



UN LIBRARY

DEC 18 1984

FOURTH COMMITTEE  
17th meeting  
held on  
Thursday, 8 November 1984  
at 3 p.m.  
New York

UN/DA/CONF/1984

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 17th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 106: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

Draft resolution

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (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) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 103: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF 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)

/...

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

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

Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.4/39/SR.17  
20 November 1984  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: FRENCH  
/...

CONTENTS (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 105: 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)

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

(a) REPORT OF THE COUNCIL (continued)

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

(c) REPORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 106: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 107: 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 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 106: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/C.4/39/L.5)

Draft resolution

1. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway), introducing draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.5 in his capacity as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, said that everyone knew how the Programme was trying to ensure that the peoples of Namibia and South Africa would have available to them trained civil servants and leaders when they were finally able to exercise all of their rights. In Namibia, having made an effort greater than that of the South African Government, the Programme had trained so many university graduates that a lack of trained manpower could no longer be used as a pretext for delaying independence. In South Africa, a large number of students at the senior secondary and university level had been trained with the assistance of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and other United Nations programmes, as well as with the bilateral assistance of Governments, governmental and non-governmental organizations and universities. In addition to its practical value, that assistance had demonstrated the desire of the international community to co-operate with newly independent countries and had highlighted the effects of racial discrimination in the field of education.
2. The General Assembly should once again express its support for the Programme and should emphasize the need for more generous contributions by all Member States. The rise in the cost of scholarships caused by inflation was impeding the efforts of the Programme to provide greater scholarship assistance to students from Namibia and South Africa. Although some States had increased their financial support to the Programme, contributions and pledges in 1984 had continued to show a decrease in real terms. Consequently, the Programme was still unable to accommodate most of the applications received and had only managed a modest increase in its financing of new awards. The present level of 896 awards was far below the peak of 1,500 in 1978/79.
3. Although, with the independence of the former Portuguese Territories and of Zimbabwe, the Programme was providing new awards only to South Africans and Namibians while striving to achieve a fair distribution between the two groups, there were nevertheless compelling arguments for the strengthening of the Programme in order to respond to the demands of those in southern Africa who had been deprived of educational opportunities. The Programme, which would be better able to meet its long-term obligations because of the establishment of a financial reserve, must make greater efforts to bring itself and the needs of South Africans to the attention of donor countries and to obtain the maximum return from the resources available by, for example, continuing its emphasis on providing scholarships for first degrees and on the placement of students in relatively low-cost countries for their education.

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

4. The Advisory Committee had continued to process and analyse information received from other scholarship-providing agencies in order to promote closer co-operation between the Programme and those agencies and thus ensure maximum assistance to young South Africans and Namibians. The Advisory Committee expressed its appreciation to the 26 Governments and 23 intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations which had already responded favourably to requests for information.

5. In conclusion, Member States were urged to support draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.5 and to give full consideration to meeting the future financial requirements of the Programme, which could only survive by means of their contributions, so as to enable it to perform a task considered highly important for the students of Namibia and South Africa.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued) (A/39/133, 139, 156, 236, 401, 560, 581, and 590; A/C.4/39/8 and Add.1 and 2)

- (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/39/23 (Part II), A/39/23 (Part IV), A/39/23 (Part VI), A/39/23 (Part VIII); A/AC.109/761-763, 764 and Add.1, 765 and Add.1, 766-770, 775, 776, 777 and Add.1, 778-780, 785-787)
- (b) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/39/494)

AGENDA ITEM 103: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/39/136, 519, and 590)

- (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/39/23 (Part IV))
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 105: 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/39/581; A/C.4/39/5; A/AC.109/L.1504, L.1509, L.1514 and Add.1)

- (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/39/23 (Part IV))
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/39/23 and Add.1-3)



AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued)  
(A/39/3) (Part II); A/39/133, 581 and 590)

- (a) REPORT OF THE COUNCIL (continued)
- (b) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)
- (c) REPORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 106: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/39/351)

AGENDA ITEM 107: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/39/541 and Add.1, A/39/581)

General debate (continued)

6. Mr. KOROLEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) called attention to the important role to be played by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations in eliminating the vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid. Their duty to do all in their power to provide the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements with all possible assistance had been set forth in numerous United Nations resolutions recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of those peoples, particularly General Assembly resolution 35/118 containing the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. His delegation had been a sponsor of a number of those resolutions.

7. The report of the Special Committee on decolonization (A/39/23 (Part IV)) and that of the Secretary-General (A/39/293 and Add.1) showed that most specialized agencies were taking the necessary steps, in their spheres of competence, to implement General Assembly resolutions. Many paid the greatest attention to the question of the elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid. Some, including UNESCO and WIPO, maintained direct contacts with the national liberation movements recognized by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and invited their representatives to participate in debates on relevant issues, which undoubtedly facilitated the designing of suitable practical measures to help the peoples struggling for freedom and independence.

8. The ties between certain specialized agencies and the OAU, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Special Committee on decolonization and the Special Committee against Apartheid were particularly important in co-ordinating action to eliminate all forms of colonialism. UNESCO, WHO, FAO, UNICEF, WIPO and other organizations had done a great deal to unmask the allies of the racist régime and mobilize world public opinion in favour of the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa and their national liberation movements. Several specialized agencies had decided to exclude South Africa in order to isolate the apartheid racist régime, a course of action that was in keeping with the goals and principles of the Declaration on decolonization and other relevant United Nations resolutions.

(Mr. Korolev, Byelorussian SSR)

9. It was disturbing to note, however, that the aid provided by specialized agencies and other international organizations was still insufficient to meet the real needs. Furthermore, some organizations, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), not only refused to take the practical steps needed but, in violation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, maintained ties of close co-operation with the racist régime and provided it with financial, economic and technical assistance. His delegation did not see how the refusal of an IMF loan to South Africa could be construed as politicization of that organization. On the contrary, the decision to grant such a loan was a reflection of a certain policy long followed by the Powers that dominated the IMF. It was not a technical matter when a loan was used to finance expenditure connected with the suppression of the national liberation movement under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people: still less was it a technical matter when a loan was used to finance acts of aggression against neighbouring States, such as Angola and Mozambique.

10. His delegation unreservedly supported the recommendation of the Special Committee that the General Assembly should again call upon the IMF to stop granting loans to the South African racists. The Byelorussian SSR also supported the draft resolution submitted by the Special Committee, which clearly showed that the specialized agencies and other United Nations agencies should intensify their efforts to ensure the full implementation of the Declaration and other relevant United Nations resolutions. Direct and more effective co-operation between those organizations and the national liberation movements should be established.

11. The specialized agencies and United Nations-related organizations should give priority to programmes of assistance to the national liberation movements which fully met the latter's needs, and they should ensure the full participation or representatives of those movements in their sessions, as observers. The General Assembly should invite all specialized agencies and organizations in the United Nations system to design and adopt practical measures to ensure the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as soon as possible.

12. Mr. PULZ (Czechoslovakia) noted that, although the small colonial Territories differed from traditional colonies in their smaller size, sparse population, limited resources and geographical remoteness, those features could not and should not be used as a pretext for maintaining colonial domination.

13. Although the United Nations would soon be observing its fortieth anniversary and 25 years had passed since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Special Committee on decolonization had noted that the colonial Powers were not fulfilling certain fundamental obligations incumbent upon them with regard to the small colonial Territories. In Puerto Rico, far from ensuring economic and social development, the policy pursued by the administering Power had led to a severe economic crisis. On the other hand, the profits of American monopolies were three or four times higher in Puerto Rico than in the United States itself.

14. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America), speaking on a point of order, said that the question of Puerto Rico was not on the agenda of either the General Assembly or the Fourth Committee.
15. The CHAIRMAN asked the representative of Czechoslovakia to confine his statement to the agenda items.
16. Mr. PULZ (Czechoslovakia) pointed out that he was stating his delegation's position on the report of the Special Committee on decolonization and that the Special Committee's views on the question of Puerto Rico were an integral part of that report. It was not by chance that the aggression perpetrated by the United States against independent Grenada had been launched from the territory of Puerto Rico.
17. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America) repeated his remark that the representative of Czechoslovakia was straying from the agenda item.
18. Mr. PULZ (Czechoslovakia), continuing his statement, noted that the activities of the Falkland Islands Company in the Malvinas Islands, which had been eloquently described in the press and in petitioners' statements in the United Nations, were a good example of the role of Western monopolies in certain small Territories, and the colonial Powers, instead of fulfilling their obligations and ensuring the economic and social development of those Territories, were creating the requisite conditions for the exploitation of their limited resources and their cheap labour.
19. The military bases and troops of the United States, the United Kingdom and their allies were spread out over several other small Territories: Guam, Diego Garcia, the Malvinas Islands, Bermuda and the United States Virgin Islands. The militarization of those Territories had nothing to do with the economic, social and cultural development of the colonial peoples. By involving those colonies in their strategic plans, the colonial Powers were impeding the process of development and threatening international peace and security.
20. Several concrete examples of non-fulfilment of obligations by the colonial Powers had been noted. Usually, those Powers had simply denied the facts, although the latter had been taken mainly from working papers of the United Nations Secretariat or other sources which the Western States did not reject in other circumstances.
21. A peaceful solution must be found to the question of Western Sahara, on the basis of negotiations in which all parties concerned participated, in accordance with the relevant United Nations and OAU resolutions and the recommendations of the movement of non-aligned countries, and ensuring that the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara was respected.
22. Lastly, it was important to demand that the colonial Powers fulfilled their obligations and, above all, to thwart their annexationist and neo-colonialist manoeuvres. It was, therefore, justifiable to speak of a code of conduct for colonial Powers.

23. Mr. AKHTAR (Bangladesh) said that, in view of the fundamental importance of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the inevitability of the decolonization process and the obvious successes achieved by the United Nations in that field, there was every reason to solemnly observe the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration the following year, at the same time as the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.
24. Bangladesh hoped that all Non-Self-Governing Territories would soon achieve independence through a just and amicable settlement of the problems relating to their political status, and that efforts to that end would continue.
25. In South Africa, however, the racist Pretoria régime was seeking to reverse the tide of history and perpetuate colonialism and exploitation in their ugliest form. Bangladesh had always rejected the policies of the illegal minority régime in South Africa and particularly condemned the policy of bantustanization and the imposition of the so-called new constitution in disregard of the hopes and aspirations of the majority of the people. Bangladesh reiterated its support for the oppressed people of South Africa in their just struggle to end those policies, which outraged the conscience of the international community.
26. Where Namibia was concerned, the time had come for the international community to act decisively and expeditiously to ensure the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions so that the Namibian people could pursue their destiny without further suffering and bloodshed.
27. The report of the Special Committee suggested measures to facilitate the speedy implementation of the Declaration on decolonization. His delegation was in favour of maintaining the system of furnishing information on the situation in dependent Territories and was convinced that the people of those Territories needed to be properly educated as to the options offered to them regarding their future. It was therefore incumbent upon the administering Powers to promote the welfare of the people of the Territories and refrain from impeding the process of decolonization.
28. His delegation commended the Organization of African Unity for the efforts it had made to bring about a peaceful settlement of the question of Western Sahara, and hoped that the people of that Territory would be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination without delay.
29. Bangladesh believed that the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa played a vital role in the process of decolonization in the region and his Government, despite its financial constraints, had made a modest contribution to that Programme and offered scholarships to students from Namibia. It was encouraging to note that the international community was providing financial assistance and scholarships to refugees from South Africa, but that assistance should be extended so that all the educational and training requirements in the region could be met.

(Mr. Akhtar, Bangladesh)

30. Bangladesh was deeply committed to the cause of decolonization and called upon the international community to stand united to eliminate the remaining vestiges of colonialism and apartheid.

31. Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) drew the Committee's attention to the troubling situation that was developing with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the United States since 1947, and said that the issue of the future of Micronesia was one of the problems that required a solution if colonialism was to be completely eliminated throughout the world.

32. The trusteeship system has been instituted to help the peoples of the Trust Territories rapidly to overcome the after-effects of colonialism and to prepare them for independence, as the General Assembly had reaffirmed in the Declaration on decolonization. The Special Committee had, since its establishment, been considering the implementation of the Declaration in the Pacific Islands under United States trusteeship. In its recommendations to the General Assembly, it pointed out that the United States, as Administering Authority, had the obligation to establish conditions in the Territory that would enable the Micronesian people freely to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, while preserving the unity of their Territory.

33. In actual fact, however, all United States activities in the Trust Territory were designed to deprive the Micronesian people of their right to freedom, unity and independence and to perpetuate United States control over the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall Islands in order to reinforce its strategic position in the Western Pacific. In 38 years of trusteeship, the United States had not only failed to fulfil its obligations under the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on decolonization and the Trusteeship Agreement, but was outrageously abusing the mandate entrusted to it by the United Nations.

34. The United States had deliberately held back the economic and social development of Micronesia and undermined the viability of traditional sectors of the economy, with the result that Micronesia had become totally dependent on the Administering Authority economically and financially. Indeed, the Micronesian people were less self-sufficient than they had been before the establishment of United States trusteeship: fishing was in the hands of United States and foreign corporations, agriculture was in decline. At the same time, the Administering Authority was seeking to convince the Micronesians that their economic and cultural development had no future, and that they could not subsist if they were not integrated with the United States. Many inhabitants had abandoned agriculture and fishing and were dependent on subsidies from the United States Government; the physical infrastructure had not yet regained the level it had reached before the Second World War. The water supply system posed a serious threat to the health of the population, which was suffering from a number of diseases. The Administering Authority considered the development of the Trust Territory not as an obligation but as a means of pressure for the conclusion of a so-called agreement on the future political status of Micronesia.

/...



(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

35. Similarly, the United States had long impeded the political development of the Trust Territory and it was only in 1965 that it had agreed to the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia, on which Washington had attempted to impose, behind the back of the United Nations, its proposals for the future political status of the Territory. Already at that time, the Congress of Micronesia had rejected any form of association with the United States and had decided firmly in favour of maintaining the unity of the Marshall Islands, the Carolinas, and the Marianas. Because of that setback, the United States had dissolved the Congress of Micronesia and had undertaken to apply the old process of the colonizers, divide and rule. It had first imposed on the Marianas a treaty of friendship within the framework of a political alliance with the United States, by promising them economic aid and limited internal self-government. In exchange, it had arrogated to itself the right to deal with all questions of foreign policy, military activities and defence of the Marianas. It had then imposed on other parts of the Trust Territory, the Marianas, Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia, either a "commonwealth" status or an "agreement of free association" on the same terms.

36. The so-called negotiations carried out by the United States with each of the parts of Micronesia concerning their future political status could not be regarded as legitimate because they took place in an atmosphere of blackmail and threat created by the Administering Authority, to the detriment of the interests of the indigenous population of Micronesia and without the agreement, and even the participation, of the United Nations. In order to hide its annexationist schemes, the United States imposed on the Micronesian population "plebiscites" and "referendums", which were nothing but propaganda spectacles and had nothing in common with the expression of the free will and self-determination of the Micronesian people.

37. The only area in which the United States had met with success was in the militarization of Micronesia. Grossly abusing the rights granted to it in accordance with the provisions concerning the strategic nature of the Trust Territory, it had undertaken to perpetuate its military control and to strengthen its strategic position in the Pacific Ocean. Thus, in the Marianas, the Marshall Islands and Palau, the United States sought to establish bases for nuclear and chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and a large base for nuclear submarines and nuclear tests, even if it meant deporting the inhabitants. Those manoeuvres of the Administering Authority in the Trust Territory ran counter to the main objective of the trusteeship system laid down in Article 76 of the Charter of the United Nations. They constituted a threat to the security of not only the Micronesian people but also the peoples of Asia and Oceania and to world peace.

38. The decolonization process that started following the Second World War had affected more than 100 countries, including 10 Trust Territories. Even in Oceania, many countries had become sovereign and independent. It was therefore difficult to believe that the United States which, as an Administering Authority, should have met its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Agreement, had been unable in 40 years to make Micronesia a sovereign and independent State, politically and economically developed, which should today be represented in the United Nations.

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

39. The General Assembly, which was entrusted with ensuring the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence, could not remain indifferent to the tragic plight of Micronesia, which might remain a colonial dependency of the United States, used as a bulwark for the political strategy of imperialism in the Pacific region. The Assembly must defend the inalienable right of the people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence. It must affirm that the Administering Authority could not decide to change the status of Micronesia without taking into account the United Nations in which all functions relating to strategic areas were exercised by the Security Council, in accordance with Article 83 of the Charter.

40. The fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence were reaffirmed in the recommendations which the Committee on decolonization had adopted by consensus and which had been submitted to the Fourth Committee for approval. Those recommendations should not therefore present difficulties for States which were not in favour of maintaining and strengthening colonialism in Micronesia. His delegation supported the recommendations submitted by the Committee on decolonization in its report (A/39/23 (Part VI)).

41. The Soviet Union was strongly convinced that, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence, all colonial peoples, large and small, without exception, had the right to self-determination and independence. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence, the General Assembly must approve the recommendations submitted by the Committee on decolonization on the subject of the last remaining Trust Territory, that of the Pacific Islands, and thus contribute to eliminating colonialism from the planet as quickly as possible.

42. Mr. DOUMA (Congo) said that he appreciated the importance of the positive role played by the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international bodies associated with the United Nations with respect to the accession of many countries to independence and the protection of the interests of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

43. Even though the international community had for a long time been unanimous on the need to eliminate all forms of domination or oppression, the decolonization process was currently bogged down: certain Powers were deliberately delaying, for selfish purposes, the accession to independence of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, or contributed by their assistance to the perpetuation of the racist régime of South Africa. On the other hand, it was gratifying that other administering Powers were co-operating with the Committee of 24, in particular by agreeing to visiting missions which the United Nations sent to some Non-Self-Governing Territories.

(Mr. Douma, Congo)

44. The Congo was convinced that administering Powers should permit the communities of those Territories to decide their destiny freely by promoting their political education and building independent economies. Furthermore, such factors as territorial size, geographical location, size of population and limited natural resources should not serve as a pretext to delay the implementation of the Declaration.

45. It was unacceptable that the racist régime of South Africa continued to occupy Namibia illegally, practising there one of the most contemptible forms of colonialism and imposing the same system as in South Africa itself. The General Assembly and the Security Council had rejected the South African "new constitution" as being contrary to the principles of the Charter.

46. Aware of the danger to it which an independent and prosperous Namibia would represent, and determined to continue to exploit its human and natural resources, South Africa persisted in impeding Namibia's independence, notably by opposing the implementation of the United Nations plan of action as set forth in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). However, Namibia's independence was inevitable and the forthcoming commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was an opportunity to mobilize all forces determined to eliminate the last vestiges of domination and oppression in the world. The Congo was resolved to support the struggle of all oppressed peoples, including that of the Namibian people. In that context, it provided assistance in the fields of education, health and information and received Namibian refugees on its territory, without forgetting that the ultimate objective was Namibia's independence.

47. With respect to the problem of Western Sahara, the Congo hoped that the Saharan people would be able to exercise their right to self-determination and placed its hopes in the forthcoming Conference of Heads of States and Government of the Organization of African Unity.

48. There was no problem to which a solution could not be found. If they had the political will and put an end to their differences, the States Members of the United Nations had the power to eliminate completely and definitively the scourge of colonialism in Africa and throughout the world. The Congo hoped that on the occasion of the forthcoming commemoration of the centenary of the Berlin Act, the international community would find the motivation necessary to act to that end.

49. Mr. YOSSIPHOV (Bulgaria) said he deplored the fact that the process of decolonization, which had made impressive headway after the proclamation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, had not been completed. There were still Territories under colonial domination. In South Africa, daily life was regulated by the system of apartheid, and the racist régime continued to occupy Namibia and to try to destabilize the region. That situation was made possible by the attitude of certain Western States which opposed decolonization and gave economic, financial, monetary, diplomatic, cultural and moral support to South African authorities, in pursuit of such selfish objectives



(Mr. Yossiphov, Bulgaria)

as the continued plundering of the natural and human resources of Namibia, the protection of their strategic interests in southern Africa, the control of the major sea lanes in the region and the suppression of the national liberation movements in that part of Africa. In brief, they sought to maintain the status quo in that part of the world in defiance of the repeated appeals of the international community, recently renewed in General Assembly resolution 38/54, which called upon the colonial Powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones.

50. The colonial Powers were thus stepping up their military activities in the colonial Territories on the pretext of protecting their "vital" strategic interests. The reality was quite different. He drew attention in that connection to paragraphs 6 and 7 of document A/AC.109/778, which noted the strategic interest which Bermuda had for the United Kingdom and the NATO forces, as well as paragraph 2 of document A/AC.109/766, which stressed the importance to the United States of its naval and air force base in Guam. Military personnel and their dependants on the island numbered some 20,000 people, who could vote in the supposedly free elections in the Territory, even when the exercise of the right of self-determination was involved. In Micronesia, the dismemberment of the Territory by the United States constituted a violation of Article 83 of the Charter, against which the international community must protest. Neo-colonialist labels such as "statute of free association" or "commonwealth" were designed only to conceal the true intentions of the United States, which were to maintain the Territory for military and strategic purposes.

51. In conclusion, he reaffirmed his country's unwavering support, both individually and as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, for the struggle for independence of all countries and peoples still under colonial domination, including the Puerto Rican people, and for the immediate and unconditional implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

52. Mr. FOURATI (Tunisia) said that colonialism was contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and that it prevented international co-operation and the promotion of human rights. Despite undeniable progress in decolonization since the proclamation in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 3 million human beings in some 20 Territories were still under colonial domination and were being denied the exercise of their right of self-determination. Of course, solutions might vary from one Territory to another, but the principles of action, based on the provisions of the Charter, were the same.

53. The situation in southern Africa was very alarming because it threatened the peace and stability of the region. It was high time that the collaboration of certain Western Powers with the Pretoria régime stopped and that Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the cornerstone of any solution to the problem, was fully

/...

(Mr. Fourati, Tunisia)

implemented. South Africa continued to defy the United Nations and all mankind with impunity by oppressing the Namibian and South African peoples and committing aggression against neighbouring countries. The Powers of the Contact Group could play a positive role, but must act consistently with the international decisions they helped to adopt. Also, South Africa's stubbornness required more than ordinary pressure, and it was time to turn to binding sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

54. As for the small Territories, where the situation was less serious but still required careful attention, the Committee should closely examine their situation, carefully study the options presented and adopt decisions corresponding to the aspirations and interests of the populations concerned. In that connection, his delegation thanked the administering Powers which had in recent years hosted visiting missions in the Territories under their administration. Those missions had enabled the Special Committee on decolonization to study the situation on the spot and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the populations regarding their future status. In order to accelerate the movement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards self-determination and independence, the administering Powers should pay particular attention to strengthening their economic infrastructures, promoting their socio-economic development and encouraging education and the training of managerial personnel.

55. With respect to the small Territories which were the subject of conflicts over sovereignty or were of particular interest to certain Member States, he observed that, apart from the right to self-determination, there were historical, geographical and other realities which should not be overlooked, and he suggested in that connection that the parties concerned should engage in constructive dialogue to reach a peaceful settlement in accordance with the Charter.

56. The Special Committee on decolonization, with the help of the Department of Public Information, had played a decisive role in mobilizing international public opinion on behalf of the struggle for independence of peoples under colonial domination. The report on the dissemination of information on decolonization (A/39/23 (Part II)) covered all aspects of the question and pointed to several courses of action which might hasten the liberation of peoples still under colonial domination. More information should be disseminated on the work of the Organization in the field of decolonization, on the situation in southern Africa and on the heroic struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

57. His delegation welcomed the Special Committee's efforts to involve the specialized agencies and organizations of the United Nations and the non-governmental organizations in implementing, each in its own field, United Nations policy towards southern Africa and towards the Namibian and South African peoples. He thanked the organizations which had in varying degrees increased the volume and scope of their assistance to colonized peoples and urged those which had not yet done so to take an active part in the work of decolonization.

58. Mrs. BALJINNYAM (Mongolian People's Republic) said that the specialized agencies and institutions of the United Nations, which had an important role to play in eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism, had made a valuable contribution to the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Special Committee of 24 in response to the aspirations of the countries and territories under colonial domination and the wishes of the international community, in particular those resolutions calling for the cessation of all co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa and support for peoples and countries under colonial domination.

59. In that connection, the activities of bodies such as UNESCO, WHO, ILO, FAO, IAEA, UNICEF and UNDP represented an essential contribution to the liberation struggle of the peoples of South Africa and other Trust Territories. Programmes such as those undertaken by the United Nations system to train and prepare young Africans for the future administration of their countries were particularly important.

60. Certain specialized agencies, however, in particular the World Bank and IMF, continued to co-operate with South Africa, disregarding the resolutions of the United Nations and the appeals of the international community. By granting loans to South Africa, IMF was in fact supporting the policy of aggression and repression it was waging against neighbouring countries and national liberation movements. The General Assembly should therefore again request IMF to halt that collaboration.

61. Despite the untiring efforts of the Special Committee of 24 and the results already achieved, the decolonization process was far from completed, there being still some with small territories suffering under the vestiges of colonialism. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples recognized the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence and called on the colonial Powers to take steps in that direction. The General Assembly had therefore firmly condemned those Powers which were preventing the Trust Territories from exercising that right and were seeking arbitrarily to impose a different status on them, while at the same time refusing to transmit any information on them, contrary to Article 73 of the United Nations Charter.

62. The administering Powers, and in particular the United States, were failing to implement the decisions of the United Nations in the Territories for which they were responsible in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans and in the Caribbean basin, and were keeping them in a very difficult situation of economic and financial dependence. They were also using them for military purposes, transforming them into bases for nuclear tests. They were seeking by every means to retain the bases established in Guam, Diego Garcia, Puerto Rico, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands, Micronesia, etc. Not only was that one of the chief obstacles to the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence by the peoples of those Territories; it was also a threat to the security of those regions and of the world at large.

63. Mongolia reaffirmed its conviction that peoples would be able to free themselves from the colonial yoke only when they were able to express their wishes

(Mrs. Baljinnyam, Mongolian People's Republic)

freely, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions. In that connection, her delegation fervently hoped that the Committee and the Assembly would adopt the draft resolution submitted by the Special Committee in document A/39/23 (part VI).

64. Mr. OMOTOYE (Nigeria) said that, despite the progress of decolonization, a number of Territories were still under colonial domination. Some were even kept under that yoke by brute force - for instance Namibia, which was illegally occupied by South Africa. His delegation was concerned that certain States continued to collaborate actively with the apartheid régime of South Africa in the mistaken belief that they would thus be able to bring about change, although it was perfectly clear that the black majority continued to be oppressed.

65. Furthermore, South Africa was continuing to receive assistance from some of the specialized agencies. The International Monetary Fund, contrary to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 37/2, had made a loan of over 1 billion United States dollars to South Africa, thus enabling it to continue its massive military occupation of Namibia and to finance its war of destabilization against the neighbouring front-line States, whose only crime was opposition to the obnoxious apartheid policy. His delegation deplored the granting of that loan and urged IMF not to make any further loans to the South African apartheid régime in violation of the General Assembly's decisions.

66. His delegation noted with satisfaction the efforts of the United Nations Development Programme to assist the national liberation movements, and particularly commended the establishment of channels to permit closer contact in the formulation of assistance programmes. It also thanked UNESCO for its contribution to the education of the colonial peoples in such matters as self-determination, national awareness and independence.

67. His delegation wished to reaffirm its support for the recommendations of the Special Committee (A/39/23 (part IV)). It also wished to thank the Secretary-General for his report on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (A/39/351). The report noted in paragraph 6 that, because of inflation and rising scholarship costs, the 1984 pledges and contributions represented, in real terms, a significant decrease over the previous year. His delegation joined other delegations in appealing to Member States and others contributing to the programme, and more especially to the developed States, to increase their input to the programme.

68. Mrs. GORDON (Trinidad and Tobago) said that the invariable conclusion of any assessment of the achievements of the United Nations as it approached its fortieth birthday was that its major successes had been in the area of decolonization. With the glaring exception of Namibia, the relatively few remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories were proceeding smoothly towards self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Trinidad and Tobago had a special bond with several of the last Non-Self-Governing Territories, which were its neighbours in the Caribbean. She would accordingly concentrate her remarks on those Territories.

(Mrs. Gordon, Trinidad and Tobago)

69. During the past year, there had been no significant change in the constitutional development of the Territories in question: their Governments had continued to allot priority to developing their economies, infrastructures and public and social services, at the same time seeking to develop their sources of income in a bid to attain adequate levels of economic and financial viability and self-sufficiency. It went without saying that such steps were a necessary prelude to any change in constitutional status, but her delegation was concerned that they were being implemented rather slowly, and that the economies of those Territories continued to be vulnerable and dependent.

70. Efforts had been made, but the main sources of revenue were still in many cases one or two high-risk industries such as tourism or international company business, largely dependent on non-nationals. Trinidad and Tobago was well aware of the constraints imposed by limited resources and a small local market, but emphasized that effective programmes of economic diversification should be methodically and energetically undertaken with the assistance and encouragement of the administering Power. Once that goal had been achieved, the inhabitants of those Territories would be able to consider their future constitutional options with confidence and enthusiasm.

71. Her delegation was pleased to note that the Territories in question were maintaining more active external relations and participating increasingly in various regional organizations. The experience thus gained would be a valuable preparation for the future management of their own affairs.

72. Trinidad and Tobago, which had participated in the Visiting Mission to Anguilla, wished to stress that such visiting missions were an essential component of the work of the Special Committee of 24, since they enabled its members to understand better the practical realities of life on a very small island and the preoccupations of its inhabitants.

73. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America) said that the junta of cold war delegations had confused the debate with so many amazingly false stories, incredible charges and invented statistics about conditions in American Samoa, Guam and the United States Virgin Islands that he had to set the record straight.

74. Certain delegations had spoken of military installations in the Virgin Islands, which probably reminded some of the massive Soviet military bases in Viet Nam and the southern part of Sakhalin Island, a former Japanese Territory. The facts were that the Virgin Islands had a radar station which employed 10 civilians and no military personnel, and that there were no military bases on American Samoa, although there was a military installation on Guam, a Territory which had had the honour of welcoming visiting missions from the Special Committee. None of the members of those missions, except for those which were part of the cold war junta, had ever suggested that that military presence was an intimidating factor or in any way interfered with the ability of Guam's inhabitants to exercise their democratic rights. Indeed, like the populations of American Samoa and the Virgin Islands, Guam's inhabitants fully enjoyed their democratic



(Mr. Feldman, United States)

freedoms. On 6 November 1984, United States citizens had gone to the polls: the peoples of Guam, American Samoa and the Virgin Islands had done likewise. They had not voted for the President or Vice-President, but they had elected their own governors, legislatures, judges and representatives to the United States Congress. It was ironic that Guam, American Samoa and the Virgin Islands, whose peoples had the power to determine their political and economic destiny, should be called "Non-Self-Governing Territories", while States whose inhabitants were not similarly free were considered to be independent or self-governing.

75. At any rate, he wished to cite facts and figures in response to the repeated charges that the United States maintained those Territories in some kind of economic thralldom and kept their inhabitants poor and ignorant as a matter of policy. The delegations which made those charges also argued, in a startling reversal of position, that the United States mistreated the inhabitants of the Territories - who, as a matter of fact, were nationals of the United States - by giving them welfare payments and services and promoting their industrialization through private investment.

76. In American Samoa, under a key project of the local Government which had been elected by the people of the Territory, the Tafuna industrial park had been expanded, attracting new industries and greatly increasing employment opportunities. In more traditional economic areas, the fishing industry had doubled in size in the past two years, and docks, canneries and ship repair facilities had been vigorously expanded. The island people hoped that that would attract fishing fleets from other countries. American Samoa, like the other Territories administered by the United States, had benefited greatly from the provisions of the United States tariff schedule which permitted manufactured goods whose value had been increased by 30 per cent to enter the United States duty free. That attracted manufacturing enterprises to the Territory, which in turn brought technological progress, jobs and training. The United States was convinced that the islanders should become involved in the economies of their region, the United States and the world. They should modernize in every possible way in order to take advantage of new opportunities: in fact, that was what they themselves wanted.

77. In Guam too, the fishing industry had grown. There had been a 60 per cent increase in the number of tuna boats from all countries, including the Soviet Union, using Apra Harbor for transshipment of cargo. Guam was expanding its aquaculture industry and had just built new hatcheries which would facilitate additional exports. The waters off Guam harboured significant marine resources, and the Government of the island was taking steps to tap that potential. Working together with the United States Department of Commerce, the Government had arranged special tours and promotional activities to expand the island's manufacturing and other industries still further.

78. In the United States Virgin Islands, construction of a 24-acre industrial complex had begun at St. Croix in 1983: it would attract industrial and processing plants to the island and become the centre-piece of the Government's plans for

(Mr. Feldman, United States)

industrial diversification. The industrial park had been funded by a low-interest loan of \$2 million from the United States Government. The construction of a new container port with roll-on-roll-off facilities would draw in large cargo vessels. The Virgin Islands had also been the site of trade and investment workshops to encourage new investors and businessmen to come to the islands. As one step in that process, the United States Government had just provided a grant for the first phase of construction of a microwave communications network to facilitate the up-to-the-minute communications essential to modern business systems.

79. All three Territories were continuing to grow and prosper, and it was worthwhile to note the active roles they were playing in important regional organizations. In 1984, the United States Virgin Islands had been accepted as an associate member of both the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and the Caribbean Development and Co-operation Committee. American Samoa was a member of the Pacific Basin Economic Council, which it had chaired for the past two years, and of the South Pacific Commission. Guam was an associate member of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.

80. Political developments within the Territories continued to represent self-determination in action. In recent years, the populations of the Territories had communicated, through free elections and referendums, their desires regarding their status and relations with the United States. In Guam, for example, two referendums had been held in 1982 on the question of the Territory's future status, and the United States Government was proud that the citizens of Guam had chosen to maintain their close association with it. A legislative committee was holding hearings throughout the Virgin Islands to elicit the opinions of their citizens regarding any change in the Territory's status; that was yet another example of participatory democracy.

81. On American Samoa, the Government was continuing its review of possible changes in the Territory's Constitution.

82. In conclusion, he reaffirmed his country's unswerving resolve to respect and protect the right of all peoples to self-determination. His Government was proud of the role it had played in guaranteeing that right to the peoples of the Territories of American Samoa, Guam and the United States Virgin Islands, and would continue to work closely with the duly elected Governments of those Territories to inaugurate a prosperous future, free from any outside interference.

83. Turning to the relationship between the United Nations specialized agencies and the non-governmental organizations which had consultative status with the United Nations, an issue which ought not to be controversial, he said that the cold war bloc had exploited it in order to make unfair attacks. In a resolution submitted to the Committee, that group had gone so far as to call for direct interference in the internal affairs of the United States, in violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. One paragraph of the draft resolution instructed non-governmental organizations to mobilize public opinion in the United States of America regarding alleged IMF assistance to South Africa. He did not see

(Mr. Feldman, United States)

any need to restate his Government's position on South Africa's system of apartheid, but felt it necessary to clarify the issue of the IMF loan to South Africa regarding which NGOs were requested to mobilize American public opinion - as if the United States could take decisions in place of IMF when, like other member countries, it had only one vote.

84. The reference to a billion-dollar loan had so surprised him that he had looked into the matter and discovered that, on becoming a member of IMF, South Africa had made a contribution of \$636 million to that organization. When South Africa had requested the Fund's aid in 1981, it had first of all taken back the \$636 million representing its contribution, so that two thirds of the billion dollars in question had in fact been South African money. South Africa had subsequently undertaken to increase its contribution to \$915 million, so that, when all was said and done, the infamous billion-dollar loan was a loan of \$85 million. Anyone was free not to like the fact that the IMF had loaned South Africa \$85 million, but the loan was none the less perfectly in compliance with IMF regulations. The United States, for its part, had indeed voted in favour of the loan in 1981, but the same year it had also voted in favour of a loan to Viet Nam, that great friend of the United States with which it had such good relations, and it had done so because the loan to Viet Nam, like that to South Africa, accorded with the rules. Similarly, also in 1981, the United States had voted in favour of a loan to Ethiopia, with which its relations were not very good either.

85. The purpose of all the foregoing was merely to say that, even if the cause was a good one, the action advocated in the draft resolution was contrary to the Charter and dangerous to all. Of course, the totalitarian States of Eastern Europe had no problems in that respect because they had no non-governmental organizations; but the same was not true of Africa, Asia, Western Europe or the Americas, and no independent country would agree to public opinion within it being manipulated from outside. Moreover, the preamble to the draft resolution selectively mentioned certain names, pointing a finger at the United States and Israel, and that, too, was unacceptable.

86. Lastly, he announced that a very important conference had taken place the previous week in Cape Verde between Angola and South Africa. The United States had been instrumental in bringing about the meeting, which had potential for achieving the goals which all Members of the United Nations wanted to achieve in Namibia. Because of the confidential nature of the meeting he could not go into detail but would merely say that some highly important new developments had taken place and that the meeting marked the beginning of what might become the "end game" in Namibia. He did not think that any country other than the United States, through the exercise of patient, long-term diplomacy, could have brought about that meeting, and said that despite all the invective and attacks against it, his country continued to work untiringly to bring about the Namibian people's freedom.

87. Mr. DAWADI (Nepal) said that proper attention should be given to the young nations which, after reaching independence, needed assistance for their social and economic development. As for the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, the



(Mr. Dawadi, Nepal)

administering Powers were obliged under the Charter to assist their peoples towards self-government and to promote constructive measures of development. The administering Powers must also transmit information to the United Nations regarding economic, social and educational conditions in the Territories in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter.

88. In the process of decolonization, the question of Namibia still remained a challenge to the United Nations since, in spite of innumerable resolutions and decisions, the struggling Namibian people were still deprived of the right to self-determination and the Pretoria racist régime, continuing its brutal repression, refused to heed the call of the international community. There was no other solution than South Africa's immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal from the Territory. The United Nations, which had taken direct responsibility for the Territory, should take strong measures towards its early independence. Nepal, which was well known for having always opposed colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, had supported all United Nations resolutions and decisions aimed at ending colonial domination and wanted no effort to be spared in striving towards that goal.

89. With regard to the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and other international institutions associated with the United Nations, his delegation appreciated their assistance to the people of southern Africa and associated itself with the request addressed to them by the Special Committee on decolonization to increase such assistance. His delegation also commended the countries which had generously offered their co-operation to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa.

90. The following year would mark the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It was therefore imperative for all Member States to expedite their activities in order to achieve complete decolonization.

91. In conclusion, his delegation paid a tribute to the Special Committee for its untiring efforts to accelerate decolonization. The Fourth Committee's diminishing agenda was eloquent proof of the Special Committee's success.

92. Mr. AMEEN (Iraq) welcomed the Special Committee's efforts and reaffirmed his country's full support for the principle of unconditional recognition of the right of Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination and independence, as well as for the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

93. Despite numerous United Nations resolutions, the South African racist régime continued its illegal occupation of Namibia in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, thus imperilling peace and security on the African continent and in the world at large. The international community should completely isolate the Pretoria racist régime and force it to comply with the Organization's decisions and recommendations by withdrawing its armed forces from Namibia and

/...

(Mr. Ameen, Iraq)

allowing the Namibian people to exercise its right of self-determination. The international community should also condemn the close co-operation between Pretoria and Tel Aviv in the political, economic, military and nuclear fields. Since 1982, the Israeli authorities had exported almost \$2-million worth of weapons and war matériel to South Africa, thus enabling the racist régime to build up an enormous military machine. The Symposium on a Century of Heroic Struggle of the Namibian People against Colonial Occupation held at Headquarters from 31 October to 2 November 1984 had also confirmed that South Africa was endeavouring to obtain nuclear weapons and had developed its military power not for defensive purposes but in order to break the resistance of national liberation movements and to attack independent African countries. The South African authorities had recently introduced compulsory military service in Namibia with a view to reinforcing their armed forces and fomenting the division of the Namibian people.

94. It was essential that the international community should give material and moral support to national liberation movements and particularly to SWAPO. His delegation reaffirmed its strong support of the Namibian people in its struggle for the exercise of its inalienable right to self-determination and independence in a united and undivided Namibia that included Walvis Bay and the coastal islands. It also reaffirmed the demand for an immediate and complete withdrawal of the South African forces and administration from Namibia and for the transfer of powers to the Namibian people represented by SWAPO. In that connection, concrete measures should be taken to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

95. His delegation considered the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa to be an important element in United Nations assistance to the people of southern Africa in their struggle against colonialism and underdevelopment and for political and economic independence.

96. On the subject of offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, he said that Iraq had granted three scholarships to Namibian students to be nominated by SWAPO. His delegation urged other States to do likewise so as to prepare the youth of southern Africa to work on the construction of an independent nation.

97. Mr. NENGRAHARY (Afghanistan) said that, as a consequence of the heroic struggle of the colonial peoples, backed by the moral and financial support of progressive and peace-loving forces, results had been achieved in the field of decolonization; unfortunately, however, in Africa, Asia and Latin America there were still peoples who continued to suffer from colonialism, neo-colonialism, economic and political pressure and other forms of foreign domination while thousands of people continued to be deprived of their right to self-determination and independence.

98. Decolonization had accelerated following the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It was appropriate to pay tribute to the United Nations,

(Mr. Nenqrahary, Afghanistan)

which, despite the manoeuvres of the colonial Powers, had been able to achieve the noble objectives which had been set at the time of its founding. The process had not been accomplished without a struggle, however, and the legitimate hopes of the peoples who were victims of the colonial system had encountered illegal and implacable resistance from the colonial Powers. There had been wars, millions had been slain, and thousands had been imprisoned or driven into exile.

99. By way of example, the oppressed people of Namibia, despite its difficult and bloody struggle under the direction of its sole and legitimate representative, SWAPO, and with the support of the international community, was still deprived of its right to self-determination and continued to suffer under the oppressive yoke of colonialism and the inhuman apartheid system. The causes of that deplorable situation were to be found in Washington and in the capitals of certain other Western countries, not to mention the Zionist régime of Israel, which provided the South African racist régime with political, military and economic support, including help in the nuclear field, thus enabling it to intensify its illegal occupation of Namibia and to remain intransigent in its dealings with the international community.

100. His delegation condemned all forms of co-operation with the South African régime and reiterated its support for the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, particularly those concerning the comprehensive and mandatory global embargo, including the arms embargo, against the racist régime. It condemned any attempt to link the independence of Namibia with totally extraneous issues such as the withdrawal from Angola of Cuban troops, who were there at the request and invitation of the legitimate Government of that country. His delegation considered that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was the only appropriate basis on which the independence of Namibia could be achieved; it must therefore be strictly applied in order to attain that noble and humanitarian goal.

101. In a message addressed to the United Nations Secretary-General, the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council had stated that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan condemned the infamous collaboration of imperialist circles with the apartheid régime and was convinced that victory in the end would belong to the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO. In reiterating their brotherly solidarity and multi-faceted support for the just and noble struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence, the people and Government of Afghanistan were convinced that the strict implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions would contribute to a just and peaceful settlement of the Namibia problem.

102. Moreover, certain administering Powers, aware that their interests lay in prolonging the colonial system, had not hesitated to employ all possible means to achieve that objective. Such means had included spoliation of the national economy, fragmentation of the territory in order to destroy national unity and facilitate its annexation, expulsion and displacement of the indigenous population, installation of bases and the use of military might to crush liberation movements and any stirring of freedom.

/...

(Mr. Nenqrahary, Afghanistan)

103. The report of the visiting mission to Anguilla in March 1980 had stated categorically that the population of the Territory unanimously favoured achieving independence, but that the absence of an infrastructure, a viable economy and know-how had made it impossible to achieve that objective. The report had demonstrated beyond doubt that the administering Power had not fulfilled its obligations to the Territory under Article 73 of the Charter.

104. His delegation considered that it was more necessary than ever that the United Nations should give serious consideration to the critical situation which continued to exist in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, bearing in mind the policy of exploitation and military expansionism of the United States. In the economic thrall of the latter, the Territory had seen military escalation and manoeuvres and the testing of different types of arms, all of which represented a real danger to regional and world peace. The population of certain parts of the Territory, particularly Bikini, continued to suffer from the evil consequences of the nuclear tests carried out between 1946 and 1958, while the contaminated areas continued to be prohibited to them without any indemnity.

105. The Territory was also fragmented and, under the pretext of "free association", economic and political pressure had been brought to bear on the people with a view to persuading them to accept annexation by the United States. His delegation condemned the expansionist policy of American imperialism and supported the exercise of the inalienable right of the people of Micronesia to self-determination and independence without external pressure or interference. In rejecting the efforts of the United States to remove the Territory from the United Nations trusteeship system, his delegation appealed to the Administering Authority to continue to report to the United Nations on the political, economic, social and military situation in the Territory.

106. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in conformity with the principles of its foreign policy, supported the just and noble struggle of the colonial peoples and their liberation movements, particularly the legitimate struggle of the people of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. It believed that it was possible to reach a peaceful and just solution of the problem of Western Sahara through the implementation of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity.

107. Afghanistan condemned the colonialist policy of the United States in Puerto Rico. Like all peoples in colonial Territories, the Puerto Rican people had the right to enjoy the relevant provisions of the Charter and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). All other measures and manoeuvres designed to incorporate the Territory into the United States should be rejected by the international community.

108. Afghanistan also supported the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence and favoured the restoration of Guantánamo to Cuba, the Malvinas Islands to Argentina, the island of Diego Garcia to Mauritius and the islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India to Madagascar.

(Mr. Nenqrahary, Afghanistan)

109. The following year would mark the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those two occasions were of the greatest importance and should encourage Member States to redouble their efforts to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism and to promote the building of a world without domination, interference or foreign intervention and without oppression or economic, political or military pressure.

110. Mr. MAUNA (Indonesia) said that, on the eve of two great anniversaries, the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to be celebrated the following year, the Organization could look back with justified satisfaction that its collective efforts had not gone unrewarded. It was heartening to note that, with the admission of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations, the goal of universality was close to being realized. As a consequence of the adoption of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), whose principles had been disseminated throughout the entire world, there had been universal recognition of the need to reject the yoke of oppression and colonial domination; in many cases, that had led to the birth of national liberation movements which had obliged the colonial Powers to recognize the inevitable emancipation of the subject peoples.

111. In that regard, his delegation had always considered the dissemination of information on decolonization a major duty of the Organization and he cited paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 38/55, which had been adopted unanimously.

112. The report of the Special Committee on decolonization on that question clearly demonstrated that Committee's concerted efforts to mobilize the international community in support of the struggle of the Namibian people for independence and in the fight against apartheid in South Africa. His delegation commended those activities as well as those undertaken by the Department of Public Information, particularly in the context of the Week of Solidarity with the colonial peoples of southern Africa.

113. As a member of the Special Committee of 24, his delegation was pleased to see that, as the number of colonial Territories had diminished considerably, the day might be envisaged when the Fourth Committee would have exhausted its mandate.

114. However, being also a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, his delegation could only express its sense of deep concern and frustration that the people of Namibia was no closer to independence and was facing an intensification of aggression by the colonialist Pretoria régime. It was therefore imperative that the United Nations and all its related bodies should provide assistance, which had so far been inadequate, to Namibia and to its national liberation movement, SWAPO. Similarly, no agency or organization should at any time provide assistance to the racist Pretoria régime in the financial, economic, technical or other area. In that regard his delegation welcomed the statement by the World Bank that it had

/...



(Mr. Mauna, Indonesia)

terminated its business activities in South Africa, but the Bank and the International Monetary Fund continued to interact with that régime and Indonesia called upon them to sever those links as well.

115. His delegation expressed its satisfaction with the reports on the status of the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories. It had noted in particular, the conclusions on the situation in Anquilla, and, in view of the problems posed by the absence of a social and economic infrastructure, it reiterated that political independence without economic viability was freedom without substance. The people of Anquilla had themselves expressed their apprehension with regard to the Territory's economic viability, and it was incumbent upon the Committee and the administering Power to develop appropriate programmes and policies to prepare the necessary infrastructures. Indonesia agreed with the Visiting Mission that Anquilla should be given the status of associate member in various organizations of the United Nations system and that the administering Power should be requested to organize both bilateral and multilateral aid to the Territory to strengthen and expand its economic base.

116. Lastly, his delegation congratulated the people of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands upon its exercise of its right to self-determination, as well as the Australian Government, the administering Power concerned. Indonesia welcomed the decision of that people to integrate with Australia and, as sponsor of the resolution on the question, was pleased that it had been adopted without a vote.

117. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria) recalled certain principles enshrined in resolution 1514 (XV), a historic document which set forth the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and which, to some degree, supplemented the Charter. One of the basic qualities of the Declaration was that it recognized the right to independence of all subjugated Territories, without exception. The text was very explicit on that point: "All peoples have the right to self-determination"; and regarding their right to freely exercise that right. Paragraph 4, in particular, applied exactly to the case of Namibia; that Territory was actually the target of armed action, and its people could not freely exercise its right to full independence. Paragraph 6 made it possible to establish clearly that what was going on in the Trust Territories of the Pacific, which were the target of attempts "aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity", was a violation of the Charter. That resolution, rendering justice to all struggling colonial peoples, without distinction, was to the credit of the United Nations, which had understood that all peoples which were still dependent, should be helped to free themselves. It was true that the resolution had not been adopted by consensus. But, over the years, the very great majority of States had analysed the colonial situation on the basis of that text, had defined their position using it as a point of departure and had striven to achieve its aims as soon as possible. Bulgaria had worked with the Special Committee of 24 following the course set by the Declaration, and had never made any distinction between the peoples to be led to freedom. It considered that a principle on which no compromise was possible. Colonial peoples had to be supported in their struggle by international action. Twenty-four years had already

/...

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

passed since the Declaration had warned administrative Powers that those peoples should be prepared to exercise freely their right to self-determination and to attain independence. How much more time was necessary?

118. The specialized agencies, after some time, had followed the United Nations on the course which it had set by adopting the Declaration. UNESCO had been the first to help the national liberation movements recognized by OAU and had been followed by other agencies. Some had even modified their statutes in order to be able to do so. But, today IMF and the World Bank had ruled that their statutory provisions prevented them from following the anticolonialist policy marked out by the United Nations. The factual basis of those reasons was open to question. On the occasion of the symposium to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the heroic struggle of the Namibian people against colonial occupation (31 October-2 November 1984), organized by the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Jim Morell, of the Center for International Policy, Washington, had revealed that it was not true, as claimed by the United States, that IMF loans were granted on a strictly technical, not a political, basis and that when, for instance, South Africa was involved, they did not imply any approval of the situation in Namibia. The United States Government had, in particular, drawn up, on the basis of political criteria an unofficial list of countries that were regarded as unsuitable to receive IMF loans and which received a negative appraisal when they requested such loans. The symposium had, moreover, received from Senator Edward Kennedy a message which was favourable to the independence of Namibia and to the measures recommended by the United Nations and entirely in line with paragraph 5 of the Declaration.

119. The United States asserted that the Committee should not be discussing the case of Puerto Rico. But it should be recalled that the Chairman of the Fourth Committee had said on 16 November 1973 (a statement reproduced in extenso in A/C.4/SR.2062 and Corr.2), after a similar objection by the United States, that, in accordance with an established practice of the Committee, representatives who took the floor on any given question were allowed to refer to other colonial questions. The principle of colonialism was the same everywhere and at all times and the Declaration applied equally and in its entirety to all colonial Territories, whatever the colonial Power involved. That 1973 decision of the Chairman constituted a precedent.

120. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply with regard to statements made by the delegations of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian SSR, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR, said he was surprised that those delegations had felt a need to defend General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) at such length since no one had found fault with it. Neither had anyone supported the specialized agencies that maintained relations with South Africa. For his part, he had not defended IMF, but had only called attention to interference in the internal affairs of his country and corrected a mistake with regard to the total amount of the loan granted to South Africa. The United States had indeed voted for a loan to South Africa in 1981, as it had voted for loans to Ethiopia, Hungary, Romania, and Viet Nam among other countries.

/...

(Mr. Feldman, United States)

121. Puerto Rico, as was known, was not a colonial Territory. The General Assembly had, by its resolution 748 (VIII), adopted in 1953, removed Puerto Rico from the category of dependent Territories since it had become self-governing. The United Nations Legal Counsel had, moreover, in a legal opinion given on 24 November 1978, stated that the question of Puerto Rico was not within the province of the Fourth Committee since it was not included among those Territories to which resolution 1514 (XV) applied. Some equated self-determination with independence. The two terms were not, however, synonymous. The Cook Islands, which had opted for free association with New Zealand, could be given as an example. Nothing in the Charter or in resolution 1514 (XV) supported the conclusion that self-determination must necessarily lead to independence. Self-determination meant, quite simply, that the population had the opportunity to choose its future. That was what it had done in the Federated States of Micronesia, as a United Nations visiting mission had itself been able to ascertain.

122. It should be noted that the only countries that had brought up the situation of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands had all belonged to the same group. Without entering into a redundant discussion, since, according to Article 83 of the Charter, all functions relating to Trust Territories located in strategic areas were exercised by the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council and by them alone, it was surprising to hear mention made of the national unity of Micronesia. What were involved were widely scattered groups of islands which were completely dissimilar and which had no links with each other. With regard to the militarization of the Territory, it should be recalled that the last American nuclear test in the area had taken place in 1958. At that time, moreover, surface nuclear detonations were being carried out at a number of places in the world, particularly in the United States and in Siberia, because no one was yet aware of their effects. The compact of free association approved by the people of the Marshall Islands stipulated that the United States would, over the next 15 years, pay 75 million dollars in compensation for damage caused by such nuclear explosions. In addition, up to the present 38.7 million dollars had been paid to two islands, Bikini (from which 139 inhabitants, and not thousands, had been evacuated) and Eniwetok, for a total of more than 100 million dollars. It might be considered that that was still inadequate in relation to the damage caused, but to say that nothing had been done was an outright lie. It should be recalled that article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement permitted the United States to establish bases and fortifications in the Territory. However, there was certainly no plan to deploy MX missiles in Micronesia. The bases at Saipan and Tinian had long been closed. The same could not be said of the MIG-21s stationed in the Territories to the north of Japan which the USSR had seized, of the Soviet base on the island of Sakhalin or of the SS-20 long-range nuclear missiles scattered throughout the Soviet Far East.

123. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking on a point of order, said that the representative of the United States was abusing the right of reply by unduly prolonging his statement. He was departing from the subject, which was that of decolonization.



124. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America) said that, before speaking of American military bases in the Pacific, what was going on elsewhere in that region ought to be noted. It was to say the least strange, when the facts were known, to claim that the United States was seeking to deny the right of Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination.

125. Mr. PHAN DINH TRUC (Viet Nam), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said he repudiated the allegations made by the United States against Viet Nam. His country, as a victim of American imperialism which had struggled for its freedom for 2,000 years and had fought for years against exceptionally barbaric foreign aggression in order to gain its independence, could not now capitulate to another country and agree to the establishment of foreign military bases in its territory. Viet Nam was a sovereign country capable of defending itself and of acting as it thought best, and no one could dictate to it. The allegations of the United States had but one goal, and that was to distract attention from its own actions in refusing to grant independence to Puerto Rico and Micronesia, threatening the States of Central America, particularly Nicaragua, and maintaining numerous bases abroad, thereby causing the crimes committed against Viet Nam to be forgotten.

126. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply and noting that the representative of the United States had referred to military bases situated in Soviet territory, pointed out that there were also numerous military bases in the southern part of the United States in territory that had formerly belonged to Mexico. The United States had been trying for 15 years to consolidate its permanent military presence in Micronesia, despite the opposition of the population. In an unequal struggle, the inhabitants of Palau were trying to prevent the establishment of an arsenal of American chemical, bacteriological and nuclear weapons in the Territory. The representative of the United States had tried to cast doubt on the right of the General Assembly to concern itself with Micronesia. That was an untenable position since Article 10 of the Charter of the United Nations was categorical in that regard. The General Assembly had adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which applied to all colonial Territories without exception, and it had decided that Micronesia was one of those Territories. The representative of the United States had also spoken of resolutions and decisions which were unacceptable to his country. The decisions submitted to the Committee, however, amendments to which had also been proposed by the representative of the United States, had been adopted by the Special Committee on Decolonization, in which all geographical groups were represented, and they were no different from those adopted in 1983 by some 120 Members of the United Nations. That anti-colonialist and anti-racist group was, however, being hindered in its actions by a small group of countries at the centre of which were three particularly hostile countries, South Africa, Israel and the United States. With regard to the assertion of the delegation of the United States that there were no non-governmental organizations in Eastern Europe, the Soviet non-governmental organizations, with which the countries of Asia and Africa in particular co-operated on a regular basis, were known to all. Examples were the World Peace Council and the United Nations Association of the Soviet Union with which, moreover, the United Nations Association of the United States also collaborated.

127. Mr. MORTIMER (United Kingdom), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said he had been surprised to hear the representative of Bulgaria forcefully assert that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was applicable to all dependent Territories without distinction, and that the peoples of those Territories should be able to exercise their right to self-determination. His delegation would have liked to have heard him express himself thus when the Committee had been considering the question of the Falkland Islands.

128. In the general debate, the usual criticisms had been heard of the way in which the administering Powers managed their dependent Territories, British Territories also being mentioned. It had been said that the peoples of the small colonial Territories were the defenceless victims of frantic economic exploitation by private companies. There was neither exploitation nor plundering of the resources of the Territories administered by the United Kingdom. Problems that had existed for dozens of years could not, however, be solved overnight. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Anguilla, for example, had been able to ascertain that the United Kingdom recognized the problems existing in the Territory and would do its utmost to correct the situation. Some asserted that private investment in those Territories should be discouraged. It was, however, the best way of helping them to develop themselves.

129. With regard to the so-called militarization of the dependent Territories of the United Kingdom, the base in the Turks and Caicos Islands, where one man had remained, had been closed in February 1984. The only base located in a dependent Territory of the United Kingdom was in Bermuda, and it had the consent of the local population. That base, unlike the situation with respect to the question of economic development, had never been a subject of controversy in local politics. It could be asked why certain delegations were attempting to make it a matter of contention when such an attitude was so obviously at variance with the interests of the inhabitants of the Territory. Dwelling to such an extent on the military aspects of the dependent Territories only harmed the work of the Committee and tarnished its image in the eyes of those peoples on whose behalf it was supposed to be working.

130. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the draft resolutions and draft decisions on the agenda items under consideration were listed in document A/C.4/39/L.9.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.