



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 15th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana)

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Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.4/35/SR.15  
3 November 1980

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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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, 621, 623 and 634)

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Hearing of petitioners - Question of Western Sahara

1. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that, at its 8th meeting, it had granted requests for hearings contained in documents A/C.4/35/5/Add.5, Add.6 and Add.10.

2. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Brika (Front de libération du Sahara) took a place at the petitioners' table.

3. Mr. BRIKA (Front de libération du Sahara) said that he wished to inform the United Nations and the world of the reality concerning the inhabitants of the Sahara. The falsehoods and doubts that had been put in the minds of people of goodwill would soon be dispelled. King Hassan II had sought to make the country a unique example of democracy among third world countries. The freedom of choice and of expression enjoyed by its people were clearly evident. The persons on whose behalf he was speaking were appearing as the authentic and freely and democratically elected representatives of the inhabitants of the Sahara. The claim made in certain circles that anyone outside the 10 organizations concerned had any kind of national, political or social representative character was a falsehood. All the evidence had proved that the 10 organizations were the true representatives of the people of El Sakiat el-Hamra and Wadi el Dahab.

4. It was difficult to understand the motives of the administration of a neighbouring country, with which his country had joined in a common struggle, in launching a destructive war and fomenting tension, after his country had rid itself of foreign colonial domination. Having ousted the colonial Power from its territory, Morocco had, in 1976 and 1977, organized national and regional elections throughout the country, including the newly-recovered Sahara, in which all men and women of legal age had participated. No sooner had the colonial Power been driven out, however, than the country had been confronted by hostility and aggression organized and financed by the Algerian leaders, who had tried to pretend that an imaginary republic with an imaginary people existed. As a consequence, Algerian and Libyan weapons were being used against a brother country by a group of mercenaries having nothing to do with the territory or region. Such attitudes, adopted in emulation of the Libyan régime, had caused considerable world tension and were totally unjustifiable. Events that had taken place in Chad, Mauritania, Tunisia, Egypt and other countries were similar to those in his country.

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(Mr. Brika, Front de libération  
du Sahara)

5. He wished to reveal the true identity of two members of the puppet group of the Algerian and Libyan régimes. One such member, who was looked upon as one of the original founders of the Polisario group, had formerly been the Secretary-General of the Renaissance party in Mauritania and had acted as permanent representative of that country to the United Nations. He had been dismissed for embezzlement, and after his dismissal had begun to hire himself out. The second, Ibrahim Hakim, who was present in the Committee, had been an orderly in northern Mauritania and had later been given an embassy post in Algeria, where he had married a local woman. The group also included a traitor who had left his country. Few countries were free of traitors, but there had been no case in the past in which the United Nations had been willing to listen to such persons, let alone to those who had tried to form countries within the country to which they belonged. That was a serious precedent which could lead to violations in many parts of the world.

6. It was difficult to understand how, in a world that sought to learn the secrets of outer space, people could be ignorant of what was occurring in an area in which wars of liberation had been waged. The records of the International Court of Justice showed that thousands of his people had struggled to recover their Saharan territory ever since their confrontation with the last vestiges of colonialism, when basic infrastructures such as health and housing had been lacking, families of murdered freedom fighters had had to be cared for, and there had been many disabled persons and a large influx of immigrants. At a time when the regional councils had pledged themselves to tackle those problems, the territory had been plundered and many inhabitants had been carried away by Spanish and Algerian soldiers. It was difficult to understand what had impelled Algeria to act as it had done. The Algerian régime had engaged in marginal battles in order to divert world attention from the question of the Moroccan territories in the Sahara which had been annexed to Algeria by the colonialists and held on to by that country with Libyan support, in violation of all its agreements with Morocco.

7. The irrevocable identification of the Sahara with Morocco had been demonstrated throughout history as the will of its inhabitants, and reaffirmed on a number of occasions. Its people were prepared to fight a war of honour no matter how great the cost, and to destroy those who sought to oppress them and prejudice their territorial integrity. He was confident that the Committee would condemn the aggressive and provocative acts of Algeria in the region. He urged it to show respect for human rights and the unity of peoples in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolutions, by ensuring Morocco's recovery of the Sahara. Such action could be a guide for future generations in the settlement of marginal conflicts. The territory had been organically linked to Morocco throughout its long and glorious history, of which he was proud. Its people cherished the leadership of King Hassan II and rejected the so-called self-determination and other falsehoods of the referendum.

8. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Rachid (Mouvement des originaires de la Sakiat el-Hamra et du Rio de Oro (AOSARIO)) took a place at the petitioners' table.



9. Mr. RACHID (AOSARIO) said that his movement was composed of resisters, militants and combatants who had struggled against colonialism for the unconditional return of the Sahara to the mother country, Morocco. AOSARIO was playing a political role both inside and outside the country. Its objective was to wage a political and, as necessary, a military struggle for the liberation of its brothers and sisters who had been taken from their native land by the regular army of a Government which was using them as pawns in its game of political hegemony. It was in order to alert world public opinion and to ensure recognition of the right of the families held by Algeria to freedom of movement and of expression that AOSARIO had transmitted to the Committee of Wise Men its historical eight-point memorandum, which explained and proved that the political wing of the so-called Polisario had been established only towards the end of 1974 in the offices of the Algerian FLN from Moroccan and other opponents. It also proved that its military wing had never been anything but a branch of the Algerian army established for the purpose. The presence of Algerian military prisoners in Morocco was a concrete example of that state of affairs.

10. The memorandum showed, inter alia, that the decolonization of the provinces concerned, and their return to their mother country, was in conformity with OAU jurisprudence, and particularly with its principle of inviolability of the frontiers inherited from colonialism, since such decolonization, from the political and legal point of view, was the result of a decolonization process which had begun earlier between Spain and Morocco and which had led to the retrocession of Tarfaya and its surrounding area in 1958, followed by that of Ifni in 1969. That showed that there had never been any immutable frontiers of international legal standing between the mother country of Morocco and its Saharan provinces which had been under colonial domination up to 1975. It could clearly be shown that the former Spanish Sahara had, throughout its colonization by Spain, been no more than a retreat to which the colonizer had withdrawn before returning Tarfaya and Ifni to Morocco, while the artificial line delimiting that retreat had merely been designed to protect the last enclave of Francoism in the region.

11. The historic memorandum, copies of which had been sent to all international bodies, showed that the populations concerned were not in Algeria of their own free will, but that they had been taken there by force under armed threat by the Algerian army at the time of its retreat from the positions it had occupied in the region before the arrival of the Moroccan army. With all that proof, and taking account of the true state of affairs in the area, AOSARIO denounced any imputation that its population was responsible for the military activities carried out by the Algerian army under the screen of the so-called "Polisario" - a military action and political strategy upheld by Algeria for its own interests in the region.

12. The presence in Sierra Leone of 10 organizations representing the currents of political and armed resistance in the Sahara before decolonization was not accidental; it was intended as a clear proof to international opinion of the inalienable rights of Morocco over the provinces of which it had been deprived by Spain - the same rights as it had over the northern zone, Tarfaya and Ifni which had become independent respectively in 1956, 1968 and 1969. The Sahara, formerly under Spanish domination, had never been anything but a territorial part of Tarfaya and Ifni, whose return to Morocco had been agreed by Spain several years earlier.

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(Mr. Rachid, AOSARIO)

13. While the petitions of the 10 organizations before the Committee of Wise Men had served to enlighten the African authorities, those petitions had called to mind what had taken place in New York and at Evian in 1960 and 1962, and the dialogue of the deaf between the Algerian FLN and the French colonial Power. The French had requested the Algerians to recognize the right to independence of the Touaregs of the Algerian Sahara, while the Algerian FLN had argued the principles of territorial integrity. The fate of the people concerned, at the hands of the Algerian army, was well known.

14. The presence of 10 organizations from the area represented the passing from father to son of a banner under which the fight against all the enemies of the unity and integrity of the mother country of Morocco had been conducted. Such a presence refuted the fallacious arguments made in the United Nations by puppet organizations in which international mercenaries sought refuge. It was the Committee's responsibility to tackle that painful problem, not by taking Algerian theories as gospel, but by asking Algeria such relevant questions as to why it refused to take a census of the people whom it claimed had taken refuge there or to receive a fact-finding committee.

15. The events in the area were nothing but a continuation of the machinations which Algeria had used ever since the accession of his people to independence. Such machinations ranged from subversion of internal security to disguised war. The Encyclopédie Larousse showed that the area of Algeria after it had become French Algeria had increased from 430,000 km<sup>2</sup> to 1.5 million km<sup>2</sup> while that of Morocco had decreased from 850,000 km<sup>2</sup> before the Algésiras Conference to its present size of 450,000 km<sup>2</sup>, plus its regained Saharan provinces.

16. It could rightly be asked under what principles Algeria could be allowed to keep its colonial spoils and to deprive the Moroccan people of their right to regain their territorial integrity by returning to their pre-colonial frontiers.

17. As the original inhabitants of the Sahara, the members of AOSARIO were proud to belong to a people and a country which had initiated the military activities of the FLN against the colonial occupier. They were also proud of the fact that it was in Morocco that tens of thousands of Algerians who had fled from colonial repression had taken refuge. It was painful to observe, however, that the Algerians, in return, had created the criminal organizations that were murdering, kidnapping and detaining their families.

18. Many countries had so far listened only to the voice of Algeria, while that of the 90-95 per cent of his people who were living peaceably in their country, Morocco, had been completely ignored. As long as Algeria refused to take a census or to allow the facts concerning the populations which it claimed had taken refuge in that country to be verified, his movement would continue to accuse Algeria of having carried them away by force. The proclamation signed by the Algerian

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(Mr. Rachid, AOSARIO)

political and military resistance authorities, when they had fought for their independence, had stated that for seven years Morocco had given them its constant support and that the Algerian people were resolved to repay the benefits they had received and not to engage in any fratricidal confrontation with Morocco. On the other hand, in March 1976, the Party for Revolution and Socialism had stated that the fratricidal war with Morocco would be a palliative for the problems besetting Algeria.

19. His intention was to show that the Algerian people themselves had recognized before the world that the war was one between the Algerian administration and the Moroccan people, and with no one else. The facts he was advancing could be verified from a work published in 1977 by Mr. Lebjaoui Mohamed, a writer and former companion-in-arms of President Ben Bella.

20. Algeria had made a constant parade of refugees from his country's provinces, clearly intended to portray Algeria as a country of refuge, yet the High Commissioner for Refugees had indicated that that country refused to comply with the request for a census, or to receive a fact-finding committee to look into the question of the alleged refugees, whose number, place of origin and present place of residence were unknown.

21. In its preoccupation with its own interests, which had caused it to lose sight of the principles of law, Algeria was organizing mercenaries and manipulating citizens of Mali, Chad, Nigeria and Mauritania, thus creating a favourable setting for subversion, which had already involved part of Africa in a war dictated by its hegemonic interests. Its military aggression against his country's civilian areas was characteristically colonialist in nature and fundamentally opposed to peace in the area. History had shown that when a country was enmeshed in internal differences, its authoritarianism impelled it towards foreign adventures.

22. The fact that the Algerian administration had embraced the dream of making its country into a Power was its own affair, but that that ambition should go so far as to attempt to create a zone of influence by force and by the blood of his people was unacceptable both to those people and to world conscience. The Algerian administration had confirmed its anti-Moroccan sentiments by its expulsion in 1976 and 1977 of 40,000 long-established Moroccans, some of whom had taken up arms on the side of the FLN against the colonial Power in Algeria.

23. Algeria's establishment of a criminal organization disassociated from the true aspirations of the people had been a most cruel experiment which had succeeded because, at great cost, Algeria had been able to distort the truth in the eyes of international public opinion. The Algerian administration which, by its slogans and propaganda, portrayed itself as a friend and protector of his people, clearly was, on the contrary, a tormentor.

24. The people of the Moroccan Sahara, who had formerly been under Spanish domination, had sprung from tribes which had had their roots in Morocco from time immemorial. The presence of representatives of his movement in the Committee was designed to show that it was not the political links of Morocco with the families of those people, but the sacred links of land, blood and history that were at stake.

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(Mr. Rachid, AOSARIO)

25. AOSARIO had addressed to the Committee, to the Commission on Human Rights and to Amnesty International a memorandum describing what had occurred in the Tindouf camps and at the level of the Algerian administration. The facts had been attested to by witnesses who had escaped from the Tindouf concentration camps and who were prepared to meet representatives of international organizations. That could be the first step in a just and impartial procedure to unmask the machinations and the true motives of Algeria.

26. Mr. CHEIKH (Front de libération du Sahara) said that the so-called question of Western Sahara was merely a screen behind which was taking shape a machiavellian conspiracy to destabilize Morocco and north-west Africa, and, indeed, the whole continent. The colonialists, having ostensibly left, were returning in disguise by means of an imperialist conspiracy involving hegemonistic intrigues.

27. Nevertheless, the people knew how to react, as they had in the past when they had fought the French and Spanish occupying forces. The people had left many martyrs on the field of battle, but ultimately the Moroccan flag had flown triumphant in every case.

28. He recalled the Franco-Spanish military operations of the 1950s, which had met with courageous and stiff resistance, although unfortunately the colonialists had managed to strengthen their position. Villages and towns had been devastated and their inhabitants relocated. The Front had waged a fierce struggle against the Spanish which had resulted in the return of Tarfaya to Moroccan sovereignty. In the 1960s the Front had undertaken clandestine operations and had intensified its political and diplomatic efforts to secure the return of all the Saharan provinces to the motherland of Morocco. It had been the only organization which had fought to preserve the Moroccan nature of those provinces.

29. The Spanish Government under Franco had drawn up machiavellian plans to create a puppet State in the south of Morocco. As a diversionary tactic Spain had returned the town of Sidi Ifni to Morocco. Nevertheless, his organization had not been deluded, but had redoubled its vigilance to guard against the establishment of any puppet State.

30. In 1975 the Front had taken part in the Green March, which had been instrumental in the reunification of Morocco's territory.

31. Since then one of Morocco's neighbours, with which it had fraternal historical, linguistic and cultural links had replaced Spain as a would-be colonial Power. That same country had established pseudo-liberation movements which had attempted to undermine his country's territorial integrity. Those movements had no links with the southern provinces.

32. The Fourth Committee would undoubtedly make every effort to bring peace and security to a region which for the past five years had known acute tension. In

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(Mr. Cheikh, Front de libération  
du Sahara)

so doing it would remove a serious threat to international peace and security. The genuine inhabitants of the area could rest assured that they would be able to live in peace and tranquillity. The losers would be those who had allowed themselves to be manipulated by external forces.

33. Mr. Brika, Mr. Rachid, and Mr. Cheikh withdrew.

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

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

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(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)

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(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)

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AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued)  
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AGENDA ITEM 89: OFFERS BY MEMBERS STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/35/518; A/C.4/35/L.5)

34. Mr. HULIS (Democratic Yemen) said that the item under discussion concerned the just struggle of the people of Western Sahara for their freedom and independence and for the right to choose their manner of development in complete national sovereignty.

35. Attempts had been made in the Committee to distort the true nature of the role of the Frente POLISARIO in the vanguard of the struggle of the Saharan people. He was not defending the Frente POLISARIO, but lending support to a just cause. The kind of play-acting attempted by the Moroccan régime was neither surprising nor successful. Foreign occupation and imperialism were one and the same, and any difference in style was merely cosmetic. It reminded him of the attempt by British imperialism in South Yemen to set up a number of clients and tribal leaders to make speeches at national and local gatherings in the name of the struggle of the people in order to distort the truth. That attempt had failed, and victory had been achieved under the leadership of the National Front, the same kind of victory that the Frente POLISARIO would surely achieve in its legitimate struggle.

36. The Arab people, the United Nations, OAU, the non-aligned countries and many other organizations supported the political and historical rights of the people of Western Sahara.

37. The struggle was between between a national liberation movement and the forces of occupation, not between Morocco and Algeria. In spite of the international support for that struggle, the forces imposing their will on the people of Western Sahara had continued widespread oppression and placed political, military and economic obstacles in the way of the people seeking to achieve self-determination and national sovereignty.

38. The international community must use its influence to put an end to the continued oppression and help the people achieve victory. Morocco still refused to abide by General Assembly resolution 34/37. Its refusal was part of a concerted plan aimed at causing tension, leaving the area in a state of constant anxiety and instability and leading North Africa into the snares of imperialism.

39. Democratic Yemen sought a just peace in Western Sahara. Peace and justice were interlinked; peace could not be brought about when a Power imposed its will upon

(Mr. Hulis, Democratic Yemen)

another people and suppressed its revolution. It was an established historical fact that peace and mutual understanding could not be based upon the suppression of revolutions, which inevitably occurred where oppression, exploitation and slavery reigned. His country drew a distinction between revolution and the export of revolution, which it firmly opposed.

40. His country was a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2, submitted by a group of fraternal and friendly nations with a view to achieving positive results.

41. Mr. GOMEZ ROBLEDO (Mexico) said that it was gratifying that the number of colonial Territories had been steadily reduced over the years, although some remained. A recent and disturbing trend, however, was the emergence of colonialism by developing countries, as was occurring in North Africa. The International Court of Justice, in its advisory opinion, had not found any tie of territorial sovereignty between the Territory of Western Sahara and Morocco or Mauritania; thus it had not found legal ties which might impede the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

42. His delegation's position was based on the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, the right to self-determination and the peaceful solution of disputes. At the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, his Government had declared its recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, within the boundaries of the former Spanish Sahara. His delegation had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2, which reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

43. His Government's view of colonial Territories had been constant over many years and often stated by its representatives. The interests of the inhabitants of such Territories were paramount. Mexico endorsed the doctrine of intertemporal law, which held that there was no immutable acquired rights, but that law continuously evolved. As legal systems changed over time, so did the rights they incorporated. So that, as the colonial system had been rejected, colonial domination had come to be viewed as a "crime". It was thus natural that the rights of the colonial Power would be irreversibly extinguished, as would those which any successor State might inherit.

44. That was all the more true where neither the colonial Power nor its successors had ever physically possessed the Territories in question, which was the case of Belize. His Government had for years advocated the right of the people of Belize to self-determination. That people had distinct social and cultural characteristics, and an undeniable right to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity.

45. Those rights had been recognized in many international forums. The Commonwealth Heads of Government, meeting at Lusaka in 1979, had declared their support for the legitimate aspirations of the people of Belize for independence on the basis of

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(Mr. Gomez Robledo, Mexico)

territorial integrity. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries had called upon all States to support Belize in order to facilitate its rapid attainment of independence and to ensure that its sovereignty and territorial integrity were scrupulously respected. The Heads of State or Government of Colombia, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, at their meeting in Bogotá in 1977, had declared that the problem of Belize should be resolved by peaceful means, with respect for the territorial integrity of Belize and the right of its people to self-determination.

46. For Mexico the question of Belize was one of principle, although for the people of Belize it was one of survival. Mexico entertained no territorial ambitions vis-à-vis that Territory; it was solely motivated by the principles of self-determination, the peaceful solution of international conflicts, and the strict prohibition of any threat or use of force.

47. Mr. FIGUEIREDO (Angola) said that, as a revolutionary, he could not keep silent after hearing the statements made by certain lackeys of imperialism. The People's Republic of Angola had many connexions with East Timor, through the common bond of a colonial past. Moreover, on the basis of its revolutionary ideology, Angola was bound to support all genuine national liberation struggles, and his Government extended solidarity to all third world nations. It was also conscious of the fact that East Timor had had one colonial presence replaced by another, at a time of rapid decolonization elsewhere.

48. East Timor was situated far from the centres of power and commerce in the West, and few people were aware of the war being waged by the people under the leadership of their liberation movement FRETILIN, and its armed wing FALINTIL. However, information was now reaching the media about the war which had been going on since 1975. It was not just a conventional war; the Maubere people were starving to death following the invasion. Bombardments of the coastal areas were forcing the people into the mountains, and devastating the rice crops. A third of the population had already perished from famine, illness and war. FRETILIN had received plenty of verbal promises, but few weapons from the international community, and the United Nations had offered resolutions rather than direct assistance in the struggle for independence. Meanwhile, the occupying Power was hampering the work of humanitarian assistance, which could save many lives.

49. The aggressor had repeatedly argued that East Timor, by the wish of its people, had been "integrated" into Indonesia. If that were really the case, how could one explain the liberation war which was still going on, and the major military successes of FRETILIN in January and June 1980? War, famine, occupation, the destruction of crops, mass executions and the use of chemical weapons were hardly the conditions under which an "integrated" territory would choose to live. It was a matter of great regret that the occupying Power, which had itself been colonized for hundreds of years, should now be so insensitive to the moral and human imperatives of the situation. Its insistence on subjugating the people by military force was driving yet another wedge in the fragile structure of third world and non-aligned unity.

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(Mr. Figueiredo, Angola)

50. The liberation of others furthered one's own liberation. Decolonization, far from posing a threat to regional geopolitics, could be a source of strength in the collective fight against injustice and exploitation. Imperialism and colonialism must be fought, not encouraged. It was gratifying to hear of the willingness of the Government of Portugal to assume its responsibility over the territory of East Timor, and to support the right of the Timorese people to self-determination and independence. Now would be an opportune moment for Indonesia to reaffirm its commitment to third world and non-aligned principles, and withdraw its troops from East Timor, allowing the United Nations to make arrangements for the exercise of the Maubere people's right to self-determination and independence. That would be another defeat for Western imperialism, whose military industries depended upon conflict for their survival. His own country continued to support the liberation struggle of the people of East Timor, and wishes them early success in their struggle.

51. Mr. ATEPOR (Ghana) said that his delegation was pleased to note the constructive spirit of co-operation shown by New Zealand, Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States with regard to the territories under their administration, by transmitting information concerning matters in those territories. He hoped that the decision, in one or two cases, to stop the flow of information would be reconsidered. The willingness of those States to receive United Nations visiting missions was particularly valuable, as such missions helped to harness the capacity of the United Nations to help peoples to exercise their right to self-determination. The existing constraints on the dependent territories - size, geographical location and limited resources - were well known, but no people should be deprived of its right to determine its own future. The options must be clearly presented to each people, so that the final decision could be taken by them.

52. Military activities by colonial Powers in territories under their administration was a cause for great concern. As the report of the Special Committee showed, South Africa was continuing to build up its military forces, and to expand its network of military bases in Namibia. He could not understand how any nation claiming to be peace-loving could remain indifferent to South Africa's military activities; much less how any such nation could assist South Africa. That country was, indeed, receiving military support from its Western allies, despite numerous United Nations resolutions calling on Member States to cease all co-operation with South Africa in the military, economic and other spheres. It was time to take urgent measures to halt the flow of such assistance. Empty words were not enough; only concrete acts of solidarity would suffice.

53. The previous year, his delegation had spoken on the questions of Western Sahara, Belize and East Timor, and the intractable problems of decolonization in those areas. He must now, regrettably, disagree openly with some of the views advanced by countries which had an otherwise impressive record of solidarity with peoples aspiring to their independence. Any compromise with the cardinal principle of self-determination merely jeopardized one's own national survival. The principle of self-determination must be unequivocally upheld with regard to all three territories. There had recently been encouraging developments in Western Sahara, with the courageous decision of Mauritania to renounce its claim to part

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(Mr. Atepor, Ghana)

of the territory, and withdraw its troops. That step paved the way for an equitable solution of the problem. The Organization of African Unity was also seeking to guarantee the people of the Western Sahara the right to exercise self-determination. He believed that a successful outcome depended on the attitude of Morocco, and he was glad to note that the people of Morocco were willing to co-operate with the OAU in the search for a definitive solution. The efforts of the OAU in no way contradicted steps taken by the United Nations, and his own delegation was not disposed to accept any measures which would preempt the right of the General Assembly to deal with the problem of Western Sahara. In that light, his delegation fully supported draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2, especially operative paragraphs 7 and 8.

54. With regard to the problem of East Timor, his delegation could only express its regret that there had been no progress since the previous session. Claims that there was no real problem, and that the people merely needed material assistance, were not acceptable. Only when the right to self-determination could be freely exercised was there a valid political choice. What prevailed in East Timor was, at best, a forced atmosphere of peace, and at worst, barbarous acts of oppression which brutalized both the perpetrators and the victims. He therefore urged the Government of Indonesia to allow the people a free choice of their destiny.

55. With regard to Belize, the people were entitled to prompt and unconditional independence if they so desired. All the indications were that they did desire independence, and that wish should not be frustrated by the claims of Guatemala regarding the non-fulfilment by the United Kingdom of an agreement signed a century before. Guatemala might indeed be entitled to redress, but negotiations to settle the issue in accordance with the Charter should be set in motion, as the people of Belize should not have to pay the price of the dispute.

56. He was glad to note that the United Nations specialized agencies continued to give assistance to the liberation movements, especially in southern Africa, and had taken measures to involve the movements more closely with their assistance programmes. Of particular value were the efforts of FAO to provide agricultural and technical expertise for Namibia through SWAPO. The Committee had heard from the acting representative of UNHCR of the efforts being made to facilitate the return of Zimbabwean refugees to their homeland. The assistance of the World Bank was also appreciated. But, as the report of the Special Committee indicated, all the assistance programmes fell far short of the actual needs of the beneficiaries. He therefore appealed to the agencies to step up their assistance. He was well aware of the claims by the agencies that they had to act within the limits of certain constitutional constraints. He did not doubt that that was so, but there must be something wrong with their constitutions if they were prevented from giving sufficient assistance to oppressed people struggling for basic human rights. It was time for the United Nations to take a serious look at the constitutions of those specialized agencies. He had no doubt that there would be ample support for amendments to the constitutions which would make the agencies more responsive to the needs they had been created to meet.

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57. Mrs. OSODE (Liberia) said that her delegation welcomed the two new members of the Committee, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Their participation would undoubtedly maximize the Committee's contribution towards securing self-determination, human dignity and independence for all countries and peoples under colonial and racist domination.

58. As a new member of the Advisory Committee of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, Liberia was particularly interested in agenda item 88, on UNWTPSA, believing that education and training were major forces in the transition to freedom and independence, and were crucial to development. Her country had therefore co-sponsored resolution A/C.4/35/L.4. Students from southern Africa, in particular, fled their narrowly-based racist education to seek enlightenment from abroad. Their education must do more than pave the way for personal achievement; it must be commensurate with the task of nation-building when their countries emerged as sovereign States.

59. Her delegation supported the recommendations of the Advisory Committee contained in document A/35/525, based on an Evaluation Mission which had visited the United Kingdom, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zambia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Botswana and Zimbabwe. With the independence of Zimbabwe, independence for Namibia was now at last approaching. Pending the achievement of majority rule in South Africa, it could be expected that the existing racist policies would be radically changed, if not abolished, as a result of geo-political influences. Care must therefore be taken that the education and training acquired abroad equipped students from southern Africa to shoulder the responsibilities they would eventually bear. She noted from the report that high priority was given to secondary education for Namibia, university studies for South Africa and sciences for Zimbabwe. Other fields should be given similar priority. Some of the fields of study mentioned in the report, though important, might not be suited to the needs or attainments of the students.

60. There was a special need to develop agricultural and technical vocational education. Her delegation was therefore concerned that for the period 1 October 1979 to 30 September 1980, only 17 scholarships for agriculture had been awarded to Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, with 15 going to Zimbabwe. The problem lay not only in providing facilities for such studies, but in changing prevalent attitudes towards them in order to develop a realization of their importance. It was also regrettable that the over-all figures for scholarship awards failed to reveal the level of voluntary or involuntary student drop-outs. There was a great need for student counselling. The Advisory Committee must also make maximum use of the information collected by the various agencies and universities involved with UNWTPSA's activities.

61. Her delegation was grateful for the role played in those activities by UNDP, ECA and OAU/BPEAR. Regrettably, caution must now be exercised with regard to the IUEF, as the scandalous activities of one official there were now a matter of public record. One change she would like to see would be the democratic representation of students on the panels which awarded scholarships. Another interesting possibility would be to examine the influence of educational

(Mrs. Osode, Liberia)

institutions on public attitudes towards the social and employment aspirations of refugee students. The influx of such students into neighbouring African States had created serious unemployment problems. Students from Zimbabwe who had received scholarship awards had demonstrated a high degree of excellence, and she therefore urged that serious consideration be given to extending their scholarships, and also to increasing educational services to Namibia and South Africa.

62. In view of the cost of education, there was a great need for generous contributions to the Programme from all States. The relative shortfall of resources was placing restrictions on the number of students who could be accommodated. As of 22 October 1979, only 36 countries had made contributions to the Programme, totalling \$3,712,840. Additional pledges of \$505,487 had been received from 13 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and western Europe and other States. Since 22 October 1979, 21 States had made offers of scholarships in their own countries under the Programme; some of those States had also made substantial cash contributions. It was, however, disturbing that some States had so far failed to put their offers into practice. She appealed to such States, and others, to review the criteria for accepting refugee students; the present was a critical period, when all attempts should be made to assist them. Liberia had accepted a few students into its educational institutions, and would probably take more; and her Government's contribution to the Programme would be forthcoming shortly.

63. Ms. RADIC (Yugoslavia) said that, when the General Assembly had adopted its resolution 1514 (XV), it had introduced new ethical principles into international relations according to which the subjugation, domination and exploitation of other peoples amounted to a denial of fundamental human rights and was contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. Since that time the international community had achieved great successes in the field of decolonization. Fifty-five countries had gained their independence and had been admitted to membership in the United Nations. The majority of the newly independent States had also joined the non-aligned movement and had further strengthened its role as the prime mover of broad international support for the anti-colonial struggle of oppressed peoples in all regions of the world and in southern Africa in particular.

64. The international community was still faced with cases where the basic objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been disregarded or circumvented, thus fostering conditions for the outbreak of international conflicts. The twentieth anniversary of the Declaration offered a unique opportunity for implementing its guidelines and recommendations fully and for accelerating the process of definitive eradication of colonialism and, with it, of racism, racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation, especially in territories where the Declaration had not yet been implemented. The international community had behind it twenty years of experience in overcoming resistance and in evolving tactics for the promotion and realization of the objectives and principles of the Declaration. Significant results had been achieved which might have appeared to be unattainable twenty years earlier.

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(Ms. Radic, Yugoslavia)

65. The process of decolonization and the implementation of the objectives and principles of the Declaration should continue to preoccupy the international community as efforts were clearly continuing to interpret the Declaration in a way which suited certain factions and national interests which had placed themselves in the service of various régimes and their narrow and selfish aims. It had emerged from the statements of petitioners that some peoples had been forcibly prevented from realizing their inalienable right to self-determination and accession to independence as stipulated in the Declaration. There had been many open military interventions and occupations of former colonial territories and the peoples of those territories had not been given the opportunity to decide their destiny for themselves. In some cases the people concerned had taken up arms and were striving, by combining armed struggle with political and diplomatic activity, to thwart the policy of fait accompli and to prevent the imposition of neo-colonialist solutions. It was the duty of the international community to help such peoples in their struggle and to prevent the Declaration from being interpreted in a manner which would limit the process of self-determination to a degree which did not include the right to full and genuine independence.

66. The views of the Yugoslav delegation on the items under consideration had already been expressed in the Special Committee on Decolonization as well as at the thirty-fourth and earlier sessions of the General Assembly. The Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Josip Vrhovec, had referred to some of those problems in his statement in the plenary on 24 September 1980. In accordance with the principles of non-alignment and its policy of consistent and continued support for the liberation movements in countries under colonial and foreign domination, Yugoslavia had given its strong support to the position taken by the non-aligned countries at their last summit conference in Havana on the need for taking effective measures for the full and consistent implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) as well as for strengthening and activating the support of the international community for anti-colonial and liberation movements throughout the world and, particularly, in Africa. His delegation considered that the international community should not exclude the need for adopting effective measures and steps against those who, in any way, obstructed the implementation of the principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The world decolonization process would thereby be accelerated and successfully completed and one of the major problems with which the United Nations had had to deal since its inception would be finally resolved.

67. Mr. TKACHUK (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the main provisions of the Declaration were still topical.

68. As a result of the collapse of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism and of the national liberation struggle of peoples, dozens of new independent States had appeared. Many millions of people had cast off the shackles of colonial oppression, and their voice now resounded loud and clear on the international scene.

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(Mr. Tkachuk, Byelorussian SSR)

69. The United Nations had made its contribution to the independence struggle of many former colonial Territories. However, the great success achieved in eliminating colonialism must not tempt the United Nations to slacken its efforts for the complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid. The illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa was continuing, and the Namibians were being exploited by South African and Western monopolies. Imperialist domination was also continuing in the small Territories. As emphasized in General Assembly resolution 34/94, the continuation of colonialism in all its manifestations, posed a serious threat to international peace and security.

70. The complete decolonization of southern Africa and the small Territories was crucial to the elimination of the last bastions of colonial oppression. However, a serious obstacle was posed by the activities of imperialist Powers and their monopolies, and by the military activities of the administering Powers in dependent Territories. Such activities hindered the exercise of the inalienable right of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and independence, and to the enjoyment of their country's wealth. Such activities had delayed the political, economic and social development of those Territories. The representatives of certain Western countries in the Committee had sought to defend the role of the administering Powers and to "whitewash" the activities of Western transnational corporations. However, the question of mutual advantage simply did not arise; the imperialist Powers benefited from their dominant position, while the local inhabitants were deprived of any rights.

71. Another grave problem was the use of the small Territories by the administering Powers as military bases, which was a threat to international peace and security. In document A/AC.109/614, of the Special Committee of 24, it was noted that the largest military installations in the Non-Self-Governing Territories of the Caribbean and Western Atlantic regions were situated in Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands. He observed that those bases were used by Western Powers without the slightest regard for the legitimate interests and needs of the local population. As indicated in document A/AC.109/612, the United States maintained an important naval and air force base on Guam occupying almost a third of the area of the island. Paragraphs 6 and 7 of that document gave some indication of the size of the air and naval forces deployed to Guam.

72. In its resolutions, the United Nations had repeatedly called on the colonial Powers to remove their military bases and installations in the colonial Territories and to refrain from setting up new bases; but the Powers concerned remained deaf to the calls of the international community.

73. The peoples of the Territories administered by imperialist Powers were often threatened by complete absorption. That was indeed the case in Micronesia, whose inhabitants were having various forms of dependency imposed on them by the administering Power, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the agreement between the United States and the Trusteeship Council.

74. The question of decolonization in the small Territories was inseparable from that of decolonization itself, and the right of colonial countries and peoples

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(Mr. Tkachuk, Byelorussian SSR)

to achieve self-determination and independence. The Byelorussian SSR would continue to support peoples struggling for the early elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, and saw no difference between the rights of large and small peoples in that respect. In order to eliminate colonialism, racism, and apartheid, there must be a united effort by the United Nations, by the specialized agencies and other international organizations associated with it, and by the peoples struggling for their freedom. The General Assembly had frequently stressed the need to offer moral and material support to the struggling peoples of colonial Territories and their national liberation movements.

75. A significant contribution in that respect had been made in recent years by UNESCO, ILO, WHO, UNCTAD, UNDP and UNICEF. However, the assistance given by the specialized agencies and other international organizations to the national liberation movements was far from meeting the full extent of the need. His delegation therefore supported the General Assembly's recommendation that the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system should increase their efforts in that regard.

76. More effective co-operation must be developed between the specialized agencies and the national liberation movements themselves. The programmes of assistance to the national liberation movements must be commensurate with their needs. All the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system must ensure the full participation, as observers, of representatives of the national liberation movements in their work. Organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were still failing to take the necessary steps for the early and complete implementation of the Declaration and other relevant General Assembly resolutions. Worse, they were continuing to co-operate with the racist minority régime in South Africa. Such actions by IMF and the World Bank must be roundly condemned. Not a single United Nations organ should fail to play its part in the elimination of colonialism; all the specialized agencies and other organizations connected with the United Nations should devise effective measures to that end.

77. Mr. RADETAFIKA (Madagascar) welcomed the progress which had been achieved in the field of decolonization during the previous twenty years but warned that the Fourth Committee should be on its guard against attempts by certain Administering Powers to preserve their ideological domination, political control and economic exploitation in flagrant violation of the provisions of paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Thus, the forces of aggression had occupied the territory of East Timor after the colonial Power had abandoned its responsibilities but before the the population had had an opportunity to make a free and valid choice regarding its future status.

78. Other pretexts invoked by the Administering Powers for evading their responsibilities in certain countries in the Caribbean and Oceania had related to the geographical characteristics of territories, their under-diversified economies, small population and so-called political immaturity.

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(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

79. In the South Pacific, following a disputed referendum, Trusteeship Territories had become federations associated with the Administering Power. Under cover of a "commonwealth" or a "free association", those Territories were becoming concessions of a bygone age for the purpose of buttressing the strategic position of a Super-Power.

80. His delegation reiterated its solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico and supported the decisions of the Special Committee on Decolonization, which had been inspired by the Final Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. The Declaration had reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and had called upon the Government of the United States to take all necessary measures with a view to the full transfer of all powers to the people of Puerto Rico and to end all military activities in Puerto Rico, so as to enable its people to live in peace on their own territory.

81. His delegation also opposed any effort to prevent the people of Belize from exercising their rights to sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. The question of Belize could not be reduced to a simple conflict between the Administering Power and the neighbouring State.

82. On the question of Western Sahara, notwithstanding the wish of Morocco to regard the question as closed, it was clear that the people of the Territory were continuing their struggle to have their right to self-determination, independence and full international sovereignty recognized. Under the legitimate leadership of POLISARIO, the fraternal people of the Sahara had demonstrated and continued to demonstrate their determination in the face of the partition and subsequent military occupation of their entire country by Morocco. Reports that Morocco had availed itself of South African military co-operation indicated the potential for a dangerous escalation of the conflict.

83. A solution which would be acceptable to all parties concerned must be based on respect for the principles of the Organization of African Unity and of the United Nations, must recognize the colonial nature of the problem of the Western Sahara, and must require the full application of the provisions of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

84. At its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 34/37 which had reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of that right; it had requested the Special Committee of 24 to continue to consider the situation of Western Sahara as a priority question and had recommended that POLISARIO should participate in the search for a just, lasting and definitive political solution of the question of Western Sahara. The same resolution had also taken note with satisfaction of the decision concerning Western Sahara taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixteenth ordinary session; that decision had covered the organization of a referendum in the Territory; the role of the

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(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

United Nations in such a referendum; and the full participation of POLISARIO in the search for a political solution. In the same resolution the General Assembly had urged Morocco to join in the peace process and terminate the occupation of the Territory of Western Sahara.

85. War nevertheless continued to rage in Western Sahara and Morocco continued to consolidate its hold on the Territory. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity had therefore, at its seventeenth ordinary session, in July 1980, requested its Ad Hoc committee of six African Heads of State to continue its search for a peaceful and durable settlement. The Moroccan Government had, however, rejected the Ad Hoc committee's recommendations and, in particular, the recommendation regarding the organization of a referendum.

86. The Ad Hoc Committee, in addition to recommending a referendum under the joint auspices of OAU and the United Nations, had called for a cease-fire as from December 1980, for confinement of the armed forces of the two parties within their bases and barracks for the period of the cease-fire, and for the utilization of a United Nations peace-keeping force to supervise the cease-fire. The President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar had drawn the attention of OAU to the need for the total evacuation of the Territory of Western Sahara by Moroccan troops as a sine qua non of a free referendum.

87. The duty of the United Nations must be to affirm its own principles; to ensure respect for such principles; and to create the most favourable political climate at the international level for the accession of Western Sahara to independence. Once independence had been achieved, the people of the Western Sahara would be able to choose their own future. In that connexion, the time was ripe for the great Powers to renounce the establishment of spheres of influence and to pronounce themselves in favour of the true independence of the Western Sahara. To that end they should bring pressure to bear on the occupying authorities so that the latter might be persuaded that the legitimate claims of the people of Western Sahara must be met.

88. Mrs. JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone) said that her delegation had been surprised to note that part of the working paper on East Timor, which had been prepared by the Secretariat, had been based on information received from Indonesia. East Timor was a Portuguese Territory and, in accordance with Article 73 (e) of the Charter, all information on the Territory should be supplied by the Administering Power; where such information had not been provided in the past, the Secretariat had based its documents on information from liberation movements or the press. Indonesia had consistently claimed that the problem of East Timor had been solved and it was curious therefore that that country should have furnished information on East Timor to the Committee on Decolonization. Her delegation hoped that Member States would in future refrain from using the Secretariat in such a manner for propaganda purposes, thus setting a dangerous precedent for similar practices in the future.

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(Mrs. Joka-Bangura, Sierra Leone)

89. In dealing with the decolonization of any Territory, the most important elements were the views and wishes of the people themselves and the views of the Administering Power, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The Committee had heard the views of the Administering Power and had listened to the peoples of East Timor. The Committee's information had also been enriched by the views expressed by petitioners. She agreed fully with the statement of the Foreign Minister of Portugal on 9 October 1980 when he had said that Portugal could not and did not wish to renege on its responsibilities towards the Timorese people and had accordingly announced a plan of action which would shortly be implemented. The Minister had emphasized that it was fundamentally within the framework of the United Nations that a solution to the problem must be found and that Portugal was accordingly ready to co-operate closely with the United Nations and with all interested parties in searching for a solution which, in conformity with the principles embodied in the Charter and in the relevant resolutions, would be acceptable to the international community. Her delegation was ready and willing, within the framework of the international community, to work fully with the Administering Power in helping the people of East Timor to exercise their right to self-determination.

90. Her delegation expressed its disappointment at the fact that, since 1975, the attitude of the Government of Guatemala over the question of Belize had not changed. About a year earlier, the Foreign Minister of Guatemala had stated that no decision could be taken on the self-determination and independence for Belize until the dispute between the United Kingdom Government and Guatemala had been settled; that Belize was part of Guatemala; and that any settlement of the status of Belize must be in the national interest of Guatemala. Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom Government, the Administering Power of Belize, had stated at about the same time that Guatemala had no claim on Belize and that his Government's policy was to respect the wishes of the inhabitants of Belize; and that it wanted to grant Belize the speedy and secure independence which its people wished. It was not his Government's denial of self-determination that obstructed such independence, but the policies of Guatemala. For their part, the people of Belize had told the Fourth Committee frequently that they would like to have independence but would accept it provided their security could be guaranteed.

91. The United Nations could not allow itself or the independence of Belize to be held to ransom because of a quarrel between the United Kingdom and Guatemala. The independence and territorial integrity of Belize and the right of its people to self-determination must not depend on the inability of two Governments to resolve their differences.

92. A draft resolution would shortly be submitted for the consideration of the Fourth Committee and would declare that Belize should become an independent State, with its territory intact, before the conclusion of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Such a draft resolution, if adopted, would indicate the determination of the international community to bring the question of Belize to a definite conclusion. Aware of the claims of the Government of Guatemala on Belize, her delegation believed that the international community should be prepared to come to the aid of Belize for the preservation of its independence and territorial

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(Mrs. Joka-Bangura, Sierra Leone)

integrity and that the administering Power would set in motion, as soon as possible, the machinery whereby Belize would be prepared to assume its status as a fully independent territory.

93. The question of small Territories continued to be of concern to her delegation and the agencies of the United Nations system should continue to pay particular attention to such territories, including sending visiting missions thereto and taking suitable steps to enable the populations to exercise their right to self-determination, freedom and independence. In the meantime, the Administering Powers must work with the appropriate United Nations agencies to help the inhabitants; should continue the process of political guidance and education consistent with the terms of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV); and should co-operate with the Committee on Decolonization on the subject of visiting missions. Such missions were important both for the information of the United Nations itself and to make the inhabitants of small Territories aware of the concern of the international community. The cases of Pitcairn, the Cocos Islands and St. Helena were of particular concern to her delegation which pledged its support of all efforts to assist those territories to exercise their right to independence.

94. Mr. LE ANH KIET (Viet Nam) said that the world had undergone many changes during the process of decolonization. The peoples of Africa had thrown off the yoke of colonial domination and were building a new life.

95. Viet Nam welcomed the accession to independence of Zimbabwe and of St. Vincent and the Grenadines and their admission to the United Nations. It was also gratifying to note that Vannatu had recently achieved independence.

96. The socialist and non-aligned countries had encouraged and assisted the process of decolonization, but imperialist countries, in collusion with international reactionaries, expansionists and racists, had striven to maintain their domination and to defeat national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

97. The Republic of Viet Nam fully supported the struggle for independence of the peoples of southern Africa under the leadership of SWAPO and ANC. It condemned the manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime aimed at prolonging its domination of the Namibian people.

98. In Western Sahara, the process of decolonization had been seriously hindered. The people of that region might have expected to live in peace and freedom with the departure of the Spanish, yet Moroccan troops had illegally occupied the Territory. The occupation had given rise to an extremely tense situation, and was to be condemned.

99. The Government of Viet Nam had recognized the Government of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and supported the just struggle of the people of Western Sahara. He welcomed the efforts made by the Organization of African Unity to bring just and lasting peace to the area. His delegation was one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2.



(Mr. Le Anh Kiet, Viet Nam)

100. While the international community had been preoccupied with southern Africa and the Middle East, it should not ignore the struggle of the peoples of small Territories elsewhere.

101. The people of Puerto Rico had been struggling for many years to achieve self-determination. The Special Committee of 24 had urged the United States Government to adopt all necessary measures for the full transfer of all powers to the people of Puerto Rico and to present a plan for the decolonization of that island. The Special Committee had further declared that any measure aimed at changing the political status of Puerto Rico without the explicit consent and participation of its people was unacceptable. United States military activities in Puerto Rico exacerbated political tensions in the area. His Government reaffirmed its support for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for self-determination.

102. Viet Nam supported the right to self-determination of the peoples of Belize, East Timor and other small Non-Self-Governing Territories. The administering Powers in those Territories had employed many manoeuvres to delay the process of decolonization.

103. The international community had stated that questions of territorial size, geographical location, population and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration with respect to small Territories. Nevertheless, some administering Powers had sought to maintain their domination, claiming that the peoples of such Territories did not want independence.

104. Most small Territories were used by the colonialist Powers as military bases. Some had served as testing grounds for nuclear weapons, to the detriment of the local inhabitants. The General Assembly had repeatedly called upon the colonialist Powers to dismantle such military bases in colonial Territories.

105. The process of decolonization had yet to be completed since the imperialists, in collusion with international reactionaries, had used new forms of economic assistance to exploit the resources of dependent Territories and to oppress national liberation movements. It was to be hoped that the General Assembly would help to bring the process of decolonization to a rapid conclusion, and that many new independent States would take their place in the international community.

106. Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria) said that his delegation had for a number of years introduced successive draft resolutions on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations, an issue to which it attached great importance.

107. He now wished to introduce draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.3. Recognizing the sustained efforts exerted by some of the specialized agencies, including UNESCO, FAO, WHO and ILO, he said that the assistance received from the specialized agencies for the actual needs of the colonial peoples and particularly of the Namibian people had so far been inadequate. It was regrettable that certain

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(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

agencies such as the World Bank and IMF had not yet taken the necessary measures towards the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. They refused to provide assistance to colonial peoples and their national liberation movements and maintained their relations with South Africa.

103. The liquidation of colonialism was one of the prime objectives of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and the international institutions within the United Nations system could not have a different approach from that of the Organization itself. His delegation firmly upheld the principle that the recognition by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence entailed, as a corollary, the extension by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system of all the necessary moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements. It was clear that the extension of that assistance should be coupled with discontinuation by the agencies which had not yet taken such action of all kinds of co-operation with the South African racist régime. He felt that the specialized agencies should grant full membership to the Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory.

109. He was convinced that implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies consisted in rendering assistance to the colonial peoples and particularly the people of Namibia; withholding all kinds of support and assistance from South Africa and severing all ties with it; involving the national liberation movements recognized by OAU in the activities of the specialized agencies on matters related to their Territories; and providing the representatives of those national liberation movements with an appropriate status. Until those four requirements were fully met, the performance of the specialized agencies would be unsatisfactory. It was deplorable that the World Bank and IMF continued to co-operate with South Africa and refused to take the necessary measures to extend material assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements, particularly the people of Namibia and their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO.

110. Draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.3 was based on General Assembly resolution 34/42 and on the relevant resolution adopted by the Special Committee. He hoped that the draft resolution, the sponsors of which had been joined by Botswana, Burundi, the Byelorussian SSR, Cape Verde, the Congo, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Grenada, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Jordan, Kenya, Mozambique, Pakistan, Poland, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Togo and Zimbabwe, would meet the approval of the overwhelming majority of Member States and help the specialized agencies to make substantial efforts towards fulfilling their obligations.

111. Mr. YERE (Ivory Coast) welcomed the progress made since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) but urged that there should be no relaxation in efforts towards decolonization and that particular attention should be paid to the needs of the small Territories. Their problem was one of survival: for them

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(Mr. Yere, Ivory Coast)

achieving independence and parliamentary democracy was of little use if it was not accompanied by the necessary economic support. His delegation noted with satisfaction that the administering Powers had understood that problem and had undertaken gradual efforts to face it. He singled out the legislative measures taken by New Zealand to protect the marine resources of Tokelau. The specialized agencies were an important ally for the small Territories and his delegation congratulated them on the work they had done and urged them to pursue and extend it.

112. He also reaffirmed the Ivory Coast's support for the people of Belize in their struggle to recover their freedom and dignity, and deeply deplored the splits within the African movement concerning Western Sahara which emerged each time the General Assembly took up the question.

113. Mr. AURANGZEB (Pakistan) welcomed the fact that the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had seen the access to independence of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as well as increasing co-operation by the administering Powers with the Special Committee. It was also gratifying to observe that the decolonization process was leading to the emergence of independence in the smaller colonial Territories.

114. Africa remained an area of deep concern. South Africa was destroying the national and territorial integrity of Namibia and plundering its natural resources in violation of United Nations resolutions, the 1971 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia. The world community should now take firm and effective action to ensure South Africa's compliance with United Nations resolutions. His delegation supported the view that the time had come for the United Nations Security Council to proceed to impose against South Africa a comprehensive régime of mandatory sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. Any further delay would only prolong the agony of the people of Namibia.

115. The CHAIRMAN noted that Haiti had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2, and that Finland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Sudan, Sweden and Uganda had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.4.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.