



UN/DA COLLECTION

FOURTH COMMITTEE
16th meeting
held on
Friday, 24 October 1980
at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 16th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. PEŇAŽKA (Czechoslovakia)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS (A/C.4/35/3/Add.11 and Add.12, A/C.4/35/8)

1. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to consider two requests for hearings concerning East Timor (A/C.4/35/3/Add.11 and Add.12).
2. Mr. WAYARABI (Indonesia) restated his delegation's consistent and strong opposition to the discussion of the so-called question of East Timor and the hearing of petitioners on the subject. He requested that his delegation's position should be reflected in the summary record.
3. The CHAIRMAN said that the statement made by the representative of Indonesia would be duly reflected in the record of the meeting, and that if he heard no further comments, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the requests for hearings.
4. It was so decided.
5. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee also had before it a request for a hearing concerning Belize (A/C.4/35/8). If he heard no comments, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the request.
6. It was so decided.
7. The CHAIRMAN said he had also received a communication containing a request for a hearing relating to an item on the Committee's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, the communication would be circulated as a Committee document to be considered at a subsequent meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 85: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR (continued)

Hearing of petitioners (A/C.4/35/3/Add.11 and 12)

8. At the invitation of the Chairman, Miss Vianna (International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations) and Miss Talbot (World Peace Council) took places at the petitioners' table.
9. Miss VIANNA (International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations) said that the situation in East Timor was tragic. The brutal invasion of the territory by Indonesia in 1975 had prevented the former administering Power, Portugal, from completing its decolonization, and the Territory was now being colonized by Indonesia. In complete violation of the Charter, Indonesia was waging a genocidal war against the people of East Timor. Five years after the invasion, one third of the population had been eliminated and tens of thousands of families were homeless. Nevertheless, the people continued to resist the foreign aggressor and to fight heroically for their rights.

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(Miss Vianna)

10. The United Nations had recognized the legitimacy of their struggle. United Nations resolutions reaffirming the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence and calling upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw all its forces from the Territory had all been ignored by Indonesia.

11. The Fifth and Sixth Conferences of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries had reaffirmed the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence and endorsed the Security Council resolutions on that question. Indonesia, although a member of the non-aligned movement, had made no response.

12. How could Indonesia, a member of the Special Committee of 24 and of the Council on Namibia, criticize the racist régime of South Africa and its denial to the Namibian people of their right of self-determination? How could Indonesia speak of decolonization, or criticize Israel for denying the people of Palestine their inalienable rights, when it denied the people of East Timor their right to self-determination?

13. At its twenty-fourth general conference, held in Nicosia in August 1980, the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations (ISMUN) had adopted a resolution condemning the Indonesian military occupation and calling upon Indonesia to withdraw all its forces from the Democratic Republic of East Timor. It had stressed that all States should respect the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination, freedom and independence, and had called upon all States to implement United Nations resolutions on East Timor. The resolution had also called upon all affiliated organizations of ISMUN to give full support to the people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, and especially to the young people who, through their movement, the Organização Popular de Juventud Timorense, were active in the resistance struggle.

14. Miss TALBOT (World Peace Council) said that, while the struggle of the people of East Timor often escaped the notice of the international community, the World Peace Council extended its solidarity wherever there was brutal oppression and wherever inalienable national rights were trampled upon, no matter how small the nation involved. International solidarity was gaining strength and would continue to grow to form an invincible bond with the people of East Timor, who were heroically resisting the ferocious repression of a foreign aggressor. They had been subjected to mass executions, starvation, torture, the razing of their villages and crops, and the horror of chemical weapons. As a result of Indonesia's policy of genocide, over one third of the population had died in the past five years. That policy was doubly abhorrent in that it sought to demolish a whole people and its culture.

15. It was noteworthy that those who had sought to close their eyes and the eyes of the world to the genocide in Kampuchea, which had resulted in the annihilation of three million people, included the main supporters of the perpetrators of the crime in East Timor. Imperialist forces continued to ignore the genocidal carnage in East Timor and supplied military aid to the invaders.

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(Miss Talbot, World Peace Council)

16. It was no coincidence that, at a time when there were increased threats of military intervention wherever so-called vital national interests were allegedly jeopardized, and when a massive new arms build-up was taking place, peoples struggling for their independence and sovereignty faced renewed offensives from colonial and repressive régimes. The recently stepped-up attacks against the people of East Timor should be seen in the light of those developments. The forces behind the dangerous new arms build-up were the very forces which supplied arms to Indonesia.

17. The World Peace Council identified itself with the just struggle of the people of East Timor for self-determination and independence and against the occupation of their country by Indonesia, and pledged itself to augment its efforts to mobilize all-out support for the East Timorese and their legitimate representative, the Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente (FRETILIN).

18. That commitment had been expressed in resolutions such as that adopted in Warsaw in 1977 at the World Assembly of Builders of Peace; it had been reiterated in the resolution adopted at the recently concluded World Parliament of People for Peace, held in Sofia, Bulgaria, in September 1980 and attended by 2,500 elected deputies representing over 2,000 political parties, scores of major trade unions, religious groups, women's and youth organizations from 137 countries and nearly 100 non-governmental organizations. That resolution had demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor in accordance with United Nations resolutions and the decisions of the Fifth and Sixth Conferences of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries. It had further called for the observance of a month of solidarity with East Timor in December 1981. The period 1-7 December 1980 had already been designated a week of solidarity with East Timor.

19. The time was long overdue for the five-year struggle of the people of East Timor to receive massive support, including material support and humanitarian aid, from the international community, to guarantee implementation of United Nations resolutions on East Timor and adherence to the Charter and to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The World Peace Council saluted the heroism of the people of East Timor. Like the struggle of all peoples against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, zionism, fascism, racism and apartheid, the inexorable struggle of the people of East Timor to cast off their chains would assuredly be victorious.

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

Hearing of petitioners (A/C.4/35/5/Add.2, 8 and 9)

20. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. El Joumani (Sahrawi Assembly); Mr. Ahmed (MOREHOB Liberation Movement) and Mr. Errachid (Parti de l'Union nationale Sahraoui) took places at the petitioners' table.

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21. Mr. EL JOUMANI (President of the Sahrawi Assembly) said that he wished to set the record straight with regard to certain misconceptions fostered by the Algerians and Libyans who, through their mercenaries, the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saquia el-Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO), were attempting to distort history. In the name of the Sahrawi Assembly, he wished to affirm that attempt to extend hegemony over the liberated Moroccan Sahara would prove impossible, since the inhabitants regarded it as their national duty to defend the territorial unity of Morocco, as they had always done in the past, against colonialist expansionist ambitions.

22. The liberated regions had witnessed violent resistance against colonialist encroachments, especially in the period from 1900 to 1934. As the legitimate representatives of the people of the southern regions, the Sahrawi Assembly and other national organizations would oppose any attempt to derogate from their Moroccan identity, and the freedom fighters in Saquia el-Hamra and Río de Oro would not fall prey to the expansionist plots and ambitions of Algeria and Libya. His people were not pawns of colonialism and their Moroccan identity was not the result of fortuitous circumstances, since they had never, before or during the colonial period, been separated from their fatherland Morocco. Their ties with their legitimate sovereigns had never been severed and their representatives in Smara, together with their other leaders in Dakhila, Tarfaya and elsewhere had always been appointed by royal decree of the sovereigns of Morocco to whom they were both loyal and deeply attached.

23. While the region had been under Spanish colonialism, the Sultan's Khalifa in Tetuan had appointed a deputy for the Saharan region, together with other leaders, judges, legal advisers and civil servants. During that period, under the direction of the late King Mohammed V, the freedom fighters had begun to instil the spirit of nationalism in the local people, and resistance cells had been established. When the King, the symbol of their unity, had been sent into exile after making his famous speech at Tangier in 1947, the resistance movement had declared war on French colonialism and the people of the southern regions had openly assisted them in their struggle. Armed organizations had been trained and, following the King's return from exile and the declaration of independence, the population of the southern regions had joined in the celebrations with their compatriots, and delegations of leaders had been sent to renew the oath of allegiance to the King.

24. When the Spanish colonial authorities, in spite of their commitments under the Madrid Declaration of 6 April 1956, had reneged on their obligations with regard to the independence of Morocco as a united sovereign State, they had been assailed by the people throughout the southern regions. When Spain had handed over the district of Tarfaya and Tantan but had procrastinated with regard to Saquia el-Hamra and Río de Oro, the population had defied the administration, distributed pamphlets and organized demonstrations calling for liberation and reunification with their Moroccan homeland. When the representatives of the people had proclaimed their Moroccan identity in 1967, some of them had been arrested and others had been exiled to their Moroccan homeland. Many citizens who had taken part in demonstrations carrying Moroccan flags and pictures of King Hassan II had been arrested for their nationalist attitudes. In the face

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(Mr. El Joumani)

of that colonialist oppression, the people of Saquia el-Hamra and Río de Oro had once again prepared for war and had renewed their allegiance to the King.

25. That allegiance had been only a confirmation of historical reality, since the people had always been part of Morocco, as he had affirmed before the Committee in 1975. At that time, in his capacity as President of the Sahrawi Assembly, he had informed the international news media that his people had always been Moroccan and that the current manoeuvres and disturbances were an attempt by Algeria to extend its hegemony at the expense of Morocco. His departure for Morocco at that time had been made necessary by the fact that some elements in the colonial army had been in collusion with Algerian army leaders and had been encouraging the population to go to Tindouf and join the Algerian army, while at the same time refusing to allow them to visit their families in independent Morocco. The members of the Assembly had had to meet in secret, in view of the strict controls imposed by the colonialists because of the high regard in which the members had been held by the people. They had expressed the view of the people when they had signed the 1975 Tripartite Agreement, in keeping with Article 33 of the United Nations Charter. On many subsequent occasions, the people of the southern regions had expressed their allegiance to the King and to their Moroccan identity.

26. He affirmed once again that so-called Western Sahara was Moroccan territory and that its people had categorically and finally expressed their view through their representatives, namely the Sahrawi Assembly. They would allow no infringement of Moroccan unity, which they would defend with all the means at their disposal. His people were confident that the Committee would recognize and support their just rights and disregard the falsifications and fabrications invented by their adversaries.

27. Mr. AHMED (Mouvement Révolutionnaire des Hommes Bleus (MOREHOB)) explained that his movement, of which he was the Political Commissar, had been founded in 1965-1966 to lead the resistance against Spain, and had deposited its statutes with the United Nations and OAU in 1972. He had appeared as a petitioner before the Fourth Committee in 1975, when Western Sahara had still been under Spanish administration.

28. In 1973 the MOREHOB leaders had sought material and political support from Algeria, and President Boumediene of Algeria had promised military aid to expel the Spanish forces. When the Moroccan army had subsequently liberated El Ayoun and other settlements of Western Sahara, the retreating Algerian army had forcibly taken much of the civilian population with them in their retreat, and had confined them as hostages at Tindouf. No United Nations or Red Cross mission had ever been permitted to visit the camps at Tindouf, but any real Sahrawis still there today were not refugees but hostages detained under conditions of great suffering and repression. Their total number appeared to be under 5,000. The so-called Sahrawi "refugees" claimed by Algeria were in fact people who had fled from drought and hunger in Chad, the Niger, Mali and Mauritania. He had come to plead that the conscience of the world should focus its attention on the alarming conditions under which their Sahrawi brethren were being held.

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29. Mr. ERRACHID (Parti de l'Union nationale Sahraoui) said that he had previously appeared before the Fourth Committee as a petitioner in 1975, when Western Sahara had been occupied by Spain. His party had already been recognized by the Spanish authorities as Western Sahara's only organized party and had been shown in the report of the United Nations mission which had visited the territory in 1975 to be the only party represented throughout the Territory, having a membership of 22,000 out of a population of 420,000.

30. He had now come to make known his party's historic decision to reintegrate Western Sahara with the motherland, Morocco. The party wished to be heard once more because the future of a Moroccan people living in the Sahara was at stake. His party, and not the Frente POLISARIO, Mauritania, Algeria or northern Mali, was the genuine representative of the Saharan people; the delegation of Mauritania did not include a single member of his party or his people.

31. His party's decision, taken in 1975, to reintegrate Western Sahara with Morocco was no coincidence; it was based on the existence of irrevocable, centuries-old bonds with Morocco, as was shown by the Saharan people's choosing to rejoin Morocco, a poor country, on national and patriotic grounds rather than join an oil-rich country like Algeria or Libya. That desire, proclaimed during and after the Spanish occupation, had been confirmed by the International Court of Justice in 1974, contrary to statements recently made in the Committee by the delegations of Mexico and Democratic Yemen.

32. For five years, systematic attempts had been made to cloud the facts. The Saharan people did not wish a State to be set up on their territory or to be used as a solution to the problem of the Sahel. The so-called Frente POLISARIO was an amalgamated party indoctrinated by Algeria and armed and financed by Libya; it did not serve the interests of the Saharan people or represent them. The war in Western Sahara was being waged by invading Algerian troops with Libyan support. Some Member States claiming to defend the Saharan people's legitimate claim to self-determination were doing so wrongly. If a mission were to visit El Ayoun and population centres in Western Sahara, it would find no one opposed to Morocco and a population in the process of reintegration with Morocco. The inhabitants were paid by no one and serving no foreign interests; they would give the real facts about the Western Sahara.

33. Militarily and financially powerful States were interfering in countries that had respect for the principles of freedom and democracy and wished to uphold their personality and dignity. On behalf of the Saharan people, his party objected to the fact that decisions ignoring the reality of the situation in the area were being taken in their absence. He urged the Committee to recognize the true situation of the Saharan people, who had freely elected their representatives to parliament. Those representatives alone were competent to deal with the problems of Western Sahara. Such problems should not be decided by an outside body in favour of the most violent elements. His people had never shown violence or had any dealings with violent countries. They wished to explain in a peaceful way their decision to be integrated with Morocco. It would be paradoxical if the United Nations itself created strife and tension by refusing to listen to the

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true facts concerning the Saharan people who, according to a Spanish Government census taken five years earlier, had at that time numbered no more than 70,000.

34. He appealed to the Committee's conscience and to its sense of responsibility not to decide anything in their absence. If they had desired to have a country independent of Morocco they could have done so freely, and if any of them had wished to go to Algeria they would similarly have been free to do so. Those who had gone to that country had been taken there by force. No hostage from the Tindouf camps had been free to appear before the Committee. He objected most strongly to what was being done in the area of Western Sahara.

35. Miss Vianna, Miss Talbot, Mr. El Joumani, Mr. Ahmed and Mr. Errachid withdrew.

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 and 413; A/C.4/35/5 and Add.1-10; A/C.4/35/L.2 and L.7; A/AC.109/593-597, 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/C.4/35/L.6)

(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.1-12, 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)
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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; A/C.4/35/L.5)

General debate (continued)

36. Mr. BEREZOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples 20 years earlier, more than 50 new States had shaken off the colonial yoke and begun their own independent development; most of them had also become full-fledged Members of the United Nations. However, colonialism, racism and apartheid had not yet been eliminated, as could be seen in particular from the continued existence of the racist régime in South Africa and the many so-called small Territories. The elimination of the vestiges of colonialism in all its forms remained one of the most important international problems, with an impact on the establishment of a durable peace and the security of peoples and on the further development of broad-ranging international co-operation.

37. The main barrier to the final solution of the problem continued to be the forces of imperialism and colonialism. While paying lip-service to the racist policies of South Africa, the Western countries, in particular the NATO member States, in fact maintained close political and economic co-operation with the Pretoria régime and prevented the adoption of decisive measures in the United Nations aimed at putting an end to the apartheid system. With the co-operation and support of those countries, South Africa was able to develop its military machine, carry out acts of aggression against neighbouring African countries, suppress national liberation movements and continue its illegal occupation of Namibia. Furthermore, the colonial Powers delayed the complete liberation of the peoples of the colonial Territories by invoking various pretexts, such as the Territories' limited size, their geographic isolation, their small population, their inability to survive economically as independent States, and so forth. In fact, those Powers were merely attempting to legitimize and perpetuate the colonial or semi-colonial status of the Territories, in order to continue the exploitation of their natural and human resources. Such policies ran completely counter to the provisions of the Declaration.

(Mr. Berezovsky, USSR)

38. In that connexion, his delegation wished to draw the Committee's attention to the serious situation caused by the expansionist policies of the United States vis-à-vis the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia). In violation of the Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United States was pursuing military and strategic goals with a view to annexing the Territory. Furthermore, although the United States had taken over a united Trust Territory, which was to be prepared politically, economically and socially for self-determination and independence, the Territory now was in pitiful shape from an economic and social point of view and was plagued with separatist and divisive tendencies.

39. The United States had created divisions in the Territory, each portion of which now had some form of dependent relationship with the United States. Portions of the Mariana Islands had the status of a commonwealth in the framework of political union with the United States, which meant essentially that they would become a United States possession. Other island groups in Micronesia had the status of free association with the United States, which in fact meant the Americanization of the islands.

40. All such action to create divisions were in direct violation of the Charter, as any changes in the status of strategic Trust Territories could be made only by decision of the Security Council and not unilaterally by the administering Power. The United Nations must take the measures called for in the Charter to prevent the implementation of the United States' actions. The people of Micronesia must be assisted in the free exercise of their legitimate right to freedom and independence.

41. Furthermore, the establishment of United States military bases on certain islands in the Territory posed a serious threat to the security of countries of Asia and Oceania. The presence of military bases in Micronesia as well as on Guam, Puerto Rico, Diego Garcia, Bermuda and the Turks and Caicos islands was aimed at protecting the military and strategic interests of the colonial Powers, at suppressing national liberation movements and at interfering in the internal affairs of other States. Furthermore, the local human and natural resources, which should serve the goals of social and economic development, were being used to service military bases. A good example of the problem could be found on the island of Guam, where one third of the Territory of the island was taken up by a United States military base.

42. Another Territory which gave rise to serious concern was the island of Puerto Rico, which the United Nations considered as falling within the scope of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, the administering Power, the United States, did not abide by United Nations decisions and continued to subject the Puerto Rican people, struggling to achieve self-determination and independence, to persecution and repression.

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(Mr. Berezovsky, USSR)

43. His delegation felt that the specialized agencies and other international organizations of the United Nations system played an important role in the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid and the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration. Most of those organizations participated actively in achieving the goals of the Declaration, although their assistance to national liberation movements and the front-line States in Africa was far from sufficient. However, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank still refused to comply with United Nations decisions and continued their co-operation with South Africa.

44. His delegation also attached importance to activities aimed at training national cadres for peoples struggling for their independence. The Soviet Union continued to grant scholarships to inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories for education in the Soviet Union.

45. In conclusion, he said that it was the duty of the General Assembly to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration by the adoption of decisive measures aimed at the final elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

46. Mr. THAKURATHI (Nepal) said that the record of achievement in decolonization, which was the combined result of the will for freedom of the peoples under colonial rule and of the determined commitment of the United Nations to the final eradication of colonization, had given great satisfaction to his delegation. He wished to reaffirm his Government's policy of firm and continued support for the inalienable right of colonial countries and peoples to self-determination and freedom in accordance with the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The growing number of countries that had won independence and sovereignty, and the diminishing agenda of the Fourth Committee, were eloquent evidence of the success of the Special Committee of 24.

47. The independence of Zimbabwe had been a major victory of the oppressed people over the forces of colonization. His delegation regretted, however, that there had been no advance towards Namibia's independence. The United Nations had a direct responsibility for Namibia and it was disheartening to note that the problem was still as intractable as it had been at the Organization's inception. His delegation noted with admiration the continued struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. Their inalienable right to self-determination and independence transcended all negotiations with the colonial Power now in illegal occupation.

48. His delegation appreciated the generally co-operative attitude of the administering Powers towards the Special Committee. The geographical, political, economic, social and military situations in the Territories concerned varied widely and the differences must not be overlooked in discussing their future. His delegation appreciated the Special Committee's careful approach in that regard. The situation in some of the small Territories posed special problems. His delegation would support any unbiased assessment of such situations by the Special Committee.

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(Mr. Thakurathi, Nepal)

49. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had laid down basic principles governing the special nature of individual colonial cases. The paramount principle was the right of each people freely to choose its political, social and economic future. The moral obligation of the United Nations did not end with the attainment of the right of self-determination by colonial peoples. The Organization should care for the needs of the young nations during their early years and help them to overcome their initial difficulties.

50. His delegation wished to commend the efforts of the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations in implementing the Declaration. It particularly welcomed the decision of the Universal Postal Union to expel South Africa from its membership. Since the racist South African régime continued to defy world opinion, there was a great need for increased assistance from those agencies and institutions to the African national liberation movements, the people concerned and the front-line States.

51. His delegation wished to express appreciation for the excellent manner in which the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for South Africa was being carried out. It was convinced that the recommendations and conclusions of the Advisory Committee (A/35/525) would be effectively implemented. His delegation also appreciated the programme of assistance to South African student refugees and supported its continued and more effective implementation.

52. Mr. BOLE (Fiji) said that he wished to make some comments on decolonization, particularly as it related to some small territories. During the year in which the General Assembly would be observing the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it was particularly timely to reflect on the progress made in decolonization. The fact that many ex-colonies had acquired statehood and sovereignty during the past 20 years testified to the noteworthy strides made against colonialism, particularly since the adoption of the Declaration. His delegation fully shared the widely expressed sentiments at the presence of the delegations of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. The independence of the Republic of Vanuatu was particularly welcome to the South Pacific region, which embraced more than 20 States.

53. His delegation nevertheless remained aware of the fate of many who had yet to enjoy their freedom and dignity, including those in Africa, the Caribbean and the South Pacific. An over-all review of the remaining colonial situations showed that an enlightened approach had been adopted towards the promotion of self-determination and independence, but there were still some forces that sought either to preserve the status quo or to impose unilateral modifications not always in accordance with the wishes of the people. Those forces contravened the spirit and purposes of the Charter and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which recognized without any distinction the right of all colonial peoples to freedom and to the effective enjoyment of human rights.

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(Mr. Bole, Fiji)

54. Guided by those principles, his delegation supported the right of all colonial peoples to self-determination and independence. In its statement to the General Assembly on 10 October 1980, his delegation had said that it fully subscribed to the view that it was for the people themselves freely to choose their own destiny and that it would therefore monitor closely the assurances of those concerned that they would be guided by the wishes of the people as to their future, since it remained convinced that no self-centred interests or narrow considerations, such as those based on race, creed or colour, should be allowed to impede the decolonization process.

55. Because of the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, no internationally acceptable solution had materialized for that territory. His delegation hoped that South Africa would speedily relinquish its control so that Namibia could attain its independence on the basis of the settlement plan drawn up by the United Nations.

56. The process of decolonization similarly remained incomplete in Western Sahara. His delegation earnestly hoped that efforts to facilitate an unimpeded exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of the territory would be continued.

57. While progress was noticeable in a number of places in the Caribbean, it was unfortunate that the future of some Territories in that area had been a source of prolonged negotiation. His delegation hoped that all the necessary efforts would continue to be made for the early and secure independence of Belize.

58. His delegation welcomed the dispatch of a visiting mission of the Special Committee to the Turks and Caicos Islands in 1980. It was also aware of the United Kingdom invitation to the Special Committee to observe the elections scheduled for 4 November 1980; such steps should facilitate more informed discussions concerning the future of the territory.

59. Turning to the South Pacific, and firstly to Tokelau, he said that his delegation had noted the statement by the administering Power as to its continued willingness to be guided by the wishes of the people regarding their future, and had also noted the socio-economic development programmes that were progressively being instituted. The invitation of the New Zealand Government to the Special Committee to send a visiting mission to the territory in 1981 should further help to identify the problems facing small and isolated island communities such as Tokelau, and should consequently assist in the search for solutions that would meet the wishes of the people of the territory.

60. His delegation had also noted the efforts being made by Australia to facilitate the self-determination of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands by its admission in 1980 of a further Visiting Mission of the Special Committee, on which the delegation of Fiji had been represented. The changes that had already taken place strengthened its conviction that the political and constitutional development programmes and the economic and social development programmes would be continued so as to prepare the people for the future.

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61. The progressive transfer of responsibilities was also taking place in the South Pacific Territories of Guam and American Samoa, where the people were increasingly being involved in economic and social development programmes. Such programmes were important, since political progress should be accompanied by corresponding developments in the socio-economic sector. His delegation therefore shared the view that priority should continue to be given to the diversification of Guam's economy in order to reduce the people's dependence on activities related to the military base. His delegation had noted with satisfaction the invitation to the Special Committee to send a visiting mission to American Samoa in 1981. It remained convinced that there was no substitute for first-hand information acquired through such missions for making an objective assessment of the situation.

62. In order to expedite the exercise of the inalienable right of the peoples of all Non-Self-Governing Territories to determine their own future, it was important for the United Nations to continue to ensure that the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories remained exhaustive, since selectivity in the application of the Declaration would be inconsistent with the principles enunciated in that document or in the Charter.

63. Economic and social development programmes should also be in full harmony with the wishes of the people so that they retained control of their economic life and resources. Many of the territories to which he had referred were small island economies divorced from the major areas of trade, and in the South Pacific, many were almost exclusively dependent on marine resources. It was therefore crucial that their marine life should remain free of all contamination, including nuclear contamination, which was not in the best interests either of the independent or the dependent peoples of the region. As recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the interests of the colonial peoples should remain paramount.

64. Mr. SALEH ABBAS (Chad) said that the principle of self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations was a source of hope for the peoples still living under colonial domination. Since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, whose twentieth anniversary was shortly to be celebrated, the Organization had spared no effort in helping the countries under colonial domination to accede to national sovereignty, despite the inherent difficulties.

65. His delegation had, however, noted with regret that certain countries which had known the horrors of colonization during the relatively recent past were deliberately obstructing the liberation of other peoples and thus taking the place of the traditional colonialists. Such new colonization would not only fail to contribute to the total elimination of colonialism but would also be a lasting source of disturbance in various parts of the world.

66. His delegation's position on the various agenda items for the Committee's general discussion, and particularly on agenda item 18 (The question of Western Sahara) and item 85, was based on the following considerations: firstly, Chad

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(Mr. Saleh Abbas, Chad)

recognized the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence; secondly, such self-determination must be free and democratic; thirdly, his country recognized the inviolability of the frontiers inherited from colonialism.

67. In retaining the above-mentioned items on the agenda of its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly had recognized once again that the peoples concerned had as yet been unable to exercise their inalienable and inviolable rights to self-determination. In General Assembly resolution 34/37, the United Nations had clearly defined the ways and means of arriving at a just and final political solution of the question of Western Sahara. The OAU had made commendable efforts to promote such a solution in accordance with the relevant OAU and United Nations resolutions. It had established an Ad Hoc Committee which had brought together all the parties concerned, and the conclusions of which, if applied would restore peace to the area. His delegation wished to co-sponsor draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2, which would further the steps taken by the international community. It supported the application of General Assembly resolution 34/85 and Security Council resolution 389 (1976) concerning East Timor. No integration of any kind could be lasting unless it was freely accepted. No country could be free if it exploited or dominated another people. Lastly, he strongly appealed to all the States concerned in the conflicts to which he had referred to show wisdom and moderation so that the ideals of peace and harmony among peoples might triumph.

68. Mr. BLANKSON (Nigeria) felt that it was significant that the debate on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was to end on United Nations Day. Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, was one of that document's most momentous features: for the first time in history, the world community had recognized that it had a direct responsibility towards those who were still deprived of self-government and whose lives depended on the will and decision of others. Declaring categorically that the interests of the inhabitants of those territories were paramount, the Charter had set forth a series of guidelines aimed at accelerating the process of decolonization so that dependent peoples could assume a status of equality. Although self-government and independence had as a result been granted to some 30 countries between 1945 and 1960, Member States had rightly been concerned that progress towards the complete emancipation of many countries and peoples still under colonial rule was too slow. That concern for speeding the end of colonialism had culminated in 1960 in the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1514 (XV). The positive results were well known: in the 20 years following, over 40 African countries had regained their freedom and independence. For virtually all the countries of Africa, the principle of the self-determination of peoples everywhere admitted of no compromise.

69. It was in that context that the Nigerian delegation viewed the question of Western Sahara. In its view, the point at issue was the full implementation of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). At the conclusion of its consideration of the question of Western Sahara at its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly had adopted resolutions 34/37 and 34/94. Resolution 34/37 had requested the Special Committee to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara

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(Mr. Blankson, Nigeria)

as a priority question and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session. In resolution 34/94, the Assembly had requested the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in all Territories which had not yet attained independence, and in particular to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism. Wherever the question of Western Sahara had been considered, the conclusion had been that it was an instance of arrested decolonization. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held at Havana in 1979, had stated that the situation in Western Sahara existed because the decolonization process had not been carried to its conclusion.

70. The Organization of African Unity, recognizing that the question was basically African and that therefore the solution should as far as possible be African, had appointed an Ad Hoc Committee consisting of a number of African Heads of State to look into the matter. In December 1979, the Ad Hoc Committee, consisting of the Presidents of Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Sudan and the United Republic of Tanzania had proposed measures for ending the crisis. It had urged the Kingdom of Morocco to co-operate fully with it, and requested the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to conduct studies, with the co-operation of the United Nations, on the holding of a referendum in the Territory. It had also called upon the international community not to take any action that would impair its work.

71. During the OAU Summit Meeting in July 1980, the Heads of State and Government had taken note of the report of the third session of the Ad Hoc Committee on Western Sahara and had agreed that the Committee should continue its work with a view to reconciling the parties to the conflict and seeking a peaceful and lasting solution. They had also welcomed the willingness of the Kingdom of Morocco to engage in discussions with all interested parties and to participate fully in the work of the Committee. The Ad Hoc Committee had recently reconvened and, as promised, the Moroccan delegation had participated in its work. Nevertheless, a just solution was still far from being achieved.

72. It had been argued that discussing the question of Western Sahara in the United Nations was ill-advised since the Organization of African Unity was seized of the matter. His delegation did not share that view. Nor did it regard Article 33 of the Charter as wholly relevant. The question was not one of a conflict between States but of decolonization and hence had a full United Nations dimension. The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity must play complementary roles in the search for a solution. In 1979, the Organization of African Unity had decided that the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Western Sahara in a general and free referendum would enable them to choose, of their own free will, either total independence or the maintenance of the status quo. While not wishing to prejudge the decision of the Ad Hoc Committee, the Nigerian delegation found great merit in that decision, and hoped that an act of free choice would be a significant element in any solution.

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73. Mr. AMPAT (Congo) stressed that the case of Western Sahara was nothing more than a problem of decolonization. The casuistic arguments advanced by Morocco in its effort to show that the question was not one of colonialism were neither valid nor justified. Furthermore, it was indecent to make a distinction between "good" and "bad" colonialism, arguing that "bad" colonialism would be the "North-South", classical colonialism and that "good" colonialism would be "South-South" colonialism involving two neighbouring peoples of the Third World. His delegation rejected that Tartuffian argument, which could only exacerbate an already dangerous situation. Of all the neighbours of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, Morocco was the only one which continued to deny its existence. Mauritania, on the other hand, in an act which had required great political courage, had shown its devotion to the ideals and principles of peace, brotherly co-operation and good neighbourliness preached so often by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations.

74. His Government bore no ill will towards the people or the Government of Morocco. It had the greatest respect and sympathy for that country, but felt that it was acting erroneously. The resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, particularly resolution 34/37, and those of the Organization of African Unity must be implemented in order that the Saharan people might make their voice heard as a free and independent nation. The United Nations must without delay take all practical measures necessary to achieve that end. In so doing, the Organization would once again be showing its agreement with the movement of non-aligned countries which had, at its sixth summit meeting, expressed its concern at the seriousness of the situation in Western Sahara. It was to be hoped that the valiant peoples of the Maghreb would soon be able to exercise their right to self-determination.

75. Mr. LUZ (Cape Verde) said that the completion of the decolonization process was a fundamental requirement for the establishment of a new international order. The African people had had much to do to develop their countries since the passing of the colonial era and success in that task required a climate of peace, good-neighbourly relations and fraternal co-operation. It was therefore with great regret that his delegation found itself forced to speak again on the situation in Western Sahara, which threatened the stability of the entire West African region. Since 1963 the United Nations had called for self-determination for the people of that Territory and yet foreign military occupation, imposed in 1976, had prevented the Saharan people, who had established a State already recognized by 42 States, from carrying out the nation-building process. The Saharan people, whose just cause was recognized by the United Nations, by the movement of non-aligned countries and by the Organization of African Unity, had fought against the occupying army under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, its legitimate representative, and was determined to exercise its legal rights.

76. His country believed strongly in African unity and recognized that the decision of peoples to unite could be a legitimate exercise of self-determination. However, it could not accept a unification based on expansionist aims and military occupation against the will of the inhabitants. The threat to the peace and stability of the region posed by the conflict in Western Sahara had been recognized by the Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity, who had devised various

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(Mr. Luz, Cape Verde)

measures to assist the peace process. The occupying Power, however, maintained its policy of intransigence. His delegation supported the decisions taken at the meetings of the Organization of African Unity with respect to the legitimate rights of the Saharan people, the termination of aggression against the Territory and the initiation of direct negotiations between the parties concerned. It therefore supported draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2, which was based on those principles.

77. His delegation hoped that Morocco, an African country that had made a great contribution to the decolonization process in Africa and had agreed to participate in the peace process initiated by the Organization of African Unity, would allow itself to be guided by the decisions of the Organization of African Unity, the movement of non-aligned countries and the United Nations in the interests of peace and security and co-operation in western Africa.

78. Mr. FALEIRO (India) said that the role played by the United Nations and the Special Committee of 24 as a catalyst in the decolonization process had been significant. The adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had marked a new stage in the support the world community had extended to the struggle for freedom in several continents. As it was about to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, the United Nations had become truly representative of mankind and reflective of its aspirations.

79. His delegation was glad to learn that there had been encouraging developments in respect of yet another Territory, Belize, and that the administering Powers stood ready to set a date for handing over the reins of power to the genuinely elected representatives of that Territory. He hoped that the negotiations undertaken by the administering Power with Guatemala would soon be completed. It was important that no one should be allowed to exercise a veto on the independence of Belize under any pretext whatsoever. India, as a member of the Commonwealth Ministerial Committee on Belize, had continuously kept in touch with developments and held the view that a date within the next year should be set by the administering Power for the independence of Belize.

80. Western Sahara was another territory which had not yet been able to exercise its right to self-determination, despite the efforts made by the Organization of African Unity. His delegation had been consistently on the side of the people of Western Sahara and had taken the view that they should be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. His delegation hoped that the decisions of the Organization of African Unity would be scrupulously respected by all parties concerned. It was pained that the question of Western Sahara had bedevilled relations between the non-aligned States in the region and urged that the hostilities should be ended forthwith and the people of Western Sahara enabled to express their will freely and fearlessly.

81. The report of the Special Committee of 24 spelled out the critical factors applicable to decolonization measures in each Territory, particularly the small Territories. Most of those Territories might wish to attain total independence;

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(Mr. Faleiro, India)

some might wish to continue their dependent status for a while longer; and some others might wish to integrate themselves with neighbouring States with which they had deep-rooted historical and cultural links. With regard to East Timor, for instance, his Government had taken the view that the exercise of self-determination had been completed in that area in July 1976 and that there was nothing unnatural about the people of East Timor wanting to join the rest of the archipelago if they had the opportunity to express their free will. What was now required was that the Organization should assist in the efforts being made to rehabilitate the local economy and to correct its imbalances and deficiencies. The settlement programmes undertaken by the Indonesian Government for the area were laudable in that context, as were the relief operations organized under the agreement between the Indonesian Government and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

82. The situation in the Turks and Caicos Islands was yet another instance where decolonization should take place strictly in accordance with the wishes of the people. As was clear from the report of the Visiting Mission, of which India had been a member, the people of the Islands wished to move towards independence by stages and felt that they needed more time and more aid to improve the infrastructure. The attitude of the administering Power that additional assistance could be provided only if a firm date was set for independence within a short period appeared to be contrary to the wishes of the people. Obviously the approach of the administering Power was determined by its experience of decolonization, but it was important that its policy should remain flexible enough to accommodate the express wishes of the people. The forthcoming elections would be an important step towards securing the views of the people and it was to be hoped that the administering Power would take those views fully into account before making a final decision. His delegation greatly appreciated the fact that the administering Power had invited a mission from the Special Committee of 24 to observe the elections in the Turks and Caicos Islands.

83. Although the United Nations and the Fourth Committee in particular had an impressive record of achievements in the field of decolonization, much remained to be done. When the world community had finally succeeded in eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism, it could turn its attention to the next important task, namely, the building of a new economic order that was consistent with the spirit of the new political order. India, as a member of the Special Committee of 24, remained ready to contribute its mite to the noble endeavours of the United Nations in that direction.

84. Ms. JACOB (Guyana) said that her Government had consistently supported and sponsored the United Nations resolutions on Western Sahara, which had invariably reaffirmed the principles which lay at the heart of the question. That had also been its stand in the councils of the non-aligned, where the question of Western Sahara remained an issue of abiding concern. Since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 34/37, in which the General Assembly had deplored the aggravation of the situation in the Territory, the peace and stability to which the people of Western Sahara had a fundamental right had continued to elude them. Her delegation profoundly regretted the continuation of the armed struggle in and for Western Sahara. It was, however, gratified by the increased international moral and

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(Ms. Jacob, Guyana)

diplomatic support which the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic had received over the past year. Her own Government had recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic; it now reaffirmed its support for that Government and for the Polisario Front.

85. Her delegation took note with satisfaction of the decision adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its seventeenth ordinary session in which, among other things, it had welcomed the willingness of the Kingdom of Morocco to engage in discussions with all interested parties and to participate fully in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee. She wished to stress that anything short of total, substantive and constructive participation by Morocco in the peace process would only guarantee the continuation of the armed struggle by the Polisario Front, a struggle whose legitimacy had been reaffirmed by the General Assembly. The Fourth Committee must give all possible encouragement to any initiative aimed at finding a solution, which must, of course, take full account of and respect the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence with full regard for their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

86. Mr. CASSANDRA (Sao Tome and Principe) said that, on the basis of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, the international community should recognize the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to determine freely their own destiny in conformity with the United Nations Charter and resolution 1514 (XV). His delegation was surprised and distressed that Morocco, in view of its own unpleasant past colonial experience, showed so little goodwill in the attempts to arrive at a solution to the problem. His delegation also rejected the idea that the question of Western Sahara was an internal affair of any State; even Spain, the administering Power had recognized that the problem was one of decolonization. The problem of the colonization of a Territory by a neighbouring country was not unique to Africa, as the examples of Belize and East Timor could show.

87. The Organization of African Unity had outlined the principles for a just settlement of the question of Western Sahara and had entrusted its Ad Hoc Committee to work out, with the two interested parties, the modalities for the exercise by the Saharan people of its right to independence. His delegation supported the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, which had met again recently in Freetown, Sierra Leone, as another step towards peace and dialogue with Morocco. However, Morocco must not be allowed to remain intransigent and endanger the peace and security of the region with its policies of fait accompli. The increasing military success of the Saharan people, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO recognized by nearly 100 nations as the liberation movement and sole representative of that people, had led to the establishment of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, now recognized by more than 40 countries. In that connexion, his delegation congratulated the Government of Mauritania on its courageous attitude in signing a peace agreement with the Frente POLISARIO. Sao Tome and Principe had not only recognized the Frente POLISARIO and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic but had already established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level.

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88. Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he must clarify certain points, in view of the statements that had been made by some delegations. It was inadmissible to compare Morocco with a colonial Power. Delegations which did so were forgetting certain events in the United Nations and did not know the history of Western Sahara. Morocco had always fought to liberate Western Sahara from the colonial yoke and the people of Western Sahara had always expressed their desire to return to their mother country. Since 1964, when Morocco had brought the question before the Fourth Committee, it had been the only country to defy the colonial Powers. None of the delegations which now accused it had the right to try to teach Morocco lessons.

89. Morocco had asked to have the case brought before the International Court of Justice and the Court had recognized the legal ties between Morocco and the former Spanish Territory. Morocco had suffered greatly from colonialism itself and was in a better position than many delegations to talk about the horrors of colonialism. Certain colonial and imperialist Powers wished to dispute Morocco's position in order to further enslave the people of Western Sahara. All the people of Morocco, from the Mediterranean to the border of Mauritania, had unanimously expressed their willingness to make sacrifices for their sacred cause. Despite the unanimous will of the Moroccan people and their unity in the struggle, his Government had not refused to enter into a dialogue and had agreed, as requested by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, to discuss the question with their African brothers and to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee. If certain delegations really wanted peace for the subregion, they should, in the spirit of Freetown, be willing to engage in a responsible debate.

90. The CHAIRMAN announced that the following delegations had become sponsors of draft resolutions that were before the Committee: Chad had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2; Indonesia had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.4; the Congo, Liberia and Pakistan had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.5; and the Congo and Pakistan had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.6.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.