaragua also called for respect of the right to self-determination and independence of the Puerto Rican people.

55. Nicaragua had repeatedly stressed the need to grant the people of New Caledonia the right to full self-determination and independence. His Government welcomed the steps taken in the quest for a lasting solution to that question and noted with satisfaction that the new atmosphere had yielded positive results with the adoption without a vote by the Special Committee on decolonization of the resolution on that subject, which had received the support of the countries of the South Pacific Forum and which, it was to be hoped, would also meet with the approval of the Fourth Committee.

56. Mr. HILMI (Iraq) said that the items under consideration were closely interlinked, dealing as they did with the remnants of colonialism in the contemporary world. They addressed the elimination of inhuman practices and the impact of the policy of apartheid on colonial peoples and those being plundered by transnational corporations.

57. The first priority of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had been removal of the effects of colonialism and recognition of the right to self-determination of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Full respect for that right was a basic requirement of the Charter, regardless of the size of any particular Territory or the number of its inhabitants. The sending of visiting missions to determine the desires of the inhabitants was most useful in promoting the achievement of the desired goal. Those administering Powers which had provided the Special Committee with facilities and with information were to be commended, and the other States involved should do likewise. All administering Powers should give serious consideration to banning military installations in their Territories.

58. Foreign investment was one of the worst forms of exploitation imposed on the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and his country had frequently condemned foreign economic practices which did not, as was claimed, promote the well-being of the Territories. Namibia's resources had been plundered by the transnational corporations, and its inhabitants continued to live in abject poverty. The much-vaunted development that was alleged to have taken place had achieved nothing, and had rather aggravated the poverty and misery of the Namibian people. His Government reaffirmed its support for SWAPO and considered it the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

59. The Pretoria régime was allied with another racist régime which had usurped part of the territory of the Arab nation, namely the Zionist régime in Tel Aviv. The available data showed that the volume of trade between those two régimes had increased significantly in recent years. The two régimes had engaged in blackmail against the international community and the United Nations. Although the delaying tactics used by the racist régime in Pretoria had thus far been successful, his

(Mr. Hilmi, Iraq)

delegation was convinced that the time was close when that régime would be forced to submit to the wishes and aspirations of the subject peoples.

60. His country believed that the best way of solving problems was through the United Nations and that the effort should therefore be made to strengthen its role as an effective instrument to that end. His delegation was pleased to note the easing of the situation in New Caledonia with the recent agreement between the parties to the dispute, which might bring peace and security to yet another part of the world.

61. Iraq condemned the racial discrimination practised by the régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv and called for increased support to the world's liberation movements and for a concerted effort by the international community to ensure a future of stability and peace for the world's peoples.

62. Mrs. BERMUDEZ GARCIA (Cuba) said that Africa, Asia and Latin America could still testify to the existence of anachronistic and dangerous vestiges of colonialism. Guam, the British Virgin Islands, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, American Samoa, Tokelau, Pitcairn, the United States Virgin Islands, the Malvinas Islands and Puerto Rico, among others, were real proof that colonialism continued at the end of the twentieth century.

63. Of particular concern was the continuing collaboration of two specialized agencies with South Africa, despite the repeated calls by the General Assembly to cease that activity. In August 1988, representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, by arguing before the Special Committee on decolonisation that they could not offer assistance to liberation movements because the latter were not governments, had ignored the fact that the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the national liberation movements of South Africa had been recognized as the sole legitimate representatives of their peoples. At the same time as they were refusing help to the victims of apartheid, IMF and the World Bank were opening their coffers to racist South Africa. Like the other specialized agencies, IMF and the World Bank must fulfil the mandate of the General Assembly. If those two agencies were to help the Namibian, South African and other peoples subject to colonial domination, they should suspend their assistance to the apartheid régime.

64. Another problem was the lack of participation by the administering Powers in the discussions on their Territories and the distorted information that they sometimes provided on the political and social developments in those Territories. It was essential to insist that the administering Powers must comply with their obligations.

65. Securing peace and security in southern Africa was of overriding importance. To that end, it was essential to do away with apartheid, unconditionally implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) for the independence of Namibia and put an end to the acts of aggression carried out by the racist régime against the front-line countries.

(Mrs. Bermudez Garcia, Cuba)

66. In Latin America, a small country had, for over two centuries, defended its culture, its language and its national identity. That country's legal dependence upon the United States was still rejected by virtually all the political forces in the country, and its right to independence had been defended by the Special Committee on decolonization for more than a decade. She was referring to Puerto Rico.

67. Miss BYRNE (United States of America) speaking on a point of order, asked the Chairman to remind the representative of Cuba to confine her remarks to the item under consideration and not to disrupt the work of the Committee by seeking to invent a decolonization problem with respect to Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico had been removed from the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories by virtue of General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII) of 1953.

68. Mrs. BERMUDEZ GARCIA (Cuba), continuing her statement, said that in August 1988, the Special Committee on decolonization had adopted a resolution on Puerto Rico. Her delegation was simply pointing out a fact: the colonial status of Puerto Rico. If any doubt remained on that, it would be useful to read the records of the Fourth Committee ...

69. Miss BYRNE (United States of America), speaking on a point of order, once again asked the Chairman to urge the representative of Cuba to confine her remarks to the item under discussion.

70. The CHAIRMAN asked the representative of Cuba to continue her statement, bearing in mind the item under discussion.

71. Mrs. BERMUDEZ GARCIA (Cuba), continuing her statement, said that most of the Territories to which she had referred were victims of foreign economic, military and other activities which violated their right not only to freedom but also to development. The expropriation of land for military bases, as in Guam and Bermuda, the exploitation of natural resources to enrich the home country, as in Namibia, the Malvinas Islands, the United States Virgin Islands and the British Virgin Islands, and the imposition of the laws, policies, Government and even lifestyle of the home country upon peoples some of whom, like that of Puerto Rico, were thousands of kilometres from the home country constituted the best way to oppress a people and subject it to eternal underdevelopment. The small size or lack of development of such countries did not render them unworthy of their noble and legitimate aspirations to independence, freedom and sovereignty, and it was such aspirations that the United Nations must continue to support.

72. Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statements made by the Soviet Union in the Trusteeship Council had always been based on existing realities, the facts and international law, including the United Nations Charter, especially Article 83 thereof, and had never contained any false charges against anyone.

73. Miss BYRNE (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that there might have been a misunderstanding. The point that she had been trying to make was that she and Mr. Bykov regularly exchanged views in the Trusteeship Council, which, unlike the Fourth Committee, was the proper forum for discussion of the subject.

74. The CHAIRMAN said that Djibouti, Nicaragua and Nigeria had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/43/L.3 and that Jamaica and New Zealand had joined the sponsors of A/C.4/43/L.4.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.



---

**SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 12th MEETING**

**Chairman:** Mr. PETERS (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines)

**CONTENTS**

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEM 110: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEM 111: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA (continued)

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

---

\*This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, room DC2 750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.4/43/SR.12  
2 November 1988  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: SPANISH



The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued) (A/43/23 (Parts IV and VI), 226, 671, 680; A/AC.109/934-936, 937 and Corr.1, 938-941, 942 and Corr.1, 943, 944 and Corr.1, 945 and Add.1 and 2, 946-950, 952 and Corr.1, 953-957, 959, 963, 964; A/AC.109/L.1665; E/1.9/81)

AGENDA ITEM 108: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 a OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/43/23 (Part IV), 219, 226, 658)

AGENDA ITEM 110: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/43/3, A/43/23 (Part IV), 226, 355 and Add.1-3)

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/43/3 (chaps. I and VI, sect. E), 671)

AGENDA ITEM 111: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA (continued) (A/43/681)

AGENDA ITEM 112: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES (continued) (A/43/677)

1. Miss BROSNKOVA (Czechoslovakia) said that the greatest successes of the United Nations had been achieved in the struggle against colonialism. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that the process of decolonization was not yet over. Czechoslovakia welcomed the recent progress towards the settlement of the question of Namibia.

2. The relationship between the colonial Powers and the dependent Territories had not changed. There were, on the one side, large, politically important and economically advanced States, on the other side small States facing all kinds of problems. The United Nations had to see to it that all nations, including the peoples of the small Territories could freely express their will, fully aware of all the consequences of deciding on their future. However, the deliberations of the Special Committee's Sub-Committee on Small Territories showed that some administering Powers were not doing their utmost to foster an awareness among the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories of their right to self-determination. Moreover, the Power administering the greatest number of small Non-Self-Governing Territories was not co-operating with the United Nations as much as might be hoped, for it did not send representatives to the Special Committee's sessions. On the other hand, the constructive approach of other administering Powers, such as New Zealand, demonstrated the usefulness of dialogue.

3. Some States claimed that the activities of foreign economic interests could be of benefit to the population of Non-Self-Governing Territories. While there might

(Miss Brodnakova, Czechoslovakia)

be some truth in that in certain cases, it must not be forgotten that such activities of the administering Powers were often an integral part of broader geopolitical and military interests which could hardly be compatible with the genuine interests of the non-self-governing peoples. It was also essential to take into account the loss of national identity and culture caused by such activities, as well as the introduction into the Territories of such evils as the use of drugs and the dumping of toxic waste.

4. It was regrettable that the situation in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands had not improved. The Administering Authority was resorting to political, economic and financial pressure to impose Compacts of Free Association on the population of the various parts of the Territory, the aim being an artificial partition of Micronesia and neo-colonialist domination of the Territory, with no possibility of international supervision. Czechoslovakia opposed such a partition and, in that connection, supported the draft resolution which the Fourth Committee would have before it. Her delegation wished to point to Article 83, paragraph 1, of the Charter, which provided that all functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the Trusteeship Agreements and of their alteration or amendment, should be exercised by the Security Council. The Trusteeship Agreement was clear as to the strategic nature of the Pacific Islands.

5. Various petitioners had recently pointed out in the Special Committee on decolonization that there were serious obstacles to the exercise of the inalienable rights of the population of Puerto Rico. Czechoslovakia could not remain indifferent to that situation.

6. Her Government appreciated the fact that a number of specialized agencies of the United Nations system had adopted measures to increase their involvement in the process of implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It also welcomed the activities of many non-governmental organizations aimed at achieving full decolonization. It was pleased that the World Bank had not granted any loans to South Africa since 1966 and that South Africa was not represented on the Board of Executive Directors of the Bank (A/43/355/Add.1). It had taken note of the statement of the International Monetary Fund on 7 April in the Special Committee's Sub-Committee on Petitions, Information and Assistance, to the effect that the loan granted to South Africa in 1982 had been repaid in full. Her Government regretted, however, that the Bank and the Fund still maintained certain contacts with the racist régime, and called on them to put an end to such contacts.

7. Mr. BUDATHOKI (Nepal) said that although the international political scene had been transformed by the elimination of colonialism, perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of the post-Second World War period, the process had not yet been completed. Several million people were still subject to colonial rule, and most of them lived under régimes which offered them no hope of a peaceful solution. The situation in southern Africa presented colonialism in its darkest shade. There colonialism not only suppressed the right of millions of human beings to dignity,

(Mr. Budathoki, Nepal)

but also posed a direct threat to the peace and security of the region and of the whole world.

8. Flouting the decisions of the United Nations, the racist South African régime continued to exploit the human and material resources of Namibia. Nepal supported the right of Namibia to achieve self-determination and independence, and safeguard national unity and territorial integrity. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) provided the only acceptable framework for the settlement of the question of Namibia, and the plan which it embodied had to be implemented in its entirety. Although the current quadripartite talks on Angola and Namibia were encouraging, the events should be viewed with caution in the light of South Africa's record. The racist South African régime was taking an increasingly intransigent position. More and more people were being imprisoned, and the death sentence and torture had become routine. His Government reiterated its demand for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and other political prisoners, who symbolized the hope for a new, multiracial, peaceful and democratic South Africa. The policies of the racist régime were the source of destabilization in southern Africa, and the front-line States had suffered as a result. The end of apartheid would mean the advent of peace and harmony in South Africa and the entire region. Nepal appealed to all countries to sever any economic, social or political ties with the racist minority régime, and reiterated its strong support for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against that régime.

9. Nepal also supported the decolonization of small Territories. It welcomed the efforts of the specialized agencies and international organizations which continued to co-operate with the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in the implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. However, he noted that the assistance fell below actual needs and should be intensified.

10. Mr. URBAN (Hungary) said that, after a number of years during which the process of decolonization had gradually slowed down, recent events gave rise to new hope. He welcomed the ongoing negotiations to solve the questions of Namibia and Western Sahara, which seemed to be a sign of the international community's increased ability to solve conflicts.

11. The development of the world economy was still hindered by the existence of colonialism. The peoples of the colonial Territories would not be equal partners in the international field until they were allowed full control of their natural resources. Colonial dependence was a basic obstacle to social, economic and cultural development.

12. Hungary hoped that the ongoing talks on the future of Namibia would facilitate the implementation, in the immediate future, of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). However, once a just and lasting settlement was achieved, further steps would be necessary to tackle other outstanding issues in southern Africa. Hungary hoped that the negotiations in progress on Western Sahara would create the indispensable conditions for the peaceful settlement of that question, and that the

(Mr. Urban, Hungary)

organization and supervision of the planned referendum by the United Nations would be further proof of the irreplaceable role of the Organization and of its contribution to the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

13. Mr. PITARKA (Albania) regretted that there were still traces of colonial occupation in Africa, the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean, and that the peoples of those Territories were still denied the right to self-determination, freedom and independence. Albania deplored the situation in Namibia and the ruthless exploitation of the Namibian people and their national assets by the racist régime of South Africa. It supported the just struggle for national liberation of that people and of other colonial peoples.

14. The Albanian people, which cherished feelings of sincere friendship and respect for the people of the Maghreb and for all Africans, had closely followed the developments in Western Sahara. The Albanian people and Government had always hoped that a just and peaceful settlement of the question of Western Sahara would be found - a settlement which would be compatible with the inalienable right of the Saharans to self-determination, and with their interests and the interests of the other peoples of the region. The solution of the conflict would eliminate another hotbed of tension and would undoubtedly play a significant role in bringing about a climate of genuine trust among all countries of the region. Moreover, it would serve as the basis for co-operation which favoured the development and progress of the peoples of the Maghreb and the Mediterranean. The peoples of Western Sahara, Morocco and all the other inhabitants of the Maghreb were fraternal peoples which shared the same aspirations and interests and a common past of suffering and colonial dependence. They needed to live in peace in order to devote their energies to the progress of their countries. For that reason, his delegation welcomed the normalization of relations between Algeria and Morocco, and any other measure which would contribute to a fair solution of the question of Western Sahara. Albania took note with satisfaction of the support of OAU and the Secretary-General, and hoped that the process of negotiations would create the necessary conditions for the Saharan people's free exercise of its right to self-determination. That wish was also evident in the draft resolution - of which Albania was a sponsor - to be submitted to the Committee at its current session.

15. Mrs. BERMUDEZ GARCIA (Cuba) said that the international community seemed to have entered a period of détente which could give rise to the hope that a solution would be found to a number of serious world conflicts. However, there was no reason to be carried away as long as peoples, such as the Saharans, were subject to domination by a foreign Power.

16. Her delegation reaffirmed its solidarity with the Saharan people, which had clearly demonstrated its unflinching desire for freedom, sovereignty and self-determination. There had been little opportunity for progress since the establishment of the peace plan contained in General Assembly resolution 40/50 and OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XXIX). The peace plan had been accepted in principle by the Frente POLISARIO, the legitimate representative of the Saharan people. Morocco, on the other hand, had turned its back on the regional organization and

(Mrs. Bermudez Garcia, Cuba)

had appealed to the United Nations in order to create confusion. At the same time it was intensifying its occupation and repression of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. In August 1988, Morocco had accepted the peace plan in principle, a fact which had given rise to the genuine hopes of the Saharan people and of the international community. However, there were still major obstacles whose elimination depended on whether Morocco would change its attitude and agree to negotiate directly with the Frente POLISARIO, in accordance with the provisions of the plan, and turn the Territory over to international organizations in order to allow the Saharan people to express its wishes freely, without any form of military or administrative constraints.

17. Cuba was grateful to the Secretary-General and to the Chairman of OAU for the efforts which they had made to promote peace in northern Africa. It welcomed the appointment of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Western Sahara. He reaffirmed that the Government and people of Cuba were prepared to co-operate as far as possible in order to achieve a solution of the conflict.

18. Mr. VINOGRADOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that undeniable victories had been won since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As a result, more than 70 countries had achieved independence. However, the work of the Committee on decolonization was not yet over. There were still some 20 Territories under colonial domination because the colonial Powers had not only not taken speedy measures to implement the Declaration on decolonization but had also done everything within their power to slow down the process, as was evident from their military and economic activities in those Territories.

19. The most urgent task of decolonization was the speedy implementation of the Declaration in Namibia. Any political solution of the conflict should be based on the immediate and unconditional cessation of South Africa's illegal occupation, the withdrawal of South African forces, and the Namibian people's exercise of their right to self-determination, in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 40/50. The relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978), formed an internationally recognized basis for achieving the independence of Namibia.

20. The Declaration on decolonization had not yet been implemented in the so-called small Territories, which were also entitled to benefit from its provisions. The administering Powers were doing all they could to curb the process of liberation in those Territories and to maintain ancient systems of colonial and semi-colonial dependence, or to impose new systems, as well as to use those Territories for their own military purposes. His delegation was greatly concerned by the situation prevailing in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, as the administering Power was attempting to annex that Territory and to transform it into a military base. The administering Power's unilateral activities were illegal and incompatible with Article 83 of the Charter, which emphasized that "all functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council".

(Mr. Vinogradov, Byelorussian SSR)

21. It was the role of the specialized agencies and of international organizations connected with the United Nations to exercise certain important functions in the process of decolonization. None of those agencies or organizations should fail to participate in the task of eliminating the last traces of colonialism. Some agencies and organizations had been reluctant to increase the assistance provided to the peoples of Territories under colonial rule. His delegation shared the concern of other delegations about the links which the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund continued to maintain with South Africa, deliberately ignoring the urgings of the United Nations that co-operation with South Africa should cease and that such co-operation should not be resumed until apartheid was eliminated and the occupation of Namibia ended.

22. The elimination of all forms and manifestations of racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism would represent a considerable contribution to the establishment of a system of international peace and security. The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples were applicable to all Non-Self-Governing Territories in all regions of the world. The peoples of those Territories must be given the opportunity to exercise their rights to self-determination and independence. The thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration's adoption would be celebrated in 1990, and his delegation believed that appropriate measures to prepare for that anniversary should be adopted during the current session of the General Assembly. Specific deadlines should be set for the granting of independence to all Territories which remained under colonial rule.

23. Mr. GBHQ (Ghana) said that the conflict between Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO must be resolved within a framework of direct negotiations, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and in consultation with the Chairmen of the Organization of African Unity, in accordance with the provisions of Organization of African Unity resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and of General Assembly resolution 40/50. His delegation congratulated the parties to the conflict on their acceptance of the Peace Proposals put forward by the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and the Secretary-General as part of his mission of good offices for a peaceful settlement of the question of Western Sahara. The principal elements of the Peace Proposals were a cessation of hostilities and the observance of a cease-fire by the parties to the conflict; the deployment of a contingent of United Nations observers with responsibility for monitoring the cease-fire and establishing a viable apparatus for surveillance of the troops consigned to designated sites; the appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General with sole authority for supervision of the referendum and the cease-fire and de jure administration of the Territory during the transition period between the installation of the cease-fire and the announcement of the results of the referendum; an appropriate, substantial and gradual reduction of Moroccan troops in the region, as a prerequisite for the organization of a credible referendum without military or administrative constraints; and the establishment of the conditions necessary to ensure absence of intimidation and freedom of movement for the Saharan people.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

24. The good offices of the Secretary-General would continue to be of great importance until a definitive solution of the Western Sahara conflict was achieved. His delegation was tremendously encouraged by the contacts established between representatives of the Frente POLISARIO and His Majesty King Hassan II and hoped that those contacts would be maintained and brought within the framework established by the Peace Proposals, to which the parties had given their assent.
25. Document A/43/680 stated that "the Secretary-General views the Peace Proposals as a delicate balance of essential elements and a compromise aimed at promoting a just and definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara". His delegation hoped that the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 621 (1988) would encourage the Council to adopt practical measures in support of the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General, together with the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, to achieve a peaceful settlement of the question of Western Sahara. It regarded the appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General as extremely important and hoped that the Representative would enjoy the co-operation of all parties.
26. Mr. BOKOV (Bulgaria) said that, although more than 100 colonial Non-Self-Governing Territories had succeeded in realizing their inalienable right to freedom, self-determination and national independence since the adoption in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the exercise of that right remained a dream for a number of countries in southern Africa, the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and the Caribbean. In order to maintain their rule, the forces of colonialism continued to resort to various refined methods, including "free associations" and referendums, in which colonial peoples allegedly opted to retain their chains under a different guise.
27. The main preserve of colonialism, racism and its most obnoxious form apartheid, continued to be South Africa, where the illegal régime persisted in its policy of oppression, terror and violence. In spite of world public opinion and the relevant decisions of the United Nations, the sole legal Administering Authority for Namibia, the Namibian people were still denied their right to self-determination. As the representative of India, Mr. Anand Sharma, had said, South Africa's participation in political negotiations should not blind people to that country's crimes against humanity, apartheid, aggression, the backwardness of the Namibian economy and the forced servitude of its people.
28. One of the essential elements of the Declaration was the realization by peoples of the small colonial Territories of their right to self-determination and independence. His country therefore rejected the pretext whereby allegedly "extraordinary" circumstances served to impede the process of decolonization in some small colonial Territories. Continued military activities by colonial Powers in Non-Self-Governing Territories were of equally serious concern. They contravened the Charter and the Declaration on decolonization; nevertheless, the colonial Powers continued to defy the explicit wishes of the international community. The United Nations should take all the steps necessary for the immediate and unconditional implementation of the Declaration on decolonization,

(Mr. Bokov, Bulgaria)

with a view to ensuring the prompt elimination of all forms of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

29. The General Assembly had pointed out that a corollary to United Nations recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle by the colonial peoples for independence was that the United Nations should provide assistance to those peoples and their national liberation movements. The specialized agencies and the international organizations of the United Nations system possessed a vast potential for helping to eliminate colonialism by furnishing material and other kinds of assistance to the national liberation movements, the newly independent States and the front-line States, or by assisting in the development of various segments of the societies of small Territories. His delegation wished to express appreciation to all the specialized agencies and organizations which were playing a constructive role in the process of implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and were co-operating with SWAPO and other national liberation movements recognized by OAU. Nevertheless, his delegation also endorsed the conclusion of the Special Committee's report (A/43/23, part IV) that it was regrettable that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund continued to maintain links with the racist régime of Pretoria and that all such links should be discontinued and that those institutions should not extend loans or any type of assistance to South Africa as long as the apartheid régime continued to exist and the illegal occupation of Namibia was not ended. It was to be hoped that the draft resolution on the specialized agencies submitted by the Special Committee would be effective in increasing the moral and material assistance provided to the colonial peoples, particularly in southern Africa.

30. Mr. BADI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) recalled that millions of people were still being subjected to oppression, deprivation of liberty and arbitrary measures in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which proclaimed the right of all peoples to independence and self-determination. The much-sought-after peace could not be achieved so long as inequality and injustice persisted and justice could only be attained through a peace based on equality. The peoples of Namibia and South Africa continued to be ruled by a minority which spread terror among the people, continued to enforce a racist policy, indiscriminately killed innocent people and was threatening peace and security not only in the region, but in the world.

31. At the same time, the Palestinian Arabs were being subjected to the same kind of treatment by another racist régime which was occupying Arab territories. But strange as it might seem, racism found champions in the various international forums who blocked the adoption of measures, co-operated with those régimes and maintained ties with them.

32. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya reaffirmed the right of all peoples to self-determination and supported the Secretary-General's efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the question of the Western Sahara. It welcomed the agreement reached between the parties and the fact that the United Nations would supervise



(Mr. Badi, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

the cease-fire and organize a referendum on the self-determination of the Saharan people. Libya urged the parties to co-operate in that endeavour with the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Secretary-General.

33. In compliance with the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, the administering Powers should provide information on the Territories under their administration, but, regrettably, there were some administering Powers which were not complying with that requirement. It was of fundamental importance that they should fully implement their commitment to the Territories they administered and promote the latter's economic, cultural, political and social progress with the aim of preparing them for self-sufficiency.

34. Libya appealed to the countries which still maintained ties with South Africa or had interests and business in the colonial Territories to put an end to those practices and bring pressure on the Pretoria régime to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia and eradicate apartheid. Sanctions should be imposed until the racist régimes abandoned that policy, which offended and dishonoured humanity.

35. Mr. THOMPSON (Fiji) said that the draft resolution before the Committee on the question of New Caledonia was very different from those of the past two years. It was constructive and optimistic in tone, a change which flowed from the positive and pragmatic attitude adopted by the new Government of France with regard to the problems of New Caledonia. Fiji welcomed that approach and stood ready to assist the parties concerned to reach a peaceful solution to the problems of the Territory. Its aim was to facilitate, not hinder, peaceful progress towards self-determination, help to prevent confrontation between the different elements in New Caledonia and between them and France and expedite the attainment of the aspirations of the people of the Territory.

36. The draft resolution before the Committee had been prepared, taking full cognizance of the important shift in the political situation in New Caledonia and its text realistically reflected the encouraging atmosphere which now prevailed in the Territory. It was aimed at supporting and consolidating the process of dialogue and reconciliation and the valuable progress achieved. At its meeting in August, the Special Committee had adopted the resolution by consensus without reservations on the part of any of its 24 members. It was therefore to be hoped that the Fourth Committee would likewise recommend that the General Assembly should adopt the draft resolution without a vote, thus giving fitting endorsement to the peace process in New Caledonia.

37. Mr. ADOUKI (Congo) said that by including the right of peoples to self-determination in its Charter, the United Nations had made that right universal. Furthermore, it had elaborated the instrument necessary for the exercise of that right, namely, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration had subsequently been reaffirmed by a number of United Nations decisions which were virtually universal in scope calling for the elimination of all colonial régimes, thus enhancing the importance

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

of the United Nations in activating the irreversible process of the national liberation of colonial peoples. The United Nations peace plan in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) demonstrated that the independence of the Namibian people was inextricably linked with the priority concerns of the collective world conscience. The question of the decolonization of Namibia was not an isolated issue; the Fourth Committee's agenda was getting longer despite the moral and material assistance being provided by the independent States to the struggle of the colonial peoples for national liberation.

38. Today there were many former colonial peoples and dependent Territories which had won their freedom. The Congo, a young State, had had the benefit of the powerful anticolonialist wave which had swept Africa and of the solidarity of the other nations of the world. The substantial contribution of the United Nations to the decolonization of most of the African continent remained memorable. However, in a few countries, the process of acceding to independence was being impeded by many factors and, in the most serious cases, it had reached a veritable standstill. For those peoples, in the Caribbean, the Pacific and on the African continent, the process of colonization had not ended. In that connection, he drew attention to the report of the Special Committee (A/43/23, part VI), which contained a list of dependent Territories still under colonial rule. Although the list had shrunk, the mere fact that it still existed was deplorable.

39. In that context, special attention should be given to the situation of the people of Namibia and their Territory, which was under illegal South African occupation. In the plenary Assembly, he had explained the peace policy advocated by the Congo with regard to that thorny question. The President of the People's Republic of the Congo, Mr. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, had successfully offered his good offices in arranging for various meetings and for quadripartite diplomatic negotiations mediated by the United States. He hoped that those negotiations, which were still going on, would lead to agreement. Unfortunately, the apartheid régime had used more delaying tactics to block implementation of the United Nations peace plan. However, there had been a marked improvement in Namibia's prospects for independence and it was to be hoped that the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, would regain their freedom in the near future.

40. Alerted by the Secretary-General's report (A/43/680), the international community welcomed the agreement in principle reached on 30 August 1988 between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO on the joint proposals of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The Congo took note of that agreement and firmly supported the Chairman of OAU and the United Nations Secretary-General in their efforts to organize a referendum for the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara under the joint supervision of the United Nations and OAU.

41. Mr. CISTERNAS (Chile) said that in addition to the moral issue, which had priority, because of the geographical size and economic wealth of Namibia, the size of its population and the special characteristics of its present situation, the Territory constituted the primary task in the process of decolonization, as

(Mr. Cisternas, Chile)

demonstrated by the dedication and efforts of the Special Committee and the Council for Namibia. Fortunately, the parties directly involved in matters relating to south-western Africa had taken constructive steps to settle the conflict peacefully and secure independence for Namibia.

42. In entrusting to certain Powers the administration of particular Territories, usually small Territories with a small population, the United Nations had indicated that neither those characteristics nor the prevailing economic conditions could constitute impediments to their decolonization. Moreover, in accepting such a mandate, the administering Powers had undertaken to prepare the respective populations properly for the various phases in their development. Chile regarded as vitally important the task to be performed in that respect by the administering Powers to ensure that such Territories developed in an appropriate and viable manner, and that the future nation-States were fully aware of the various options regarding government and independence.

43. Such Territories urgently needed development resources, which could only come from outside. It was therefore regrettable that once again the resolution adopted was inordinately long, and suffered from the same defects as in previous years, and derived from the false premise, based essentially on political and ideological factors, that all foreign economic activities were an impediment to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). In addition, it was imperative for the appropriate United Nations organs to be informed of the situation in each of the Non-Self-Governing Territories so that they might adopt the relevant decisions without interference. In that connection, it was regrettable that certain administering Powers had seen fit not to participate in the work of such organs, which had impeded the exercise of their functions.

44. With regard to Western Sahara, his delegation believed that the report of the Secretary-General (A/43/680) contained appropriate elements for a solution. It also believed that the resolution adopted should scrupulously follow the guidelines suggested by the Secretary-General in that document.

45. With respect to New Caledonia, the Government of the administering Power seemed imbued with a new, constructive spirit in seeking to address effectively the demands for self-determination and independence on the part of vast sectors of the population. The problem had to be solved through peaceful means, on the basis of dialogue and negotiations involving all sectors of the population.

46. There appeared to be unanimity and consensus on two items: the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, and offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories. In both cases, Chile had sponsored the relevant draft resolutions which would be submitted to the Fourth Committee for its consideration. His country had made a firm decision to co-operate effectively in making study and vocational-training facilities available. It had offered fellowships to enable Namibian students to study at the Chilean Academy of Diplomacy or to specialize in fisheries or forestry.

47. Mr. SAEMALA (Solomon Islands) said that since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, many countries, including his own, had attained independence. It was regrettable that there still existed Non-Self-Governing Territories. Most of them were in the South Pacific region, and one of them, New Caledonia, had recently attracted much international attention. Since the General Assembly, in resolution 41/41 A, had put the Territory back on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, encouraging developments had taken place in New Caledonia and in the region as a whole. The Solomon Islands hoped that the outstanding problems would be solved and that New Caledonia would be able to exercise the right to self-determination in accordance with the principles and practices of the United Nations. His delegation was pleased to note the Special Committee's consensus resolution, which it hoped would also be adopted by consensus by the Fourth Committee and, subsequently, the General Assembly in plenary meeting. Like other South Pacific delegations which had referred to the question of New Caledonia at earlier meetings of the Committee, his delegation wished to draw attention to the recent meeting of the South Pacific Forum in Tonga. The Forum had expressed the support of the entire group for the agreement concluded in Paris in August 1988 regarding the future of New Caledonia, and had also expressed the hope that the people of the Territory would achieve self-determination in 1998, in accordance with the agreement.

48. On the question of Western Sahara, his delegation joined others in voicing support for the Secretary-General in the conduct of his mission of good offices. It noted, however, that for some the main objective of the peace process was direct negotiations between Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO, while for others it was to create the necessary conditions for a cease-fire and a referendum on self-determination organized and supervised by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity.

49. Mr. SISOUVONG (Lao People's Democratic Republic) stressed the importance of co-operation among nations and peoples in all spheres. He regretted that co-operation in wiping out all vestiges of colonialism still left much to be desired.

50. With respect to Western Sahara, his country reiterated its support for and solidarity with the people of the Territory in their just struggle for independence, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO. It welcomed the acceptance by the Frente POLISARIO and Morocco of the peace proposals prepared through the good offices of the Secretary-General and the Chairman of OAU. There finally was a climate of understanding to pave the way towards a rapid settlement of the problem. It was to be hoped that the Saharan people would soon attain independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

51. Mr. JAYASINGHE (Sri Lanka) said the Secretary-General, in document A/43/1, had observed that "the United Nations played a decisive role in the process of decolonization, which has changed the political complexion of the globe and given vast populations control over their destiny". Indeed, the great majority of Territories formerly under colonial rule had become independent. Yet there were still peoples living under the yoke of colonialism.

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

52. Namibia was the major decolonisation problem facing the United Nations. Sri Lanka strongly supported the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which formed the only acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. It saluted the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, for its heroic struggle for freedom and independence.

53. The United Nations and the administering Powers should make the inhabitants of the administered Territories aware of the options open to them in the exercise of their right to self-determination, and should create conditions under which they could freely indicate their choice. His delegation was happy to note the co-operation extended by the Governments of New Zealand, Portugal and the United States to the Special Committee in 1987. Sri Lanka urged the other administering Powers to do likewise. In that context, the dissemination of information on decolonization and the right to self-determination was imperative.

54. With regard to the 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, the Special Committee had expressed its concern that the assistance extended thus far to the colonial peoples remained far from adequate. His delegation therefore urged the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations to increase the scope of their assistance programmes.

55. The natural resources of the colonial Territories were the inviolable heritage of the peoples of those Territories. The unabated exploitation of those resources by the administering Powers constituted a major obstacle to the independence of the colonial Territories and should be terminated forthwith. The administering Powers should take effective steps to safeguard the natural resources and protect the rights of the peoples of the Territories under colonial administration.

56. On the question of Western Sahara, his delegation welcomed the proposals for a peaceful settlement submitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity aimed at promoting a definitive resolution of the conflict.

57. Responding to the call of the General Assembly to offer study facilities to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, Sri Lanka had set up a study programme under which 50 Namibian students were following technical courses and teacher-training courses in its territory.

58. Mr. BLANC (France), referring to the question of New Caledonia, said he was aware that many delegations had expressed interest in the future of the Territory, but that did not mean that France had withdrawn the reservations of principle it had repeatedly formulated concerning the inclusion of the item in the agenda of the General Assembly, since France continued to believe that the question was an internal one that fell within its sovereign jurisdiction. Nevertheless, given the interest in the future of the Territory expressed by many delegations, his

(Mr. Blanc, France)

Government wished to inform the international community about a number of very important developments initiated by France that had occurred in New Caledonia in the past year and about the new prospects that had been opened up for that Territory.

59. In June 1988, the representatives of the two main political parties of New Caledonia, namely the Front de libération national kanak socialiste, which favoured independence for the Territory, and the Rassemblement pour la Calédonie dans la République, which wanted New Caledonia to remain part of the French Republic, had agreed to open talks on the future of New Caledonia in Paris under the auspices of the Prime Minister. Those tripartite talks had led to the signing on 20 August 1988 of an agreement of truly historic importance, the main elements of which would be submitted for the approval of the French people in a referendum on 6 November 1988. According to the agreement, in 1998 the population of New Caledonia would express its views on the future of the Territory freely and democratically in a self-determination ballot. In order to ensure that that decisive act could not be contested, it would have to be buttressed by solid guarantees. Consequently, only voters having firm and lasting ties with New Caledonia would be able to participate, i.e. individuals over 18 years of age who were duly entered on the electoral rolls and could prove in 1998 that they had been continuously domiciled in the Territory for at least the 10 preceding years.

60. During the 10 years remaining before the ballot, there would be no question that New Caledonia was part of the French Republic, but starting in July 1989 decentralized institutions would be established that were better adapted to the political, social and cultural realities of the Territory. Three provinces would be created; North, South and Loyalty Islands, each of which would elect, through direct universal suffrage, a council which would deliberate on numerous questions. Furthermore, in order to take more fully into account the diversity of cultures in New Caledonia and the importance of customary law in Melanesian life, a special body, the Customary Advisory Council, would be established. In addition, New Caledonia and its provinces could be associated with international negotiations of concern to the Territory.

61. Special attention would be paid to economic development and to the effort to eradicate inequalities. The French Government would provide more financial resources for that purpose, especially for North and Loyalty Islands provinces. Specific priority objectives had been set, including improvement of the infrastructure, the formulation of an agrarian policy, enhancement of the cultural heritage, and more economic and cultural exchanges with neighbouring States in the Pacific region. In order to attain those objectives, specific contracts would be concluded between the State and the provinces.

62. Those prospects would acquire the force of law if the French people voted in favour of them in the referendum to be held on 6 November 1988. Such a referendum was a really exceptional procedure, since it was used only to amend the Constitution or to ascertain the views of citizens on a bill or text of decisive importance. The last such referendum had been held in 1972 regarding the entry of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark into the European Community. The

(Mr. Blanc, France)

Government had decided to resort to that particularly solemn procedure in order to guarantee institutional stability for New Caledonia during the next 10 years. At the end of that period the New Caledonians would choose their own future, which could not be dictated by others. Democracy and freedom would have the last word.

63. The CHAIRMAN said he had received three communications containing requests for hearings on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) under agenda item 34. In accordance with the usual practice, he suggested that the communications should be circulated as documents of the Fourth Committee and considered at a later meeting.

64. It was so agreed.

65. The CHAIRMAN also informed the Fourth Committee that the delegation of Nigeria had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/43/L.2, on the question of Western Sahara. Liberia and Trinidad and Tobago had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/43/L.3, on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, and Liberia and Madagascar had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/43/L.4, on offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.