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PROVIS IONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 22 November 1988, at 3 p.m.

President:

Mr. MORTENSEN (Vice-President)

(Denmark)

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [18] (continued)
 - (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
 - (b) Report of the Secretary-General
 - (c) Draft resolutions
 - (d) Report of the Fifth Committee

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

In the absence of the President, Mr. Mortensen (Denmark), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 18 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/43/23, 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 and 964)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/680)
- (c) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/43/L. 23, A/43/L. 24, A/43/L. 28/Rev.1)
- (d) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/43/843)

Mr. CHAGULA (United Republic of Tanzania): At the very outset, allow me to extend my delegation's warm congratulations to Mr. Arnouss, Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Decolonization for introducing the detailed reports of the Special Committee contained in document A/43/23, parts I-IX. My delegation commends the Special Committee for its work during 1988.

Tanzania, as a member of the Special Committee, would like to seize this opportunity to reaffirm its assistance to, support for and solidarity with the peoples of the colonial territories in their struggle to achieve their sacred right to self-determination and independence. It is now an acknowledged fact that the United Nations, in spite of its shortcomings, has done a commendable job in the field of decolonization. Today, over 40 years after the founding of the United Nations, 100 countries have attained their independence, and of those more than 50 have exercised their right to independence after the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960.

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic
of Tanzania)

However, in spite of these positive achievements of the United Nations, Tanzania is saddened by the fact that today, 43 years after the signing of the Charter and more than two decades after the adoption of the Declaration on Non-Self-Governing Territories, more than 3 million people in Africa, the Pacific, the Indian and Atlantic Oceans and the Caribbean are still under the yoke of colonialism. Those colonial Territories are still subject to ruthless exploitation and plunder. Some of them are used both as springboards for launching military attacks against neighbouring countries and as centres for commerce for the benefit of the colonizers and drug trafficking.

Tanzania commends the Special Committee for its indefatigable efforts to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism in all the remaining colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories. We thus call upon the international community to give its fullest moral and material support for the realization of the principles and objectives enunciated in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on Non-Self-Governing Territories concerning the right of all peoples to enjoy all the basic fundamental human rights, including freedom and national independence. In addition, the Declaration on decolonization, adopted by the Assembly in 1960, inter alia, states:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom." (resolution 1514 (XV), para. 5)

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic
of Tanzania)

It is against that background that Tanzania has unreservedly continued to support the just cause of the colonized peoples in their struggle for the elimination of colonialism and racism. The illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa is a case in point. We therefore reaffirm our condemnation and rejection of the linking of Namibia's independence to irrelevant and extraneous issues outside the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which endorses the internationally recognized United Nations peace plan for the independence of Namibia. My delegation is therefore following with keen interest the ongoing quadripartite talks and hopes that the parties to the conflict will in the very near future allow the Secretary-General to begin the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

We commend the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people, for its readiness to reach a cease-fire agreement with its adversaries that may lead to the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia. However, as my delegation stated last week, we remain pessimistic in view of South Africa's well-known habit of violating agreements at the very last minute. We hope, however, that this time, the Pretoria régime will muster the necessary political will to enable the Secretary-General to proceed with the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In that connection, I need not emphasize the essential role of the permanent members of the Security Council in the exercise.

On Western Sahara, Tanzania reaffirms its position that the holding of direct talks between the Kingdom of Morocco and POLISARIO is the only way to bring about an end to the long-standing problem of Western Sahara. In that regard, we take note of the ongoing efforts of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity

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of Tanzania)

and the Secretary-General of the United Nations in resolving the Western Sahara problem, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

With regard to New Caledonia, we welcome the positive developments that have taken place between the new French Government and the Kanaks' representatives. My delegation, in addition to reaffirming that the people of New Caledonia are entitled to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, fervently hopes that the refreshing approach and attitude of the new French Government will lead to an early resolution of the New Caledonia colonial problem.

Regarding the role of the specialized agencies and other international institutions, my delegation would like to pay a tribute to those United Nations specialized agencies which have continued to render assistance to the national liberation movements, as provided for in the relevant General Assembly resolutions. However, Tanzania continues to be deeply disturbed by the persisting collaboration between the racist régime of South Africa and certain United Nations specialized agencies and international institutions.

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic
of Tanzania)

Such collaboration not only gives comfort to the Pretoria racist régime but encourages that apartheid régime to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, which it uses for launching military attacks and destabilization activities against the front-line States and other independent neighbouring countries. Tanzania therefore calls upon all the United Nations specialized agencies, especially the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, to sever their technical and financial links with the racist régime of South Africa, with a view to isolating that régime until such time as it abandons its abhorrent apartheid policy.

With respect to the smaller island Territories in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, we call upon the relevant administering Powers to continue to take urgent measures to promote the political, economic and social development of the dependent Territories under their administration in order to enable their peoples to determine their future political status. The peoples in these dependent Territories are equally entitled to exercise their right to self-determination and independence irrespective of their size, population or geographical location.

However, my delegation is concerned by the fact that the United Kingdom, in its capacity as an administering Power for about eight Non-Self-Governing Territories, has not yet responded positively to the appeal of the General Assembly to reconsider its decision not to participate in the work of the Special Committee. Tanzania feels strongly that the mere provision of information to the Special Committee by the United Kingdom is not enough if that country is at all serious about and is really committed to granting independence to its colonial Territories. My delegation therefore sincerely hopes that the United Kingdom will

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seriously consider resuming its active co-operation with the Special Committee in this matter. In this connection, my delegation would like to commend the Governments of New Zealand, Portugal and the United States of America for their co-operation and understanding, which have very much facilitated the work of the Special Committee.

I should like also to take this opportunity to request the administering Powers to allow the Special Committee to send visiting missions to the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories. We believe that this is the best way of collecting on-the-spot information concerning the conditions prevailing in colonial Territories. We note with concern that in the past five years there have been few visiting missions to the small Non-Self-Governing Territories, the last being the Visiting Mission to Tokelau in July 1985. My delegation is thus hopeful that the administering Powers will co-operate and enable the Special Committee to discharge its responsibilities effectively in accordance with the mandate given to it by the Assembly.

At this juncture I should address briefly the question of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, sometimes referred to as Micronesia, which includes the islands of Guam and Palau and the Mariana Islands and which is also still in the grip of colonialism and has been transformed into a so-called strategic military Territory governed under the Trusteeship Agreement concluded between the United States of America and the United Nations. While Tanzania is fully aware of the agreement involving Micronesia, it is nevertheless concerned that the heavy economic dependence of the people of Micronesia on United States military installations constitutes an impediment to the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic
of Tanzania)

that Territory. The reports of the Special Committee and of the Trusteeship Council indicate that the people of Guam are unwilling to approve the commonwealth association with the United States of America. In this regard, we urge the Security Council to take the necessary action, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter, regarding the future status of those islands.

Before concluding my statement I should like to emphasize that Tanzania will continue to give its unqualified support to all peoples still under the yoke of colonialism. Thus we appeal to the international community as a whole to shoulder its responsibility for the total elimination of colonialism before the dawn of the twenty-first century. With our common resolve and commitment, the sacred objective of the self-determination and independence of all colonial people can be realized sooner rather than later.

My delegation would like to pay a special tribute to the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Tesfaye Tadesse of Ethiopia, and his Vice-Chairman, Mr. Oramas Oliva of Cuba, for the excellent guidance they have provided to the Special Committee during 1988.

Last, but not least, my delegation would also like to express its deep appreciation to Mr. Thomas Tanaka and Mrs. Odile Rives-Niessel for the dedicated service they have given to the Special Committee for many years and for their invaluable contribution to the success of the Special Committee in its difficult and sensitive work on decolonization since it was established. My delegation joins all those who have already wished them a happy retirement from the United Nations. Their conscience should continue to comfort them for the rest of their lives with

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic
of Tanzania)

the assurance that they did an excellent job at the United Nations in the interest of all peoples still struggling for freedom and national independence.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Zimbabwe, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1.

Mr. MUTSVANGWA (Zimbabwe): The delegation of Zimbabwe is happy to introduce, as promised in our speech in the debate yesterday, draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1. I am delighted to announce that Egypt, Sri Lanka, Venezuela and Yemen have just become sponsors of this draft resolution.

The overwhelming sponsorship from among the membership of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is testimony to the fact that our Foreign Ministers, meeting in Cyprus in September this year, had their hearts in the right place on this matter. The crusade against colonialism was one of the principal elements that brought the founders of the Movement together over 30 years ago. Anti-colonialism has been one of the motive forces of history in the past three decades.

While it is clear that the founding of the United Nations in 1945 gave the world an institution that would help mankind to chart its progress in peace, it is a fact that it was only the advent of decolonization that was to bring out the universality of its present character. A lot has been achieved in the field of decolonization since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), in 1960. Compliments must be extended to the United Nations through its Special Committee on decolonization, which over the years, with indomitable courage and tenacity, has dedicated itself to the crusade against colonialism.

(Mr. Mutsvangwa, Zimbabwe)

Its exploits in this field are enduring and will be in our minds when we commemorate the 30 years of resolution 1514 (XV) in 1990. Its acquired wisdom is a torchlight that should ever illuminate the efforts of this body as it works out an action plan that will help usher in the twentieth century without the blight of colonialism. Zimbabwe takes this opportunity to express its appreciation of the chairmanship of this Special Committee of Ethiopia, a fellow African country with which Zimbabwe has a close relationship fashioned in the trenches of the anti-colonial struggle, to all the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in the Committee and to the Committee as a whole.

Zimbabwe, as one of the members of the 1986 Group of 18, fully supported the recommendation, later incorporated in a draft resolution at the forty-third session of the General Assembly, concerning guidelines for decades for certain causes. Those guidelines were unanimously adopted in the Second Committee and are on the way to the General Assembly for final adoption. After that they will guide our approach to the declaration of decades. Until then, existing practices are our proper guide; that is why we have followed them in this instance.

Many of us who have been victims and bear the indelible scars of colonial domination still hope that those who sympathized and supported us in that struggle, and who also freed themselves as they granted us our independence, will be as one with us on this draft resolution. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose diverse membership shares many a common colonial experience, is by this draft resolution refusing to subscribe to the "I'm all right, Jack" attitude.

Independence from colonialism under the auspices of accepted and proved United Nations guidelines is an option that has to be offered, and must be perceived as so offered, to the subjects of the remaining colonial and dependent Territories.

(Mr. Mutsvangwa, Zimbabwe)

Arguments as to size, population and economic viability that often clothe the military and strategic considerations of the administering Powers should not be used to divert the international body from its duties. We must continue to be critical of the lottery of a bygone imperial era that persists as the basis of dependency relationships no matter what the purported beneficence.

A contractual relationship based on the agreement of sovereign equals is what the enlightenment of the twenty-first century should countenance in international relations, as opposed to incorporation by defiance, stealth and subterfuge.

Lastly, I should like to thank all members of the Movement which remained faithful to the sentiments of our Ministers as expressed in the present draft resolution. This goes also for those members of the General Assembly which are going to show by their votes the merit of the idea of a decade on an issue that has so changed international relations and should now be definitively resolved.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia): The year 1990 will mark the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. During the last three decades many dependent Territories have acceded to independence and millions of colonized peoples have been freed from colonial bondage.

The United Nations and its relevant organs, in particular the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, have been and remain in the forefront of this struggle for independence, justice and human dignity. It should be underscored that United Nations involvement in the field of decolonization has been most rewarding. Today many of the Territories which were on the agenda of the General Assembly have joined the ranks of the Member States of the world Organization.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

None the less, 19 dependent Territories remain under colonial bondage and alien domination. Among those Territories by far the largest, the most populous and the one subjected to the most oppressive colonial Power has been and remains the south-western African Territory of Namibia.

Although Namibia's independence has been sought within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) for almost a decade, this rich and strategically located Territory has yet to attain its independence. Contrary to the wish of the international community and the legitimate aspiration of the Namibian people, the independence of the Territory has been linked to extraneous issues with no connection with the international status of that unhappy land. As a result the Namibian people have had to sustain more than their share of misfortune.

While we like to believe that the negotiations currently under way pertaining to southern Africa may augur well for the independence of Namibia, it is pertinent to note that the case of Namibia will be put to rest only when that Territory accedes to independence and its people are freed from the draconian laws of exported apartheid. Thus, the international community will be well advised to remain vigilant and continue to render moral, political and material support to the Namibian people under the leadership of their national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The situation of the remaining Territories is as grave, although not as complicated, as that of Namibia. For the most part the Territories in question are not only small in size but tend to have populations not necessarily commensurate with the size of their territory. The preponderant majority depend on limited economic activities, such as tourism, and have scarce natural resources at their disposal. This state of affairs, combined with the strategic considerations of the administering Powers, has perpetuated the dependent status of these Non-Self-Governing Territories. Their size and limited population have often

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

been invoked as a pretext for the continued colonial existence of the Territories. Moreover, while deliberate attempts have been deployed in order to disengage the indigenous population of such Territories from the land, the geographical and environmental make-up of some island Territories is being altered, against the expressed wishes of the inhabitants. We therefore appeal to the administering Powers concerned to refrain from taking any measures that might be detrimental to the interests of the peoples of the Territories under their auspices.

In the same vein, the administering Powers should take specific measures aimed at the rectification of the lopsided nature of the economies of those Territories. As caretakers of such Territories, they should not only diversify the economies of those highly vulnerable dependencies, but also elicit assistance from the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

Another important responsibility of the administering Powers is that associated with the sensitization of the population in the dependencies. In this respect the administering Powers are obliged to enable the inhabitants to become thoroughly aware of the options available to them in the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

In the same manner they should continue to co-operate with all relevant bodies of the United Nations by providing adequate information regarding the Territories under their administration. Moreover, it is the considered view of the Ethiopian delegation that the dispatch of visiting missions to such Territories provides the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with valuable and first-hand information on the current status of the Territories in question. My delegation therefore earnestly appeals to and urges the administering Powers to take an active part in the work of the Special Committee and demonstrate their co-operation by inviting visiting missions to all Territories under their jurisdiction.

Almost three decades ago this Assembly recognized the passionate yearning for freedom of all dependent peoples. This same desire and determination continues to manifest itself in many of the Non-Self-Governing Territories today. Consequently the task of the United Nations in the field of decolonization remains unfulfilled inasmuch as the aspirations of peoples with a passionate yearning for freedom remain unfulfilled.

Even though we are gratified to note the long path we have traversed thus far we view with regret the fact that we are yet to carry the banner to the universal summit of freedom and independence. Thus it is imperative that we avoid any tendency for complacency and duly recognize the right of every people under colonial domination to self-determination and independence by enhancing the global process of decolonization.

For its part, the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia will do everything in its capacity to heed even the least vocal of those who are still struggling in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, for they too are part of humanity who cherish freedom as much as do all of us in the United Nations.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

In the final analysis those peoples, and they alone, will ultimately determine their future destiny. Thus the least the international community must do is to persevere in its affirmation of a right so universally upheld. In the coming years our success or failure in this sphere of human endeavour will depend very much on how much we demonstrate our recognition of this basic right by facilitating the unfinished task of decolonization. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that we shall all continue to stand on the side of the peoples under colonial domination in their quest for freedom, justice and human dignity.

Mr. MORAGA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): The Republic of Chile has been a member of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples since its establishment. My country has adopted an attitude of sustained and clear support for the cause of self-determination and has always declared itself in favour of it, both in that Committee and in expressing its overall policy. It has always been a component of our foreign policy.

The principles of self-determination and non-intervention, which are inseparable from autonomy, are perhaps the most fundamental aspects of the stability and dignity of a mature people.

The longstanding concern of my country regarding this item leads us to make some modest theoretical observations in an attempt to stimulate intellectual debate in an area which is ever changing because of progress in the social sciences.

We are living in a period in which the Homeric concept of wars of independence tends to be interpreted as a respectable historic phenomenon far removed from any immediate experience. Thanks to the sustained work of the United Nations in this area, solemn formulations on autonomy today appear to be focused on the economic

(Mr. Moraga, Chile)

aspects of the future entity, determining a continued dialogue and understanding between metropolitan countries and colonies. This prevents the tremendous cost of breakdown, which appeared inevitable in the past. In this respect examples such as the establishment of agreements between parties on dates for independence, avoiding the trauma of breakdown, are a true tribute to progress and the intelligence of those within the Organization who designed this solution.

When the General Assembly, in plenary meeting, considers the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), it is putting into practice one of the most important principles of the Charter and many other international instruments. The concept of the self-determination of peoples is of course a theoretical component that emerged from the very doctrine of human rights, intended to facilitate the collective expression of the common will in a specific, determined way. Certainly this doctrine attributes complex aspects to the basic principle, and many varied elements allow us to establish that at a given moment in history a people has expressed itself through an act free of any external coercion.

International law itself as contained in resolutions of the General Assembly has perfected the means by which, through successive partial examinations, we can conclude that a group is ready to achieve self-determination. Geographic, ethnic, economic and demographic considerations guide the international community and enable it to determine the viability of a group's autonomy. In the absence of objective data or assessments it is difficult to determine the degree of cultural development on which to base the adoption of a decision on self-determination. The anthropological component, to which we are referring here as regards the degree of cultural development of a group, is certainly a helpful factor because it shows the real ability of a group to opt for self-determination.

(Mr. Moraga, Chile)

The organized international community must be sufficiently sensitive to evaluate the phenomenon of an emerging national entity and project it as a valid and all-encompassing entity. All of this must naturally take place without in any way harming the essence of the right to self-determination which is subject to no pre-conditions.

Cultural anthropology provides us with a more neutral approach in that respect, rejecting ethnocentrism in favour of the objective, unprejudiced original contribution of the emerging entity in a climate in which harmony and universality prevail.

The second aspect, which perhaps deserves a more thorough approach from the point of view of the theoretical analysis of the subject, is related to the possibility of formal institutionalization for the group achieving self-determination.

In that context, the basic option for political independence is sometimes considered at a level of importance which cannot allow us to disregard other institutional options. This occurs with the direct incorporation of the new territory in the metropolis with the agreement of the group opting for immediate or gradual assimilation. This also occurs with the possibility of establishing between the metropolis and the entity some type of constructive relationship which, while preserving autonomy in certain areas, allows the new entity to maintain the link without running the very real risk of estrangement. The contribution of the Organization has been tremendous in that respect.

In summary, the subject of self-determination, in both theoretical and practical terms, has permanent validity. My country, aware of its importance, is constantly studying that subject, and is bringing it up before the General Assembly today.

(Mr. Moraga, Chile)

In this context, the majesty of and respect for the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are more evident, and its achievements more concrete. The strength and validity of resolutions 1514 (XV), 1541 (XV), 1654 (XVI), 1805 (XVII), 1810 (XVII) and 1970 (XVIII) are part of a system which is responsible for promoting the Declaration in furtherance of the progress already made by the United Nations.

Mr. VAN LIEBOP (Vanuatu): Few successes of the United Nations have been as dramatic, as visible, or as far-reaching as have been the successes of the process of decolonization. Despite many obstacles and roadblocks, despite many objections and excuses, and despite many imaginary hazards and dire predictions, the United Nations is today far more representative of the international community and the family of mankind than it was at its inception.

The significance of that accomplishment may best be illustrated by recalling the early days of the United Nations. Although memory generally recedes with the passage of time, it should not be too difficult for us to recall those historic early days.

In 1945 an exhausted and war-weary world faced monumental tasks. Most of Europe, much of Asia and the Pacific and parts of North Africa lay in ruins. Millions of people had been killed or maimed. Millions more, forced to flee for their very survival, had been displaced and made homeless. Everyone faced an uncertain future. Horrible as the Second World War had been, there were no real assurances that we would not soon thereafter be plunged into another global conflict of massive death and destruction.

However, the peoples of Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and the Caribbean were confronted by another equally chilling thought. Most lived in Non-Self-Governing Territories, which meant that they were not yet masters of their own fate. Therefore their future offered even less certainty and held even less promise for

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

future generations than that of their fellow human beings in other parts of the world, who were at least free to govern themselves and make the decisions that would eventually reinvigorate their own respective societies.

Four decades ago few would have dared to imagine how far all of us would have progressed. The world has not been engulfed in another global conflict, and prospects seem better now than ever before that perhaps we can avoid the unthinkable and unwinnable final conflict.

We have not yet found a magical formula to avoid all wars and the ravages of greed, ignorance, disease and poverty. However, we have taken some gigantic strides in the right direction. If we can somehow manage to give ourselves enough time, we may yet overcome those age-old nemeses and release our most creative energies.

Four decades ago, very few would have dared to imagine that one could sit in this assembly of nations, look directly forward, turn and look to the left, turn and look to the right, then turn and look to the rear and see such a mosaic of peoples and cultures. Who would have imagined that in such a relatively short span of time we would have succeeded in giving real life and meaning to the words of the Charter of the United Nations, and in making this a truly universal Organization?

What the international community has achieved in the area of decolonization has certainly been remarkably and highly significant. What remains to be achieved is, however, no less significant and will in time be no less remarkable.

Today, in absolute terms, there are not many territories that remain under colonial administration. It is most emphatically true that even one day spent under colonial rule is too long for those forced to endure the humiliation of being colonized. However, we must not fail to recognize the magnitude of what has been accomplished in the area of decolonization. It is an accomplishment in which all of us can and should take pride. The decolonization process has been a collective

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

success, primarily of those who were once colonized, but also of men and women of goodwill in every single nation in every corner of the globe.

In some instances, pleas, petitions, dialogue and negotiation succeeded in bringing about political independence in a relatively orderly and painless fashion. In other instances, actions of a different nature were necessary in order to accelerate the process and assure its completion. In every instance the terms and conditions under which anti-colonial struggles were waged were dictated by those who wielded political power. The same is true even today. However, in a sense, our task is now more difficult than ever.

As in the past, those who hold political power in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories dictate the terms and conditions under which the anti-colonial struggle must be waged. In addition, most of today's remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories present slightly different facades.

In the past, we were confronted with colonial situations that were open and direct. Everyone could see them and recognize them for what they were. Today the packaging and presentation often appear different to those who are not directly affected. However, the product is the same. Therefore we must not relent in our efforts to bring about the full implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Now more than ever we must guard against becoming too satisfied with what has already been achieved and focus upon what remains to be done. Our failure to do so, history instructs us, can only jeopardize what we have accomplished up to now.

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

Perhaps no situation demonstrates that point as graphically as does the situation in Namibia. South Africa's intransigence and illegal occupation of Namibia has for many years denied the people of Namibia their legitimate rights in their own land. By now this is indisputably clear to everyone.

At the same time, South Africa has also threatened the political independence, social progress and economic development of neighbouring African States. The apartheid régime's presence in Namibia has been far more than a dagger merely poised at the heart of Africa. It has instead been a sabre thrusting deep into the chest of Africa, spilling the blood of men, women and children whose only offence was to attempt to claim their future.

The progress that has been made towards a negotiated settlement in southern Africa is long overdue. It is to be hoped that Namibia will soon take its rightful place in the community of nations, and Namibia's neighbours will finally be relieved of South Africa's aggression and strong-arm tactics. However, the international community's hopes, and the expectations of the people of Namibia, have been raised in the past only to be disappointed and frustrated by the manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime. Let us hope, once again, that this time that régime is sincere in its stated desire to comply with international law. Let us hope that Pretoria's friends will tolerate no further false starts in the process of decolonizing Namibia.

In this regard, we recall and associate ourselves with the very appropriate words spoken in this Hall on 17 November 1988 by our friend and colleague Mr. Isaac Stanislaus Mudenge, the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe. As Ambassador Mudenge so aptly stated:

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

"Namibia is first and foremost a responsibility of the United Nations. We, collectively, have a duty to bring self-determination and independence to that Territory. It is our obligation and our right to involve ourselves in the process of bringing Namibia to independence. This is a responsibility we dare not shirk, delegate or allow to be hijacked. It is a mandated trust of honour that we must fulfil. It compels all of us to speak out". (A/43/PV. 54, p. 67)

He was speaking on the subject of Namibia but his very penetrating words apply as well to the situations in Western Sahara, New Caledonia or any other Territory inscribed on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories.

There is cause for optimism that a resolution of the conflict in Western Sahara may be near, and the people of that country allowed to reclaim their own identity. The efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity appear to be ready to bear fruit. A just and lasting settlement may be at hand. However, it would be premature to rejoice at this moment, as there remain a number of obstacles on the path to peace in that corner of North Africa. There are a number of outstanding issues to be resolved by Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, the parties to the conflict. We hope they will ultimately agree to direct negotiation of all the outstanding issues. This sort of comprehensive approach appears to be both the most equitable and the most realistic avenue to pursue.

The wisdom of consulting the colonized people of a Territory, and engaging them in a process of dialogue on the future of the Territory, has never been more clearly demonstrated than is being done at the moment in New Caledonia. One year ago few issues were as heatedly debated at the United Nations, and few situations were as potentially explosive, as was the situation in New Caledonia.

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

In the past, the colonized people of that Territory, the Kanaks, knocked repeatedly at the door of the administering Power, seeking nothing more than a hearing on their plea for justice and equality. Much to their disappointment, and that of the neighbouring States in the region, that knock seemed to be ignored. Today the situation is different. The Government of France not only has heard the knock but has taken positive steps to open the door to the possibility of genuine liberty, equality and fraternity for all of New Caledonia's people.

Much remains to be done in New Caledonia. However, we respect the good intentions of the Government of France and applaud the measures it has taken to restore and maintain calm in the wake of the prior provocative and explosive situation. The candour and compassion with which the current Government of France has approached this issue has earned it increased respect and appreciation in the South Pacific, and among all who cherish the principles of decolonization.

We shall, as in the past, continue to support the legitimate aspirations of the colonized people of New Caledonia. We shall, as always, respect their wishes concerning their future and that of their land. For those reasons, we were pleased to join in the consensus text on New Caledonia that is now before the General Assembly, and we urge its similar adoption by the Assembly by consensus. We also bear in mind the continuing responsibility of the United Nations to monitor closely the political evolution of New Caledonia, to assure in the not-too-distant future a valid, internationally acceptable act of self-determination.

If there is one recurrent theme in the process of decolonization it is that we, the international community, are assisting in the process of restoring dignity and hope to people who have for too long been denied dignity and hope. These are people who may not be known to us by name and whose faces we may not yet individually recognize. However, in the process of their struggles to be free, their names, their faces and their courage become very familiar to us all.

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

While the United Nations is an organization of sovereign States, we must never lose sight of the fact that every nation is composed of people; and every decision we take has its effect on people somewhere on this earth.

I concluded our statement on this item in the Fourth Committee by mentioning the many years of outstanding service provided to the United Nations by Mr. Thomas Tanaka and Mrs. Odile Rives-Niessel. I shall not now repeat everything said on that occasion. Nor will it be possible for me, or any other speaker, to say everything that could and should be said about those two dedicated international civil servants. I would merely repeat for the record of the General Assembly the last few words I had the honour of using on that occasion, on behalf of the Government and people of Vanuatu, on the subject of the retirement of these two highly respected friends of us all:

"We know that wherever they are and whatever they are doing they will continue to serve humanity as they have for so many years here at the United Nations. We also think it appropriate ... to let them know that wherever we are and whatever we are doing they will always be remembered, they will always be cherished, and the legacy of their work will always be a part of the United Nations".

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on agenda item 18. We shall resume our consideration of the item later this afternoon, when we proceed to take action on draft resolutions A/43/L. 23, A/43/L. 24 and A/43/L. 28/Rev.1.

AGENDA ITEMS 12 (continued), 18 (continued) and 108 TO 112

INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/43/787)

ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERESTS WHICH ARE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES IN NAMIBIA AND IN ALL OTHER TERRITORIES UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION AND EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/43/761)

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; REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/43/788)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/43/789)

OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/43/790)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/43/797 and Corr.1)

The PRESIDENT: I call on the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee,

Mr. Emmanuel Douma of the Congo, to introduce the reports of the Fourth Committee.

Mr. DOUMA (Congo), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee (interpretation from French): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration six reports of the Fourth Committee relating, respectively, to agenda items 18, 108, 109, 110 and 12, 111 and 112.

The first report (A/43/797 and Corr.1) relates to those Territories which were not covered by other agenda items and which the Committee took up under agenda item 18. Set out in the report are 12 draft resolutions, 2 draft consensuses and 1 draft decision relating, respectively, to: Western Sahara, New Caledonia, Tokelau, Anguilla, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the British Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, the United States Virgin Islands, Gibraltar, Pitcairn and St. Helena.

By adopting these proposals, the General Assembly would, among other things, reaffirm the full application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to those Territories, and the inherent right of their peoples freely to decide their own future political status. The Assembly would request the administering Powers concerned to take all possible measures to expedite the process of decolonization. The Assembly would also urge the administering Powers, with the assistance of the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system, to accelerate the economic and social development of those Territories.

In noting with appreciation the continuing co-operation of certain administering Powers in that regard, the Assembly would once again emphasize the importance of dispatching United Nations visiting missions to these Territories so as to enable the United Nations to be fully apprised of the conditions obtaining therein.

As regards Western Sahara, the General Assembly would, inter alia, reaffirm that a just and definitive political solution to the conflict lies in the

(Mr. Douma, Rapporteur, Fourth
Committee)

implementation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) resolution ABG/Res.104 (XIX). It would again request the two parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations in the shortest possible time. Welcoming the agreement in principle reached on 30 August 1988 by the two parties to the joint proposals of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the current Chairman of the OAU and the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 621 (1988), the Assembly would invite the current Chairman of the OAU and the Secretary-General to continue to exert every effort to persuade the two parties to the conflict to negotiate the terms of a cease-fire and the modalities for organizing a referendum under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the OAU.

With respect to New Caledonia, noting with satisfaction the dialogue initiated under the auspices of the French authorities on the status of the Territory, the General Assembly would urge all the parties involved, in the interest of all the people of New Caledonia, to continue their dialogue and to refrain from acts of violence, and would invite them to continue to promote a framework for the peaceful progress of the Territory to self-determination.

The second report (A/43/787), relates to agenda item 108, on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations. The Fourth Committee recommends, among other things, that the Assembly reaffirm that, in the absence of a decision by the General Assembly itself that a Non-Self-Governing Territory has attained a full measure of self-government in terms of Chapter XI of the Charter, the administering Power concerned should continue to transmit information under Article 73 e with respect to that Territory, as well as the fullest possible information on political and constitutional developments.

(Mr. Douma, Rapporteur, Fourth
Committee)

The third report (A/43/761) relates to agenda item 109, on the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

By the draft resolution recommended under this item, the General Assembly, in condemning the intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests that continue to exploit the natural and human resources of Namibia and other colonial Territories, would, among other things, call once again upon all Governments to take the necessary steps to put an end to such activities and to prevent new investments that run counter to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories.

The Fourth Committee recommends, in a separate decision on the military activities and arrangements in colonial Territories which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration, that the General Assembly call upon the colonial Powers concerned to terminate immediately and unconditionally such activities, in compliance with the relevant resolutions.

The fourth report (A/43/788), relates to agenda items 110 and 12, on, respectively, implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, and report to the Economic and Social Council. In the draft resolution proposed in this report, the General Assembly would, among other things, request those organizations to render or continue to render as a matter of urgency all possible moral and material assistance to colonial peoples struggling for liberation from colonial rule.

The fifth report (A/43/789), relates to agenda item 111, on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. According to the draft

(Mr. Douma, Rapporteur, Fourth
Committee)

resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee, in expressing its appreciation to all those who have supported the Programme by providing contributions, scholarships or places in their educational institutions, the Assembly would appeal to all States, institutions, organizations and individuals to offer greater financial and other support to the Programme in order to secure its continuation and steady expansion.

The last report (A/43/790) relates to offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, under item 112. By the draft resolution under this item, in expressing its appreciation to those Member States that have made scholarships available to the inhabitants of such Territories, the Assembly would express its strong conviction that the continuation and expansion of offers of scholarships was essential in order to meet the increasing need of students from Non-Self-Governing Territories for educational and training assistance. Considering that students in those Territories should be encouraged to avail themselves of such offers, it would also urge the administering Powers to take effective measures to ensure the widespread and continuous dissemination in the Territories under their administration of information relating to such offers made by States.

On behalf of the Fourth Committee I wish to commend these reports to the General Assembly for its serious attention.

(Mr. Douma, Rapporteur, Fourth
Committee)

Before concluding, I should like to thank the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, Ambassador Jonathan C. Peters of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, for his leadership and for the advice and guidance given to me in connection with my task as Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee. I should also like to express my gratitude to the members of the Fourth Committee for the co-operation and assistance which they extended to me during the session.

The PRESIDENT: If there is no proposal under rule 66 of the rules of procedure, I shall take it that the General Assembly decides not to discuss the reports of the Fourth Committee which are before the Assembly today.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Statements will therefore be limited to explanations of vote. The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Fourth Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

May I remind members that, under paragraph 7 of decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed that

"When the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in plenary meeting unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee."

I remind delegations that, also in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

(The President)

We shall now turn to the report of the Fourth Committee (A/43/787) on agenda item 108, entitled "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations".

The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report (A/43/787).

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The draft resolution was adopted by 154 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 43/28).

The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 108.

We turn now to the report of the Fourth Committee (A/43/761) on agenda item 109, entitled "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa".

I call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

Ms. MOTSONI (Botswana): My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in the report of the Fourth Committee (A/43/761) even though circumstances beyond our control constrain us to declare our incapacity to implement paragraphs in the draft resolution that call for economic sanctions against South Africa. We shall not, however, stand in the way of those that can impose and implement economic sanctions against South Africa and decide to do so.

Mr. CISTERNAIS (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Chile will vote in favour of the draft resolution in paragraph 9 of document A/43/761. However, I wish to make it clear that I do not share the opinion that all activities of foreign economic interests are an obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). In that respect I regret that the draft resolution does not differentiate between foreign economic activities which are prejudicial to the Territory and its inhabitants and those which are obviously beneficial because they contribute investments, technology and human resources which will serve as a solid basis for the development of the new nation States.

Mr. PHIRI (Malawi): My delegation will vote for the draft resolution under agenda item 109, on activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination, but we would like to make a few observations.

In voting for this draft resolution we wish to remind the Assembly that a few days ago it took decisions regarding the economic crisis in Africa and the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990. Whatever the factors that may have contributed to the economic crisis now facing our continent, there can be no doubt that the main ones have their origins in the continent's colonial experience. The economic problems that African countries have had to contend with since attaining national sovereignty have made questionable their claim to independence. This has also been the experience of former colonial Territories in other regions. We are convinced that had there been concern on the part of the administering Powers while they controlled these Territories, the economic problems now plaguing the developing countries, which are a major cause of North-South frictions, might have been obviated or at least minimized. We agree, therefore, that there is an element which needs a caution and condemnation.

In voting for this draft resolution we also confirm our belief in the right of colonial peoples to their national resources. However, as has been observed by the delegation of Chile, we are not fully convinced that all economic activities in colonial Territories are necessarily negative or impede progress towards the granting of independence. For that reason we reserve our position. We also reserve our position regarding some of the recommendations in the draft resolution which pertain to sanctions and other matters to which we have already drawn attention in connection with related draft resolutions.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report (A/43/761).

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Austria, Canada, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Dominica, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Norway, Spain, Sweden

The draft resolution was adopted by 133 votes to 9, with 14 abstentions (resolution 43/29).

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft decision recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 10 of its report (A/43/761).

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Dominica, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Malta, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Turkey

The draft decision was adopted by 128 votes to 12, with 15 abstentions.

The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 109.

We turn now to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 110, entitled "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", and item 12 entitled "Report of the Economic and Social Council" (A/43/788).

I call on the representative of Chile who wishes to explain his vote before the voting.

Mr. CISTERNAS (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): In accordance with our traditional position on this subject the delegation of Chile will vote in favour of the draft resolution in paragraph 7 of document A/43/788. However, I wish to express our reservations and disagreement with regard to the paragraphs of the draft resolution in which selective mention is made of countries or groups of countries and in which criticism is made of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, for such criticism ignores the fact that those international financial institutions are absolutely autonomous and can adopt their own decisions. The General Assembly has neither competence nor power over those two organizations.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report (A/43/788).

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Dominica, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, France, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey

The draft resolution was adopted by 124 votes to 4, with 27 abstentions (resolution 43/30).*

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Fiji, who wishes to explain his vote.

*Subsequently the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany advised the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain.

Mr. SINGH (Fiji): The delegation of Fiji voted in favour of the draft resolution which has just been adopted, although we have reservations as to the eighth preambular paragraph, where a certain country is singled out for specific mention.

The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 110 and of chapters I and VI (section E) of the report of the Economic and Social Council.

We turn now to the report of the Fourth Committee (A/43/789) on agenda item 111, entitled "United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa".

The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report.

The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 43/31).

The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 111.

We turn now to the report of the Fourth Committee (A/43/790) on agenda item 112, entitled "Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories".

The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 43/32).

The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 112.

The PRESIDENT: We shall now take up the report of the Fourth Committee (A/43/797 and Corr.1) on agenda item 18, concerning chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to specific Territories not covered by other agenda items.

Before calling on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting, I should like to inform representatives of an error on page 5 of this report: Burundi should appear as voting in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/43/L.2 in the Fourth Committee and not as abstaining.

Mr. SLAOUI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): I have already drawn the attention of representatives in the Fourth Committee to the fact that on the question of Western Sahara we have reached the moment of truth when statements must meet the exigencies of reality. Only yesterday developments confirmed that draft resolution I contained in paragraph 20 of the Fourth Committee's report was no longer appropriate and that its approach was harmful and contradictory. Indeed, the Secretary-General's spokesman announced yesterday:

"The mission of good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) will resume on 1 and 2 December 1988 with a view to discussing with the parties the practical and specific means and the precise conditions which might contribute to facilitating the implementation of the peace proposals agreed on in principle by the parties last August in Geneva."

Thus, in fulfilment of his mandate, pursuant to Security Council resolution 621 (1988), adopted unanimously on 20 September 1988, the Secretary-General initiated the implementation of this plan with a view to submitting to the Council as soon as possible a report on the necessary civilian and military staff to monitor the cease-fire and to organize the referendum.

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

At this crucial phase in the settlement process the draft resolution attempts to revert to the approach of direct negotiations which in the past placed the whole question of the Sahara in total deadlock. Furthermore, throughout this session the supporters of this approach have endeavoured to call in question the peace plan and the holding of a referendum which should result therefrom and have called for direct negotiations on the future status of the Territory.

Self-determination is a universal principle and there can be no departure from it by any procedural manoeuvres. According to this principle, only the population concerned can decide on its future, with the appropriate international guarantees.

The Kingdom of Morocco reaffirms its commitment to participate unreservedly in the implementation of the peace plan in the context of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the current Chairman of the OAU. We regret that once again intransigence has prevented the General Assembly, contrary to customary United Nations practice, from endorsing the peace plan and clearly encouraging the Secretary-General to continue consultations for its implementation.

Hence this partial draft resolution cannot help in strengthening the role of the Secretary-General of our Organization in the just, definitive settlement of the question of Western Sahara, with full respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter. It therefore cannot be supported by those who, like Morocco, are working for enhancing the efficiency and influence of our Organization.

Mr. ISAAC (Saint Lucia): I should like to express the view of my Government on draft resolution I contained in paragraph 20 of document A/43/797 relating to the question of Western Sahara, on which the General Assembly will soon take a decision. As a point of departure, let me say that Saint Lucia has consistently endorsed all constructive efforts to find a peaceful solution to this question and favoured the exercise by the population of Western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination.

(Mr. Isaac, Saint Lucia)

In this context, we have given full support to the Secretary-General and to the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for their untiring endeavours in finding an adequate, just and definitive solution to this issue.

Without repeating our statement made in the Fourth Committee, I must emphasize that this year, more than at any time in the recent past, positive developments have been recorded, which the international community has warmly welcomed. Last August the Secretary-General submitted peace proposals which the parties have in principle accepted. The Security Council, in its resolution 621 (1988), endorsed Mr. Perez de Cuellar's peace plan, thus strengthening his hand to launch the new phase of the process of good offices. The Secretary-General has also appointed a Special Representative, as called for in Security Council resolution 621 (1988), and is now initiating, together with him, an important phase of negotiations and, as mandated by the resolution, the Secretary-General must report back to the Security Council.

In light of the progress achieved in the ongoing peace process, a consensus resolution was genuinely called for and expected by the international community. Draft resolution A/C.4/43/L.2 before us contains unfortunate elements that prevented its adoption by consensus in the Fourth Committee. Therefore, draft resolution I appears to be more of a divisive measure than a beneficial linkage between diverging opinions within the international community.

During the debate on this question in the Fourth Committee, after listening to the statements of some delegations, it was obvious to my delegation that those who were insisting on the recommendation of "direct negotiations" were in fact only seeking through this prerequisite to thwart the joint United Nations/OAU peace plan and ultimately to preclude the population of Western Sahara from expressing its will through a referendum.

(Mr. Isaac, Saint Lucia)

Saint Lucia, which does not hesitate to lend full support to the implementation of the right to self-determination under international guarantees, refuses to lend itself to such manoeuvres whose mere objective is to prevent this right, and therefore prejudice the outcome of the referendum.

For all those reasons, Saint Lucia will therefore abstain in the vote on draft resolution I in order forcefully to express our active support for the peace process conducted under the mandate given to the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the current Chairman of the OAU.

Mr. CISTERNAS (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Chile is prepared to accept the text of the draft resolution on the question of New Caledonia recommended in paragraph 20 of the Fourth Committee's report (A/43/797 and Corr.1) and hopes that, like the Special Committee of 24 and the Fourth Committee, the General Assembly will adopt it without objection. Our acceptance of this draft resolution is based on the new, constructive spirit of the French Government in its efforts to find effective solutions to New Caledonia's claim to self-determination and independence, as well as on the well-recognized position of Chile that that solution should be found by peaceful means, through dialogue and negotiations involving and giving adequate guarantees to all sectors of the population of the Territory.

Mr. BORG OLIVIER (Malta): I wish to refer to Malta's explanation of vote in the Fourth Committee when action was taken on the draft resolution on the question of Western Sahara. I reiterate that in abstaining in the voting on the draft resolution in question our only intention is to facilitate the efforts of the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, at this delicate stage, to bring about a peaceful settlement of the question of Western Sahara.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to take decisions on the various recommendations of the Fourth Committee. We turn first to the 12 draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 20 of its report (A/43/797 and Corr.1).

The Assembly will first take a decision on draft resolution I, entitled "Question of Western Sahara".

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Ireland, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Seychelles, Spain, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guinea, Haiti, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Netherlands, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Portugal, Qatar, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Thailand, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire

Draft resolution I was adopted by 86 votes to none, with 53 abstentions (resolution 43/33).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Question of New Caledonia". The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution II without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 43/34).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III deals with the question of Tokelau. The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution III without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 43/35).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV deals with the question of Anguilla. The Fourth Committee adopted this draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution IV?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 43/36).

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will turn next to draft resolution V, entitled "Question of the Cayman Islands". This draft resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 43/37).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VI, entitled "Question of Montserrat", was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution VI?

Draft resolution VI was adopted (resolution 43/38).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VII deals with the question of Bermuda. The Fourth Committee adopted this draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution VII?

Draft resolution VII was adopted (resolution 43/39).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VIII deals with the question of the Turks and Caicos Islands. The Fourth Committee adopted this draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution VIII was adopted (resolution 43/40).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IX is entitled "Question of the British Virgin Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted this draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution IX?

Draft resolution IX was adopted (resolution 43/41).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution X relates to the question of Guam. The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution X without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution X was adopted (resolution 43/42).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XI is entitled "Question of American Samoa". The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution XI without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution XI was adopted (resolution 43/43).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XII is entitled "Question of the United States Virgin Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution XII without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution XII was adopted (resolution 43/44).

The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to turn to the draft of consensus recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 21 of its report (A/43/797 and Corr.1).

Draft consensus I deals with the question of Gibraltar. The Fourth Committee adopted draft consensus I without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft consensus I was adopted.

The PRESIDENT: Draft consensus II deals with the question of Pitcairn. The Fourth Committee adopted draft consensus II without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft consensus II was adopted.

The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the draft decision on the question of Saint Helena recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 22 of its report (A/43/797 and Corr.1).

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominica, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Portugal, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey

The draft decision was adopted by 123 votes to 2, with 30 abstentions.*

*Subsequently the delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote or position on the resolutions just adopted.

Mr. VRAAISEN (Norway): Norway voted in favour of the resolution on Western Sahara just adopted by the General Assembly. I would however like to emphasize that this does not imply that Norway has taken sides in the conflict as such. Norway's vote is an expression of our traditional support for the principle of the right of all peoples to self-determination.

Through the vote Norway would like also to express support for the efforts made by the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to find a just and lasting solution to the Western Sahara conflict.

Norway welcomes the acceptance, in principle, by the parties of the peace proposals, which constitute a significant step towards a peaceful and lasting solution under conditions acceptable to the two parties and to the international community.

In view of the endeavours to find a just and lasting solution, Norway would have preferred a consensus resolution on this item. We regret that the resolution just adopted fails to reflect fully the encouraging and important progress already achieved. We share the hope expressed in the Secretary-General's report on the question of Western Sahara that during the remainder of the peace process the two parties will continue to demonstrate the political will necessary for its early and successful implementation.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): As will have been noticed, the French delegation did not deem it appropriate this year to request a vote in the plenary meeting of the Assembly on the draft resolution concerning New Caledonia. Nor did it request such a vote at the time of the adoption of this

(Mr. Blanc, France)

draft resolution by the Fourth Committee. We took this position because the draft resolution confines itself to approving the policy carried out by my Government whereby, in a referendum on 6 November, the French people expressed its approval by adopting, by a very large majority, the bill on New Caledonia.

That being so, France cannot associate itself with the adoption of this resolution. In conformity with its constant approach, it believes in fact that the determination of the status of territories whose populations are not yet completely self-governing according to Article 73 e of the Charter is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the States that have the responsibility of administering those territories. Neither resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) nor resolution 41/41 A could amend the Charter in that respect. Therefore my delegation believes that the question of New Caledonia falls solely within the sovereignty of the French authorities. I would add that recent developments in the situation in New Caledonia demonstrate that respect for that principle was in every respect compatible with the implementation of a process leading to a vote on self-determination organized under conditions that satisfy the entire population of New Caledonia.

Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh): We are heartened at the progress achieved to date towards resolution of the question of Western Sahara. It is our hope that a settlement acceptable to all parties will soon be reached, one in which the legitimate aspirations of the people of Western Sahara will be fulfilled.

We welcome the current initiatives of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity in this respect. We commend their tireless endeavours and hope they will soon bear fruit. We do not in any way wish to prejudice those efforts. Bangladesh therefore abstained in the vote on draft resolution I.

Mr. SINGH (Fiji): The Fiji delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on Western Sahara because we fully subscribe to the principle of self-determination for the people of Western Sahara. We did so also on the understanding that direct negotiations should in no way obstruct progress towards an act of self-determination leading to an early resolution of the conflict.

AGENDA ITEM 18 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/43/23; 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 and 964)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/680)
- (c) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/43/L. 23, A/43/L. 24, A/43/L. 28/Rev.1)
- (d) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/43/843)

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to draft resolutions A/43/L. 23, A/43/L. 24 and A/43/L. 28/Rev.1.

I should like to announce that the following countries have joined in sponsoring draft resolutions A/43/L. 23 and A/43/L. 24: Angola and Mali.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

Mr. VRAAISEN (Norway): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway.

The Nordic countries' abiding commitment to the process of decolonization is well known. That process has very nearly run its course. This is one of the historic achievements of the United Nations.

The Nordic countries will vote in favour of draft resolutions A/43/L. 23 and A/43/L. 24. Regrettably, however, we cannot do so without certain reservations.

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

Draft resolution A/43/L.23 contains formulations to which we cannot give our approval. For example, operative paragraph 4 contains formulations that are contrary to the principle upheld by the Nordic countries that, in conformity with its Charter, the United Nations should always encourage only peaceful solutions. Furthermore, we find the formulation of operative paragraph 10 too categorical.

As regards draft resolution A/43/L.24, our vote on operative paragraph 1 regarding the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on decolonization relating to the dissemination of information should not be interpreted as approval of all specific parts of that chapter.

The Nordic countries will abstain on draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1. In our opinion due note has been taken of the question of the commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration in draft resolution A/43/L.23. Furthermore, the draft does not take full account of the guidelines for international decades contained in Economic and Social Council resolution 1988/63.

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

I hope you will allow me, Sir, to add a few words on a more personal note. I should like to take this opportunity to add my voice to that of the representative of Vanuatu, who paid a tribute to two good friends who are now leaving us. I too wish to pay a tribute to those two outstanding friends, Odile Rives-Niessel and Tom Kanaka, who have done so much over the years and spent so much of their time and energy in promoting the struggle for liberation and independence for peoples under colonial rule. Their departure is a great loss for the Organization and for the continuing struggle for decolonization, and it is also a great loss for their many friends. I take this opportunity to thank them on behalf of the Norwegian Government and to extend to them my own personal, warmest thanks for their friendship. I wish them every success in the future.

Mr. OSANAI (Japan): My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolutions A/43/L.23 and L.24 because we firmly support the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and hope that it will be duly implemented. My delegation commends the efforts of the authors of those draft resolutions to avoid the insertion of various unnecessary and controversial elements which have often appeared in resolutions relating to decolonization.

At the same time however I must, regrettably, express my delegation's reservations on certain provisions in the texts. My delegation cannot support some parts of the report of the Special Committee which are approved in operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/43/L.23 and operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/43/L.24, and we wish to indicate our reservations.

For reasons we have made clear on a number of occasions, including meetings at this session of the General Assembly, my delegation has reservations on other paragraphs in draft resolution A/43/L.23, particularly paragraphs 4, 6 and 10.

(Mr. Onanai, Japan)

Moreover, it is my delegation's understanding that operative paragraph 7 of that draft resolution is intended as a condemnation not of all foreign economic activities but rather of a particular type of these which impedes the process of self-determination in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

Mr. SOIS (Greece): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community on draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1, now before the Assembly.

The Twelve are unable to support this draft resolution, and will therefore be abstaining in the voting, because it is clearly not in conformity with Economic and Social Council resolution 1988/63, on guidelines for international decades, which was based on the report of the Secretary-General in document E/1968/58 and Corr.1, which was adopted by consensus only on 27 July 1968.

Miss BYRNE (United States of America): The record of the United States on the question of self-determination is clear and unmistakable. Our nation's Declaration of Independence has served for the past 200 years as an inspiration to peoples seeking freedom throughout the world. We are not, however, able to support draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1. The dramatic rise of independence movements throughout the third world in the decades since the Second World War has almost completely eliminated the colonial system. The very success of those independence movements, in our opinion, makes the promotion of a decade of decolonization unnecessary. We believe that the United Nations could make better use of its resources to address other critical issues in the decade ahead. This is especially true at a time of major budgetary restraint. We shall therefore vote against draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1.

Mr. KIRSCH (Canada): Canada fully supports the process of decolonization and recognizes the significance of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, we are concerned that draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1 does not appear to take into account the guidelines for international decades contained in Economic and Social Council resolution 1988/63. Canada is therefore unable to support the draft resolution.

Mr. SMITH (United Kingdom): As in the case of similar draft resolutions in previous years, my delegation will vote against draft resolutions A/43/L.23 and L.24. The texts themselves have scarcely changed since last year, nor has our view that the colonial era is already virtually at an end and that these draft resolutions have no relevance to the peoples of the few remaining British dependent Territories. The draft resolutions fail to reflect the enormous changes brought about over the years by decolonization. They should be consigned to the museums, where they belong.

As regards draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1, my colleague from Greece has made clear the procedural reasons why we cannot support the declaration of an international decade for the eradication of colonialism. As for the substance, we believe the proposal is just the kind of ill-considered and irrelevant idea which the Economic and Social Council guidelines drawn up last summer were designed to prevent.

We have received no report on the programme budget implications of draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1. It is therefore evident that there are none.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now begin the voting process and take a decision on draft resolutions A/43/L.23, A/43/L.24 and A/43/L.28/Rev.1.

EH/at

**A/43/PV.59
69-70**

(The President)

The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of draft resolutions A/43/L.23 and A/43/L.24 has been issued as document A/43/843.

(The President)

The Assembly will vote first on draft resolution A/43/L.23.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands

Draft resolution A/43/L.23 was adopted by 147 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions (resolution 43/45).

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/43/L.24.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Netherlands

Draft resolution A/43/L.24 was adopted by 149 votes to 2, with 5 abstentions (resolution 43/46).

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution

A/43/L.28/Rev.1.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1 was adopted by 135 votes to 1, with 20 abstentions (resolution 43/47).

The PRESIDENT: I call now on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

Miss WILIBERG (New Zealand): My comments relate to draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1, which has just been adopted.

New Zealand supported that draft resolution, which declares the 10 years 1990-2000 the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, as an affirmation of our support for the principles contained in resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) of this Assembly, and in an acknowledgement that the full course of implementing the right of all peoples to self-determination is not yet run.

We are confident that, in approving the broad objectives for the Decade, the Assembly will be looking to implement draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1 in full conformity with the principles of the Declaration on decolonization and of resolution 1541 (XV). In particular, we note that progress towards the objective of the Decade will depend on the will of the people of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories. We are confident, too, that in making recommendations for an action plan for the Decade, as this resolution asks him to do, the Secretary-General will plan to make the best possible use of the resources and programmes which are already devoted to the pursuit of decolonization.

Mr. HAJNOCSI (Austria): Austria considers that the process of decolonization constitutes one of the outstanding achievements of the United Nations. Austria has therefore consistently supported the efforts of the United Nations in this regard. It is because of its sincere commitment to the process of decolonization and to the right of peoples to self-determination that Austria has supported draft resolutions A/43/L.23 and L.24. However, that should not be interpreted as approval of all the provisions contained in these texts; we have reservations with regard to some of them. In particular, I should like to refer to

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

operative paragraph 4 of A/43/L.23 and stress that Austria understands that paragraph as referring exclusively to the struggle by peaceful means, as Austria, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, is firmly convinced that the necessary change should be brought about by peaceful means alone.

With reference to the guidelines for international decades contained in the annex to Economic and Social Council resolution 1988/63, my delegation abstained on draft resolution A/43/L.28/Rev.1.

In conclusion, I reaffirm Austria's continued and unequivocal support for the process of decolonization.

Mr. SAVUT (Turkey): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/43/L.23, concerning implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in accordance with the firm support of the Turkish Government for the efforts being exerted by the international community towards the complete elimination of colonialism. I wish to place on record, however, our reservation with regard to operative paragraph 10 of the draft resolution, as we do not believe this paragraph has been drafted in a sufficiently balanced manner.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to 5 minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Miss BYRNE (United States of America): I should like to reiterate once again before this body that Article 83 of the United Nations Charter makes clear that jurisdiction relating to strategic areas, such as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, lies exclusively with the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council.

The Trusteeship Council meets every year to consider developments in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Representatives of the peoples of the Trust Territory come to New York to meet with the Council, and the United States submits a detailed annual report on developments in the Territory. The Council has also sent visiting missions to Micronesia to observe conditions there and the various plebiscites which have been conducted as part of the continuing process of self-determination.

(Miss Byrne, United States)

I should also like to reaffirm once again that Puerto Rico's status as a commonwealth associated with the United States is clear - legally, politically and morally. The Puerto Rican people chose their status in a constitutional referendum held in 1952. The General Assembly, in resolution 748 (VIII) in 1953, recognized the validity of that choice and removed Puerto Rico from the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories.

Since that time, numerous political parties in Puerto Rico have contested regular, free elections. On 8 November this year, nearly 90 per cent of Puerto Rican voters again participated in free and democratic elections. Of those Puerto Rican voters, 48.7 per cent supported political parties favouring close association with the United States, and 45.8 per cent favoured statehood. Political parties in favour of independence received only 5.4 per cent of the vote. In short, self-determination exists in Puerto Rico.

In spite of the facts, however, there are a few countries that persistently refuse to accept the Puerto Rican people's acts of self-determination. It is ironic, but not surprising, that these same countries are those that deny their own peoples the freedoms long enjoyed by Puerto Ricans. My delegation suggests that, instead of trying to manufacture a decolonization issue abroad, these countries might best concentrate on emulating at home the democratic example of Puerto Rico.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 18 and of all the reports of the Fourth Committee.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.