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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 17th MEETING

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

REQUEST FOR A HEARING (A/C.4/40/8/Add.1)

1. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received a communication containing a request for a hearing concerning the question of Namibia. If he heard no objections, he would take it that the Committee wished to grant the request.
2. It was so decided.

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3. Mr. KHAMMAVONG (Lao People's Democratic Republic) said that despite the immense successes achieved over the past 25 years by the anti-colonial forces world-wide, colonialism had not yet disappeared. More than 20 countries or territories - in particular Palestine, brutally oppressed by the Israeli occupation forces - continued to be deprived of their basic rights to self-determination and independence.

4. In Africa, the Namibian people for more than two decades had suffered under the illegal occupation of the racist and colonialist régime of Pretoria and had seen not only its rights to self-determination and independence, but also its basic human rights, trodden underfoot. That situation continued because certain Western countries, so-called defenders of democracy, freedom and human rights, provided material assistance to Pretoria in exchange for important military and economic privileges in Namibia. The latest attempt of South Africa to maintain its hold over Namibia, namely the installation of a so-called provisional government with limited powers in Namibia, had justly aroused the indignation of the international community and had been vigorously condemned by the non-aligned countries and by all progressive people.

5. His delegation deplored the fact that the Declaration on decolonization was also not applied to a considerable number of small dependent Territories spread over the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian oceans, as well as the Caribbean. In many cases, the administering Powers were trying to perpetuate their domination by saying that the peoples of those Territories did not want to change the colonial situation.

6. He noted with approval that over the years certain institutions, such as ILO, UNESCO, FAO, WHO, UNICEF, UNDP and many others, had made great contributions to the implementation of General Assembly resolutions on decolonization. He deeply regretted, however, that certain agencies, such as the World Bank and IMF, had not co-operated in that regard. It was, however, more important than ever that the specialized agencies should spare no effort to implement the Declaration on decolonization, and especially to support the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. His delegation therefore firmly supported the request to the specialized agencies to end all co-operation with South Africa until the Namibian people could fully exercise their right to self-determination, and until apartheid was eliminated.

7. It was essential to continue and intensify the struggle to eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism in all their forms and manifestations and to counter the campaigns of calumny and hostility conducted by the colonial Powers against national liberation movements. His delegation called for the immediate exercise by the Namibian people of its inalienable right to genuine self-determination and independence, based on the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands. He also called for the

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(Mr. Khammavong, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops and South African administration from Namibia and supported transfer of all powers to SWAPO, which had been acknowledged by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to be the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

8. Mr. ESSY (Ivory Coast) noted with satisfaction that the achievements of the United Nations with regard to decolonization were mostly positive. The African peoples, who had been by far the worst victims of colonization, duly appreciated the Organization's successes and were more determined than ever to collaborate with it to bring about the independence of Namibia, which would complete the decolonization of Africa.

9. His country was also greatly concerned about the problem of Western Sahara. The issue had brought two African States into conflict and had had adverse effects not only on inter-African relations, but also on the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was threatened with collapse owing to a flagrant violation of one of its fundamental principles: only independent and sovereign States which respected the frontiers inherited from the colonial period could become members of OAU. His delegation had always supported the proposal to hold a referendum for self-determination of the Saharan people under the auspices of OAU and the United Nations, and would abstain in a vote on any draft text which was not intended to reconcile the parties to the conflict.

10. Unfortunately, where decolonization was concerned, the strategic interests of the super-Powers often prevailed over the higher interests of the populations concerned. Although sovereign and independent territories were able to manipulate the activities of foreign economic and other interests in order to promote their own development, that was not the case in colonial Territories where, only too often, the administering Power was its own judge in any appraisal of its economic activities in the Territories it had colonized. Nevertheless, those activities should not be condemned out of hand; it was better to try to adapt them in order to consolidate the structures needed by the future State.

11. In conclusion, he wished to pay tribute to the colonial Powers which had acknowledged the legitimate rights of oppressed peoples and to those which, at the request of the United Nations, supplied relevant information to the Special Committee of 24 or to the Trusteeship Council.

12. Miss MILLAN (Colombia) paid tribute to the remarkable decolonization achievements of the United Nations, and said that her country and the entire Latin American region prided itself on its contribution to the task since the beginning.

13. In respect of Non-Self-Governing Territories, the reports and documents of the Special Committee of 24 made it clear that the administering Powers had a fundamental duty not only to promote the prosperity of the inhabitants of those Territories, but also to ensure that they received the education they needed to exercise, in full awareness of the facts, their inalienable right to choose their destiny freely. The administering Powers were also responsible for providing the infrastructure and the training facilities which were indispensable if the new

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(Miss Millan, Colombia)

nations were to be economically viable. In that respect, the United Nations visiting missions to the dependent Territories were a useful contribution to the assistance which the colonial peoples needed in their progress towards self-determination.

14. Her delegation noted that, if all politicization were left aside, the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations provided, in the decolonization field, considerable assistance in their own technical spheres of competence. Among many examples, she wished to single out the excellent work done under the World Food Programme in the refugee camps.

15. It was regrettable that Namibia did not yet occupy the seat at the United Nations which properly belonged to it. The question of Namibia was still the most striking failure of decolonization.

16. In the modern world, where all countries were dependent upon one another, the international community should spare no effort to ensure that the right to self-determination was genuinely exercised by all.

17. Mr. VOKOUMA (Burkina Faso) reaffirmed his unswerving support for the struggle of oppressed peoples for the realization of their inalienable and imprescriptible rights to self-determination and independence. In that respect, it was correct to consider the question of Western Sahara one of decolonization. He reaffirmed his steadfast support for the legitimate struggle of the Saharan people which, as confirmed by the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of October 1975, had right on its side. Delaying tactics were inappropriate now and, moreover, there was an outline for settlement in the African peace plan of OAU, contained in OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), which had been reaffirmed by the General Assembly in its resolutions 38/40 and 39/40 and endorsed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at its recent meeting in Luanda. The plan called for direct negotiations between Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO on the organization of a referendum for self-determination without any administrative or military constraints.

18. He deplored, the recent statements made by the Moroccan delegation, which could only hinder progress towards the genuine self-determination of the Saharan people under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, its sole legitimate representative. He called upon Morocco, which in the past had contributed to the cause of independence of peoples, to respect the outline settlement proposed by the international community, rather than to propose new solutions which would only delay and complicate the settlement of the problem.

19. Mr. GERASIMOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations made a decisive contribution to the realization of the aims of decolonization by means of their moral and material support for colonial peoples and national liberation movements. In the case of Namibia, that assistance was even more necessary since the freedom struggle of the Namibian people had reached a

(Mr. Gerasimovich, Byelorussian SSR)

decisive stage. The specialized agencies should likewise contribute to the development of the small colonial Territories and stand by them in their progress towards self-determination and independence.

20. Unfortunately, the aid provided was still insufficient to meet real needs. For greater efficiency, aid programmes and projects should be made much more flexible, and the specialized agencies should establish and increase contacts with colonial peoples and their liberation movements, whether directly or through OAU. The specialized agencies should also take steps to allow the representatives of liberation movements recognized by OAU to participate as observers in the consideration of issues concerning their countries.

21. It was gratifying to note that some specialized agencies had decided to exclude South Africa from membership. Against that background, however, the obstructive policy of the World Bank and the IMF seemed even more deplorable; those bodies had, as yet, taken no such measures, in contravention of General Assembly resolution 39/43. The World Bank and IMF, both supposedly "apolitical" bodies, were financing an entirely political régime, that of the Pretoria colonialists and racists. Their collaboration with a régime which bloodily suppressed the peaceful demonstrations of the indigenous population was entirely scandalous and should be stopped.

22. Mr. MOREL (Seychelles) noted that while widely and officially recognized, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic continued to encounter tremendous challenges to its aspirations for self-determination. Thus, at a time when the international community was celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), a sovereign country was being denied the right to exist.

23. It was in the interests of all countries that the tragic issue of Western Sahara should cease to pit the Saharan and Moroccan peoples against one another. A solution to the conflict was possible, for two very solid proposals existed: OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and resolution 39/40 of the United Nations General Assembly. Those proposals notwithstanding, and even though the question of Western Sahara had been defined as a problem of decolonization, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO had still not entered into direct negotiations and nothing had been done to settle the conflict peacefully and allow Western Sahara to become independent.

24. To be sure, Morocco had declared a unilateral cease-fire on 23 October and had proposed the organization of a referendum in 1986. On closer examination, however, those proposals, far from bringing the parties closer together, only strengthened the wall between them. They did not call for direct negotiations between Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO or for the withdrawal of Moroccan troops and administrative authorities. Unless Morocco took steps to enable the Saharan people to exercise fully their right of self-determination, knowing the Saharan people's resolve there was every reason to believe that the struggle would continue.

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25. Mr. REZOTSE (Madagascar) observed that, 25 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, colonialism had still not been eradicated completely and that the most serious international problems could be traced to its direct or indirect misdeeds. In many regions of the world, there remained peoples who were enslaved and whose natural resources were exploited, and neo-colonialist circles were trying to revive the notion of dependence and using democracy as a means of domination.

26. With regard to Western Sahara, Morocco's questionable manoeuvres were designed solely to delay the completion of a decolonization process that was fully in keeping with the spirit of the modern world. After 10 years of confrontation, the conflict had assumed alarming proportions and it was time that the United Nations took the necessary decolonization measures and that OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) was implemented. The two warring parties must enter into negotiations and the Kingdom of Morocco must assume responsibility for restoring peace to the region by respecting the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence.

27. Mr. MASABO (Burundi) said that the situation in Western Sahara did not accord with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and that it was clear from the report of the Secretary-General (A/40/692) that a solution acceptable to the two parties had yet to be found. The building of security walls and the frequent armed clashes between Moroccan troops and the Frente POLISARIO remained a source of deep concern. His delegation therefore greatly appreciated the initiatives of OAU, in particular the adoption of resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX), and welcomed the adoption of General Assembly resolution 39/40. Those documents were legal instruments with binding force and the international community should take steps to implement them.

28. In order to resolve the conflict, certain conditions would have to be established in advance. For instance, the international community must urge the parties to resume the direct talks initiated in 1979 and 1983. In addition, Morocco must withdraw its troops and its administration from Western Sahara in order to enable all Saharan refugees and political prisoners to return and resettle, under United Nations supervision. Unless those conditions were fulfilled, a lasting peace would be inconceivable and unattainable.

29. Mr. AMR (Egypt) said that, with the help of the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with it (see A/40/318 and Add.1), the United Nations had played a very important role in the decolonization of third-world countries. Some countries and peoples remained under colonial domination however, and looked to the Organization for help in exercising their legitimate right to self-determination.

30. Egypt had always taken care to help and train its African brothers from newly independent countries or Non-Self-Governing Territories so that they were ready to manage public affairs in their countries. It had even set up several scholarship funds for young people from those countries. Hence the importance which it attached to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (A/40/781). His delegation noted that, once again, owing to inflation and the increased cost of scholarships, the real value of contributions to the

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(Mr. Amr, Egypt)

Programme in 1985 had dropped considerably below the 1984 level. Egypt associated itself with the Secretary-General's appeal to all States, institutions, organizations and individuals to give more financial and other support to the Programme.

31. With regard to the question of Western Sahara, Egypt had hoped that the adoption of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) at the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, which had been endorsed unanimously by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth sessions, would mark the beginning of a solution to a problem that, because of its African and Arab aspects, greatly concerned Egypt. Although at first sight a considerable gap seemed to separate the positions of the parties concerned, on closer scrutiny those positions appeared to be not irreconcilable. The parties seemed in fact to agree on the need to apply the principle of self-determination in Western Sahara by means of a free referendum. Their disagreements bore rather on the procedures for organizing that referendum. Egypt was convinced that, if the parties concerned, showing good faith and keeping long-term interests in mind, were to enter into an objective and constructive dialogue, obstacles would be overcome and the Saharan people would be able to exercise its right of self-determination. Egypt was resolutely attached to that principle and believed that it should be applied in accordance with the relevant OAU and United Nations resolutions.

32. Mr. YOSSIPHOV (Bulgaria) said that the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations was of utmost importance for the struggle of oppressed peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. The total eradication of colonialism was one of the primary purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in the Declaration.

33. According to that report on that question (A/40/318 and Add.1), a large proportion of the agencies had spared no efforts in contributing to the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2311 (XXII). His delegation regretted, however, that the documents provided by the Secretariat gave no information about the agencies' implementation of paragraph 28 of General Assembly resolution 39/43, which requested them to mark, in their respective fields of operation, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration and to report to the Secretary-General on the measures taken.

34. At a time when the struggle of colonial peoples and countries had reached a decisive stage, particularly in Namibia, and when the racist régime of South Africa was shaken by the revolt of the oppressed majority, it was imperative that United Nations agencies and institutions should join forces for the speedy achievement of the objectives of decolonization. They must provide all moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements recognized by OAU, in particular SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, and to newly independent and emerging States. It was evident that such measures must be coupled with the discontinuation of all links with the racist régime of South Africa. His delegation condemned the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund for their

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(Mr. Yossiphov, Bulgaria)

continued refusal to implement the relevant General Assembly decisions and resolutions and for maintaining relations with the South African racists instead of assisting the Namibian people and SWAPO.

35. His country believed that the specialized agencies and international institutions should do their utmost to increase their support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people and that they should harmonize their work with that of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. It hoped that the steps envisaged in the resolution of the Special Committee of 24 would allow progress to be made towards the main goal, which was the speedy and unconditional elimination of all forms and manifestations of colonialism, racism and racial discrimination.

36. Mr. BADRAL (Mongolia) said that, under the terms of the United Nations Charter, the interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories were paramount. Administering Powers had undertaken to promote their well-being and their progressive development towards self-government or independence. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples stated that immediate steps should be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples of those Territories, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire.

37. Despite the great achievements of the decolonization process, there still remained colonial peoples who were deprived of their right to self-determination, the main reason being the attitude of the imperialist Powers which clung to those Territories ostensibly to defend their strategic or so-called "vital" interests but in fact transformed them into military and strategic strongholds against sovereign States. A striking example of that neo-colonialist policy was the policy of the United States Administration in Micronesia, which was designed to fragment that Territory in order to facilitate its absorption. The label "free association" or "commonwealth" in fact masked a relationship of colonial dependence. In that connection, his delegation agreed completely with the observation made by one petitioner that the arrangements proposed for Micronesia were comparable to the bantustans in Namibia.

38. The United Nations should call upon the United States to exercise its responsibility for the Trust Territories and to put an end to the obstacles to United Nations participation in the decolonization process. The recent refusal of the United States delegation to participate in the discussion of that question showed that the United States openly challenged United Nations resolutions and the appeals of the international community.

39. His delegation regretted that the most recent United Nations visiting mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (document T/1878 of 16 October 1985) had supported the so-called compact of free association, which strengthened foreign economic domination there. The testimony of petitioners seemed to indicate that administering authorities were not providing colonial peoples with proper information about their internationally recognized right to self-determination and complete independence and about the world-wide support for their struggle. The United Nations should therefore see to it that information and documents on its activities in the field of decolonization was distributed to the populations of the colonial Territories.

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(Mr. Badral, Mongolia)

40. He reaffirmed the full support of the Mongolian people and Government for the struggle of the peoples of the colonial Territories for self-determination and independence.
41. Mrs. McCALLION (Observer for the Holy See) said that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had served as a catalyst in the process of decolonization and had changed the complexion of the United Nations, which was now close to achieving its goal of universality.
42. The Holy See had always been concerned with the decolonization process. The development of peoples involved their right to autonomy, as Pope Paul VI had reaffirmed in an address made in Africa. The Holy See had always given moral and practical support to the development of peoples and to strengthening the awareness of human dignity. It would continue to co-operate with the United Nations in that area.
43. The task of monitoring development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories remained. All too often, economic interests prevailed over human considerations. It was necessary to ensure development which was in the best interest of the peoples concerned and preserved their cultural identity. Too often after independence there was a persistence of modern forms of oppression, which had come to be known as neo-colonialism, in the form of political or ideological pressures or economic domination, which stifled the very process of spiritual and moral growth that had allowed peoples to attain their independence and embark on the road to development. The Catholic Church, through its educational institutions, would continue to work for the formation of consciences capable of resisting those pressures which distorted a people's cultural identity and kept it in bondage.
44. With respect to Namibia, in an address given on 12 August 1985 in Cameroon, Pope John Paul II had expressed the hope that the Territory would become independent without delay and in a peaceful manner. Settlement of that question was the special responsibility of the United Nations.
45. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples provided an opportunity for the Committee to reaffirm its faith in the worth of the human person.
46. The Holy See took the opportunity to pay tribute to all those who had promoted genuine decolonization.
47. Mr. GBEZERA-BRIA (Central African Republic) said that, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the international community, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, had rightly applauded the Organization's achievements, particularly in the area of decolonization. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which had lent decisive impetus to the attainment of independence by nations under the colonial yoke and to the achievement of the principle of universality in the Organization, was none the less encountering considerable difficulties in its

(Mr. Gbezera-Bria, Central
African Republic)

application at the present time, particularly in the case of Namibia and Western Sahara, questions which had been before the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity for several years.

48. The question of Western Sahara, which divided the Maghreb, Africa and the international community, should have been settled in the traditional manner through the application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Because of geopolitical conflicts in the subregion, it had evolved from a problem of decolonization to a conflict of sovereignty between two States. Since the Organization of African Unity had prematurely recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, the question arose as to whether the Fourth Committee was still authorized to consider the question, for how could one decolonize a so-called independent and sovereign State?

49. The fact was that, for 10 years now, neither the establishment of the SADR nor its admission to OAU nor the principle of direct negotiations had made any progress possible towards a peaceful settlement of the question of Western Sahara. The Saharan people had still not exercised its right of self-determination but, as the Secretary-General indicated in his report (A/40/692), the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the parties concerned had been in agreement for some time on the principle of a referendum to enable the people of the Territory to decide its own future. Morocco had even proposed that such a referendum be held in January 1986 and had decided unilaterally to institute a cease-fire. His country supported that initiative, which indicated a political will to seek peace and unity, and hoped that the United Nations and OAU would co-operate closely in implementing it.

50. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America) recalled that the essence of decolonization was free choice and that the latter could operate only in a free society and not under a system where dissent was suppressed or where those who held opinions contrary to the governing authority feared to express them lest they end up in a gulag. It was apparent in the Committee that, under a democratic system, even those petitioners who had frothed most at the mouth had had no fear of expressing themselves in the most intemperate terms. In that connection, petitioners who spoke before the Committee should be reminded that personal attacks were inadmissible. The Committee met to discuss problems and not personalities.

51. The fact that the Committee's list had grown shorter with time should not delude anyone into believing that free choice and self-determination had won the day. Historically, the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories had included only certain Territories for which the countries of Western Europe and the United States had taken seriously the obligation to submit information to the United Nations. There were, however, members of the Committee which controlled the affairs of subject peoples while insisting that they had no colonies, the only difference being that their empires were contiguous to their own national territory, rather than separated from it by an ocean, a fact which, in their eyes, meant that they had nothing to report.

(Mr. Feldman, United States)

52. If one compared the situation of the inhabitants of those unacknowledged empires with that of the inhabitants of the three United States Territories on the list, however, some very interesting differences emerged: each of the United States Territories held regular, free elections and the electorate was served by a completely free press. They all had their own Governments, run by an indigenous person, and none had expressed any desire to break off relations with the United States. In fact, under the terms of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), independence was not the only possible outcome of the process of self-determination and it was curious that some delegations which insisted on independence in all cases themselves came from political entities integrated into a larger State. That situation was ironic, to say the least.

53. In reviewing the different Territories under United States Administration, he wished to begin with the question of American Samoa. In September 1985, the inhabitants of that Territory had elected a new governor who had reorganized government services and political institutions and had handed over certain government services to the private sector to make them more cost-effective and more responsive to the needs of the public. As for the question of the political status of American Samoa, the inhabitants of the Territory had made it clear that they had no desire to change it.

54. In the case of the United States Virgin Islands, the legislature had recommended that a referendum on future political status be held in 1986. Public hearings on the subject were currently in progress to enable the people of the Islands to make an informed choice. He mentioned the case of a Dr. Evans from St. Croix, who had had an outstanding career in the United States public service, culminating in an appointment as the United States Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago. That example clearly showed the possibilities open to the people of the United States Virgin Islands.

55. As for Guam, in a referendum on political status held there in January 1982 49 per cent of the population had voted for Commonwealth status, 26 per cent for statehood and only 4 per cent for independence. Since none of the options had received an absolute majority, a further referendum had been held in September 1982. The result had been 73 per cent for Commonwealth status and 27 per cent for statehood, which was consistent with an earlier plebiscite held in Guam in 1976 in which 51 per cent of the votes cast had been for "improved status quo", 5 per cent for statehood and 5 per cent for independence. From those several votes, it seemed reasonably clear that the people of Guam wanted to maintain their association with the United States but also wanted to redefine it.

56. Therefore, with the encouragement and co-operation of the United States Congress, Guam had established a Commission on Self-Determination, which was drafting a new compact between Guam and the United States. That compact would be submitted to both the United States Congress and the people of Guam. The Commission on Self-Determination was chosen entirely by the people of Guam and no nominees of the administering Power sat on it.

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(Mr. Feldman, United States)

57. It should be apparent that the charges of United States colonial oppression hardly stood up to scrutiny. The fact was, as demonstrated by the Guam Landowners' Association, that under the American democratic system it was entirely possible for a group of persons to sue the United States Government and even to win. As for the elections, the assertion that the referendum results had been skewed by massive participation of United States military personnel stationed on the island was completely false. To vote in an election in Guam, one must be a resident of the island and meet all the requirements for duration of residence.

58. In view of all the nonsense that had been spouted in the Committee about the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, he must draw attention to the report of the recent visiting mission dispatched to the Territory by the Trusteeship Council (T/1878, of 16 October 1985), which was objective, up-to-the-minute and, as a formal document of the Trusteeship Council, could be relied on.

59. A number of delegations, led by the Soviet Union, had lamented that the draft resolution on foreign economic interests contained no specific condemnation of the United States. The United States obviously took a contrary view and was pleased that no countries were named in the draft resolution on the specialized agencies which the Committee would take action upon shortly. The United States greatly regretted the invidious business of backbiting and appreciated the efforts of the many delegations responsible for the improvements in the former resolution.

60. Mr. MAUNA (Indonesia), exercising his right of reply, referred to a statement in which the representative of Mozambique had spoken of East Timor and had made slanderous accusations against Indonesia. Indonesia categorically rejected the narrow outlook characterizing that statement, which indicated either an ignorance of history or a deliberate attempt to misrepresent events.

61. East Timor had indeed had a decolonization problem, but the latter had been settled almost 10 years previously. If Indonesia was really trying to expand its territory and annex East Timor, it would not have requested Portugal, the administering Power at that time, to fulfil its responsibilities to the people of the Territory.

62. The truth was that a group of revolutionaries had established a reign of terror with the active collusion of former colonial troops. It was only when 14,000 refugees fleeing the massacres by FRETILIN had found shelter in western Timor that Indonesia had become involved in the tragedy of East Timor. What was more, it had done so at the request of a Timorese political party representing the overwhelming majority of the people of the Territory. Indonesia had never had any desire to occupy or annex East Timor. The sole motive of its intervention had been to re-establish a situation in which a fair and peaceful decolonization process could take place. Indonesia had given the Territory assistance in every field, and East Timor today enjoyed full political, economic and social freedom. It was thus outrageous to draw a parallel between Indonesia's situation and that of the disgraceful régime in South Africa or of Israel.

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(Mr. Mauna, Indonesia)

63. Indonesia had waged a long and steady fight against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid. It had experienced its share of difficulties and defeats but had never compromised on moral values.

64. Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco), exercising his right of reply, said he was compelled to respond to a number of statements made to the Committee, for example by the representatives of Madagascar, the Seychelles and Burundi, who had taken up the same well-worn refrain.

65. He emphasized that a problem had to be formulated properly before it could be solved and that at present the problem of Western Sahara was not being described correctly. Morocco could not, even fleetingly, be called a colonial Power. It had struggled and suffered in order to gain its independence, and accusations of the kind made showed a lack of respect for the martyrs among the Moroccan people. Morocco was in Western Sahara, not as a foreign Power, as the Cuban delegation, for example, had said, but because it was on its own soil there. It was not the natural resources or economic or other interests of a territory that caused a country to fight; rather it was the fact that the land belonged to it.

66. Algeria, which wanted to be a leader of Africa and the third world, had spoken only of Western Sahara and had carefully made no mention of other territories genuinely under colonial domination over which silence reigned, as the representative of Papua New Guinea had mentioned at a previous meeting. Western Sahara had rejoined its mother country. That was the reality. Whether at the national or the international level, there could not be two realities. There was only one, as the Fourth Committee would be able to see for itself, if it were present in the Territory. At Headquarters, however, the Committee was listening to delegations which said whatever they felt like. Morocco, on the other hand, did not bandy insults. It respected the various positions adopted and expected others to pay it the same courtesy.

67. The cause of Western Sahara was a national cause supported by all the people of Morocco. He repeated Morocco's desire to settle the problem of Western Sahara in a peaceful manner. It had agreed to hold a referendum on self-determination under the auspices of the United Nations and, although it had withdrawn from the Organization of African Unity, it had agreed to all the procedures drawn up by the OAU Implementation Committee. There was nothing to negotiate, there was no peace plan, despite what some claimed in invoking resolution AHG/Res.104. The procedures had already been defined, laid down and adopted; Algeria took good care to make no mention of them, whereas Morocco had accepted them without reservation.

68. Mrs. BERMUDEZ GARCIA (Cuba) said that she would exercise her right of reply at a subsequent meeting.

69. Mr. MASABO (Burundi) also reserved the right to reply at an appropriate time.

AGENDA ITEM 112: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

70. The CHAIRMAN announced that Guinea and Mali had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.5.

AGENDA ITEM 113: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

71. The CHAIRMAN announced that Guinea and Mali had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.6.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.