United Nations GENERAL

ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION Official Records *



NUV 1 - 19/7

FOURTH COMMITTEE 16th meeting held on Monday, 7 November 1977 at 10.30 a.m. New York

UNISA COLLECTION

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 16th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic)

CONTENTS

TRIBUTE ON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

AGENDA ITEM 24: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES: 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 (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 90: 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
- (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

AGENDA ITEM 93: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR: 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 95: 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)

- 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) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

/...

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

Distr. GENERAL A/C.4/32/SR.16 10 November 1977 ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: SPANISH

^{*} This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be incorporated in a copy of the record and should be sent within one week of the date of publication to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, room A-3550.

(Mr. Toma, Samoa)

maintained excellent relations with American Samoa; he observed with great satisfaction the advance of the people of American Samoa towards self-determination. He believed that the draft resolution reflected the spirit of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the concern of the Committee, which he hoped would adopt it.

7. Mr. RIFAI (Secretary of the Committee) announced that the delegation of Singapore had joined the sponsors of the draft resolution.

Draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.10: Question of Guam

- 8. Mr. DINH Ba Thi (Viet Nam) introduced the draft resolution on the question of Guam. General Assembly resolution 31/58 had, in his view, established a minimum criterion concerning the presence in the Territory of United States military installations, which had served in the recent past as bases for launching brutal attacks against Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Democratic Kampuchea, causing indescribable suffering, grief and devastation to the peoples of those countries. The draft resolution now under consideration reaffirmed the provisions of General Assembly resolution 31/58 and had been drafted after discussions among the sponsors concerning the wording of some of the provisions, which had caused some controversy, and with a view to a proper contemplation of the most recent events in the region. He further stated that he disagreed with draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.11, which also related to the question of Guam.
- 9. Mr. RIFAI (Secretary of the Committee) announced that the delegation of Mozambique had joined the sponsors of the draft resolution.

Draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.11: Question of Guam

10. Mr. RIFAI (Secretary of the Committee) announced that the delegations of Papua New Guinea and Samoa had joined the sponsors of the draft resolution.

AGENDA ITEM 96: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

Draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.7: United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa

11. Mr. BARTON (Canada), speaking as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA), described the characteristics of the Programme and drew the Committee's attention to the Secretary-General's report on the subject (A/32/283). Since the beginning of the programme, more than 1,700 young people had completed their education under its provisions, and during the past year 1,386 persons had benefited from its scholarships. In response to the Advisory Committee's emergency appeal in January 1977, there had been an increase of \$2,064,486 in contributions and pledges; there had also been contributions of other kinds, including offers by some African countries to open their educational institutions to UNETPSA students.

(Mr. Barton, Canada)

The report of the Secretary-General drew attention to the grave situation of young refugee students from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, who had to emigrate to neighbouring African States; the Secretary-General had made a special appeal for contributions to help the African Governments concerned. UNETPSA also worked in close collaboration with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

- 12. Mr. RIFAI (Secretary of the Committee) announced that the delegations of Angola, Australia, Colombia, Guinea, Jordan, Sweden, Togo and the United States of America had joined the sponsors of the draft resolution.
- 13. Mr. PFIRTER (Argentina) announced that his Government had pledged a contribution of \$5,000 to the Educational and Training Programme for 1978.

AGENDA ITEM 90: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/C.4/32/L.2)

14. Mr. RIFAI (Secretary of the Committee) announced that the following delegations had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.2: Angola, Ethiopia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Sao Tome and Principe and Viet Nam.

AGENDA ITEM 97: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/C.4/32/L.4)

- 15. Mr. RIFAI (Secretary of the Committee) announced that the following delegations had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.4: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Austria, Brazil, Chad, Ethiopia, Ghana, Haiti, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Liberia, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Senegal, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia and Yugoslavia.
- 16. The CHAIRMAN said that if there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee adopted the draft resolution without putting it to the vote.
- 17. Draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.4 was adopted without objection.

AGENDA ITEM 95: 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/C.4/32/L.3)

18. Mr. RIFAI (Secretary of the Committee) announced that the following delegations had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.3: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahamas, Comoros, Chad, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guyana, Jordan, Mozambique, Pakistan, Sao Tome and Principe, Somalia, United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia.

- 19. Mr. NEYTCHEV (Bulgaria), introducing draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.3, said that he would like first of all to observe that the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution which had launched a new epoch in the history of mankind was now being celebrated. His delegation wished to congratulate its Soviet colleagues on that anniversary and assure them that they could always count on its support in their efforts to achieve the aims of the October Revolution throughout the world. Those aims were the elimination of oppression and the triumph of communist ideals. The October Revolution was the beginning of a new era for all peoples and was the first step on the road from exploitation to the triumph of humanitarianism. The October Revolution had been like a fresh wind blowing through the world, triumphing in various countries. Even in the countries in which it had not yet triumphed, the workers had realized that the socialist system was the only one which could solve their current problems.
- 20. Those were the circumstances in which the task of eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism should be carried out. It was urgent to give all the colonial peoples and nations the possibility of progressing along the road to independence and the exercise of their right to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).
- 21. The situation prevailing in southern Africa was especially alarming. The racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to peace and security not only in that part of Africa but throughout the world. The debate in the Committee had shown that the majority of Member States were agreed that those responsible for the illegal occupation of Namibia and for the refusal of the Salisbury authorities to hand over power to the majority were, on the one hand, the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, which were oppressing the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, and, on the other hand, certain Western countries which were giving them economic, political and military assistance, thus becoming accomplices in that oppression.
- 22. The various chapters of the report of the Special Committee confirmed once again that economic and other interests, as well as certain well-known Western countries, not only were refusing to give effect to the resolutions of the General Assembly but were encouraging the activities of monopolies in southern Africa and in other Non-Self-Governing Territories.
- 23. With regard to the small Territories, the administering Powers had taken advantage of their limited size and population, their geographical isolation and their economic dependence to refuse to apply the Declaration on the Granting of Independence, especially in cases in which important military and other interests had been at stake. It was true that certain minor changes were being introduced into the constitutional structure of the majority of those Territories but those reforms were aimed at preparing the inhabitants for some type of disguised dependence.
- 24. The administering Powers maintained that the inhabitants did not want independence and preferred association with the metropolitan country or even integration with it. But those Powers did not dare to put their theories to the

(Mr. Neytchev, Bulgaria)

test in conditions of complete freedom and under the control or auspices of the United Nations. The interest of the colonial Powers in the small Territories as strategic bases was too important. That network of strategic bases was being used to repress the national liberation movements and for other aggressive purposes against the independent countries of the whole world.

- 25. In the current year the General Assembly should again urge the administering Powers to take immediate steps with a view to the transfer of all powers of government to the indigenous population and their freely elected organs. The administering Powers should again be urged to dismantle their military bases and installations in the Territories, for they constituted a serious obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).
- 26. His delegation would support any effort by the United Nations to solve that problem, in any part of the world, in conformity with the letter and spirit of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
- 27. His delegation recognized that in the course of the current year the specialized agencies had manifested a greater desire to promote the application of the Declaration. UNESCO, FAO, WHO, ILO and others had made efforts and had achieved certain results. At the same time, his delegation was well aware of the attitude of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, bodies which had considerable resources at their disposal and whose well-known attitude was totally unjustifiable.
- 28. Draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.3 was practically identical to the corresponding text adopted by the Special Committee in August 1977. In its preparation three important factors had been borne in mind: firstly, consultations with the representatives of the national liberation movements on the assistance which they needed and which the agencies should extend to them; secondly, consultations with the representatives of the agencies; and thirdly, the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia.
- 29. The sponsors were convinced that the specialized agencies had an important role to play in the process of decolonization and that they should follow the example of the General Assembly and the Special Committee in that sphere. However, the activities of the specialized agencies at the present time were far from meeting the urgent needs of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.
- 30. It was to be hoped that the closer contacts and consultations between the specialized agencies and United Nations bodies and the Organization of African Unity and the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories would make it possible to overcome the procedural and other difficulties which had impeded or delayed the implementation of certain assistance programmes.
- 31. In the operative part of the draft resolution the General Assembly would, inter alia, reaffirm that the recognition by the General Assembly, the Security

(Mr. Neytchev, Bulgaria)

Council and other United Nations organs of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence entailed, as a corollary, the extension by the organizations within the United Nations system of all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements. Clearly, no specialized agency could remain aloof from the struggle against colonialism. In addition, in paragraph 6 the General Assembly would deplore the fact that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund continued to maintain co-operation with the colonialist and racist minority régime of South Africa. In paragraph 11 the General Assembly would urge the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to take all necessary measures to withhold any financial, economic, technical or other assistance from the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia until they restored to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

32. In paragraphs 7, 9 and 13 specific recommendations were made with respect to the activities which the specialized agencies and Governments could undertake. The objective of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.3 was to ensure that the specialized agencies assisted the oppressed peoples who were fighting for their freedom and independence. Its adoption would be one more contribution to the work which the United Nations was doing to eliminate colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid and secure the freedom and independence of all countries and peoples.

AGENDA ITEM 93: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR: 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/C.4/32/L.9)

- 33. Mr. RIFAI (Secretary of the Committee) announced that the delegations of the Congo, Guyana, Haiti and the United Republic of Tanzania had joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.9.
- 34. Mr. MARVILLE (Barbados), introducing draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.9, said that it was in essence a reaffirmation of the principle of the right to self-determination which had so frequently been proclaimed in the decisions of the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly. The sponsors felt that the draft resolution offered the fairest method of dealing with the question of East Timor. It proposed that the United Nations, through the Special Committee, the Secretary-General and the Security Council, should be actively involved not only in ascertaining the actual situation in the Territory but also in securing for its inhabitants the full exercise of their right to self-determination and independence in an atmosphere of security, in a manner consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.
- 35. The draft resolution also sought the co-operation of the Government of Indonesia and of FRETILIN in the achievement of those aims, as well as in the implementation of the humanitarian programmes of the Red Cross and other relief organizations in the Territory.

AGENDA ITEM 24: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES: 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 (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued) (A/32/23 (parts II and IV), A/32/23/Add.3-5, A/32/23/Add.6 (parts I and II), A/32/23/Add.7, A/32/51, A/32/66, A/32/86, A/32/99, A/32/110, A/32/111, A/32/168, A/32/169, A/32/172, A/32/184, A/32/266; A/C.4/32/L.5, L.6, L.8 and L.11)

AGENDA ITEM 90: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/32/23/Add.9, A/32/73, A/32/90, A/32/253; A/C.4/32/L.2)

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

AGENDA ITEM 93: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR: 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/32/73, A/32/903 A/C.4/32/L.9)

AGENDA ITEM 95: 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/32/23 (part V), A/32/87 and Add.1: A/AC.109/L.1174: A/C.4/32/L.3)

- (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) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/32/3 (chap. VII) (sect. E))

AGENDA ITEM 96: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/32/283; A/C.4/32/L.7)

AGENDA ITEM 97: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/32/277; A/C.4/32/L.4)

36. Mr. SEKYI (Ghana) said that the Special Committee had done excellent work in the field of decolonization and among its notable achievements during the past year had been the Maputo Conference for the liberation of southern Africa, a landmark in the history of the anti-racist crusade. His delegation had also noted with satisfaction the continuing co-operation of some administering Powers, which

A/C.4/32/SR.16 English Page 10 (Mr. Sekyi, Ghana)

was reflected in the increasing acceptance of visiting missions and, in particular, the decision of the United States Government to co-operate with a visiting mission to the Virgin Islands.

- 37. His delegation had been most gratified at the independence of Djibouti, the latest triumph of decolonization, in which the principle of self-determination had been championed and reasserted against formidable odds, rival territorial claims and menacing strategic interests. The former administering Power and the neighbouring countries deserved congratulations on their good sense and maturity, which had helped to make possible a final adjustment of divergent interests in that area. In any case, Djibouti, which was now a member of OAU and of the United Nations, enjoyed the protection of the Charters of those organizations.
- 38. Unfortunately, there still remained many other decolonization issues which left much to be desired. The Special Committee had continued to complain about the cessation of the flow of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories by the unilateral decisions of administering Powers. Those Powers had an obligation under the Charter to transmit information on the Territories for which they were responsible and whose peoples had not yet attained "a full measure of selfgovernment". Some administering Powers believed that a people could be said to have attained a full measure of self-government even when it had no control over its relations with the rest of the world, no direct access to multilateral organizations such as the United Nations and its specialized and aid-giving agencies, and no control over its armed forces, one of the essential attributes of sovereignty. He doubted that the founding Members of the United Mations had thought of self-government in such a limited sense. Release from the obligations of the Charter could not be unilaterally effected by arbitrary interpretations, and his delegation therefore fully supported the resolution of the Special Committee which sought to establish that the attainment of a full measure of self-government should not be a question on which any administering Power could remain the sole arbiter but should be determined multilaterally by a decision of the General Assembly itself.
- 39. A second area in which some progress had been made but a great deal more remained to be done was the implementation by specialized agencies of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. His delegation endorsed the Special Committee's recommendation that the agencies should be urged to diversify and intensify their contacts with OAU and the liberation movements, to simplify their procedures and become more responsive in rendering assistance to liberation movements, particularly those in southern Africa. The greatest challenge to the United Nations in that area was the inaction of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The time was fast approaching when the General Assembly would have to concentrate on solving that problem. With external economic and technical support, the apartheid régime had already expanded its armaments industry to such a point that a mandatory embargo on the sale of arms would hardly affect it. It was time to use the economic weapon, the one effective weapon now remaining, as a means of pressure and prevention, if not as a means of punishment. Governments had to instruct their representatives in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to ensure that there would be no further delay in the adoption of measures in the cause of liberation and against the forces of racism and oppression.

/...

A/C.4/32/SR.16 English Page 11 (Mr. Sekyi, Ghana)

- 40. There were certain decolonization issues which had defied the efforts of the United Nations and of the regional organizations of Africa and the non-aligned world. Although the parties concerned had been engaged in negotiations, no progress had been made during the past year on the problems of Belize and the Falkland Islands. On the questions of Western Sahara and East Timor there had been little more than marking time. As his delegation had pointed out in 1976, in nearly all those cases the right to self-determination had been successfully asserted against the claims of the colonial Power, but a new set of claims had arisen in their place. Those claims by more powerful neighbours were often reinforced by a legacy of colonial partitions, by the over-spill of some important ethnic group across a common frontier or by some less clearly defined interest. Such a situation could threaten international peace and security and had a strong tendency to become a fait accompli to the advantage of the new claimant. With regard to those cases, his delegation wished to make it clear that it had never compromised or yielded on the principle of self-determination.
- 41. It was the deep conviction of his delegation that the right to selfdetermination was a collective right which belonged to whole populations taken in
 their entirety. In all such groups, the right to self-determination was
 inalienable and prevailed over all incompatible or contrary claims. The principle
 of self-determination so defined often created difficulties for those whose
 territorial claims thereby seemed to be estopped. But legal disputes could not be
 prejudged. If a territorial dispute took years to resolve and if the claim to
 territory was not finally upheld in law, it would not be equitable, over all those
 years, to have denied the enjoyment of freedom to a people that had won it. It
 would not be fair to contend that its struggle for freedom from colonial rule was
 not a legitimate one and that it did not have the right to self-determination
 because it had been merely a sector of a wider population, in a wider territory
 whose integrity must be preserved. In that case the principle of self-determination
 should be allowed to prevail, but fair compensation should be paid or negotiated
 for any damage to territorial integrity.
- 42. His delegation believed that it was the natural aspiration of any people regarded as a whole to manage its own affairs. Any claim that such was not the will of the people concerned had to be demonstrated by some genuine and valid act of self-determination authenticated by the verdict of impartial observers, including representatives of the United Nations. That was what had to be done in Namibia, East Timor and Western Sahara, and in all those cases where the right to self-determination was denied or suspended. Failing that, his delegation called for the direct and simple transfer of power to the people through its authentic representatives.
- 43. Mr. OBADI (Democratic Yemen) congratulated the Soviet socialist countries on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution and said that that event had marked a turning point in mankind's history; its goals had been and continued to be genuine peace among peoples and assistance to those struggling for true liberation and social progress.
- 44. More than 17 years had elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in General Assembly

(Mr. Obadi, Democratic Yemen)

resolution 1514 (XV). In that short time, many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America had acceded to national independence and marched forward in the struggle to put an end to colonialist oppression. However, despite the great successes achieved, decolonization had not been completed and vestiges of colonialism still remained in some regions of the world, creating tensions, poisoning the international atmosphere and giving rise to conflicts. The racist régimes were still oppressing and exploiting peoples and trying to deprive them by force of their legitimate rights to self-determination, freedom, national independence and social progress.

- 45. One source of concern to the world community was the situation in some colonial Territories where the administering Powers had not taken effective measures to ensure the transfer of power to the people. Those Powers were trying to prolong colonization on the pretext that the Territories in question were small and could not survive after independence. They were trying to annex the Territories in open violation of the aims and objectives repeatedly proclaimed by the United Nations.
- 46. The Committee had recently heard statements from the Ambassadors of the fraternal countries of Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania concerning the problem of Western Sahara. Democratic Yemen was convinced of the right of peoples to national independence and social progress and reaffirmed its view that the people of Western Sahara should have the opportunity to decide its own future, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 3458 (XXIX), in which the General Assembly had reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV).
- 47. Democratic Yemen believed that the time had come to reach a solution in which the fraternity and co-operation of the peoples of the region would prevail, in good-neighbourliness, and which would guarantee the interests of the Saharan people, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations, OAU, the conferences of non-aligned countries and the opinions of the International Court of Justice.
- 48. His delegation believed that in order to contribute effectively to the process of decolonization taking place in all parts of the world, the United Nations must take a firm and more effective stand in adopting and implementing its resolutions.
- 49. Mr. SASI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) observed that more than 20 years had passed since the adoption of the first resolution on study and vocational training facilities offered by Member States to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories. In 1976, resolution 31/32 of which his delegation had been a sponsor, had invited all States to make or continue to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, particularly those in southern Africa, and had requested the administering Powers to ensure the widespread and continuous dissemination in the Territories under their administration of information relating to offers of study and training facilities made by States. Unfortunately, the problem of training the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories continued to be dealt with at a theoretical level

(Mr. Sasi, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

alone, through resolutions rather than practical measures. More fellowships must be provided in order to disseminate scientific education and to prepare the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories for independence.

- 50. Wherever there was colonialism, there was also ignorance. The colonial Powers had a vested interest in keeping colonial peoples in ignorance in order to perpetuate their domination. For instance, during Libya's occupation by fascist imperialism, not one Libyan student had received a secondary-school diploma. The same thing had happened in other colonial countries, which, on gaining independence, had lacked the basic technical know-how required for self-government. In some countries, it had been impossible to provide basic medical care when imperialism had withdrawn its medical assistance because of the views expressed by those countries.
- 51. South Africa's racial policy kept its black population in a state of illiteracy and ignorance. Of the 6,000 university students who had qualified in 1977, only 412 had been black. There were scarcely 2,000 black students in those universities in which black students were allowed to register and in which the language of instruction was English. In the special universities for whites, some 7,000 black Africans were taking correspondence courses.
- 52. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was convinced that responsibility for the lack of education of colonial or recently independent peoples rested with the imperialist countries alone and that it was therefore the duty of those countries to solve the problem. None the less, it had offered and would continue to offer study facilities for fraternal neighbouring countries. In 1977, for instance, 1,823 students engaged in religious, general, vocational and university studies were receiving scholarships.
- 53. His country repeated its appeal to the administering Powers to grant scholarships, and requested the United Nations to urge those countries which had not already done so to provide study facilities as soon as possible.
- 54. Mr. ADAMS (New Zealand), referring to the question of Tokelau, the only remaining Territory for which his country retained responsibility as administering Power, expressed his appreciation to the Special Committee of 24 for the thoroughness of its report on Tokelau (A/32/23/Add.4) and the usefulness of its recommendations. He assured the Special Committee of his delegation's wholehearted co-operation during its next session.
- 55. As administering Power, New Zealand recognized the importance of a programme of political education. Resolution 31/48 on the question of Tokelau, adopted on 1 December 1976, had requested the administering Power to take the necessary measures to intensify programmes of political education, as well as to ensure the preservation of the identity and the cultural heritage of the people of Tokelau. Since the Visiting Mission had studied the Territory in 1976, his Government had drawn up a programme comprising three major elements. The first element was intensified publicity of relevant material in Tokelau through a newsletter called "Te Vakai", which was published in both English and Tokelauan. It published articles

(Mr. Adams, New Zealand)

of general political and administrative interest, such as reports on the consideration of the question of Tokelau by the General Assembly and the Special Committee. The second element had been to broaden the range of Tokelau's political contacts with its Pacific neighbours by inviting political leaders from the region to Tokelau and encouraging Tokelauan leaders to travel in the region. For example, Tokelau had been represented at the 1976 and 1977 South Pacific Conferences, and in June 1977 Tokelau had sent a delegation to Samoa's Independence Day ceremonies. It was hoped that a study tour of Tuvalu would be arranged in 1978, possibly under the sponsorship of UNDP. The third and perhaps most important element was the intensification of discussions of political questions and problems between the representatives of the people of Tokelau and the administering Power. Recently, the Secretary of the Office for Tokelau Affairs had paid a nine-week visit to Tokelau and held numerous meetings with the village councils and other groups representing the labour force, youth and women. That visit had provided an opportunity to discuss political issues as well as administrative and other matters of concern to the people of Tokelau.

- 56. In reporting on economic and administrative developments to the Sub-Committee on Small Territories in March 1977, his delegation had detailed recent changes in the Tokelau public service. Since then, considerable emphasis had been placed on in-service training and the recruitment for the Tokelau public service of Tokelauans who had trained and qualified in New Zealand.
- 57. It was in the economic sphere that the problems of the Territory were greatest and the people and the administering Power together faced the most difficult task of trying to create a more viable economy for the Territory without adversely affecting social and cultural values and institutions. Nevertheless, there had been some improvement in the economic infrastructure of the Territory and its revenue-earning possibilities. Co-operative stores had been established in each of the three atolls, and a sales and marketing centre for Tokelauan handicrafts had been established in Samoa. In the sphere of agriculture and fisheries, improvements were being made in pest control programmes, the quality of livestock and the fishing industry, for which UNDP had provided freezers in order to promote the export of frozen fish. New Zealand had kept the people informed of the progress of the Law of the Sea negotiations, and Tokelau had formally requested an extension of its fishing zone to 200 miles. In other areas, the possibility of establishing a garment industry in Tokelau was being discussed and plans were being made for increasing Tokelau's revenue from stamp and coin sales.
- 58. His delegation welcomed the progress achieved in the Solomon Islands, the Gilbert Islands and Tuvalu, which would result in independence for all three Territories. It also welcomed the fact that a definite programme for the achievement of independence in the New Hebrides had been established, and it encouraged the administering Powers to make further efforts to involve all major political groups in the consultative process in order to carry out that programme.
- 59. The special problems of small Territories had not been invented by the administering Powers in order to perpetuate their so-called "domination" of the

(Mr. Adams, New Zealand)

Territories under their responsibility, as was sometimes alleged. His delegation sincerely hoped that the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee of 24 would continue to show the understanding which they had shown in the past with regard to the particular difficulties of some of the small Territories and avoid the temptation to generalize about such Territories and to impose rigid or unrealistic solutions. After all, it was not only the administering Powers which had responsibility for the Territories under their administration but each and every Member of the United Nations. If the principles enshrined in resolution 1514 (XV) were to be realized, it was the joint responsibility of the Members of the United Nations to heed the wishes of the peoples concerned and to offer the understanding and assistance which would enable them to overcome their problems.

- 60. Mr. MOOSSAVOU (Gabon) said that after five days of debate the members of the Committee had defined their positions clearly, and various delegations had requested his delegation to present formally and in writing the proposal it had made in its statement on the question of Western Sahara.
- 61. He read out a draft resolution and asked that it should be distributed as an official document of the Committee. In conformity with Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations, that resolution referred the question of Western Sahara to the special summit conference of the Organization of African Unity planned for that purpose and requested the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the progress made in implementing the decisions of the Organization of African Unity relating to Western Sahara.
- 62. He requested that his proposal for referral to OAU should be given priority if a consensus had not been reached by the end of the general debate in the Committee. However, if the Committee was able to settle the question of Western Sahara, his delegation would withdraw its draft resolution.
- 63. The CHAIRMAN thanked the representative of Gabon for his flexibility and said that the question would be considered at the end of the general debate, after the draft resolution had been distributed. As Chairman, he would continue to make every effort to establish a consensus.
- 64. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, as the proposal by the representative of Gabon was so important, it would be desirable to have it in writing as soon as possible.
- 65. The CHAIRMAN said that, according to information received from the Secretariat, the text would be distributed that afternoon.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.