

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 12th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. JAMAL (Qatar)

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The meeting was called to order at 10:45 a.m.

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1. Mr. CORRÊA DA COSTA (Brazil) welcomed the delegations of Belize and Vanuatu. Brazil looked forward to the moment when the United Nations would ultimately reach the goal of universality and when the Fourth Committee's deliberations would be closed once and for all. However, many situations of colonialism and foreign dominations still persisted, including some, such as Namibia, which remained as intractable as ever.
2. There had been positive developments on the question of Western Sahara as a result of the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which seemed to have paved the way for a specific settlement of the conflict in north-west Africa.
3. History had taught that whenever the right to self-determination was denied to a people, the end result was tension and violence. The Government and people of Brazil, who shared a common cultural history with the people of East Timor, reasserted their support for the right of the Maubere people to self-determination in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Urgent action should be taken to enable the East Timorese people to have its identity reflected politically. Brazil supported the initiative of Portugal and hoped that it would contribute to a peaceful and speedy solution of the problem of East Timor.
4. The tragic situation of the Maubere people was fraught with serious problems of a humanitarian nature. Brazil considered that, during the current session, the General Assembly should renew its requests to the United Nations Children's Fund, the World Food Programme and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to alleviate the suffering of the population of East Timor and to Indonesia to co-operate in the granting of help to the people of Timor, which had suffered indescribably for too long.
5. Dr. MALAFATOPOULOS (World Health Organization) said that WHO had continued to give active support to the national liberation movements recognized by OAU and had collaborated closely with the national authorities of the front-line States in order to help improve the health conditions of their populations as well as those of the refugees coming from South Africa and Namibia. Negotiations were currently under way with OAU for a five-year plan of action in the main fields of co-operation, including primary health care, training of health personnel, health education and information, nutrition, promotion of workers' health and assistance to liberation movements.

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(Dr. Malafatopoulos, World Health Organization)

6. Following the admission of Zimbabwe to membership in WHO in May 1980, a WHO office had been opened in Salisbury. During the same month, there had been an interagency meeting and workshop under the joint auspices of the Government of Zimbabwe and UNDP to examine concrete projects that could be prepared and implemented by various United Nations agencies. In addition to providing medical equipment for the reconstruction of rural health units, WHO had allocated \$US400,000 for the first health development projects in Zimbabwe and had also assisted in the repatriation of refugees.

7. In Namibia, co-operation continued with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in granting assistance to Namibian refugees and awarding fellowships to Namibian nationals; the joint SHO/SWAPO document containing the first phase of a country health programme for Namibia following its independence had been submitted to UNDP and the United Nations.

8. As in the past, representatives of OAU and of national liberation movements recognized by OAU had been invited to participate in the work of the World Health Assembly, the Regional Committee for Africa, the working groups on technical co-operation among developing countries as well as in training sessions.

9. In its resolution WHA34.31 on the liberation struggle in southern Africa and, in particular, assistance to the front-line States, the World Health Assembly had requested the Director-General to intensify co-operation in the field of health with the front-line States as well as with Lesotho and Swaziland, which had suffered provocations and economic blackmail; to give special priority, in the health assistance programme within the SHO African region, to the front-line States, Lesotho and Swaziland; to continue collaboration with the United Nations agencies and the international community in order to obtain the necessary support in the health sector of national liberation movements recognized by OAU; to accelerate the implementation of the special action programmes for support to Zimbabwe; and to submit a detailed report to the World Health Assembly on the progress made in the implementation of the resolution.

10. Resolution WHA34.34, on assistance to Namibia, had considered the deterioration of the situation in Namibia resulting from the refusal of the racist régime of South Africa to grant independence to Namibia and had reaffirmed the right of the people of Namibia to national independence, which would ensure their full contribution to the achievement of the objective of health for all by the year 2000; it had also urged the Director-General to continue and increase WHO's assistance in the health field to SWAPO.

11. Resolution WH34.35, on health assistance to refugees in Africa, had noted with appreciation that the Secretary-General of the United Nations had in 1981 convened a successful International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in

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(Dr. Malafatopoulos, World Health Organization)

Africa; had decided to give high priority to the assistance provided to refugees in Africa in WHO's area of competence; and had requested the Director-General to continue and intensify co-operation within his fields of competence with UNHCR and other concerned organizations in the implementation and follow-up of the conclusions of the conference and to report back to the World Health Assembly in 1982.

12. From 16 to 20 November 1981 an international conference on apartheid and health would be held at the WHO Regional Office for Africa in Brazzaville; it would cover such subjects as the effects of apartheid on health, action to be taken to reduce and eliminate those effects, the national liberation struggle and anti-apartheid co-operation in the field of health, together with a health action programme for victims of apartheid. Invitations had been extended to the national liberation movements recognized by OAU, to the Secretary-General of OAU and the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, to the Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid as well as to agencies of the United Nations system.

13. Mr. BURAYZAT (Jordan) said that the admission of Belize and Vanuatu to membership in the United Nations represented clear proof of the importance of the work of the Fourth Committee and should serve as an incentive for the Committee to redouble its efforts to put an end to colonialism.

14. Thanks to the heroic struggle of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia, colonialism had lost considerable ground. The United Nations and the specialized agencies had played a decisive role in the process of liberating those peoples. Jordan considered that the activities of the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations relating to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be strengthened through the provision of funds which would help the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to achieve their noble objective.

15. The process of colonialism and foreign domination had led to the creation of anomalous situations in the world. Colonialism had not only deprived peoples of the right to self-determination but had accentuated the division of territorial and cultural units. It was therefore essential to help peoples who had been victims of colonialism in their sacred mission of reunification and preservation of their national and cultural unity. That process, nevertheless, should be pursued in accordance with the principles of international law and democracy. The situation in East Timor fell within that context. Jordan considered that Indonesia had exercised its right to unity. On the question of Western Sahara, Jordan supported all the efforts made by OAU and also the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination. All the countries involved should refrain from exploiting the situation. Jordan therefore regretted that there had been no response to paragraph 10 of General Assembly resolution 35/119, which had called upon the colonial Powers to withdraw

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(Dr. Burayzat, Jordan)

immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones.

16. Jordan wished to thank the countries which offered study and training facilities to the inhabitants of non-self-governing Territories. It was paradoxical that Israel, which maintained close ties of collaboration with South Africa, was among the countries providing that type of assistance. Israel's support ought to consist in putting an end to its occupation of Arab territories and to its collaboration with South Africa, whose pernicious policy of apartheid and exploitation of Namibia with the support of the champions of democracy was an affront to humanity.

17. Indeed, notwithstanding the advances made, colonialism had persisted in many regions of the world. Palestine, a territory subjected to a special form of colonialism, was one of them. Unlike the traditional colonialists, who had exercised domination on the pretext of promoting the development of colonized peoples until those peoples were prepared for self-government, the Zionists had occupied Arab territories without any intention of ever returning them, while they flaunted a title of ownership based on the Bible. Not content with that, they had refused to coexist with the Arab population that had lived in those territories for centuries. With the connivance of the United Kingdom authorities, the Jews had colonized Arab territories, carrying out a policy of genocide aimed at the creation of a truly Zionist State. In that way the Arab inhabitants had been turned into emigrants and tenants in their own lands. The most recent event in that tragic situation had been the agreement on strategic co-operation between Washington and Tel Aviv, aimed at perpetuating the occupation of the Arab territories and denying the Arab people its right to self-determination.

18. Mr. ORON (Israel), speaking on a point of order, said that it was not proper to discuss the question of Palestine in the Fourth Committee, since the matter was within the competence of the Special Political Committee or the plenary assembly.

19. Mr. BURAYZAT (Jordan), concluding his statement, said the tragedy of the Palestinian people was that it could not exercise its right to self-determination. He therefore asked the Fourth Committee to help the population of the Arab territories to exercise that right.

20. Mr. DIENE (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) emphasized the importance attached by UNESCO to assisting the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, in order that those colonial peoples might be able to consolidate the successes of the liberation struggle and assume fully the responsibilities of independence, particularly in the sphere of education, culture, science and information. To that end, UNESCO was training members of

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(Mr. Diene, UNESCO)

those movements, supplying educational material, and financing the participation of representatives of the liberation movements in the conferences and meetings it organized. At present, at the request of the United Nations Council for Namibia, it was carrying out, in collaboration with SWAPO and the Council for Namibia, four projects relating to the preparation of plans for a new educational system, teacher training, training and equipment in relation to communication, and women's participation in development. It was also endeavouring to promote the application of various instruments aimed at pursuing the struggle against domination, incitement to war, and racial discrimination. It should also be borne in mind that the International Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa had been held at UNESCO Headquarters and that UNESCO acted as an executing agency for projects financed by UNDP in support of the liberation movements of southern Africa.

21. Colonialist and racist ideology aimed at bringing about the cultural disintegration of peoples in order to set ethnic groups against one another and to prevent their expression of a collective political will, thereby impairing their chance of mobilization for the struggle and of achieving national unity in the stage of independence. In order to oppose that systematic strategy, UNESCO, in its studies and publications, emphasized the cultural identity of the peoples of southern Africa, which was a sufficient basis for the establishment of an independent nation. UNESCO was also engaged in a critical study of the concept of race, with a view to preparing effective intellectual and legal instruments to combat racism, particularly its present pseudo-scientific aspects. Furthermore, UNESCO was endeavouring to promote the contribution of the mass information media to the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid. In that connexion, mention should be made of the two important declarations adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1978, on racial prejudices, racism and apartheid and on incitement to war.

22. An important study entitled L'apartheid; pouvoir et falsification historique, recently published by UNESCO in French and English and widely distributed, scientifically analysed the fallacious historical arguments advanced in an attempt to justify apartheid and to depict as illegitimate the claims of the oppressed black masses of South Africa. UNESCO had found it essential to publish a critical analysis of the myths of official South African history.

23. Another study, entitled Sociological theories, race and colonialism, discussed different schools of thought and analysed the contributions of various classical and modern sociological theories to the study of racism, and therefore to the study of colonialism, as well as the economic, political and social factors that had given rise in the nineteenth century to relatively structured colonialist and racist ideologies which had contributed to the perpetuation or establishment of certain social structures at the national and international levels.

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(Mr. Diene, UNESCO)

24. The eight volumes of the monumental work Histoire générale de l'Afrique would present a history of the ideas and civilizations, societies and institutions of Africa since earliest times.
25. In 1975 UNESCO had published a first volume of a study on racism and apartheid in Southern Africa, and today it was preparing a study on the consequences of apartheid for African women in South Africa. Another project was the one related to the investigation of the South African attitude with regard to the Declaration of Human Rights. There was also an ongoing study of the manner in which apartheid was treated in South Africa's school textbooks for whites and of the methods used by South Africa to create and support pressure groups in various countries.
26. Lastly, UNESCO had initiated a study on South Africa and the press, which would analyse the transmission of information on South Africa by the press agencies during the past 10 years and its utilization in the newspapers of various countries, taking account of a wide variety of aspects related to the subject, such as the presentation, scope and orientation of information, as well as the public for which the newspapers opposed to apartheid were intended.
27. Mr. LEE (Singapore) said that Singapore had spared no effort to contribute to the promotion of the inalienable rights of the peoples of non-self-governing Territories to self-determination and independence, as was shown by its active participation in the work of the Fourth Committee. However, it recognized that the path to independence differed from one non-self-governing Territory to another. In some Territories the process took place smoothly, under favourable and peaceful conditions, while others were less fortunate. In the case of East Timor, decolonization had taken place in very difficult and complex circumstances. In mid-1974 the Portuguese colony had been plunged into deep internal conflict. The administering Power had withdrawn from the Territory, leaving the contending parties to settle their differences by military means. The outcome had been an untenable situation which had resulted in the loss of lives and property. The unstable conditions had intensified the desire of the people to make East Timor an integral part of Indonesia, a desire which had been expressed in a decision of the Regional Popular Assembly in May 1976. The request for integration had been transmitted to the Government of Indonesia, which had expressed its agreement two months later.
28. Integration into Indonesia had brought political stability to East Timor. The Indonesian Government had devoted a considerable portion of its provincial-development budget to the people of East Timor; as a result, that people was beginning to make socio-economic progress and enjoy its benefits. In those efforts, Indonesia had received generous assistance from many countries and international organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross.

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29. Mr. LOPES CABRAL (Guinea-Bissau) said that the situation in East Timor was unacceptable because it was contrary to the rules that governed international relations; it was essential that the international community should prevent the situation of the people of East Timor from remaining unpublicized. The right of a people to self-determination and independence did not depend on the size of the country or the number of its inhabitants. In accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter, and particularly in Article 2, paragraph 4, the United Nations rejected the policy of fait accompli and condemned all manoeuvres aimed at perpetuating that policy. The Government of Indonesia had no right to decide, under the pretext of hegemony, the fate of a people who had for centuries been separated from what was currently the Republic of Indonesia by historical, social, political and cultural factors. The mere promulgation of a law could not in any circumstances provide legal justification for the usurpation of a foreign territory or sanction an act of military aggression. The use of force could not annul the primacy of law, just as summary executions and arbitrary imprisonment could not intimidate a people struggling for their right to exist or weaken their determination to win. The tragedy of the people of East Timor should spur the international community to end the conspiracy of silence and the temporizing fatalism surrounding the question of East Timor. Never had a problem of such gravity, endangering the existence of an entire people, been treated with such open indifference and inertia by the States Members of the United Nations.

30. Nevertheless, many speakers appeared before the Fourth Committee every year to describe and deplore the inhumane suffering inflicted on the Maubere people: indefatigable petitioners, whose only interest was to see justice triumph and the right of all peoples to independence prevail; the fighters of FRETILIN, who came to testify about the confidence their people had in the United Nations; and the representativeness of humanitarian organizations, who were seeking to inform international public opinion about the cruel fate of the Maubere people. Mentions should also be made of the recent session of the Permanent People's Tribunal devoted to East Timor.

31. Six years after the intervention of the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor, the situation remained unchanged. The Jakarta authorities continued to reject the decisions of the United Nations and persisted in their policy of occupation and genocide. Dozens of people were dying daily of disease and malnutrition. According to recent evidence, people were starving in various parts of the country.

32. The international community could not remain mute and impassive when confronted with genocide, thus becoming an accomplice in the hegemonistic policy of a Member State. The great majority of Member States--including Indonesia--had based the legitimacy of their struggle for political emancipation on the inalienable right of peoples to freedom and independence. The notable progress achieved by the United Nations in the sphere of decolonization had been made possible primarily by the collective effort based on the perception that all the inhabitants of the earth had a common destiny and on the need to promote and strengthen international solidarity.

33. The United Nations had a moral obligation to pursue the task of decolonizing

(Mr. Lopes Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

East Timor, begun in 1975 by the former colonial Power, and to promote the establishment of an international commission to evaluate the implementation of the principle of self-determination in East Timor. It should be recalled that the Portuguese Government had reaffirmed its commitment on 15 October 1981. The Members of the United Nations should therefore join forces to convince the Indonesian authorities of the urgent need to restore the legitimate rights of the people of East Timor through constructive negotiations.

34. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique) said those who argued that East Timor was too small to be independent should remember that the inalienable right to self-determination and independence is no way depended on the size of the country, as was shown by the independence of Belize and Vanuatu, and that every people had the right to decide its own destiny. The people of East Timor had preserved their culture and personality during four centuries of Portuguese colonial domination and had fought against colonialism in order to achieve freedom and be masters of their own destiny. Consequently, Indonesia's claim that East Timor was an integral part of its own territory was unacceptable. The Indonesian occupation forces had not succeeded in subduing the Maubere people led by FRETILIN. Despite the massacres perpetuated by the Indonesian aggressors, which had claimed more victims than the Ian Smith régime, the Maubere people continued fighting with inflexible determination.

35. However, the media said nothing about that war; since it involved a people's struggle for freedom, imperialism was trying to avoid publicity and was providing the annexing aggressors with numerous means of destruction. Many sought to justify their impassivity *via-à-vis* that situation by describing it as a "fait accompli". Some Western countries, whose might was based on the exploitation of peoples, cared nothing for the fact that an entire people was being massacred, provided that their economic and strategic interests were preserved and that they could rely on a continuous supply of oil and raw materials and a market for their products.

36. All peoples and forces which cared for peace and freedom were following the question of East Timor with concern. The General Assembly and the Security Council had adopted important resolutions reaffirming the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence and demanding the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the territory. The non-aligned countries had consistently maintained the issue on their agenda and had made various appeals to Indonesia to withdraw its forces from East Timor. Nevertheless, Indonesia had thus far continued to defy the decisions of all international bodies. It should be remembered, however, that it had been able to do so because the drastic measures provided for in the United Nations Charter had not been taken.

37. By adopting resolution 3485 (XXX) five days after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, the United Nations had reiterated clearly its support for the the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). In view of the gravity of the situation

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(Mr. Lobo, Mozambique)

created by Indonesia, the Security Council had adopted resolution 384 (1975) which, like subsequent resolutions, had not been implemented because of the connivance of certain Western Powers, especially the United States. The extermination of more than 200,000 people, which had begun in December 1975, had been possible because Indonesian expansionism had received the blessing of the United States Government.

38. Despite the use of its strong military apparatus, Indonesia had controlled a mere 20 per cent of the territory of East Timor by the end of 1976. Nevertheless, the Jakarta régime had continued to pursue its macabre objectives, and had gone on murdering the population of East Timor, including women and children. As through the situation in East Timor in recent years had not been sufficiently tragic, the additional problem of hunger had now arisen. According to available information, the situation was desperate but the people were prepared to make every sacrifice in order to live in freedom.

39. It was very discouraging to note that even the Permanent People's Tribunal, which had originated in the Nuremberg judgements against the Nazi criminals and had tried the war crimes against the Vietnamese, had now condemned Indonesia, a founding member of the movement of non-aligned countries.

40. The Indonesian representatives claimed that East Timor was an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia, forgetting that they had previously denied any territorial claim to the Territory. The theory of "fait accompli" was unacceptable when in the Constitution of the Administering Power itself, the State and People of Portugal had undertaken to grant self-determination and independence to East Timor. For the sake of international peace and security, all countries should accept the principle that the boundaries drawn by the colonial powers should be maintained, in order to prevent the outbreak of many border conflicts.

41. Mozambique hoped that Portugal would fulfil its obligations to East Timor, to the international community and to its own history and people, and that it would courageously and firmly continue its efforts to find an internationally acceptable solution to the problem of East Timor. It also hoped that Indonesia would once again support the national liberation struggles which formed part of its own past.

42. His delegation reaffirmed its firm support of FRETILIN and the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

43. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to the two draft resolutions on the question of Western Sahara (agenda item 19) contained in documents A/C.4/36/L.2 and L.3, and announced that the delegations of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Trinidad and Tobago had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.3.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.