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New York

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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 18th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 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, V and VI); A/35/222, 223, 261 and 413; A/C.4/35/5 and Add.1-10; A/C.4/35/L.2/Rev.1, L.7, L.8; A/AC.109/593, 598, 602, 603 and Corr.1, 606, 608, 610, 613, 615, 617 and Corr.1, 618, 621 and 640)

Hearing of a petitioner - Question of Belize

1. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that, at its 8th and 16th meetings, it had granted requests for hearings contained in documents A/C.4/35/5 and A/C.4/35/8.
2. At the invitation of the Chairman, Dr. Theodore Aranda (Leader of the United Democratic Party (UDP)), took a place at the petitioners' table.
3. Dr. ARANDA (Leader of the United Democratic Party (UDP)) said that the Opposition, of which he was Leader, had opted to exercise its privilege to appear before the Fourth Committee as an entity separate from the Government of Belize as it had not been included in any Belizean delegation before the United Nations since 1978. He wished to address the theme that the people of Belize should be allowed to exercise fully their right to self-determination. The point which had consistently been cited as relevant to the controversy between the United Kingdom and Guatemala over Belize had been article 7 of the 1859 Treaty. During the 121 years which had elapsed since then, there had been many developments, not the least of which had been the evolution of a culture, modus vivendi and outlook among the people of Belize. Such a development had taken place under the United Kingdom as administering Power within the Territory which had become the country of Belize, formerly British Honduras. As the country had evolved, the United Kingdom and Guatemala had become embroiled in a territorial controversy so that currently Belizeans were faced with a bizarre difficulty in that, if they removed themselves from colonial ties, they would face the threat of military invasion by Guatemala. The latter country not only claimed the entire country but had also incorporated that claim into its constitution and had threatened to substantiate it on a number of occasions through military invasion.
4. Guatemala's claim was vigorously rejected by every Belizean and the United Kingdom, as the defending Power, had taken steps to protect Belize whenever Guatemala had threatened invasion. Such defence by the United Kingdom would only however endure while Belize was a colony or as long as a defence pact was in force. An unprotected Belize was therefore threatened with invasion as long as Guatemala remained disposed to invade. There seemed therefore to be no reason why Belize should abandon the security of existing defence arrangements with the United Kingdom for any arrangement with an international body that might not only prove to be short-lived but might not materialize at all. International guarantees fluctuated with the national and international priorities of the various countries that offered

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them, as had been amply illustrated within living memory by the cases of Cyprus and South Viet Nam. The Government of Belize should therefore view a defence guarantee with grave misgivings.

5. A military solution by itself would tend to perpetuate the problem. A peaceful solution would offer Belize a more lasting prospect. He therefore appealed to all States, organizations and regional groups which had supported the drive of Belize to independence, to put pressure not only on the administering Power to pursue negotiations which would uphold the rights of Belize to self-determination and independence but also on Guatemala to recognize and respect the right of the people of Belize to such self-determination and independence. The responsibility for the timing of independence rested with Belize which must avoid a situation where, by detaching itself from one Power, it might be absorbed by another.

6. The fragile stability and peace of the Central American and Caribbean regions would moreover be liable to be disrupted by the juxtaposition of mutually hostile troops. The Opposition in Belize was striving for neighbourly and friendly relations with all and accordingly sought a negotiated approach to common problems, including security, economic and social development and all facets of human relations which would benefit the region. The Opposition therefore advocated the creation of a climate of conciliation that would enhance prospects for a true and lasting solution to the problem of Belize. Confrontation would never solve the problem.

7. The problem of Belize had clearly been created by the refusal of Guatemala to respect the full exercise of self-determination by the people of Belize. The Governments of Belize and the United Kingdom had, however, contributed by impeding the full implementation of self-determination. It would have served the cause of unity if the Government and the Opposition of Belize had jointly confronted the basic issues and had made a joint appearance before the Fourth Committee. The United Democratic Party had a following of at least half the entire population of Belize and controlled 44 seats in the combined national and municipal bodies against 32 controlled by the Government. The Opposition had nevertheless only sporadically been included in the Anglo-Guatemalan talks which were of enormous significance to the welfare of the country. In 1975 the Opposition had been included in some but not all of the talks; in 1976 it had not been included at all. In 1977 it had again been included in some but not all the talks. In 1978 it had been invited to a meeting with the United Kingdom team and a Memorandum of Understanding had emerged from that meeting.

8. The Memorandum of Understanding had been signed on 2 June 1978 by both the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition of Belize as well as by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary of the United Kingdom Government. The Memorandum had inter alia stated that the Government and Opposition of Belize had agreed to put the issue of the Anglo-Guatemalan dispute above party politics and to treat the search for a solution as a national objective; that the Government and Opposition would be represented at any future talks and negotiations concerning the dispute between the United Kingdom and Guatemala; and that any final agreement that might be reached between the United Kingdom and Guatemalan Governments would be put to the people of

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Belize in a referendum. Nevertheless, since 1978, the Opposition had been completely excluded from the talks. Such repudiation of the Memorandum of Understanding had served only to separate the people and the parties at a time when Belize could least afford such disunity. The repudiation of the Memorandum of Understanding had been followed by a series of letters and declarations from the Opposition to both the United Kingdom and Belizean Governments which had stressed, in particular, that the settlement of the Anglo-Guatemalan dispute did not imply immediate independence and that independence should be decided upon as an issue by itself.

9. The Opposition had also been excluded from meetings which had led to the drafting of Webster's 13 (later 17) proposals and to a further set of proposals which had been issued in 1978.

10. Both sets of proposals had purported to be solutions to the Anglo-Guatemalan dispute and had come out following Government manifestos, conferences, party resolutions and speeches advocating and promising territorial integrity, sovereignty, self-determination and independence for Belize. Both would have been fatal to the future of Belize if the Opposition had not become aware of them and had fought them. Eventually, the people had rejected them.

11. Under the Webster proposals, Guatemala would have been guaranteed the use of Belize's only two ports; the use of the land, sea and air space of Belize; free entry into Belize; Guatemalan police would have been involved in Belizian internal security; Guatemala would have been involved in Belizian external and international affairs and would have represented Belize at international conferences; Guatemala would also have become responsible for the external defence of Belize and no defence agreements would have been permitted between Belize and any other Government. An annex to the treaty would have involved boundary adjustments.

12. The Belizian and United Kingdom Governments had alleged that the Webster proposals had not been accepted by Guatemala. In November 1975, however, the Ambassador of Guatemala to the United States had stated that Webster's recommendations had been accepted by Guatemala but rejected by London. When the original 13 Webster proposals had leaked out, the Premier of Belize had couched his response in an evasive manner which had implied that the proposals did not exist. It was only when the proposals had eventually appeared in print that their existence could be verified and at that point the people had raised a vigorous protest and had rejected them.

13. On the question of the timing of independence, the view of the Opposition was that it was the people of Belize who should choose whether or not to move into independence at any specific time. Authority to act on the process of independence of Belize could only derive from a specific mandate from the people in the form of a referendum. Belizians should and must be consulted directly on the specific issue of independence. Anything less than a referendum would be a violation of the full implementation of the right of the people of Belize to self-determination and they would be justified in opposing any attempt to abrogate that right.

14. The Opposition of Belize accordingly petitioned the United Nations to insist upon hearing and fully respecting the voice of the people of Belize. Under normal

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circumstances, the United Nations could determine the will of the people through the Government. Under the extraordinary circumstances existing in Belize, the sovereignty, security and the very survival of the nation was threatened. He therefore appealed to the Fourth Committee to urge the administering Power to conduct a referendum with a view to consulting the people directly about the timing of independence and to take measures to ensure that the referendum would faithfully reflect the wishes of the people of Belize. In that connexion, it should be noted that the electoral system was completely controlled by the Government. The only radio station allowed to operate in Belize must be permitted to express equally the views of both the Government and the Opposition.

15. He further petitioned that the United Nations should not give legal recognition to any form of independence that had not been agreed to by the people of Belize in a referendum.

16. Mr. SKINNER-KLEE (Guatemala), supported by Mr. CABELLO (Paraguay), requested that the statement by Dr. Aranda should be reproduced in extenso in the summary record of the meeting.

17. The CHAIRMAN requested the Secretariat to ensure that Dr. Aranda's statement was reflected extensively in the meeting record.

18. Dr. Aranda 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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General debate (continued)

19. Mr. EVRIVIADES (Cyprus) wished once again to express the deep concern of his delegation over the serious situation prevailing in the territory of Western Sahara. The decolonization process, as stipulated in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other pertinent resolutions, had not been carried out to its conclusion.

20. In its advisory opinion of 16 October 1975, the International Court of Justice had reaffirmed in law the right of the Saharan people to self-determination. That right had also been confirmed in the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission and had been upheld in many United Nations resolutions. The staggering reality, however, was that the Saharan people had yet to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. His delegation called for the prompt implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations as well as the decisions of the non-aligned countries and reaffirmed its solidarity with the beleaguered Saharan people and their liberation front, the Frente POLISARIO.

21. The situation in East Timor had reached abominable proportions. His Government's policy on the issue continued to be that aggression and other international illegalities created no rights. The only viable solution to the

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(Mr. Evriviades, Cyprus)

problem lay in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, all of which had been reaffirmed by the non-aligned countries in the Havana Declaration. Failure by the United Nations to implement its resolutions on the issue would set a dangerous precedent for other small Non-Self-Governing Territories which were prey to the territorial ambitions of larger and more powerful neighbours. His delegation was in full agreement with the communiqué which had been issued by the Government of Portugal on 12 September 1980 (A/C.4/35/2) and pledged its readiness, within the United Nations framework, to assist in any way possible to help the indigenous people of East Timor to exercise their right to self-determination without interference from any outside source.

22. The independence of Belize had been denied for much too long. His delegation endorsed the relevant United Nations resolutions and, in particular, General Assembly resolution 34/38. He appealed to all parties to heed those decisions as well as paragraphs 165-167 of the Final Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

23. The assistance given by the specialized agencies to colonial peoples, particularly the Namibian people and their liberation movement SWAPO, needed to be augmented in order to meet the increasing needs of those Territories. He joined those delegations which had urged the specialized agencies to withhold any financial, economic, technical or other assistance from the Government of South Africa until it had restored the basic human rights of the people of Namibia. All United Nations agencies should refrain from taking any action which might imply recognition of the legitimacy of the domination of Namibia by the South African régime.

24. The United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA) had worked extremely well, mainly because of the co-operation extended to it by many Governments, including his own, and by the competent specialized United Nations agencies. His delegation supported the work of the Advisory Committee and the conclusions of the Secretary-General contained in paragraphs 32 and 33 of chapter VI of the report contained in document A/35/525. His Government would continue to offer scholarships for the use of inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

25. On the question of small Territories, his delegation believed that special factors, such as size, geographical location, population or limited natural resources should in no way impede the full implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It was up to the indigenous people themselves to decide the speed at which they desired independence since, for various reasons, some Territories might wish a slower pace of constitutional advancement than others. Innovative solutions specifically adapted to the requirements of individual Territories should be worked out in accordance with the express wishes and aspirations of their inhabitants and in close co-operation and consultation with the local Governments and the administering Powers concerned.

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(Mr. Evriviades, Cyprus)

26. His delegation unequivocally supported the position taken by the non-aligned countries in their latest Summit Conference on the need for taking resolute measures for the full and consistent implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) until the last vestiges of colonialism had been eradicated from the face of the earth.

27. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola) said that one of the greatest crimes of imperialism was perhaps the legacy of division, border conflict and fraternal warfare that it had left in its wake all over the third world and which was the result of a deliberate policy of divide and rule.

28. The facts relating to the Western Sahara were clear. When the administering Power had withdrawn in 1975, the Territory had been seized illegally by two neighbouring countries. While one of them had relinquished its claim, the armed forces of Morocco were still in military occupation, which the people, led by their liberation movement, POLISARIO, were determined to resist in their fight for self-determination and independence. The people of Western Sahara were waging their struggle in a planned and organized way. POLISARIO was organized into political and military departments and its armed wing had been waging a serious battle with the occupying forces since 1975, when 80,000 troops and the bulk of a force of 62 jet fighters had been unleashed on its people.

29. The People's Republic of Angola had recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, not for reasons of enmity with one side or friendship with another but because its own centuries-old struggle against colonial oppression predisposed it to support a similar struggle by its comrades anywhere in the third world. If it was to be true to its revolutionary principles, under the guidance of the Central Committee of the MPLA Workers Party, it could not do otherwise. Its own revolution required it to extend support to all peoples fighting a colonial war and seeking genuine independence.

30. His country was not selective in the causes it espoused; it had given support to all genuine liberation struggles and it remained committed to the principles of non-alignment and third world unity. A situation in which occupation and so-called annexation of a territory was being undertaken by a neighbouring non-aligned Member State and a fellow third world country was deeply tragic and ultimately highly dangerous. It was difficult for third world countries to acknowledge that imperialist and expansionist ambitions might come from among their own kind. Historical fealty, geographical contiguity or ethnic similarity were no justification for annexation. For his country, what was justified was the will and determination of the Saharan people to resist and reject any occupation of their land or denial by any Power of their right to self-determination and independence.

31. Western imperialist countries had recently agreed to provide the occupying country with over \$230 million worth of F-5 jet fighters, helicopter gunships and multipurpose bombers. Against that formidable arsenal were pitted the young freedom fighters, whose most formidable weapons were their unshakeable faith in themselves and their will to fight to the end. The POLISARIO had recently engaged the 6th, 8th and 10th Moroccan regiments and the El Arak special column in battle in which hundreds of people had been killed, wounded or captured. The loss of

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(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

hundreds of lives, no matter on which side, was a terrible waste of that most precious resource, the human being.

32. POLISARIO was not only active in the battlefield but it had organized tented communities with hospitals and vocational centres for the thousands of refugees in liberated territory. It was running schools and clinics, and it maintained diplomatic relations with about 40 countries and political links with many others. With such a structure, it could hardly be doubted that the Saharans would resist forced "integration".

33. His delegation was aware that a special committee of the Organization of African Unity had been requested to seek a solution, but it was two years since that committee had been appointed and the only headway appeared to have been that made on the battlefield by the freedom fighters themselves. All members of the Fourth Committee were in favour of seeking a negotiated settlement, but neither POLISARIO nor its supporters could allow that to be used as an excuse to postpone discussion of the issue, to buy time to create more faits accomplis or to allow the matter to fall victim to attrition. There was a greater need than ever for the progressive forces of the third world to intensify their support to the Saharan people and press their case, whether at the United Nations, in the Organization of African Unity or in the non-aligned movement.

34. On the vast continent of Africa there was enough room for all peoples to live in peace, maintaining their sovereignty and territorial integrity, but Africa had no place for imperialism or expansionism. At a time when serious problems were affecting the third world economies, when conflict was intensifying in many parts of the world, and when Western imperialism and militarism appeared to be staging a revival, the smaller third world countries could not afford to be caught up in military moves by imperialist capitals. The Moroccan rulers had historically played an important role in international diplomacy, and the present leadership of that country could win great goodwill and contribute to the strengthening of the non-aligned world if it recognized the Saharan peoples' right to genuine self-determination and independence. That would be a victory for Africa and the Africans, for the Arab world and the Arabs, for the non-aligned movement and non-aligned countries, and for the world. Until then, the struggle must continue.

35. Ms. BOZHKOVA (Bulgaria) said that her delegation welcomed the twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the independence of Zimbabwe, whose historic people had won their freedom after continued and fierce fighting against colonialism. The process of decolonization of Africa, begun in the 1950s, was thus nearing completion. The time was approaching when Namibia, the last colony in Africa, would regain its independence from the illegal racist régime.

36. While there had also been some success in the decolonization of small Territories, the process was not being conducted in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The colonial administering Powers were endeavouring to perpetuate and consolidate their positions in those Territories and to delay the practical

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(Ms. Bozhkova, Bulgaria)

implementation of the right of the peoples to self-determination and independence. Those Powers even arrogated to themselves the right to determine the future constitutional and political development of the Territories under their administration by annexing them or dividing them artificially in order to compromise their territorial integrity and national unity, in violation of Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations. The efforts of the propaganda machinery of the colonialist Powers to idealize life in the colonial Territories and to represent that it was in the interest of the peoples of those Territories for the colonial status quo to be preserved would meet with inevitable failure.

37. The global economic and military interests of certain Western States, particularly the United States, which had drawn vast profits from exploiting the natural and human resources of the Territories and conducted hectic military preparations on their soil, were obviously behind that propaganda campaign. The broad network of military installations in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Ocean areas and in the Caribbean were being used against the national liberation movements and for other aggressive ends. The maintenance of such bases and installations violated the principles of all United Nations decisions on decolonization, impeded the implementation of the right of the peoples of the Territories to self-determination and independence and posed a threat to international peace and security. The information in document A/AC.109/612 concerning the United States defence installations stationed on Guam, together with other United Nations data, proved that the colonial Powers had done nothing to respond to repeated United Nations appeals for the immediate and unconditional dismantling of military bases in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Her delegation was seriously concerned about the fate of the peoples whose security was jeopardized by the existence of military bases and who thus risked involvement in military adventures to defend the interests of others.

38. One source of concern was the future of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, whose territorial integrity was threatened by United States designs to annex it in violation of Article 83 of the Charter of the United Nations. Those unilateral measures were aimed at using the Territory as a springboard to impair the security of other countries of the region. A lesson should be drawn from recent history, when the American military base in Guam had been used daily for launching devastating air raids on civilians and other targets in Viet Nam.

39. The time had come for the struggle against colonial domination to be brought to a successful conclusion.

40. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was fully applicable to small Territories, whose specific features, geographical location or level of socio-economic development should not be used as reasons for delaying the granting of independence. The situation in those Territories and the establishment of military bases in them by the administering Powers created tension in the respective regions just as the situation in southern Africa was a threat to the region and to international peace and security.

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(Ms. Bozhkova, Bulgaria)

41. The world had witnessed the persistent manoeuvres of the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism to impose a puppet régime on Namibia in order to disguise the pillage and exploitation of its natural assets by the transnational corporations and to defend the economic interests of the capitalist monopolies on a neo-colonialist basis. The racist régime of Pretoria was desperately stepping up its efforts to suppress the struggle of the national liberation movement of the Namibian people under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO. The racists had escalated their war against the people of Namibia by turning the Territory into a network of military bases for armed aggression against the neighbouring States of Angola and Zambia.

42. Her delegation condemned the continued military collaboration and support given by certain Western States, particularly the United States and Israel, to the Pretoria régime in the military and nuclear fields, in contravention of Security Council resolution 418 (1977). It reiterated the need for the application by the Security Council of general sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and for the urgent dismantling of all military bases in the Territory in compliance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

43. Her delegation called for the immediate eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism and for the full and unconditional implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The peoples of the island colonial territories in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans had the same inalienable rights to self-determination and independence as the peoples of the colonialist administering States. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must therefore be fully and unconditionally implemented in respect of the so-called small Territories. Her delegation urged the General Assembly to call on all the administering Powers concerned to grant immediate self-government to the peoples of the Territories through their freely elected institutions. It was more urgent than ever to call for the immediate dismantling by the administering Powers of all their military bases and installations, which presented a serious obstacle to the prompt implementation of the Declaration, a grave source of tension in the regions concerned and a danger to world peace and security.

44. She drew attention to the second paragraph of the note verbale dated 28 April 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria to the United Nations, addressed to the Secretary-General (S/13913).

45. Mr. CARR (Jamaica) said that the twentieth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) would be celebrated with justified satisfaction, since the past 20 years had witnessed such a large increase in United Nations membership. That was a tremendous accomplishment, particularly for the peoples of the third world.

46. Jamaica had consistently supported the heroic efforts of the people of Western Sahara, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, in their just struggle for self-determination and independence. Its position on the issue which strictly accorded with its firm support of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had been given material expression in its recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic in 1979.

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(Mr. Carr, Jamaica)

47. A series of tragic developments since 1975 had prevented the people of Western Sahara from exercising their right to self-determination. They had not been consulted and had not given their consent to the secret tripartite agreement of 1975, which had treated a people and a Territory as mere pawns. They had likewise played no determining role in the 1976 agreement delimiting the territorial frontiers. Those agreements had impeded international efforts to find a just and peaceful solution in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); they had also preserved the colonial character of Western Sahara and had lead the people of the Territory to resort to armed struggle for national survival and recovery of their rights.
48. In the ensuing five years, the international community had endeavoured to find a just and lasting solution consistent with resolution 1514 (XV). The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries had reaffirmed the deep concern of those countries at the serious situation prevailing in Western Sahara because the decolonization process had not been completed in accordance with that resolution. The agreement between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO of August 1979, which had accorded due respect for the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and had recognized the Frente POLISARIO as their authentic representative, had been a constructive step towards a just and comprehensive solution.
49. Those positive developments towards a peaceful negotiated settlement had been further strengthened by the decision of OAU to call for a cease-fire by December 1980 and the appointment of a United Nations peace-keeping force, and to support the right of the people of the Territory to self-determination through the organization of a referendum under the auspices of OAU and the United Nations.
50. Morocco's continuing illegal military occupation had obstructed all attempts to achieve a lasting political solution in conformity with resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations, the non-aligned countries and OAU.
51. In draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2/Rev.1, the sponsors had made a proposal for ending the conflict in Western Sahara in a manner consistent with the OAU's initiatives, the principles of the United Nations Charter and the right of the Saharan people to self-determination, territorial integrity and national independence. His delegation appealed to the Moroccan Government to consider the increasingly heavy price it would have to pay for its illegal occupation of the Territory, and urged it in its own self-interest to reconsider its action. The international community would not accept the fait accompli which Morocco had attempted to impose by military force. His delegation sincerely hoped that the steps taken to ensure a just and lasting peace would be reciprocated by Morocco.
52. Mr. DETE (Zimbabwe) said that the question of East Timor and the struggle of the people of that Territory, under the leadership of FRETILIN, were of paramount importance to the Government and people of Zimbabwe. During its own struggle for independence, his country had forged a solid friendship with the people of East Timor in the course of a relationship of many years with FRETILIN.

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(Mr. Dete, Zimbabwe)

53. Following many years of heroic armed struggle against the Portuguese, the East Timorese had still failed to achieve their independence, because Indonesia was forcibly occupying parts of the Territory. During the five years of brutal occupation, more than one-third of the population had died. Such horrible consequences of the Indonesian invasion should be sufficient to move the conscience of the Western countries, particularly those supplying military aid to Indonesia. According to a State Department spokesman, 90 per cent of the weapons used in East Timor by the Indonesian army had been supplied by the United States.

54. His delegation had been surprised at the strong criticism by the Western countries and certain countries in South-East Asia of Viet Nam's intervention in Cambodia while they themselves were the main supporters of Indonesia's war of aggression and annexation in East Timor. It was even more surprising to see Indonesia in the list of sponsors of a draft resolution on the so-called Kampuchean problem.

55. His delegation knew only too well what colonialism and oppression meant; his people had suffered them for nearly a century and had fought for their independence at the cost of tens of thousands of lives. The peoples of Africa, who had all paid a high price for their freedom from slavery, were in solidarity with the struggling people of East Timor. His delegation called on fellow African delegations in the Committee to support them. In the year marking the twentieth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which had been inspired by the socialist and third world countries, the international community as a whole should offer its moral, diplomatic and material support to the heroic people of East Timor.

56. His delegation was appalled by the claim that East Timor was now an integral part of Indonesia. In trying to justify the invasion on the grounds that his Government was building a few more roads and schools there and had set up a boy scout troop, the Indonesian representative was making a mockery of the Committee, which was concerned with problems of decolonization, not with such cosmetic changes. The people of Zimbabwe, from their own experience, were all too well aware of such attempts to hoodwink the international community.

57. No act of self-determination had taken place in East Timor, the population of which had been subjected to a deliberate policy of extermination. Numerous United Nations resolutions had been defied by the Indonesian Government. The international community should therefore call on that Government to desist from further aggression and withdraw all its troops from the Territory. The Government and people of Zimbabwe reaffirmed their unwavering support for the struggle of the people of East Timor under the legitimate leadership of FRETILIN. That struggle would continue until final victory.

58. Mr. BOSCO (Rwanda) noted that, in the 20 years since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 56 States had acceded to independence, which was a source of satisfaction for the Committee and the entire international community. In that connexion, his delegation wished to congratulate the administering Powers for having carried out their responsibilities in implementing the Declaration.

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(Mr. Bosco, Rwanda)

59. However, another form of colonialism had arisen, affecting the fraternal Saharan people. The problem of Western Sahara was, in his delegation's view, one of decolonization, and the Saharan people must be supported in their just struggle for self-determination and independence under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, their sole legitimate representative. In that connexion his delegation welcomed the agreement concluded between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO, which would contribute to the peace process and the achievement of a just and lasting solution to the problem.

60. Morocco, however, not content to occupy just one portion of Western Sahara, had sought to annex the remaining portion relinquished by Mauritania under the peace agreement. Morocco's continued expansionist occupation of the Territory, maintained by a brutal war, was in violation of General Assembly resolution 34/37, which set out the ways and means for arriving at a just and lasting settlement. Morocco, which had been a vigorous defender of the right of peoples to self-determination, should realize that the force of arms could not suppress the legitimate aspirations of the Saharan people for total independence. In his delegation's view, all the parties concerned should attempt to reduce the differences separating them and seek to restore peace to the region. The Saharan people must be allowed to express its wishes with regard to its future through a fair and general referendum, which would require a cease-fire, enforced by a United Nations peace-keeping force, as recommended by OAU.

61. In conclusion, his delegation wished to express its condolences to the Algerian delegation on the occasion of the recent earthquake in El-Asnam and hoped that international aid would soon be provided to assist the victims.

62. Mr. TURBAŃSKI (Poland) said that his delegation was happy to welcome, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the delegations of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Although much progress has been achieved in the field of decolonization, much remained to be done. Several million people were still subjected to colonial rule, in particular those suffering under the oppressive rule of apartheid in Namibia and South Africa. In that connexion his delegation welcomed the important declaration of the International Conference on Solidarity with the People of Namibia, recently held in Paris.

63. In other parts of the world peoples in more than 20 Territories were still awaiting their chance to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The problems involved were admittedly complex but many of them had been created by the administering Powers in order to preserve their own economic and military interests, and to impose neo-colonial arrangements in violation of the Declaration. In that connexion his delegation noted with satisfaction the measures taken by a number of specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to provide assistance to the peoples of colonial Territories and their national liberation movements. However, the efforts of some of those organizations remained inadequate. More specific programmes of assistance to the peoples of colonial Territories, particularly Namibia, should be undertaken in order to ensure more active United Nations involvement in the implementation of the Declaration.

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(Mr. Turbański, Poland)

64. The world's struggle against colonialism had developed two effective channels of international assistance to oppressed peoples: a bilateral channel and a multilateral one. Poland had for many years preferred the former, although it had never discounted the importance of multilateral support, which had produced noteworthy results, particularly in the area of concerted political and moral action. Poland continued to support the just struggle of the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements for self-determination and independence, in particular through assistance in the field of training and education.

65. Miss VALERE (Trinidad and Tobago) noted that the Special Committee of 24 had, in connexion with the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted a Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration, which would, inter alia, have the Special Committee continue to seek the most suitable means for the speedy and total implementation of the Declaration to all Territories that had not yet attained independence and proposed to the General Assembly specific measures for the complete implementation of the Declaration.

66. Vestiges of colonialism still lingered in various parts of the world. While aware of the special circumstances of the remaining Territories resulting from such factors as their size, geographical location, population and lack of resources, her delegation felt that those circumstances should in no way delay the right of the inhabitants of those Territories to self-determination and independence. It was the responsibility of the administering Powers to promote the economic, social and political development of the Territories under their administration, so as to enable the inhabitants to exercise freely their right to self-determination. The rights and interests of those peoples must also be safeguarded at all times. The administering Powers should, in consultation with local authorities, expand their programmes of assistance. In that regard they should continue to solicit the assistance of other Governments, and of the specialized agencies.

67. Trinidad and Tobago continued to contribute both directly and indirectly to the socio-economic development of many of the dependent and non-dependent Territories of the English-speaking Caribbean region. Through the Caribbean Economic Community and Common Market (CARICOM) and its associate institution, the Caribbean Development Bank, her Government provided loans for the financing of various infrastructural projects in those Territories. Aware of their economic problems, and seeking to promote regional co-operation, her Government had established in 1978 a national institution, the Caribbean Aid Council, which provided economic and technical assistance on a bilateral basis to the CARICOM countries.

68. Her delegation recognized the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and hoped that the international community would take speedy measures to end the suffering endured by the peoples of East Timor and Western Sahara in their struggle to achieve self-determination. It was the hope of her delegation that all efforts to resolve those long-standing disputes would take into account the aspirations of the peoples of those Territories.

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69. Mr. FIINDANO (Burundi) said that the decolonization of Western Sahara had been transformed into a new form of occupation that no organization, be it regional or universal, could render legitimate. The Committee should, on the one hand, identify the intrinsic nature of that problem and, on the other hand, establish the role and responsibility of the United Nations. His Government had always affirmed the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence and therefore continued to support the just and noble struggle waged by the Frente POLISARIO. His country had recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and had established diplomatic relations with it at the ambassadorial level. His delegation supported any effort aimed at effective implementation of the relevant resolutions of OAU and the United Nations, which sought to terminate the occupation of Western Sahara and to decolonize the Territory.

70. His delegation regretted that General Assembly resolution 34/37, which set forth ways and means of arriving at a just and definitive political solution to the question of Western Sahara, had not been implemented, because of the intransigence of Morocco, which had even sought to extend its occupation to the portion of the Territory covered by the agreement of August 1979 concluded between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO. His Government welcomed the efforts undertaken by OAU to achieve a just and definitive solution. His delegation reiterated the appeal in General Assembly resolution 34/37 urging Morocco to join in the peace process and to terminate the occupation of the Territory.

71. The situation in East Timor and Belize caused increasing concern in view of the threat to international peace and security. His delegation supported the struggle of the Maubere people of East Timor under the leadership of its liberation movement, FRETILIN, to exercise its right to self-determination and independence. In that connexion his delegation welcomed Portugal's commitment to do everything within its power to find a just solution. The question of Belize was also a question of decolonization and his delegation hoped that a solution could be found to enable the people of Belize to achieve self-determination and independence as soon as possible.

72. On the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, his delegation appealed for renewed efforts to eliminate the remaining bastions of colonialism.

73. Mr. BOCOUM (Mali) expressed his delegation's solidarity with Algeria over the recent earthquake in that country.

74. Much had already been achieved in decolonization, and the Committee should redouble its efforts to complete the task. His delegation was gratified that Zimbabwe, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Vanuatu had become independent States. The administering Powers of dependent Territories should fully implement the relevant provisions of the Charter pertaining to Non-Self-Governing Territories.

75. The United Nations should ensure that the legitimate aspirations of peoples to self-determination were met. It should prepare specific programmes to develop the dependent Territories, a task in which the specialized agencies should assist. The natural resources of such Territories should be protected, while all military bases should be closed and military manoeuvres prohibited.

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(Mr. Bocoum, Mali)

76. The question of Western Sahara remained unresolved, despite resolutions adopted by the non-aligned countries, the United Nations and OAU, all of which had reaffirmed the sacred right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination. OAU had called for an end to hostilities, the opening of genuine negotiations to resolve the crisis, and the exercise by the Saharan people of their right to self-determination. Only if the recommendations of OAU were accepted could peace be brought to the region. His Government, motivated solely by the desire to end the conflict and allow the Saharan people to achieve self-determination, would work steadfastly for the implementation of those recommendations.

77. Mr. CORADIN (Haiti) welcomed the delegations of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the Fourth Committee. Their presence provided renewed encouragement for the international community, and bore witness to the positive results achieved in the 20 years since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

78. The work of the Special Committee of 24 had been extremely useful in enabling the international community to assess the situation in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories in terms of political, social, economic and cultural developments. While the provisions of the Declaration had begun to be applied in many dependent Territories, it was regrettable that such was not the case for East Timor, Western Sahara and Belize.

79. In East Timor, while the former colonial Power was willing to co-operate with the United Nations in bringing the Territory to independence, the Government of Indonesia rejected any attempt by the Organization to supervise the process of decolonization in that Territory. Nevertheless, the General Assembly, in resolution 34/40, had reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence.

80. With regard to Western Sahara, it was high time that the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly were implemented, and that the Saharan people were allowed to be free and independent. He trusted that Morocco, which itself had waged a long struggle to achieve independence, would assist in the search for a solution. His delegation, as a contribution to solving the problem, had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2. If that resolution were adopted and implemented, the international community would have taken a further step towards decolonization.

81. His delegation welcomed the United Kingdom's willingness to negotiate a settlement to the problem of Belize in accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/38. It remained for Guatemala to implement the provisions of that resolution and of the Declaration. He hoped that the negotiations between the United Kingdom and Guatemala would lead to independence for the people of Belize. His delegation had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.8.

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82. Mrs. NARANTUYA (Mongolia) said that, although more than 70 million people had been liberated from colonial domination in the 20 years since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the speedy elimination of colonialism and racism continued to be one of the most important international tasks, with serious consequences for international peace and security.

83. Despite the great successes achieved by the national liberation movements in southern Africa, more than 20 million indigenous inhabitants of South Africa and Namibia were still subjected to the cruelest forms of exploitation and oppression. The criminal racist policies of the South African régime were supported by the leading member States of NATO, which sought to protect their economic and strategic interests in southern Africa. That support enabled South Africa to develop its military and nuclear potential and carry out aggression against neighbouring African countries. In an effort to avoid international sanctions and to reduce the intensity of the struggle in Namibia, South Africa sought to establish, through a so-called internal solution, a puppet régime in the Territory, thus excluding the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. It was now time to take effective measures against South Africa, including the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, so as to force South Africa to terminate the illegal occupation of Namibia and enable the Namibian people to achieve self-determination and independence.

84. The administering Powers continued to seek to strengthen their position in the small Territories administered by them and to delay, through various pretexts, the exercise by the inhabitants of their right to self-determination and independence. As documents submitted to the Committee had shown, the main obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration in those Territories was the colonial, racist and imperialist Powers and their monopolies, which sought to exploit the human and natural resources of the small Territories, thus preventing the social and economic development of the peoples concerned.

85. Furthermore, despite the clear provisions of the Charter and the Declaration, the imperialist Powers continued to develop significantly their military activities in the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories by constructing and expanding military bases that in no way could be considered to provide employment for the inhabitants of the Territories but rather were intended to suppress national liberation movements and interfere in the internal affairs of States. In Micronesia, the United States, in pursuit of its strategic goals was promoting the breaking-up of the Territory and its conversion into a colonial possession.

86. All organizations in the United Nations system should play an active role in supporting the struggle of dependent peoples to achieve freedom and independence. Most of the specialized agencies and international organizations in the United Nations system, in particular UNESCO, ITU, WHO, UNCTAD, UNDP and UNICEF, participated actively in efforts aimed at the full implementation of the Declaration. However, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as pointed out in draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.3, had not yet taken adequate measures to implement the

(Mrs. Narantuya, Mongolia)

Declaration and even continued to co-operate with the South Africa racist régime. Her delegation hoped that all of the agencies and organizations of the United Nations system would take specific and effective measures aimed at the speedy implementation of the Declaration and would continue their assistance, once independence was achieved, to develop the economies of the dependent Territories.

87. Mr. HMEDO (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that although the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was at hand, there were still countries suffering under the yoke of imperialism. The United Nations had done much, but should redouble its efforts to assist liberation movements and peoples to achieve self-determination.

88. The United Nations had stressed the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. Regrettably, Moroccan troops still occupied that Territory. The people of Western Sahara should be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination free from threats and the presence of occupying forces. His delegation could never accept Morocco's occupation of Western Sahara.

89. He called for an end to the genocide which was taking place in that Territory. It represented a threat to peace and security and opened up the possibility of further conflict in Africa. The United Nations, OAU and the non-aligned countries had all called for self-determination for Western Sahara.

90. Those who had spoken in favour of the integration of Western Sahara with Morocco were merely puppets. He trusted that Morocco would follow Mauritania's lead in withdrawing from the Territory, to which it had no legal claim. His country had supported the people of Western Sahara against Spain. The people of that Territory should now be left free to determine their own future.

91. His delegation had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2/Rev.1.

92. The CHAIRMAN said that Ghana and Mali had joined the sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.4/35/L.5 and L.6.

93. Mr. ERELL (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the Bulgarian allegation that his country had co-operated in nuclear matters with South Africa was a pure fabrication.

94. The report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa (A/35/402) stated that such allegations were speculative, and that there was no clear evidence of such co-operation.

95. Mr. ARNOUSS (Syria) said that the second special report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/35/22/Add.2-S/14156/Add.2) expressed concern at the increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa in the nuclear field.

96. Ms. BOZHKOVA (Bulgaria), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the data contained in her earlier statement had been taken from Secretariat documents.

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97. Mr. ERELL (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his information, too, had been taken from Secretariat documents.

98. The Syrian delegation always spoke on behalf of other delegations. The problem with Syria was its "Greater Syria" plan, which lay behind all its machinations. Syria might be somewhat greater if it abandoned that plan.

99. Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic) replied that Israel had been founded on the occupation of Palestine in 1948; since when it had expanded into the territory of several Arab States.

100. Mr. SEMICHI (Algeria) said that his Government wished to thank those delegations which had expressed their condolences to his country.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.