



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

later: Mr. HERMIDA CASTILLO (Nicaragua)

CONTENTS

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

- (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 (continued)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 102: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued)

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)
- (b) 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 (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 104: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS (continued)

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

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CONTENTS (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEM 105: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 106: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

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

- (a) 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 (continued) (A/38/23 (Part VI and Add.1), A/38/23 (Part VIII); A/AC.109/724 and Corr.1, 725, 726 and Corr.1, 727, 728 and Corr.1, 729-736, 737 and Corr.1, 738, 739, 740 and Corr.1, 741, 742, 746, 749 and Corr.1, 753, 754)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/555)

AGENDA ITEM 102: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/38/125)

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/477)
- (b) 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 (continued) (A/38/23 (Part IV))

AGENDA ITEM 104: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS (continued)

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued) (A/38/23 (Part IV); A/AC.109/L.1472, L.1475 and Add.1, L.1487)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/111 and Add.1 and 2, Add.3 and Corr.1, Add.4; A/AC.109/L.1462)

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/38/3 (Part II))

AGENDA ITEM 105: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/469)

AGENDA ITEM 106: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/549)

Requests for hearings

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that he had received a letter containing a request for a hearing on agenda item 18. He suggested that, in accordance with established practice, that communication should be circulated as a Committee document and considered at a later meeting.
2. It was so decided.

General debate (continued)

3. Mr. SUBBA (Nepal) said that his country had always supported any step taken by the United Nations to bring about the earliest possible achievement of independence by Non-Self-Governing Territories. Continued subjugation of territories to foreign domination constituted a denial of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and was contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
4. Article 73 of the Charter obliged the administering Powers to promote the progressive development of the peoples towards self-government and to report regularly on the Territories for which they were responsible. The generally co-operative attitude of the administering Powers towards the Special Committee deserved appreciation.
5. Economic, social and political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories differed widely and the Charter had acknowledged the "particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples". That should not be overlooked when the future of those territories was being discussed. Nepal would support an unbiased assessment of the situation in the Territories by the Special Committee in accordance with the basic principles laid down in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), bearing in mind, however, that the paramount principle was the right of each people to choose freely its political, social and economic future. While the United Nations had a unique obligation to help the colonial countries and peoples to attain the right of self-determination, it should also take special care of the needs of the young nations during the period following their independence.
6. In Namibia, the international community was confronting a situation without precedent in the process of decolonization. Nepal reiterated its support for the struggle of the Namibian people for independence and reaffirmed their inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence. It condemned the brutal repression of the Namibian people by the apartheid régime and its systematic violations of their fundamental human rights. Another cause of deep concern was the rapid depletion of the natural resources of Namibia as a result of illegal exploitation of those resources by foreign economic interests, in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia. Such activities constituted an obstacle to the attainment of independence by Namibia and endangered its economic future. Nepal condemned South Africa for its intensified military build-up in Namibia and the use of the Territory for launching aggression against neighbouring States. It reaffirmed its belief in the need to terminate South Africa's illegal occupation and to hold, without delay, free elections under the supervision of the United Nations, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1975) and 435 (1978).

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(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

7. With regard to agenda item 104, his delegation welcomed the efforts made by specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It appreciated UNESCO's activities to promote the education of young people in regard to human rights and to create an informed public opinion against the abhorrent system of apartheid. The United Nations Development Programme, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Labour Organisation, to mention only a few agencies, had been engaged constructively in the task of improving the economic and social situation in colonial territories and alleviating human sufferings. His delegation paid tribute to them and urged them to make an even more intensified effort in their respective fields.

8. The United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa had become a symbol of the commitment to decolonization assumed by the United Nations. The activities of the Programme were aimed at the full development of the human personality and the strengthening of respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

9. Mr. SENGO (Mozambique) once again reaffirmed Mozambique's commitment to the establishment of a peace capable of bringing about freedom, well-being and happiness for all peoples. That commitment was the product of the armed struggle waged by the Mozambican people for 10 years against colonialism and imperialism. Since that period, the Mozambican people had constantly supported the struggle waged by the colonized and oppressed peoples and, in particular, by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. Shortly after independence, Mozambique had taken upon itself the moral responsibility of assisting its brothers who were being oppressed by the white minority régime of Ian Smith, and the racist forces had retaliated by attacking its Territory. The criminal acts perpetrated by the Pretoria régime had never deterred Mozambique from providing support and solidarity to the peoples struggling against colonialism and foreign domination.

10. More than 20 years had passed since the General Assembly had adopted resolution 1514 (XV), yet millions of human beings continued to live under colonial and foreign domination in various parts of the world. Morocco, which prided itself on its historic struggle against colonialism, was trampling upon the very principles for which its people had once fought and was refusing to recognize the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence. After eight years of bloody war, the situation in Western Sahara remained critical at the political and military levels. Hostilities were continuing.

11. The efforts made by the Organization of African Unity to bring Morocco and the POLISARIO Front to the negotiating table with a view to bringing about a cease-fire and creating the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara had failed since Morocco refused to conduct direct negotiations with what it termed a group of mercenaries. Similarly, the meeting of the Implementation Committee on Western Sahara of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 21 to 23 October 1983, had also failed because of lack of co-operation on the part of Morocco.

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(Mr. Sengo, Mozambique)

12. The moderation, flexibility and determination of the leaders of the POLISARIO Front in the peace process proposed by the OAU was impressive. Morocco should adopt a similar attitude, otherwise there would be no alternative but to continue the armed conflict.
13. The situation in East Timor also left much to be desired. In March, talks had raised hopes that the Indonesian Government had finally understood that it could not beat East Timor into submission and that only a constructive dialogue would bring peace to that part of the world. In September 1983, however, after a cease-fire which had lasted only six months, the Indonesian army had launched another massive military operation.
14. His Government welcomed the efforts of the Secretary-General to find a solution to the problem of East Timor. For that reason, his delegation had not objected when the Secretary-General had requested that the item entitled "Question of East Timor" should be deferred to the thirty-ninth session. It was to be hoped that the Indonesian Government would respond positively to the Secretary-General's efforts and return to the negotiating table with the leaders of FRETILIN.
15. In the Pacific Ocean region, colonial domination was depriving certain peoples of their right to self-determination and independence. His Government was prepared to support any positive initiative on the part of the administering Powers with a view to establishing lasting peace in the entire region. Those peoples, like those of East Timor and Western Sahara, must be given an opportunity freely to exercise the inalienable rights recognized under the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), without any foreign interference and in the absence of any foreign military presence in their Territories.
16. Mr. FAN (China) said that in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the peoples of the small Territories, like all other peoples, must exercise their inalienable right to freedom and independence. Factors such as territorial size, population, geographical location and limited natural resources should not obstruct the exercise of that right provided for under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). That principle had gained the universal support of the international community.
17. Since the end of the Second World War, over a hundred Territories had broken away from the colonial yoke and achieved independence one after another. His delegation welcomed the accession to independence of Saint Christopher and Nevis which would be followed, in December 1983, by that of Brunei.
18. However, the struggle for decolonization was not yet over. Apart from Namibia, there were a large number of small Non-Self-Governing Territories whose peoples were fighting for national self-determination and independence. His delegation believed that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations should be implemented and that the administering Powers concerned should adopt the necessary measures without delay to accelerate the process of decolonization and create the necessary conditions to enable the peoples of small Territories to exercise their right to national self-determination. China supported the efforts made in that respect by the international community and associated itself with them.

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(Mr. Fan, China)

19. Lastly, China was opposed to the stationing of foreign troops and establishment of foreign military bases in the small Territories. It insisted on the withdrawal of those troops and the dismantling of foreign military bases and installations.

20. Mr. BEKHBAT (Mongolia) said that since the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the colonial system had ceased to exist as such. However, that anachronism still subsisted in certain parts of the world and the final completion of the work of decolonization was one of the priority tasks of the United Nations.

21. Certain Powers were seeking to preserve the last vestiges of colonialism in order to safeguard their selfish interests. They were opposed to the free and full exercise by colonial and dependent peoples of their inalienable right to self-determination and often resorted to new methods and new forms of colonial enslavement. Moreover, they accorded growing strategic importance to those Territories and used them to launch aggression against independent countries, interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and crush national liberation movements. The recent armed intervention in Grenada, the tragic events of 1982 in the South Atlantic and the tension in southern Africa were well-known examples.

22. The way in which the colonial and imperialist Powers treated the aspirations of other peoples to freedom and independence was clearly demonstrated by the policy of the United States, notably in respect of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. That administering Power had constantly neglected its commitment to promote the political, economic and social advancement of the Micronesian people and ensure their progressive development towards self-government or independence. Thirty-seven years of trusteeship had contributed nothing to the development of a viable economy in Micronesia. That island Territory was, more than ever before, in a situation of dependency, both political and economic and financial, in relation to the administering Power. The latter was also undermining the territorial integrity of Micronesia by fragmenting it and imposing on the different parts a neo-colonialist status under various labels.

23. The Pentagon had long been making use of that Trust Territory, which it viewed as an important element in the strengthening of its nuclear potential in the Asia/Pacific region. Immense sums of money had been allocated to the construction of new military installations and the reconstruction and modernization of old ones. Other developments, widely reported in the world press, gave some idea of the aims of the intensive militarization of that part of the world, which was detrimental to its inhabitants. The forced militarization of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was a source of concern to his Government, which viewed it as a serious threat to peace and security in the region.

24. The manoeuvres undertaken by the Administering Authority with a view to the ultimate annexation of Micronesia constituted a direct violation of the principles set forth in the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement between the Security Council and the United States. They were detrimental to the vital interests of the Micronesians and infringed the relevant provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Security Council

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(Mr. Bekhbat, Mongolia)

should firmly reject all efforts to change the status of the Territory and the United Nations should fully assume its responsibilities until Micronesia achieved genuine independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

25. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be applied forthwith to all peoples and territories still under foreign domination. The international community must no longer tolerate colonialism in any form whatsoever.

26. Mr. VASSILIEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must be applied to all countries still under colonial domination and in particular to the "small Territories". The continued colonial exploitation of those Territories by imperialist monopolies and their use by the administering Powers as military bases were the main obstacles to the exercise of the right of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and independence.

27. The administering Powers frequently failed to fulfil their duties, which were to promote the political, economic and social advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence, and to further international peace and security. The modern colonialists were seeking, on the contrary, to perpetuate their domination in strategic regions of the world by using arguments based on the essential characteristics of small colonial Territories (small size, small population, geographical isolation), and sometimes went so far as to affirm, as the United Kingdom had done recently, that those Territories would be willing to accept colonial dependence. By advancing the concept of "commonwealth", "association" and "integration", the administering Powers were in fact seeking to impose and legalize new forms of colonial and semi-colonial dependence, and to remove those small colonial Territories from the control of the United Nations.

28. The report prepared by the United Nations Centre for Transnational Corporations (A/38/444) showed clearly the influence over the small colonial Territories exercised by imperialist transnational corporations, which controlled all sectors of their economies, a situation which had enabled those corporations to obtain substantial profits. One example of that situation was Puerto Rico, a veritable eldorado for the United States monopolies which, attracted by substantial tax concessions and an inexpensive labour force that could be mercilessly exploited, derived over \$2.5 million a year from that country, a sum accounting for almost half the profits it derived from Latin America.

29. Contrary to the statements made by the colonialists, the military bases in Guam, Puerto Rico, Micronesia, Diego Garcia, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands and other Territories under colonial domination did not help to improve the situation on the local labour market; they were simply strong-points designed to make it easier to crush national liberation movements and help maintain the military presence of the colonial Powers. Thus the island of Diego Garcia, whose indigenous population had been expelled by the British authorities, had been illegally detached from Mauritius and transformed by the United States into an "unsinkable aircraft carrier", in other words an all-purpose military base in the Indian Ocean.

(Mr. Vassiliev, Byelorussian SSR)

30. Puerto Rico was another unsinkable aircraft carrier for the United States military. That outpost for United States aggression in the Caribbean also enabled the Pentagon to prepare attacks on Central America and other Latin American States. The recent United States attack on the sovereign State of Grenada demonstrated the use that could be made of the United States bases in Puerto Rico.

31. Most States Members of the United Nations recognized the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence and wanted that right to be exercised very soon. However, the United States was refusing to apply the decisions of the United Nations, which regarded Puerto Rico as a territory to which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was fully applicable.

32. The events which had occurred in the South Atlantic showed how urgent it was to eliminate all traces of colonialism. With the support of the United States, the United Kingdom was perpetuating the colonial status of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas); those islands were currently being rapidly militarized so as to transform them into a powerful military base that would enable NATO to extend its sphere of activity in the South Atlantic and would heighten tension in that part of the world.

33. With regard to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) the Administering Authority - the United States - had not only failed to promote the economic advancement of the inhabitants, but had done everything it could to prevent the creation of a viable independent economy in that Territory. In fact, the United States was using the Territory, which it had a mandate to administer, essentially for military and strategic purposes, after having used it as a site for nuclear testing, with notorious consequences for the Micronesians. The United States made no secret of the fact that it hoped in future to obtain the exclusive right to maintain a military presence in those islands. To that end, it was imposing on the inhabitants of some parts of the Trust Territory military agreements enabling the Pentagon to maintain and extend its nuclear test zones, bases and other military installations and was in fact seeking to transform the Territory once and for all into a colonial appendage and a strategic bridgehead at the service of the United States in the west Pacific, by depriving the Micronesians of their sovereign rights and dismembering Micronesia.

34. Those United States activities ran counter to the provisions of the Charter, according to which any change in the status of a Trust Territory designated a strategic area - as was the case of Micronesia - could be made only by decision of the Security Council. They also ran counter to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, for they constituted an "attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity" of a colonial territory. The United Nations must therefore take all necessary steps to ensure that the Administering Authority complied with its obligations and was unable to confront the world with an annexation of a Trust Territory, that was an accomplished fact; the Organization should also help the inhabitants of those Territories to exercise their legitimate right to the establishment of a unified independent State.

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(Mr. Vassiliev, Byelorussian SSR)

35. Experience showed, however, that when the colonial Powers installed military bases, the peoples of the Territories concerned had the greatest difficulty in exercising their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, as was exemplified by Guam, an island that had been virtually annexed by the United States which, despite the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations, was expanding its military installations in that island. It would be remembered that Guam had been used as a base for B-52 aircraft departing on bombing missions over Viet Nam. There was no doubt that the extension of United States military bases in Non-Self-Governing Territories was an important component of the plans drawn up by the United States and NATO to create a "rapid deployment force" that could be used to further their aggressive hegemonistic aims.

36. The aforementioned facts demonstrated the urgent need for the United Nations to take steps to ensure the full application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to the Territories he had mentioned.

37. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand) reminded the Committee that his country had played a significant part in implementing the Declaration on decolonization in the Pacific. The former Territory of Western Samoa, once administered by New Zealand, had been the first country in the region to become independent. Two other Territories formerly administered by New Zealand, the Cook Islands and Niue, had exercised their right to self-determination under United Nations supervision by choosing self-government in free association with New Zealand. The one remaining Territory administered by New Zealand was Tokelau.

38. In accordance with Article 73 of the Charter, his Government reported annually on political, economic and social developments in the Territory. As in other years, his delegation had participated in the work of the Special Committee, which had produced the consensus contained in part VI of document A/38/23. New Zealand welcomed with satisfaction the report and the recommendations of the Special Committee and would continue to co-operate with it in future.

39. After summarizing the economic, political, social and educational situation in Tokelau, he emphasized that there was no permanent New Zealand presence in the Territory and that it was clear that to a great extent the people of Tokelau managed their own affairs in their own way.

40. New Zealand continued to live up to its responsibilities as Administering Authority to keep the people of Tokelau fully informed of their right to self-determination and independence in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which had been translated into the local language and given to each family. United Nations radio programmes on decolonization had also been translated and broadcast to the Territory. The text of the Special Committee's consensus would be reproduced as usual in Tokelau's newspaper. The people of Tokelau were aware of the political options open to them and knew that New Zealand would continue to support them.

41. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Tokelau in 1981 had been impressed by the level of political awareness reached by the population, and in particular by the clear and realistic way in which the population grasped the problems faced by

(Mr. Harland, New Zealand)

the Territory. It had noted that the people of Tokelau had not at that stage wished to change their existing relationship with New Zealand. New Zealand would respect whatever eventual decision was taken by the population.

42. His delegation would continue to work closely with the Special Committee, whose full appreciation of the problems facing small island Territories such as Tokelau made it easier for New Zealand to carry out its responsibilities of helping the people of the Territory to work out their future in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV).

43. Mr. Hermida Castillo (Nicaragua) took the Chair.

44. Mr. KOMENDANT (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the case of Micronesia was one of the most important and acute decolonization problems. Micronesia was not and would never be the property of the United States. The United Nations had entrusted the latter with a temporary mandate over the Territory 36 years previously, and the Organization was therefore directly responsible for settling the question on the basis of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 1514 (XV)). By virtue of the Trusteeship Agreement, the United States was responsible for promoting the political, economic and social advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory and preparing them for independence.

45. Actually, the United States was holding back the economic development of the Territory where it had refrained from creating a viable economy in order to keep the people in a state of dependence and prepare them rather for annexation to and integration with the United States. From the beginning of the mandate, the United States had expelled Micronesians from certain islands in order to conduct nuclear tests which had had, and would continue to have, dramatic effects on the health of the population and on the environment. It had sought to satisfy its selfish interests and to carry out its own strategic, military and expansionist objectives.

46. The United States was currently trying to transform the Territory into a permanent colony by imposing "referendums" - which were merely shows organized for propaganda purposes - in various parts of the Territory in order to force them to accept neo-colonial status and thus divide up the Territory, in violation of resolution 1514 (XV). The international community should not allow itself to be fooled: the term "referendum" referred merely to operations similar to those organized by the racist friends of the United States in Namibia and in South Africa in order to create puppet authorities. The so-called "political education programme" was actually intended to convince the people that they should choose the status of association with the United States, since the economic and financial assistance of the United States was essential to the survival of the Territory. The United States was seeking to impose long-term military agreements and to ensure the exclusivity of their military presence in the territory.

47. Its aim was to put an end to the Trusteeship régime so that it would no longer have to account for its actions to the United Nations. However, any change in the status of a Trust Territory could be made only by decision of the Security Council.

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(Mr. Komendant, USSR)

The United Nations should not recognize the results of colonialist referendums organized under pressure from the United States, a country which was plotting to present the world with a fait accompli; the duty of the Organization, on the contrary, was to aid the people of the Trust Territory in exercising their right to establish an independent State, free of all military and colonialist restraints.

48. Mrs. BERMUDEZ (Cuba) said that only concerted action by the United Nations, the specialized agencies and Member States could effectively help to accelerate decolonization in the many countries which were still subject to colonial domination in one form or another. The specialized agencies and international organizations associated with the United Nations played an important role in international relations. However, while the General Assembly had for many years been requesting those organizations to contribute to the decolonization process, positive results had not yet been seen because the advances made by UNESCO, UNDP, ILO, FAO, WHO and other agencies had been overshadowed by the blameworthy attitude of other bodies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

49. Thus, despite the express wishes of the General Assembly, IMF had granted a loan to the racist apartheid régime in 1982. It was clear that the loan would not aid the socio-economic development of Namibia and the South African people but rather would allow the racist régime to consolidate its economy, increase its military power and intensify repression. The United Nations must therefore energetically condemn the relations of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank with the apartheid régime, demand that such relations be terminated and recall that only the pressure of the United States had made possible the granting of the loan to South Africa by those institutions.

50. From the reports of the Special Committee and the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations it could be seen that many transnational corporations and their affiliates, with their headquarters in South Africa, North America and the Western countries in general, were obtaining enormous profits from their activities in Namibia and that the racist régime of Pretoria was becoming rich by exploiting South African workers. Such activities could hardly contribute to the well-being, development and political and economic independence of the colonized peoples.

51. Moreover, the reports which the administering Powers were required to submit under Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter were in some cases inadequate or non-existent. The General Assembly should call attention in its resolutions to the obligations of the Administering Powers in that respect.

52. As for the "small Territories", which had as much right as the others to independence and self-determination, the struggle for their prompt liberation must continue.

53. Mr. OUEDRAOGO (Upper Volta) said that, in 1960, when a number of African delegations had supported the Soviet Union, which had taken the initiative in proposing what was to become resolution 1514 (XV), it was not apparent that one day the implementation of that resolution would lead to divergences among the Member States which by right should have been its staunch defenders.

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(Mr. Ouedraogo, Upper Volta)

54. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) had been endeavouring for eight years to solve the problem of Western Sahara and, in June 1983, had adopted by consensus resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), in which it identified the parties to the conflict and defined the necessary conditions for a peaceful settlement of the question. That resolution constituted a package whose components dovetailed and counterbalanced each other. The rejection of one part of it would thus compromise the equilibrium of the whole. Difficulties therefore arose when one of the parties refused to accept a recommendation, that was of prime importance, for the establishment of the necessary climate.

55. In Western Sahara, a people was engaged in a struggle and a combat for self-determination under the leadership of a liberation movement, the POLISARIO Front. The OAU resolution took due account of that fact, since there could be no just solution unless the facts were taken into consideration.

56. Although any sovereign State had the right to negotiate with any party it wished, it was clear that the creation of the minimal conditions for a just and lasting solution in Western Sahara necessarily entailed direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara.

57. Mr. LALEYE (Benin) said that his country attached great importance to the emancipation of the countries and peoples that were still colonized and associated itself fully with all efforts to accelerate their independence. The necessary assistance to that end must be provided through the genuine liberation movements of those countries in order to help the people to establish viable political and economic independence after their liberation. In that regard, the United Nations agencies and other international organizations associated with it, in particular UNDP, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, WHO, ILO, UNESCO, FAO and UNICEF, should be commended for their efforts to further the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, since the assistance being provided was still far from meeting all needs, the different organizations should redouble their efforts and significantly increase their assistance, which remained a decisive factor in the future of the colonized peoples.

58. The continued existence of colonialism was a threat to international peace and security, in particular in Western Sahara and Namibia. The problem of the Sahara was actually a decolonization problem and it was heartening that, through its strong determination and untiring efforts, OAU had succeeded in adopting unanimously at its 19th Summit a resolution (AHG/Res.104 (XIX)) creating the conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara. Under the terms of that resolution, the two parties to the conflict, which were clearly defined as Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, should undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire agreement, which was a necessary condition for the holding of the desired referendum. If one of the two parties should reject any of the provisions of that resolution, it would prevent the implementation of the resolution and would thereby bear a heavy burden

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(Mr. Laleye, Benin)

of responsibility, not only vis-à-vis OAU but also vis-à-vis the international community and history itself. His delegation sincerely hoped that the United Nations agencies and associated international organizations would provide OAU with the necessary assistance in the implementation of that resolution.

59. The situation in Namibia too constituted a serious threat to both regional and international peace and security. The Pretoria authorities were not only opposed to the independence of that country but also engaged in a veritable pillage of its wealth and the shameless exploitation of its population, whose only recourse was the United Nations and its agencies. His delegation therefore commended the attitude of the United Nations agencies which had developed programmes to assist Namibia in the implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia (General Assembly resolution 32/9 A). It was gratifying that those agencies had established contact with SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, and that active co-operation existed in that area between the United Nations and OAU.

60. However, two international bodies, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, far from participating in that assistance effort, were hindering the efforts of the United Nations and delaying the independence of Namibia. In particular, the loan of \$1.1 billion granted by IMF to South Africa in November 1982 should be condemned, since it was nothing more than a contribution to that country's war effort against the countries of the region and to the repression of the Namibian people, and the IMF authorities should be requested to denounce that agreement. The international community actually had the duty to ensure that the United Nations bodies were fulfilling their positive role instead of abetting the forces of aggression and domination of peoples.

61. Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) resumed the Chair.

62. Mr. DENICHIN (Bulgaria) recalled that, because of the important role of the specialized agencies in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, all relevant United Nations resolutions emphasized that the principles of that Declaration were binding both on Member States and on specialized agencies and international organizations associated with the United Nations. In supporting the struggle for the elimination of colonialism, those bodies could provide the colonial peoples, through their national liberation movements, with various forms of assistance: material and humanitarian aid, training programmes for future national cadres and all-round assistance to the newly-liberated former colonies. Some bodies, among them FAO, UNDP, ITU, UNESCO and WHO, were carrying out programmes designed to assist the national liberation movements and improve the socio-economic situation of the colonial peoples. He noted with interest that those organizations had established permanent contacts with the national liberation movements and were co-operating with OAU. Finally, the United Nations Council for Namibia had been admitted as a full member of a growing number of specialized agencies.

63. Nevertheless, the assistance provided so far by the specialized agencies to the colonial peoples, and in particular the Namibian people, was far from meeting their real needs. Furthermore, some bodies, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, continued to collaborate with the Pretoria régime.

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(Mr. Denichin, Bulgaria)

Consequently, in defiance of General Assembly resolution 37/2, IMF had, in November 1982, approved the granting of a \$1.1 billion loan to South Africa. Not only had that loan been granted in the absence of any economic justification, but also the economic conditions created by the apartheid system in South Africa should have excluded the country from the list of potential recipients of loans. The amounts lent by IMF corresponded exactly to the military spending for the colonial war waged by Pretoria against the Namibian people. It could therefore be said that IMF was financing the crimes of the apartheid régime. Moreover, that collaboration also benefited South Africa politically, since in a sense it constituted a good conduct certificate for the country.

64. Such a policy was clearly the result of pressures exerted on IMF by the United States and its Western allies, even though the United States claimed to be opposed to the apartheid system. One could ask how the United States could argue that IMF should not be used for political purposes when it was known, according to an article in the Wall Street Journal of 18 May 1983, that the United States had drawn up a "hit list" of countries which, for political reasons, were unworthy of IMF assistance. Consequently, through the IMF system of weighted voting and pressure exerted on IMF members, the United States had been able to prevent the organization from granting loans to Viet Nam, Cuba, Afghanistan, Grenada (before 25 October 1983), and Chile at the time of the Allende Government. However, loans had been granted to dictatorial and fascist régimes, like that of El Salvador, or halted at the last minute for political reasons, as in the case of Grenada.

65. In the light of those facts and of recent events, there remained no doubt that the policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria was consistent with the political thinking of Washington. One could not, however, accept the assertion that that policy was being guided by a desire to help the people of southern Africa and to prevent the politicization of IMF and the other specialized agencies and international institutions. Its objective was to strengthen the racist régime and support its policy of apartheid, colonial occupation, aggression and destabilization of the independent African States of the region.

66. His delegation urged IMF and the World Bank, which continued to refuse to establish contacts with SWAPO, finally to comply with the appeals of the United Nations and take practical steps to terminate their co-operation with Pretoria and to redirect their assistance to the people of Namibia through its sole and authentic representative, SWAPO. It also called upon all Member States to redouble their efforts aimed at the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and other international institutions. Bulgaria supported the resolution submitted by the Committee of 24 and would vote for it.

67. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) said that he would have preferred a full review of the history of Western Sahara, rather than summaries that were always selective and of dubious objectivity. However, since the time available for discussion was limited, he would restrict himself to commenting on the recent decisions of the Organization of African Unity. Since the nineteenth summit meeting of OAU, at

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(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

which the parties to the dispute had been clearly identified, the position of OAU had coincided exactly with that of the United Nations. The United Nations was therefore bound to support the regional organization, both morally and politically.

68. While he recognized that anything was open to legal challenge, he would advise Morocco not to entrench itself in narrow legalism but to consider the facts. The Frente POLISARIO was a fact; through its sacrifices it had proved its determination, and SADR was recognized by OAU as a State entity. Secondly, Morocco, having agreed to the referendum, must also agree to a cease-fire, which was the prerequisite for a fair referendum; accordingly, it must agree to direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict, as stipulated by the Implementation Committee. The third fact was that there was a war in Western Sahara. The de facto truce had been broken in July 1983, and internationalization of the military conflict had become a very real risk. It must be remembered that SADR had accepted the Implementation Committee's decision that the peoples concerned should express themselves in favour of either independence or integration, and that concession deserved to be acknowledged. The political solution sought by the African Heads of State was thus encountering a road-block which must be removed, so that violence could be ended and African harmony preserved.

69. If the road-block was arbitrarily maintained, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, which had supported the OAU plan that had emerged from the Nairobi meetings and had been clarified by the resolution of the nineteenth summit meeting, would have no alternative but to revert to its original position and reaffirm that the organization of a free, authentic and democratic referendum in Sahara required that the following conditions should be met: complete withdrawal of Moroccan troops from Saharan territory, and withdrawal of Moroccan administration in the parts of Saharan territory occupied by Morocco.

70. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar, while not repudiating five years of negotiations and efforts at reconciliation with Morocco, reaffirmed its support for SADR and the Frente POLISARIO in their struggle to assert their national identity and exercise their rights.

71. Mr. DIMITRIJEVIĆ (Yugoslavia) said that the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had affirmed the principle that domination and exploitation of other peoples constituted a denial of basic human rights and of the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. It was on that basis that support had been given to peoples struggling for national and social liberation.

72. The success achieved by the United Nations and the international community in the field of decolonization was such that the principle of the universality of the Organization had been almost fully implemented. Most of the newly independent States had joined the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which had been and continued to be the initiator and supporter of the anti-colonial struggle of peoples. However, that struggle was not yet over, and efforts were still needed to

(Mr. Dimitrijević, Yugoslavia)

complete the process of decolonization. Attempts were being made to distort or ignore the basic goals of the Declaration, thus creating an atmosphere conducive to the emergence of international conflicts and new hotbeds of crises.

73. The attainment of independence by the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories could not be for the benefit of foreign political, economic, military or strategic interests, and international relations could not be stabilized as long as there were relations of subjugation anywhere in the world. It was therefore urgently necessary to resolve the last problems of decolonization, which were conducive to the exacerbation of the entire spectrum of international relations. The destiny of a colonial territory should be primarily decided by the population of the territory. Such a decision must be free, without pressure, foreign influence or military presence. Only after that could a change occur in the political status of the territory. Any transformation of a colonial problem into a political, diplomatic and even military confrontation was unacceptable.

74. Southern Africa was currently one region where resolute and concrete measures were indispensable in order to liberate the people from colonial domination. The illegal occupation of Namibia must be terminated, as well as the abhorrent system of apartheid and the racist aggression against the front-line States.

75. The Organization of African Unity had made every effort to resolve the problem of Western Sahara in accordance with the right of the local population to self-determination. His delegation firmly believed that the time had come for the Saharan people to decide what political status and future it wanted. It was encouraged in that view by the recent decisions of the nineteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, adopted by consensus. Yugoslavia considered that significant progress had been made towards the solution of a problem which had often threatened the unity of African countries. It had always proceeded from the belief that a just political solution to the question of Western Sahara would contribute to peace and stability in the Maghreb countries and throughout the region. Such a solution would also strengthen the unity of African countries and of the Non-Aligned Movement. In that sense, it fully supported the establishment of the Implementation Committee of OAU and agreed that OAU had shown political wisdom and should have the assistance of the United Nations, since there was no reason for further postponement of a lasting and just solution to the problem of Western Sahara.

76. The fact that all peoples were not yet free weighed heavily on international relations, regardless of the dimensions of the territory still under the colonial yoke. The attainment of independence by all colonial countries and peoples was a demand of the times and was in the interest of all countries of the world. The United Nations should fully perform its role in the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues related to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Yugoslavia would render its full contribution to that end.

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77. Mr. GAYANA (Congo) observed that, although decolonization was now considered a natural demand, there still remained scattered bastions of colonialism and racism, especially in southern Africa. Moreover, there was emerging a particularly odious form of that phenomenon, arising from the attitude of certain third-world countries which, in their greed for new territories, were refusing to accept reality and were forcibly opposing the right of colonial peoples to self-determination.

78. His delegation had always been eager to participate in the Committee's work, in the hope of making its modest contribution to the search for just and lasting solutions to the numerous problems arising from the hateful system of colonialism. It was in that spirit that it welcomed the aid programme set up by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations to help the colonial peoples and their liberation movements. Although the aid was insufficient, it was of very great importance, since it related to areas which directly affected the populations concerned. It was to be hoped, therefore, that those organizations would continue and step up their activities. His delegation likewise welcomed the effort made by countries which had received refugees driven out by colonialism's machinery of repression.

79. His Government continued to support the just aspirations of the peoples of small Territories to self-determination and independence. Joint action to put an end to the exploitation and oppression of peoples was essential. The Congo accordingly supported the liberation struggles of the peoples of all small Territories without exception.

80. His country's position on the question of Western Sahara was a reflection not of hostile feelings towards the Moroccan people, but solely of its attachment to recognized principles, respect for which was essential to harmony in international relations. The right of all peoples to self-determination was an absolute rule; the Congo therefore urged the Moroccan Government to co-operate sincerely with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, which were charged with supervising the holding of a fair and peaceful referendum, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the nineteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU. The OAU Assembly had also issued an urgent appeal to Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO to enter into direct negotiations for a cease-fire which would allow the referendum to be organized. It would seem that Morocco was unwilling to begin a dialogue with the representatives of the Saharan people. However, his country considered that that was the only way of guaranteeing that the consultation of the Saharan people on their future would be honestly conducted.

81. It was essential that the international community should eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism and help the colonized peoples to exercise their right to freedom, so that it could devote all its energy to settling the major problems which would confront it in the near future.

82. Mr. BADER (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he would resist the temptation to be drawn into a discussion with those delegations which, following the example of the Soviet Union, had studied their statements on Micronesia with half-truths and untruths. As the Soviet

(Mr. Bader, United States)

delegation was fully aware, the question of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands fell within the competence of the Trusteeship Council, not the Fourth Committee. His delegation would therefore set the record straight on that point outside the Committee; for the moment, it would merely recall that Micronesia had been made a Trust Territory following the Second World War. The United States was proud to have been entrusted with the responsibility of administering the Territory. It was doing all it could to discharge its obligations seriously, and the people of Micronesia were currently exercising their right to self-determination.

83. He wondered whether the same could be said of other peoples whose political status had been changed following the Second World War. Neither in Europe nor in Asia had the Soviet Union burdened itself with trusteeship; it had simply annexed regions and populations outright. The United States was constantly amazed at the way in which the Soviet Union, skilfully sheltering behind a smoke-screen of words, tried to divert the Committee's attention by talking about self-determination in the Pacific Islands although it had never shown the slightest respect for that principle in the territories it had seized. His delegation was sure that such manoeuvres would deceive no one.

84. Mr. BEREZOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), replying to the United States representative, said that once again the United States delegation was trying to conceal the true situation in Micronesia by unjust attacks on the Soviet Union. Its purpose was, of course, to give the impression that the question of Micronesia had nothing to do with the problems of decolonization dealt with by the Fourth Committee; but the question of Micronesia was indeed a question of decolonization.

85. The territory had been a United States colony for 37 years, and the purpose of what the United States called a process of decolonization was in fact to subjugate the Territory and annex it outright by eliminating United Nations supervision. He would remind the United States representative that one of the first documents adopted by the Special Committee on decolonization in 1963, document A/5446/Rev.1, had had annexed to it a preliminary list of territories to which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applied, and that the Pacific Islands had been included in the list. If the United States representative had doubts on that point he could refer to the document in question, and to other documents adopted subsequently, and he would see that the Special Committee had considered the question of the Territory of the Pacific Islands every year and had reported on it to the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly. He would also see that the United States had been a member of the Special Committee at the time when Micronesia was added to the list of territories to which the Declaration applied. Since the United States was trying to annex the Territory, it naturally did not want the United Nations to become too involved. As for the malicious insinuations about the Soviet Union, they were absurd and did not warrant a reply.

86. The CHAIRMAN said that Malawi had asked to be added to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution on Western Sahara (A/C.4/38/L.2).

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.