United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FOURTH COMMITTEE 13th meeting held on Tuesday, 21 October 1980 at 3 p.m.

New York

THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION Official Records*

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 13th MEETING

Mr. PENACKA (Czechoslovakia) Chairman:

CONTENTS

UN LIFE ARY

JIII 28 1931

ONLECTION AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEM 84: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEM 85: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR (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 87: 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)

* 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 A-3550, 866 United Nations Plaza (Alcoa Building), and incorporated in a copy of the Distr. GENERAL A/C.4/35/SR.13 27 October 1980

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

80-56858

CONTENTS (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)

AGENDA ITEM 88: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 89: 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 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued) (A/35/23 (parts III and V); (A/35/222, 223, 261, 413 and 529; A/C.4/35/5 and Add.1-10; A/C.4/35/L.2; A/AC.109/593-598, 602, 603 and Corr.1, 606, 608, 610, 613, 615, 617 and Corr.1, 618 and 621)

- (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 84: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/35/23 (part III); A/35/233 and 511)

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

AGENDA ITEM 85: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR (continued) (A/35/23 (part V); A/35/233 and 524; A/C.4/35/2, 3 and Add.1-10; A/C.4/35/6 and Add.1; A/AC.109/623 and 634)

- (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 87: 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/35/23 (part III), A/35/178 and Add.1-4; A/C.4/35/L.3)

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

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/35/3/Add.30)

AGENDA ITEM 88: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/35/525; A/C.4/35/L.4)

AGENDA ITEM 89: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/35/518)

- 1. Mr. DUPUY (Canada) said that the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA) had been under increasing pressure during 1979-1980 to meet the growing demand for scholarships, yet was faced with a diminishing ability to meet that demand. The Programme had been able to grant only 337 new awards in 1980, compared to 409 new awards in 1979. Fewer scholarships had been provided in 1980 than in 1979 and fewer students financed. The Programme's funds for 1980 were clearly inadequate. The average cost of scholarships had risen sharply, and the number of scholarships offered might have to be reduced if substantial additional voluntary contributions were not received.
- 2. The Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa had continued to give preference to placing students in African educational institutions. Over half of the students sponsored by the Programme in 1979-1980 had attended African universities. The Programme had continued to provide educational and training assistance to students from Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.
- 3. It was gratifying that Zimbabwe had become an independent Member of the United Nations. That nation's need for people with professional and technical qualifications was greater than ever. With independence, students from Zimbabwe no longer came within the mandate of the UNETPSA Programme. However, awards would be granted to applicants from Zimbabwe for a period of one year from the date of independence. Awards previously granted to candidates from Zimbabwe would be carried over until the completion of the studies for which those awards had been granted.
- 4. Additional financial resources were needed to cope with the ever-increasing number of South African and Namibian students who had become refugees. The outflow of student refugees was expected to continue.
- 5. The evaluation of the Programme undertaken pursuant to General Assembly resolution 34/31 had highlighted new guidelines and priorities in the changing situation in southern Africa. With Zimbabwe's attainment of independence, the main focus of the Programme would be on assistance to students from South Africa and Namibia. The inferior and inadequate education available to the majority population in South Africa placed a special burden on UNETPSA in meeting that population's long-term educational needs.
- 6. The Programme, in co-operation with UNHCR, should meet the need for remedial courses for students from South Africa and Namibia who, because of the inferior system of education to which they had been subjected, did not have the prerequisites for advanced studies sponsored by the Programme.
- 7. In addition, the Programme would, in co-operation with host Governments and other bodies, consider the problem of providing job opportunities and in-service training to UNETPSA graduates from Namibia and South Africa. The Programme wished to develop closer contacts with host Governments and with existing and potential donors with a view to obtaining increased financial contributions and subsidized university places.

(Mr. Dupuy, Canada)

- 8. The work of the Evaluation Group had made a notable contribution to the future of the Programme by providing a source of policy direction.
- 9. On behalf of the member States of the Advisory Committee and observers to the Committee, he introduced draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.4. It would doubtless be adopted unanimously and provide a further demonstration of the international community's concern and commitment to the cause of freedom, justice and equality for all in southern Africa.
- 10. Mr. MUTUKWA (Zambia) said that the struggle for liberation was multifaceted. UNETPSA constituted a vital programme for the liberation of the mind through education, and was a logical outgrowth of the commitment of the United Nations to decelonization.
- 11. As a result of centuries of foreign occupation and subjugation, the oppressed people of southern Africa continued to be denied access to modern education. Under apartheid, separate and unequal educational establishments were maintained for the African majority. The so-called Bantu education system provided no education at all. The findings of the Evaluation Mission earlier in 1980 had demonstrated the need for remedial training for African refugee students, who had received an inadequate education under apartheid.
- 12. The deteriorating political situation in South Africa in the form of increased repression presented new challenges to UNETPSA. The international community should meet the challenge posed by the mass exodus of young people fleeing from colonial and institutionalized racism in search of better educational opportunities which might enable them to contribute more effectively to the development of their countries.
- 13. Since the student uprisings at Soweto in 1976, the racist régime in Pretoria had persecuted young students. In the past few months alone well over 80 so-called African schools had been closed and nearly 60,000 students expelled. The international community could assist those young people by channelling help through UNETPSA to enable it to cope with the growing outflow of student refugees from South Africa and Namibia.
- 14. The system of Bantu education had also been imposed on Namibia, which South Africa occupied by force of arms. Africans had thus been denied educational opportunities. South Africa had criminally perverted education in Namibia to subjugate the minds of Namibians. Fortunately, the United Nations had taken full cognizance of that deficiency and had mounted a major educational programme for Namibians. The United Nations Institute for Namibia, located in Lusaka, had played an important role in that work. UNETPSA, too, had performed a vital role in the training of Namibians for over a decade. Its assistance to young Namibians should continue in years to come. It was gratifying that many Zimbabweans had benefited from training by UNETPSA during their bitter but worthy struggle for independence.
- 15. UNETPSA, if it were to continue its relentless efforts to provide assistance to southern Africa, needed substantial financial contributions, given the additional demands for assistance and the rising cost of education. It was a humanitarian

(Mr. Mutukwa, Zambia)

issue, and if UNETPSA did not receive sufficient voluntary contributions, funds should be provided from the United Nations budget.

- 16. UNETPSA graduates had difficulties in obtaining employment. That problem should not be the sole concern of a few host countries. The question of providing employment to graduates from southern Africa who could not return to their homes constituted an international problem. He appealed to all Member States, international organizations and specialized agencies of the United Nations to assist by employing or providing in-service training for those graduates.
- 17. Zambia would continue to assist refugee students as it had for many years. Education was an indispensable factor in development and liberation. Many refugee students benefited from Zambia's free educational system. That represented a contribution to the struggle for freedom of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. The international community had a special responsibility to provide proper education and training for student refugees, who had been denied educational opportunities. UNETPSA had done valuable work in ensuring that bright young minds were not wasted through neglect.
- 18. Mr. ROMUALDEZ (Philippines), after assuring the people of Algeria of his deepest sympathy for the tragedy that had befallen them, said that, at the time of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there had been 77 Territories which did not enjoy self-determination. Over the past 20 years many millions of people had achieved independence. In some cases that had been due to the work of the United Nations and to the enlightened statesmanship of former colonizers and trustees. In other cases, it had only been achieved at the cost of human lives.
- 19. It was gratifying that the United Nations was making efforts to enable dependent peoples to become genuinely independent, so that they would not be beholden to extraneous elements for their economic and political survival. The development, education and training programmes offered to such peoples were of interest. It was to be hoped that dependent peoples would soon take their place amongst the free and independent States of the international community.
- 20. Self-determination was still being denied. In Namibia the Pretoria racist régime was making every effort to thwart the desires of the people for self-determination. The Committee should consider how world public opinion might be mobilized in such a way as to force the Pretoria régime to see the error of its policies. Attempts had been made to isolate South Africa and nations had been urged to impose sanctions to persuade the Pretoria régime to bring about a just and lasting settlement in Namibia. It was to be hoped that the South African Government would in time respond.
- 21. While much had been done since 1960, much more remained to be done. It was regrettable that some States claimed that they were unable to prevent their nationals from exploiting the natural and human resources of Namibia and other Non-Self-Governing Territories.
- 22. Unless declarations of goodwill and intent were translated into more direct action, the situation in Namibia would be perpetuated. More effective action, including the imposition of sanctions, was necessary. It was clear what the United Nations should do.

- 23. Mr. FATTAH (Egypt) said that the international community was celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Since the adoption of the Declaration many colonial Territories had achieved independence and joined the United Nations. That had strengthened international peace and the principles of the Charter. The progress made in decolonization over the past 20 years represented a glorious chapter in the history of the United Nations.
- 24. Nevertheless, it was disturbing that there was still Non-Self-Governing Territories. Administering Powers should redouble their efforts to assist such Territories to attain self-determination. It was imperative to improve economic and social conditions and education in dependent Territories to facilitate rapid decolonization.
- 25. The situation in South Africa was more serious and posed a threat to international peace and security. A solution was urgently needed before a bloody conflict erupted. It was intolerable that the South African régime continued to occupy Namibia in complete disregard for the United Nations and the international community. That régime had recently increased its repression of the peoples of southern Africa and their liberation movements, and had increased its pressure on independent African States.
- 26. The success of the Zimbabwean people against the Salisbury régime had caused the Pretoria régime to become unbalanced as it perceived the end to be near. It was thus intensifying its discriminatory policies in an attempt to continue white rule and exploitation in southern Africa.
- 27. The United Nations had a moral obligation to stand against the South African régime and to isolate it. Only thus would Namibia achieve independence.
- 28. Turning to the question of Western Sahara, he said that it was sad to see brothers from the same nation, of the same religion, and dwelling in the same continent fighting each other. Colonialism had not been extirpated to provide room for hatred between brothers. All the parties to the dispute should forget the past and seek a solution. His delegation supported the OAU's recommendations on Western Sahara as a proper way to end that bloody and tragic conflict to the benefit of all concerned.
- 29. While the specialized agencies of the United Nations had co-operated in implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, they should intensify their efforts to assist national liberation movements and dependent peoples.
- 30. His Government supported peoples in their struggle for self-determination. Egypt had provided grants and other support to South African nationals and would continue to do so until final victory over racism in southern Africa had been achieved.
- 31. Mrs. DAES (Greece) said that she was gratified that Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines had joined the United Nations.

(Mrs. Daes, Greece)

- 32. Referring to the United Nations training programme for southern Africa, she said that the Advisory Committee had accomplished important work over the past year. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 26, paragraph 2 stated that education should be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It should promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and should further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. The same provisions had been included in article 13, paragraph 1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.
- 33. Those principles and the traditional belief of the Greek people that education contributed greatly to the enjoyment of the fruits of social progress had guided the Greek Government in making a symbolic contribution of \$8,000 to UNETPSA for 1980.
- 34. The Greek delegation recognized the increasing demand for educational opportunities by the peoples of southern Africa and acknowledged the rapidly increasing cost of higher education. It therefore supported the work of the Advisory Committee and the conclusions contained in the report of the Secretary-General ($\Lambda/35/525$).
- 35. Her delegation was prepared to support draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.4. Education and training should be provided to the young people of southern Africa to enable them to play an important, constructive, independent and peaceful role in the world community.
- 36. Mr. MADEIRA (Mozambique) said that the tragic situation in East Timor was the direct consequence of the armed occupation of the Territory by the Indonesian authorities. In December 1975, when the people of East Timor had been actively engaged in preparations for independence from Portugal, the administering Power of East Timor for approximately 500 years, the Indonesian Government had invaded East Timor, inflicting much suffering, misfortune and death on the population, more than one third of which had ultimately been killed. Those who had managed to escape from the barbaric and genocidal repression had fled into the mountains and joined the FRETILIN guerrillas, who were waging an armed struggle for the liberation of their country.
- 37. Owing to the determined resistance of the FRETILIN forces and the people, the Indonesians had started bombarding the mountains and arable land with napalm and other chemical weapons in order to decimate the population and the guerrillas and sterilize the fertile lands of the Territory. The once rich and fertile lands of East Timor had become poor, dusty and sterile fields and Dili, the capital, had become a ghost city where hunger, malnutrition and disease reigned. Resistance continued, as could be seen from the recent large scale attack by FRETILIN forces on the outskirts of Dili in June 1980. As a result of the bold but short-lived attack by the patriotic forces, the Indonesian forces had imposed even greater measures of oppression and persecution on the population. Even assistance in the form of medicine, food-stuffs, shelter and other facilities from international and humanitarian organizations was diverted by the corrupt Indonesian administration and

(Mr. Madeira, Mozambique)

sold for profit, while hunger, disease and malnutrition continued to kill thousands of East Timorese in concentration camps and hospitals that lacked even basic medicines.

- 30. The situation prevailing in the Territory was a new form of colonialism: Portugal, the administering Power, had been prevented from completing the colonization of East Timor by the Indonesian invasion and the ensuing military occupation and annexation of the Territory. Indonesian colonists had thus replaced the Portuguese. The colonial domination of the East Timorese people by Indonesia was in flagrant violation of the Charter, the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and the most elementary norms of international relations. Portugal, which continued to be the legal administering Power, had stated that it did not recognize the annexation carried out by Indonesia. Portugal should therefore assume fully its reponsibilities to the people of East Timor by pursuing all initiatives aimed at putting an end to the Indonesian military occupation and annexation and at granting to the people of the Territory the free exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.
- 39. The Indonesian occupation of East Timor should not by any means be taken as a fait accompli; the people of the Territory continued to wage an armed war for the liberation of their country and their struggle was as just and as legitimate as the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa, Western Sahara, occupied Palestine and other Arab Territories. The international community and the United Nations must provide all possible support to the East Timorese people and call upon Indonesia to withdraw its occupied forces from East Timor so that the people of that country could have the opportunity to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence. Political and diplomatic support, as well as humanitarian aid, from all governmental and non-governmental organizations was also of special importance and urgency.
- 40. Mr. AL SAID (Oman), after welcoming Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, said that the Special Committee of 24 on decolonization had played a significant role in hastening the last days of colonialism. Although the new nations were rightly proud of and excited by their new freedom, he could sympathize with their anxiety in the face of the multiple problems which self-government entailed. In that connexion, the United Nations and the specialized agencies must encourage and support the new nations. The smaller or scattered island countries in the Pacific and the Caribbean could usefully benefit from association with regional groups. The Special Committee had rightly attempted to ascertain in such cases the real desires of the people concerned and to ensure that they were aware of the various options available.
- 41. The Special Committee had adopted the formula that such factors as size, geographical location, population and limited resources should in no way delay the speedy exercise by the people of their right to self-determination and independence. In some cases the people in the Territories concerned had indicated no desire for independence, at least for the time being, but had requested greater autonomy, a request whose implementation the Special Committee should also monitor.

(Mr. Al Said, Oman)

- 42. The Special Committee could serve a useful watchdog function by informing the peoples of Mon-Self-Governing Territories of their options and of the support they could derive from the United Nations, and by promoting solutions of problems and conflicts through peaceful means for the common interest of all. Furthermore, the Fourth Committee should continue to remain a forum for petitioners from Mon-Self-Governing Territories. In conclusion, he said that his delegation looked forward to the day when complete universality was finally achieved in the United Nations.
- 43. Mr. FALEIRO (India), speaking on item 88, said that his delegation was convinced that the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa had made a significant contribution to the cause of the oppressed people of southern Africa, who had been denied their legitimate rights to enlightenment. The Programme had benefited greatly from the co-operation extended to it by the African Governments, UNDP, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the British Council.
- 44. The Evaluation Mission, in which his delegation had participated, had undertaken the assessment of the operations of the Programme and had charted out its orientation for the future. The recommendations of the Advisory Committee contained in the Secretary-General's report fully reflected the views of the Evaluation Mission. Considerable attention had been given by the Mission to the possible directions that the Programme should take in the light of the changing situation in southern Africa.
- 45. The recent independence of Zimbabwe and the resulting phasing out from the Programme of students from that country would make it possible for the Programme to focus its attention on the people of Namibia and South Africa, where the system of education was designed to perpetuate South Africa's colonial domination and exploitation.
- 46. As the racist régime stepped up its repression and forced more and more people out of their homelands to seek educational opportunities abroad, the Programme found itself under an increasingly heavy burden. It was regrettable, in that connexion, that some South African students treated the Programme merely as a source of funds to supplement their cwn resources and that, for lack of any understanding of the philosophy of the Programme, a few of them seemed quite willing and even eager to return to South Africa after graduation to serve the racist régime. Furthermore, there had been cases of Programme graduates who had remained in the West even after the independence of their countries, thus depriving the young nations of vital human resources. Greater care in the selection of students and continuous monitoring of their performance would be required in order to eliminate such problems.
- 47. His delegation had noted during the Evaluation Mission that national liberation movements of South Africa had been critical of the Programme, stating that it did not adequately serve the needs of the territories concerned because it did not maintain sufficient contact with the liberation movements. His delegation was of the view that close co-operation and co-ordination between the Programme and the liberation movements was essential and the views of the liberation movements must be taken into account in administering the Programme.

(Mr. Faleiro, India)

- 48. The problem of securing employment for graduates of the Programme until they were able to return home was also a matter of concern. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) had been attempting for a number of years to find employment for refugees in Africa without much success. Such efforts must be intensified and the Programme should co-operate fully with the OAU with a view to securing suitable employment for Programme graduates until such time as they were able to return to their homeland.
- 49. Another matter of great concern was the need to share the burden imposed on the United Nations by the situation in southern Africa. It was a matter of great satisfaction to his delegation that several countries, including some in the West, had begun to attach importance to the Programme. However, although contributions had increased over the years, the number of scholarships granted by the Programme had dwindled because of the recent phenomenal increase in the cost of education. It was therefore unfortunate that some countries equated refugee students with foreign students and burdened the Programme with additional financial liabilities in the form of "economic fees". It was his delegation's hope that the Governments concerned would take favourable decisions with regard to waiving the economic fees for Programme students in order to enable the Programme to reach the largest possible number of needy African students.
- 50. India, where the availability of opportunities for higher studies still fell short of domestic demand, showed its long-standing commitment to the liberation of the peoples of Africa by setting aside a number of places for Programme students. The cost of the education of Programme students in India still remained one of the lowest in the world. The record of Programme students in India had been uniformly good and it was a matter of satisfaction to his Government that the Programme had enabled India to serve in yet another way the cause of human dignity and freedom in southern Africa.
- 51. Mr. ADOSSAMA (International Labour Organisation), speaking on item 87, said that he wished to inform members of the Committee of action undertaken by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to benefit African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Of special relevance in that connexion was the work of the ILO Special Committee on Apartheid, which had met in Geneva in May 1980 to study the sixteenth special report of the Director-General of the International Labour Office on apartheid. The Special Committee had recommended the following action at the governmental level: political, cultural, sporting, trade and diplomatic relations with the South African Government must be broken off and all cultural arrangements with South Africa must be terminated immediately. Governmental and private investment in South Africa must be terminated, all credit guarantees and licences must be withdrawn and effective enforcement measures must be introduced in the codes of conduct applied to companies investing in South Africa. Governments must discourage emigration and tourism on the part of their nationals to South Africa. Economic assistance to African countries that were forced because of their geographical and economic situation to maintain ties with South Africa - particularly the independent African States bordering on South Africa - must be increased. The Bantustans must

(Mr. Adossama, ILO)

not be recognized and no investments must be made in those Territories. Material and moral assistance must be provided to the liberation movements and the black majority workers in their effort to organize themselves, and also to popular movements struggling to secure respect for human rights in South Africa and Namibia. Trade unions must be free to participate in actions of solidarity with the workers engaged in the struggle against apartheid.

- 52. Action recommended at the level of employers' organizations included monitoring their membership to ensure that no member maintained relations with South Africa and that no economic or financial group made loans to South Africa or collaborated in any way with the <u>apartheid</u> régime. Foreign corporations must also be urged to withdraw their investments from South Africa and to refrain from any co-operation with the South African régime in the economic and military spheres.
- 53. Action recommended at the trade union level included strong pressure on Governments to implement the recommendations mentioned above, and pressure on - or, if necessary, direct action against - companies investing in South Africa that did not recognize African trade unions and acted in violation of the internationally recognized labour standards. Action in solidarity with the workers of South Africa was to be promoted through the organization of meetings with workers' representatives and meetings of the workers of the companies concerned, the distribution of tracts and posters, the organization of study courses and seminars and campaigns in trade union newspapers. Trade unions were to provide financial and moral assistance to African trade unions in South Africa - in particular to the campaigns mounted by those organizations and to education programmes - and were to furnish economic and legal assistance to arrested or imprisoned trade unionists and their families. Campaigns were to be organized to prevent the emigration of trade union members to South Africa under penalty of loss of membership in the union, and efforts were to be made to prevent the publication of information concerning employment possibilities in South Africa and to close South African labour recruiting offices. Trade union funds were to be withdrawn from any company or investment programme involved in South Africa. A tripartite control system was to be established in cases where codes of conduct had been adopted by companies investing in South Africa, and every effort was to be made to obtain sanctions for that purpose. Trade union representatives were to exert pressure on delegations to the United Nations and the specialized agencies in order to ensure full implementation of the Lagos Declaration for Action against Apartheid. Measures that would isolate the South African régime and strengthen anti-apartheid activities in general were to be encouraged. Trade union action against apartheid was to be co-ordinated in conformity with the resolution adopted by the second International Trade Union Conference for Action against Apartheid in 1977.
- 54. Action recommended at the level of the ILO included measures to update the 1964 ILO Declaration on the Policy of Apartheid, so that it could be submitted as soon as possible for consideration by the International Labour Conference at its

(Mr. Adossama, ILO)

sixty-seventh session in 1981. The annual report on the implementation of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of South Africa was to include detailed information on actions carried out by the Governments, workers and employers which could serve as the base for an annual monitoring of action against apartheid in the context of the ILO. The ILO would issue and circulate widely special reports in the languages best suited to reach the widest possible audience in order to demonstrate the support of world opinion for the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle for the total elimination of apartheid. The special reports would, inter alia, describe measures such as the prohibition by Governments of investment in South Africa, study and evaluate the various codes of conduct applicable to employers and their organizations both inside and outside South Africa, and contain surveys of ILO activities aimed at eliminating apartheid in the labour area, with indications of legislation whose repeal had been demanded by the ILO Conference, as well as new legislation adopted by South Africa and the extent to which that legislation was in conformity with international labour standards. Furthermore, the International Labour Office would strengthen its educational activities and technical assistance to liberation movements, black workers and their independent unions in South Africa, in close collaboration with the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, and African and international employers' and workers' organizations and the front-line States. The ILO would also encourage and provide financial assistance to employers' and workers' organizations in their programmes of action against apartheid with a view to assisting them in exerting maximum pressure for the implementation of the various recommendations within their spheres of competence. Finally, the ILO would co-operate closely with OAU and the United Mations Special Committee against Apartheid in all areas relating to the elimination of apartheid and would organize, before the next session of the Conference in 1981, a tripartite international meeting in one of the front-line States in order to develop a joint international plan of action.

55. With regard to ILO assistance to the new nation of Zimbabwe, he drew attention to the resolution adopted at the sixty-sixth session of the International Labour Conference in June 1980 which called for assistance in the following areas: labour administration and legislation, i.e., staff training and the reorganization of the Ministry; worker education and training of trade union instructors; rural development, i.e., co-operatives; training of rural craftsmen and vocational training and retraining; employment; upgrading of leadership; salaries and incomes policy; labour safety and sanitation and improvement in living and working conditions; and education for migrant workers. With regard to Namibia, the ILO, in response to a request by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), had drawn up a plan for the establishment of a pilot centre for vocational training for Namibian refugees in Angola. After consultations between the SWAPO Labour Secretary, the Angolan authorities, the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, UNDP and ILO, the project, which was to cost \$3,150,000, had been submitted to the United Nations Council for Namibia for approval. A pilot project involving industrial vocational training in Tanzania for 60 members of liberation movements

(Mr. Adossama, ILO)

in South Africa had been started in 1979 with UNDP assistance at a cost of \$791,500. The International Centre for Vocational Training in Turin had trained 17 students - future technical training instructors - designated by the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia in 1978 and 1979. ILO had also carried out, with assistance from the Norwegian Government, a project dealing with legislative changes required to eliminate discrimination in employment and to promote legislative measures conforming to international labour standards in independent Zimbabwe. A similar course involving three students nominated by SWAPO was now under way with UNDP funding. At the request of the United Mations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka, the ILO had set up a project to train office secretaries in September 1979. Another project funded by Norway had been started in Zambia to train two students in the training of executive secretaries.

- 56. Lastly, he wished to express to the Government and people of Algeria his Organisation's condolences in connexion with the tragedy which had recently occurred in that country.
- 57. Mr. McCALL (United States of America) said that his delegation wished to transmit information concerning the territories of American Samoa, Guam, and the United States Virgin Islands in compliance with Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter. His Government was continuing to co-operate fully with the Special Committee on Decolonization in the discharge of its duties concerning those Territories. It had hosted missions in the United States Virgin Islands in 1977 and in Guam in 1979: during the current year, on behalf of the Governor of American Samoa, an invitation would be extended to the Special Committee for a visiting mission to American Samoa in 1981.
- 58. Two significant events that had taken place earlier in 1980 had had a major impact on the political, economic and social development of the three Territories. On 14 February 1980, President Carter had announced a framework for a comprehensive territorial policy which had focused major attention on the relationship between the territorial and federal Governments and had identified United States policy goals. Those included the orderly political development of the Territories; the provision of stimuli for their economic growth; a rationalized Federal-territorial financial relationship; improved local financial management; enhanced territorial treatment under Federal programmes; and the reorganization of the Federal branch structure for dealing with territorial matters. The policy also took into consideration the unique cultures and fragile economies of the Territories and the recognized distinctive features of their history, geography, economic potential, tradition and ethnic composition; and it treated such distinctions as assets rather than as liabilities. The President had stated that the people of the Territories were free to express their aspirations if they should wish to modify their current political status, and he had called upon the people of the Virgin Islands and Guam to continue their constitution drafting process so that, in due course, they would replace the Federal laws, under which their local governments

(Mr. McCall, United States)

now functioned, with instruments of their own design. Special emphasis had been placed on furthering the economic development of each of the Territories and encouraging private sector development.

- 59. Most of those aims were now being implemented. The first Pacific Basin Development Conference had been convened in Honolulu in March 1980 and had brought together representatives of government and the private sector to lay the groundwork for regional development in the Pacific. Legislation had been introduced to implement the financial objectives of the policy. The Department of the Interior had reorganized and upgraded the office which dealt with territorial affairs, and there was closer co-ordination between government agencies on matters that affected the Territories.
- 60. The second major event had involved the transfer to the Territories of all mineral rights in submerged lands within three miles from the territorial coastline. That act had taken place on 14 May 1980 and was fully consistent with the interest of the Fourth Committee in maximizing local territorial control over natural resources.
- 61. American Samoa was in the midst of a political campaign which would culminate on 4 November with the election, for the first time, of a Samoan delegate to the United States Congress and, for the second time, of an elected Governor for the Territory. A Samoan had for the first time been appointed to the office of Attorney-General of the Territory. Public works programmes had bolstered the local economy during the past year and were designed to provide the infrastructure for economic diversification; such projects had related to electric power, airport expansion, fisheries and roads and bridges. Growing trade links between American Samoa and Western Samoa had resulted in a number of co-operative projects, including the shipment of hardwood lumber to the United States. Earlier in 1980 the locally constituted Second Temporary Political Status Study Commission had concluded that the most suitable political status for American Samoa at the present time was for it to continue as an unincorporporated and unorganized Territory of the United States, but with certain modifications. The Commission's report along with the recommended modifications, was being reviewed by the United States with the elected leadership of American Samoa. Among the recommendations was a proposal for the creation of a Third Commission to re-examine the situation regarding future status.
- 62. On 31 May 1980 a Guamanian Commission on Self-Determination had been created by Public Law 15-128 in order to ascertain the desire of the people of Guam regarding their future political relationship with the United States. Under the Act, task forces had been created to prepare position papers on various political status options, including statehood, independence or free association, incorporated territorial status, commonwealth status, or the status quo. The Commission was composed of fifteen members representing the executive and legislative branches of the Guam Government and the private sector. At the request of the Governor of Guam, the United States had decided to sponsor Guam for associate membership in the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.

(Mr. McCall, United States)

- 63. On 31 July 1980 the constitution drafting convention of the Virgin Islands had approved a constitution for local self-government, and on 26 August the constitution had been accepted by the Vice-President of the United States on behalf of the President. The constitution would be submitted for congressional review within the next few days and, as approved or modified, would then be submitted to a referendum of the qualified voters of the Virgin Islands for acceptance or rejection. If approved, the constitution would replace the Act passed by the United States Congress which had established a civilian government in the Virgin Islands over 50 years earlier. The drafting of the constitution by a locally elected constitutional convention had therefore been a major step in the Territory's political development toward self-government.
- 64. The CHAIRMAN said that the Fourth Committee welcomed the offer of the United States Government to receive a visiting mission to American Samoa in 1981.
- 65. Mr. AL-SARKAL (United Arab Emirates) said that his delegation welcomed the entry of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines into the Organization and hoped that those countries still under imperialist domination, especially southern Africa and Palestine, would join the Organization in the near future.
- 66. His delegation, having made known its position on other items on the agenda, would like to concentrate its attention on the item concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples because of the importance which it attached to that subject. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe made it clear that the will of peoples determined to achieve their freedom and independence could not be suppressed for ever. The oppressed peoples would pay any price for freedom and many great nations had struggled against imperialism for a long time before breaking the fetters of slavery.
- 67. He reasserted his country's position on southern Africa and Namibia as it had been described in the statement of the Minister of State for External Affairs of the United Arab Emirates before the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session. The struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, which had been crowned with independence and freedom, symbolized the struggle of the African peoples. Its victory should be considered an incentive to all peoples to increase their sacrifices in order to obtain their freedom and their rights.
- 68. The continued application by the racist Government of South Africa of the policy of apartheid to the indigenous propulation there was a violation of the spirit of the Charter. The subjection of the Territory of Namibia to illegal occupation was a challenge to the will of the international community and impeded the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Furthermore, the Pretoria régime maintained an attitude of continuous hostility towards the neighbouring African countries causing them great losses. The Organization must redouble its efforts and respond decisively to those challenges by applying sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.
- 69 Attention should be paid to all the subparagraphs following paragraph 8 of chanter 4 of document A/35/23, part II, for they reasserted the inalienable rights all colonial peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

- 70. An extremely dangerous situation continued to prevail in South Africa because of the continuous manoeuvres engaged in by the racist minority régime in Pretoria in order to prolong its illegal occupation of Namibia and to impose a client régime on the people of the area. The Pretoria régime had had recourse to measures of desperation in seeking to suppress the legitimate aspirations of the people of Namibia and to maintain its dominance over the area by force. South Africa had continued to wage an escalating war against the people of Namibia and its national liberation movement (SWAPO), committing repeated armed acts of aggression against the countries of Angola and Zambia. The South African Government had also continued to expand its network of military bases and to reinforce its military forces in the area. His Government condemned these measures, which it considered hostile and illegal, and believed that it was possible for the Western industrialized nations to limit their relations with South Africa and bring greater pressure to bear for compliance with the United Nations resolution concerning Namibia. The Western industrialized nations were capable of playing a more effective and more positive role in that respect.
- 71. What was happening in South Africa was happening in South Africa was happening in other areas of the world and particularly in the Middle East. The Palestinian people had been driven from its homeland and deprived of its basic rights by the forces of Zionism. His Government condemned the racist policy adopted by Israel against the Palestinian people, implored all States, especially those friendly to and supportive of Israel, to re-examine their positions and deplored the Israeli settlements set down in the heart of the Arab nation. The United Nations had a great responsibility in what was happening in Palestine and in the occupied territories.
- 72. Mr. CARDOSO (Cape Verde) said that his delegation wished to express its solidarity with the people of East Timor where the independence process had been interrupted by the aggression and forceful occupation of the Territory by Indonesia in flagrant violation of the most basic human rights. Such aggressive action by Indonesia had continued for five years in defiance of international law as affirmed in resolutions of the General Assembly; and it must be condemned. Indonesia had denied to the people of East Timor the right to self-determination as defined in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); such actions came within the definition of aggression contained in resolution 3314 (XXIX) and were also in violation of resolutions 2625 (XXV) and 2734 (XXV). The right to selfdetermination corresponded to the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples; and it was a precious right, as President Sukarno of Indonesia had declared at a time when that country had been in the forefront of the struggle of the independence movement. The people of East Timor clearly wanted independence; no other interpretation could be placed on their bitter resistance. Yet it was contended that the people of East Timor had achieved independence in 1976 and that all matters concerning the Territory after that date fell within the internal competence of the Government of Indonesia.
- 73. Such a claim represented a distortion of Article 2 (7) of the Charter and was designed to legitimize a position imposed by force; the argument was obsolete and

A/C.4/35/SR.13
English
Page 18
(Mr. Cardoso, Cape Verde)

deceived nobody. Resolution 1514 (XV) had referred to the right of dependent peoples to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence. The so-called People's Assembly of Timor had been set up by force of arms at a time when the Territory had been occupied by an army of 30,000 men. The decision to integrate with Indonesia had therefore been taken under coercion, by an assembly created by force of arms. It was therefore valid to conclude that such a decision had not been adopted freely, was accordingly null and void and should not be invoked before the General Assembly.

- 74. The self-determination of Timor was incomplete by reason of the Indonesian invasion and occupation. Actions such as those of Indonesia represented a precedent which seriously endangered the establishment of a world in which the peace and security of small countries could be assured under international law. The annexation of territories by force and the subjugation of their peoples in the name of recovery of territorial integrity or cultural identity was also unacceptable. The cultural factor was an important component in the unity of peoples but such unity could be justified only when it served the interests of the peoples. Unification was above all a political act, and no shared cultural root could justify the forcible annexation by one State of territory belonging to an independent State or to a people struggling for its independence. The implication that the status quo should be accepted for humanitarian reasons was also unacceptable. The sufferings of the people of East Timor represented serious violations of human rights; but humanitarian considerations should not be allowed to obscure the basic reason for the discussion in the Fourth Committee - namely, the continued existence of a colonial situation in East Timor requiring a political and not merely a humanitarian solution. His delegation nevertheless considered that increased assistance should be granted to the people of East Timor, either directly by countries and agencies which were in a position to do so, or through the specialized agencies of the United Nations.
- 75. States Members of the United Nations had a solemn duty to condemn the violations of the principles of the Charter and to denounce any disregard of the fundamental rules of international law. Peace, co-operation and security in the world could be based only on respect for the provisions of the Charter and the principles and goals of the new international law, including the right of peoples to self-determination. Indifference would only encourage manoeuvres such as those of Indonesia.
- 76. His delegation welcomed the press release recently issued by the Government of Portugal but considered that the intentions expressed therein should be implemented as quickly as possible, provided they were not confined to giving asylum to refugees or negotiating a peace which was not based on the free exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of East Timor.
- 77. His delegation therefore appealed to the Fourth Committee to express its vigorous condemnation of the Indonesian aggression and to take necessary measures to support the efforts of the administering Power to accelerate the process leading to the self-determination and independence of the people of East Timor.

- 78. Mr. CORREA DA COSTA (Brazil) said that, since 1975, both the General Assembly and the Security Council had adopted decisions on the question of East Timor. All those decisions had had a common denominator in that they had stressed the need for the people of East Timor to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Brazilians shared with the people of Fast Timor a common cultural background and the same language, and could more easily understand the desire of that people to have its identity politicially reflected. Moreover, the humanitarian aspects of the problem required urgent action. The General Assembly in resolution 34/40 had called upon all parties concerned to facilitate the entry into the Territory of international relief aid in order to alleviate suffering, and had further requested UNICEF and UNHCR to render all possible assistance to the people of East Timor and, in particular, to children and those seeking to leave for another country for purposes of family reunion. Some positive steps had been taken in implementation of that resolution, but much remained to be done. His delegation therefore appealed to those in a position to facilitate the alleviation of the suffering of the population in East Timor to do so in a humanitarian spirit and with no further delay.
- 79. His delegation welcomed a press release which had been issued by the Council of Ministers of Portugal on the question of East Timor and hoped that the Portuguese initiative would contribute to a peaceful and speedy solution of the problem. On the basis of Brazil's traditional and friendly relationship with Indonesia, his delegation was confident that the Government of Indonesia would facilitate, by all available means, humanitarian assistance to the suffering people of East Timor.
- 80. Mr. SEZAKI (Japan) said that his delegation supported the recommendations of the evaluation group which, on behalf of the Advisory Committee of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern African, had visited southern Africa and Europe from 29 March to 28 April 1980 in order to determine the Programme's effectiveness and identify priorities for future efforts. Japan had participated in the work of the Advisory Committee since 1979; it had come to appreciate that UNETPSA had resulted in an improved standard of education and training for a number of promising young refugees from southern Africa; and it thought that UNETPSA should continue to fulfil its indispensable role. It had to be stressed that the countries where such refugees sought first asylum namely, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zambia were themselves enduring untold sacrifices for the common cause.
- 81. The international community was united in deploring South Africa's policies of apartheid which violated the most basic of the principles contained in the United Nations Charter namely, respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all, without racial distinction. The policies of apartheid were nothing more than blatant, institutionalized racial discrimination. His Government had consistently condemned such practices and believed that the members of the international community should do their utmost to alleviate the sufferings of the innocent victims of apartheid. His delegation recognized that UNETPSA faced severe financial shortages in meeting the increasing demands on its resources and it was therefore determined to make every possible effort to continue its contribution to the Programme. He urged all members of the international community to respond generously to the Secretary-General's appeal.

- 82. Mr. TARUA (Papua New Guinea) said that it was the firm view of his delegation that all dependent Territories anywhere in the world must be given the opportunity to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. Few dependent Territories remained; but the metropolitan Powers which still held final authority over the remaining Territories should take appropriate steps to create conditions conducive to the exercise of free choice. They should implement the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other related resolutions on decolonization, as well as the relevant provisions of the Charter and, in particular, Chapter XI, Article 73.
- 83. Papua New Guinea was particularly concerned with the situation of the remaining dependent peoples of the Pacific region, though certain metropolitan Powers had voluntarily taken steps to create a suitable climate in which a real choice could be made by South Pacific islanders. He commended the actions of those metropolitan States which had submitted reports to the United Nations regarding the advancement of the people they administered, and which had invited or accepted United Nations visiting missions. He urged other metropolitan Powers to take similar action. His delegation hoped that the path to independence in the South Pacific would continue to be smooth and peaceful and, in that connexion, he regretted that the peaceful trend had been interrupted by a foreign-inspired revolt in Vanuatu. Metropolitan Powers in the Pacific could help to avoid such interference by being more responsive to the aspirations of indigenous populations. His delegation therefore appealed to those Powers with dependent Territories in the South pacific to take appropriate steps to pursue the process of decolonization in their dependent Territories in a manner that would keep the record clean in the South Pacific.
- 84. The process of decolonization in Memibia was far from satisfactory because of the blatant refusal by the racist South African Government to observe the international community's numerous calls for the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. His Government had noted with grave concern that the racist Government of the illegal administration had installed a so-called ministerial council as the governing body of the Territory of Namibia in total defiance of United Nations resolutions. Such action was a further sign of South Africa's refusal to comply with the Security Council plan for free and fair elections under United Nations auspices to enable Namibia to attain genuine independence.
- 85. His country considered East Timor to be an integral part of Indonesia and, as such, no longer a dependent Territory. The circumstances that had led to Indonesian intervention in East Timor should be judged in the light of the situation as it had been at the time. The administering Power had then no longer been in effective control of the Territory and had left the indigenous people to attend to their own affairs, which they had been unprepared to do after 200 years of Portuguese rule. It should also be borne in mind that there had been three political parties in East Timor, which had unfortunately been unable to work together. Two of those parties had sought Indonesian assistance to put an end to the situation of civil unrest which had ensued.

(Mr. Tarua, Papua New Guinea)

- 86. His Government viewed the Indonesian intervention as a measure to provide security and regional stability. A form of self-determination had taken place. A number of Member States and others had witnessed the decision to integrate, and the presence of outside observers had given some credibility to the outcome. His Government had, on that basis, recognized East Timor as an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia. Any question raised on East Timor could thus be viewed as direct interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign Member State.
- 87. The remaining agenda items were related to the issue of decolonization. They should be solved individually on their merits and not complicated by the introduction of new elements that might delay a solution. Decolonization was simply a process culminating in the exercise by dependent indigenous people of their right to self-determination and eventual independence. His delegation was prepared to join the majority which was willing to seek ways and means of solving the issues before the Committee.
- 88. Mr. CABRAL (Guinea-Bissau) said that five years after the Indonesian act of aggression against East Timor, the United Nations was incapable of putting an end to a tragic situation caused by the violation by a Member State of the principles of the Charter and the elementary rules of international law. There were two reasons for that state of affairs. The first was the obstinate refusal of the Djakarta Government to abide by the United Nations resolutions demanding the withdrawal of its army of occupation, and the second was the lack of interest shown by the international community to the problem.
- 89. The main purpose of his statement was to remind the international community of its responsibility to put an end to the suffering of the people of East Timor, and to work for the free self-determination of the Maubere people in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
- 90. It was inadmissible that, on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), a Member State could invade a neighbouring country and dictate its will and its own concept of freedom by force of arms. The Indonesian aggression in East Timor was indefensible. No State could invoke its historial links with the Indonesian Republic, still less the argument of moderation, as a reason for remaining silent at such injustice; and no people could tolerate the subjection of another people. Some States nevertheless showed a passivity on the question of East Timor which bordered on complicity. Those States, which commonly claimed to be the champions of freedom, were becoming the spectators of an unequal struggle in which, as far as they were concerned, economics contended with politics. That was a serious matter for the principles they professed to defend, and to which the formerly colonized countries had willingly subscribed; and it was particularly serious for the United Nations, whose Charter affirmed the principle of the equality of countries regardless of size of economic potential.
- 91. It was difficult to claim to be anti-colonial and at the same time to admit the Indonesian concept of integration, which was reminiscent of the pacification theories and "civilizing missions" of the colonial Powers a century earlier.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

- 92. The international community should give all due importance to the application to East Timor of the right of all peoples to self-determination. There had been much condemnation in the Committee of Indonesian aggression and of Indonesia's systematic extermination of the people of East Timor; and much evidence had been given of the inhuman practices of the Indonesian army against the civilian population. He had been particularly struck by the number of people who had been killed or had disappeared, and by the determination of the Maubere people to free themselves from Indonesian oppression.
- 93. He was familiar with the FRETILIN fighters and their unshakable faith in the future of their people. Their leaders had become an invincible force which was upsetting the calculations, prejudices and privileges of those who had only their own interests at heart and who would not hesitate to betray the destiny of a people. As in the case of traditional colonialism, references to the spectre of communism and the problem of regional security were merely a camouflage. The statement by Admiral La Rocque, a former officer of the United States Navy, had been sufficiently revealing in that respect.
- 94. As had been emphasized by its representative, Portugal had spared no effort in 1974 and 1975 to comply with the relevant General Assembly resolutions. The experience gained during that period should help to bring about a rapid solution to the question of East Timor and to ensure its independence. His delegation had welcomed the communiqué published on 12 September 1980 by the Portuguese Government (A/AC.4/35/2) and considered that Portugal's reaffirmation of its responsibilities towards East Timor was very timely.
- 95. As was clear from Bulletin No. 49 of the International Committee of the Rad Cross, the food situation in East Timor was deteriorating dangerously and assuming all the characteristics of a general famine, and there were numerous cases of sickness and devastating epidemics. His delegation therefore recognized the urgent need for massive assistance to the population of East Timor and urged Governments to undertake a campaign in favour of the Maubere people, which would be threatened with annihilation unless Indonesian occupation and repression were halted immediately. The international community should give active support to FRETILIN and to all the people of East Timor with a view to restoring the inalienable rights of the Maubere people to self-determination and independence.
- 96. Indonesian aggression in East Timor, should be universally condemned. The United Nations must, in order to attain its noble objectives of justice and peace, make some moral progress which could find expression only in equality among peoples and in a freely-accepted international jurisdiction.
- 97. Mr. DABO (Guinea) said that his delegation wished to express its sincere condolences to the delegations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and Algeria.
- 96. While the struggle for national liberation had made indisputable progress, the problem of decolonization was still one of the most important questions confronting

(Mr. Dabo, Guinea)

the United Nations. The presence of delegations from Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines showed that the process of emancipation of the colonized peoples was irreversible.

- 99. Twenty-one years after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the international community was still confronted by colonialism. The <u>apartheid</u> régime was still oppressing the South African and Namibian peoples and, with the complicity of its Western allies, was doing everything possible to pertetuate its illegal power.
- 100. The General Assembly resolutions on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the populations of certain Territories administered by the United Kingdom, the United States and New Zealand placed particular emphasis on the responsibility of the administering Powers for providing information on the political, economic and social development of the Territories, with special reference to the preservation of their personality and cultural identity, the appointment of their nationals to posts of genuine responsibility, the return of all political refugees and recognition of the primary role of their elected officials.
- 101. The observations he had made should be taken into consideration by Member States assuming administrative responsibility for Trust Territories if those States wished to fulfil their obligations under Article 73 (e) of the Charter.
- 102. The documents before the Committee showed the global nature of the task confronting the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism. Its responsibilities in the educational, health and administrative fields were numerous.
- 103. The populations which legitimately aspired to independence and freedom needed personnel who were capable of assuming their future role. The support of United Nations specialized agencies and other international organizations, particularly UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, FAO and the ILO, was essential. His delegation valued and encouraged the activities of those agencies in organizing educational seminars, providing fellowships or teachers to liberation movements or establishing beef or poultry farms to help them provide for themselves. Such action should be stimulated in order to relieve the burden on neighbouring countries and to help refugees to be self-supporting.
- 104. Those economic and social considerations should not divert attention from the key questions of the decolonization of all territories under foreign domination. Problems of area, geographical situation or limited resources should in no way delay the application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
- 105. With regard to Belize, nothing had been done during the past year to speed up the talks between the United Kingdom and Guatemala and to keep the General Assembly informed of the results, as the Assembly had requested at its thirty-third session. On the eve of the Committee's discussion of the matter, it had been stated that the two Governments had agreed to meet again in the near future.

(Ir. Dabo, Guinea)

- 106. The people of Belize, by its massive support of the People's United Party during the elections in November 1979, had clearly expressed its desire for immediate freedom. His delegation supported that desire.
- 107. The international community should do everything possible to assist the people of East Timor to safeguard its aspirations to independence and national sovereignty. His country, which had recognized the Democratic Republic of East Timor from the days following its proclamation of independence by FRETILIN, renewed its full support to the Maubere people in their steadfast struggle for self-determination and national sovereignty. The Maubeee people had no desire to forego freedom in exchange for a wealth, since they knew that it was always the master who benefited.
- 108. His delegation welcomed the communique by the Council of Ministers of the Portuguese Republic acknowledging that country's responsibilities to the Timor people before world public opinion. It would endorse any recommendations, decisions or resolutions which the Committee might adopt on the freedom of colonial peoples and on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
- 109. Mr. ERELL (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his delegation deeply regretted that the representative of the United Arab Emirates had been unable to resist the temptation of indulging in incitement, along standard Arab extremist lines, in relation to Israel. In view of the fires now raging not far from that representative's country as a result of incitement, it might have been thought that the Government concerned would have taken a more sober view of the dangers resulting therefrom. In 1948, when the General Assembly had offered a framework for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, certain extremist Arab Governments had rejected that framework and had gone to war with the avowed intention of annihilating Israel. That war had produced tragedy for all concerned. The Government of the United Arab Emirates should realize that the region had had enough tragedies and that incitement could only bring more of them. The time for incitement had passed. Everyone concerned should now support the peace process and work towards a final settlement of the Middle East problem. His delegation wished the Government of the United Arab Emirates all happiness and prosperity and hoped it would cease its involvement in policies which were only likely to bring about more suffering. It wished to see the people of the United Arab Emirates enjoying true democracy and genuine self-determination.
- 110. If SEMICHI (Algeria) said that he wished to thank delegations and the representative of the International Labour Organisation for their expressions of sympathy and solidarity with the Algerian people in connexion with their recent disaster. The condolences would be transmitted to the authorities in Algiers and would be much appreciated by the Algerian people.
- 111. Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he wondered what disaster could be greater than the occupation of a territory and the uprooting and displacement of its people. The racist policy of zionism was the same as that of South Africa a policy of settlement and elimination of the identity of the indigenous people. The disaster that had

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

befallen the Arab and African peoples was the most hideous form of colonialism, which the United Nations, in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had pledged itself to eliminate.

- 112. The statement by the Israeli representative was full of the usual misinformation. The Zionist entity had violated all the relevant United Nations resolutions and turned a deaf ear to the Organization. The movements struggling for independence and self-determination would not be obstructed by zionism. The kind of peace desired by Israel was a peace based on terror, genocide, population displacement and settlement. Mumerous resolutions had been adopted condemning Israel and calling on it to respect the rights of the Palestinian people, and the subject was being discussed by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Political Committee.
- 113. Mr. SAMHAN (United Arab Emirates), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that everyone knew that there had been a violation of human rights by zionism in occupied Palestine. Palestinians had been expelled from their homes and the two mayors of the West Bank who had returned had recently been obliged to leave again within 48 hours. The Israeli representative had spoken of self-determination. His Government was in favour of self-determination and was opposed to any form of discrimination or apartheid, as practised in Israel.
- 114. Mr. ERELL (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said it was a pity that the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and the United Arab Emirates had to depart from the subject of decolonization in Africa in order to raise a subject that was close to their hearts. Since the Middle East issue was being discussed in other bodies, he failed to understand why they insisted on bringing it up in the Fourth Committee. Since they had done so, however, he urged them to read the records of the United Nations for 1948 and 1949, which would make it clear that the suffering in the Middle East was the direct responsibility of leaders who had pursued the policies now apparently being followed by the Syrian Arab Republic and the United Arab Emirates.
- 115. Mr. SAMHAN (United Arab Emirates), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the Committee was responsible for discussing the question of decolonization and was therefore concerned with self-determination.
- 116. Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, reminded the Committee of his comments to the effect that what had befallen the Arab people of Palestine was the most hideous form of colonialism. There could be no genuine peace while the Palestinian people were deprived of its right to self-determination.
- 117. The CHAIRMAN said that the delegations of Afghanistan, Cyprus, Grenada, Iran, Kenya, Malawi, Mexico, Panama, the Seychelles and Swaziland had become co-sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2.
- 118. Egypt, the Federal Republic of Germany and Ireland had become co-sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.4.

A/C.4/35/SR.13 English Page 26 (The Chairman)

119. He drew the Committee's attention to draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.3 and announced that Cyprus, Kenya and Poland had become co-sponsors of that draft resolution.

120. He had received a communication containing a request for a hearing concerning an item on the Committee's agenda. The communication would be circulated as a Committee document for consideration at a subsequent meeting.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.