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FOURTH COMMITTEE
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at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 18th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. JAMAL (Qatar)

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(continued) (A/36/580)

1. The CHAIRMAN, on behalf of the Fourth Committee, noted with satisfaction the accession to independence of Antigua and Barbuda and expressed warm congratulations to the Government and the people and best wishes for peace and prosperity in the years to come.

General debate (continued)

2. Mrs. OSODE (Liberia), speaking on agenda item 96 (United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa), said that her country's interest in the item had been dictated not only by the fact that Liberia was a member of the Advisory Committee on the Programme but also by the compelling need to assist colonial peoples to acquire education and training.

3. It was evident, however, from the Secretary-General's report on the subject (A/36/147) that the Programme was in a difficult financial situation which threatened to jeopardize its effectiveness. The financial constraints stemmed in part from the fact that the Programme depended on voluntary contributions. It was therefore imperative that all Member States should assist the Programme more generously, to enable it to pursue and develop its activities.

4. In his report, the Secretary-General had stated that only 97 new scholarships had been granted in 1980-1981, which represented the lowest number of new scholarships granted since the establishment of the Programme in 1967. That situation was not surprising, for the preceding report had stated that the contributions received for 1981 had totalled only \$3.3 million, as against \$3.7 million in 1979, and that only 30 Member States had made cash contributions.

5. The Programme must accept and encourage offers of scholarships, regardless of the ideology of the host country. It was urgent to disseminate to all prospective students in colonial Territories information on scholarship offers, and States which had offered scholarships should be asked to accept as many refugee and other students as possible in their educational institutions. As far as the content of education was concerned, the interests of the student must come before those of the host country.

6. Her delegation hoped that the Advisory Committee on the Programme and OAU could obtain the list of students receiving scholarships under the Programme. That list would make it possible to determine the fitness of students to follow courses under the Programme. Moreover, the Advisory Committee would do well to invite students who had already benefited from the Programme to report to it on their experience. That would help students in the years to come to make a better future when majority rule was established or their country acceded to independence.

7. Her delegation expressed its gratitude to all Member States and organizations which had contributed to the Programme in any form. Liberia had always supported the Programme, both morally and financially, and intended to make a further generous contribution in the near future.

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8. Mr. KAMARA (Senegal) said that the Fourth Committee must intensify its efforts to help all small Territories still under colonial domination to exercise their right to self-determination and to achieve independence.
9. Two of the "small Territories" were of particular concern to the Committee - East Timor and Western Sahara.
10. In the case of East Timor, the people should be enabled to express their views freely on their future. The parties concerned could then engage in consultations and reach an acceptable settlement of the problem of East Timor.
11. Where the question of Western Sahara was concerned, Senegal welcomed the agreement reached in Nairobi, at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, in June 1981. That session of the Assembly had raised great expectations, since for the first time considerable progress had been achieved in the difficult process of seeking peace in Western Sahara. It had been thought at the time that the bodies considering the problem of Western Sahara would do so in harmony and free of all controversy.
12. Unfortunately, there were some who were still engaging in much diplomatic manoeuvring and were about to reopen the battle around two resolutions, to which artificial objections were being raised. There were two very distinct schools of thought which differed in their approach, their substance and their aims. On one side were those who thought that the process initiated by the African heads of State deserved to be taken seriously and that the arrangements so arduously worked out must be taken note of. They also welcomed the appeal made to the United Nations by OAU for collaboration in helping it to settle technical and material questions, thus ensuring success in organizing fairly and impartially a general, free self-determination referendum in Western Sahara.
13. The other school of thought was negating the hopes aroused by the new opening towards peace, was engaging in sterile ploys by asserting that not all the declarations in favour of the referendum were backed by the will to really organize it, and was trying to introduce new elements which were contrary to the decision taken by the OAU Implementation Committee in Nairobi.
14. His delegation for one had chosen to joint the first school of thought, which supported the efforts being exerted by the Organization of African Unity in collaboration with the United Nations.
15. Miss GORDON (Trinidad and Tobago) said that, while the era of colonialism was drawing to a close, too many peoples still suffered under foreign domination and were unable to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty over their own natural resources. The most obvious example was that of Namibia, whose natural resources had been plundered and its people exploited by the South African regime in defiance of countless United Nations resolutions. The only way for the international community to express its opprobrium in concrete terms was by the imposition of mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.
16. Where the colonial problem of Western Sahara was concerned, her delegation welcomed the efforts of the eighteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads

(Miss Gordon, Trinidad and Tobago)

of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity to resolve the conflict on the basis of a cease-fire and a general, fair and well-organized self-determination referendum throughout the Territory. It hoped that in that way the people of Western Sahara would be able freely to decide their own future and that an equitable, lasting peace would come to the region.

17. Her delegation was concerned at reports of an impending second famine in East Timor and would urge the international community and relief organizations to take early, positive steps to alleviate the plight of the Maubere people.

18. The continuing unrest on the island was a clear indication that no act of self-determination, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), had taken place in East Timor. Trinidad and Tobago urged all the parties to the conflict to co-operate fully with the United Nations in ensuring the exercise of the right to self-determination in East Timor and arriving at an equitable settlement; to that end, it had co-sponsored draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.7 on the question of East Timor.

19. In the case of the small island territories in the Caribbean and in the Pacific and Indian Oceans which were yet to exercise self-determination, the responsibilities of an administering Power included educating the peoples of the Territories under its jurisdiction as to the options available to them in determining their future status, desisting from any activities detrimental to their welfare, strengthening and diversifying the economies of those Territories and enhancing their infrastructures so as to prepare their peoples for eventual control over their own destinies.

20. With regard to the report of the Committee of 24 (A/36/23 (Part V)), her delegation welcomed the initiatives taken by the administering Powers to make the Territories under their administration more viable.

21. Where the Caribbean was concerned, it was noted that efforts were being made to promote agriculture and fisheries in Bermuda, so as to reduce the Territory's heavy dependence on tourism and international company business. Similar efforts were being made in Montserrat, the Cayman Islands, the United States Virgin Islands and the British Virgin Islands. Her delegation hoped that the administering Power would provide the necessary assistance to the Government of that last group of islands in implementing its four-year plan for socio-economic development. While the peoples of the Cayman Islands and Turks and Caicos Islands had not yet opted for independence, it was to be hoped that efforts would continue to be made to ensure their preparedness for a change in constitutional status. Her delegation looked forward to hearing the results of the referendum on the new constitution scheduled to be held in the United States Virgin Islands on 3 November 1981.

22. While some measures had been taken by the administering Powers to prepare the peoples of the Caribbean Territories for greater autonomy, there was a pressing need for more concerted and effective action to increase their viability and combat the grave problems caused by a scarcity of natural resources, unfavourable terms of trade, inadequate development finance, high unemployment and under-developed infrastructure.

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(Miss Gordon, Trinidad and Tobago)

23. The valuable role played by the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa in educating the young refugees of southern Africa was known and recognized by all. The financial crisis faced by the Programme was therefore a source of great concern. Her delegation reiterated its support for the Programme and hoped that financial support from Member States would avert the crisis and enable the Programme to continue.

24. Mr. SASSI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that, although two decades had elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, certain colonialist States were still keeping a number of Territories under their domination and engaging in manoeuvres to perpetuate their presence, promote their political, military and economic interests and thwart the aspirations of the peoples of those Territories for independence. Nevertheless, the process of decolonization was gathering momentum. In 1980 Zimbabwe, whose people had given the world a lesson in courage in their struggle for independence, and recently Vanuatu and Belize had become Members of the United Nations, and the day before Antigua and Barbuda, joining the community of nations, had become independent.

25. The United Nations General Assembly had entrusted the Committee of 24 with a historic task, the decolonization of colonial Territories. The Committee should firstly, inform world public opinion of the difficulties experienced by colonial countries deprived of their right to self-determination and, secondly, spearhead the activities of the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

26. Undeniably, the United Nations had given important aid to colonial peoples in their struggle for liberation by providing them with material assistance, adopting resolutions supporting their goals and making mediation efforts, but it must be recognized that, in the struggle for self-determination and independence, it was the colonial peoples themselves who had played the main role.

27. The international community had recognized the rights of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, but the racist regime in Pretoria, supported by the United States and some other Western States, was continuing to defy the will of the United Nations and to flout its resolutions. South Africa and its allies, on the pretext that their interests would be threatened if changes occurred in the region, were fanatically opposing any action that might contribute to the decolonization of southern Africa. In fact, Pretoria had increased its activity and was trying by every means to reaffirm its domination over the region, as was shown by the aggression perpetrated recently by its troops in Angola.

28. In his delegation's opinion, Namibia could become independent only if the international community supported the armed struggle of the Namibian people, reaffirmed their right to self-determination, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV), recognized that the two main parties to the conflict were SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, on the one hand, and the racist Pretoria regime, which was illegally occupying the territory, on the other, if measures were taken for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which contained provisions relating

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(Mr. Sassi, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

to the independence of Namibia, and if the sanctions decreed by the General Assembly at its eighth emergency special session were applied against the racist South African regime.

29. Libya was following with great interest the development of the situation in Western Sahara since the Sahraoui people had embarked on the struggle against colonialism. It had welcomed the initiative taken by Morocco to agree to the Sahraoui people's exercising their right to self-determination by referendum. It had also supported the decision taken on the matter by the Conference of Heads of States and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth regular session in Nairobi and the decision adopted by the OAU Implementation Committee concerning the establishment of appropriate machinery for the organization of that referendum.

30. Libya sincerely hoped that the necessary conditions could be met in order to enable the Sahraoui people to pronounce themselves freely and democratically on their future and to put an end to the war between Morocco and the Polisario front.

31. Responsibility for peace and security law with all States. Libya, therefore, firmly condemned the maintenance of military bases in certain Territories still under colonial domination, in particular, in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and in Guam. The exploitation of those two Territories for strategic and military purposes by the United States Government was an obstacle to the implementation of Declaration 1514 (XV) on decolonization and constituted a threat to the security and peace of the States of the region.

32. Everyone knew that the presence of United States military bases in the Mediterranean region had facilitated the aggression perpetrated recently by the United States against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra, which was an integral part of Libyan territory. His delegation urged Administering Powers to supply more detailed information on the Territories which they administered, particularly in the military, political and economic fields, in accordance with Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter.

33. He supported the right to self-determination and independence of the Puerto Rican people and the decision taken by the Committee of 24 to include the question of Puerto Rico as a separate item in the agenda of the next session of the United Nations General Assembly.

34. Libya appreciated the support provided by certain specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies to liberation movements. It deplored, however, the fact that certain others, in particular the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, had not yet taken measures to implement the provisions of Declaration 1514 (XV) and the resolutions of the General Assembly on that question. Those bodies should halt all financial, economic and technical assistance to the racist Government of South Africa.

35. Libya urged those specialized agencies which had not yet done so to grant the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Palestine Liberation Organization full member status.

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36. Mr. MUTHANA (Democratic Yemen) said that, in spite of the efforts made by the United Nations, regional organizations and national liberation movements to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which contained the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the colonialist States were continuing to keep those peoples under their domination by suppressing their legitimate aspirations, destroying their national identity and obliging them to live in the greatest deprivation.

37. The sufferings of the peoples who had not yet succeeded in freeing themselves from the yoke of colonialism were well known to Democratic Yemen, which itself had had to struggle for many years in order to free itself from British colonialist domination. However, the armed revolution waged under the leadership of the National Front had forced the colonial Power to evacuate the Territory, which had finally recovered its freedom on 30 November 1967.

38. It was regrettable to note that, at present, the imperialist States and the United States in particular, were persisting in their colonial policy and doing everything in their power to prevent the colonial Territories from acceding to independence and to turn them into military bases and store arms there. Thus, the United States Government insisted on retaining its Guantánamo military base in Cuba and was waging a bacteriological and psychological war against the brave Cuban peoples. That same Government was engaged in various manoeuvres to prevent Puerto Rico from acceding to independence and to repress the Puerto Rican people, who aspired to freedom. Moreover, the United States was giving support to the racist minority regime in South Africa, which continued to occupy Namibia illegally and was increasing its attacks against Angola and the front-line States. That country had also concluded a strategic alliance with Israel, which was continuing to occupy Arab territories by force and to prevent the Palestinian people returning to their homeland and establishing an independent State. Moreover, the United States was building new military bases, forming rapid intervention forces and committing acts of interference in the internal affairs of independent States. It should be noted that the United States Government was planning to undertake military manoeuvres in the near future along the frontiers of Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

39. With regard to the question of Western Sahara, the struggle waged by the people of that territory enjoyed broad national support, because it was a just cause. It was therefore to be hoped that Morocco would withdraw from that region, in order to enable the Sahraoui people to accede to independence. The people of Western Sahara had taken their own fate in hand and were daily achieving great victories in their liberation struggle, which would inevitably lead it to independence. It was regrettable to note that, instead of mobilizing their forces to liberate the territories occupied and usurped by Israel, some Arab countries were pursuing a policy of regional hegemonism by occupying other Arab Territories with the intention of building empires today totally anachronistic.

40. For its part, his delegation wished to reaffirm its support for the efforts made by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations to find a solution to the problem of Western Sahara, and it invited those organizations to take immediate measures to help the people of that Territory to achieve its national independence. Those measures should provide for direct negotiations between the

(Mr. Muthana, Democratic Yemen)

Polisario Front, the Sahraoui Government and Morocco, the withdrawal of Moroccan forces from Sahraoui territory and the organization of a free and general referendum in that Territory.

41. Miss JACOB (Guyana) welcomed Vanuatu and Belize, two newly independent States, to the United Nations and looked forward to welcoming in due course the new State of Antigua and Barbuda, which had just celebrated its independence.

42. Despite advances in decolonization, it was shocking that the aspirations of the Namibian people were still being frustrated by South Africa. More than two decades after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and more than a decade and a half after the United Nations had assumed direct responsibility for Namibia, the situation in that Territory had deteriorated to such an extent as to pose a serious threat to international peace and security. The struggle of the Namibian people for their basic and inalienable rights continued to exact a heavy toll in human lives and suffering, not only in Namibia but also in neighbouring independent States, all because of the determination of South Africa, which was ardently supported by certain rich and powerful Western countries, to pursue its policy of domination and of exploitation of the resources of the Territory, subordinating the rights and wishes of the people of Namibia to considerations of profit.

43. Her delegation reaffirmed its support for SWAPO as the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people, and reiterated its call for an early and peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia and for practical steps in that direction.

44. Guyana welcomed the effort of OAU to secure a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara and the decision of the OAU Implementation Committee to establish a mechanism whereby the people of that Territory could express themselves freely and democratically on their future. The United Nations could and must play a role in implementing that decision and in advancing the peace effort by encouraging and co-operating with OAU.

45. Her delegation hoped that the decisions adopted at the Nairobi summit meeting would mark the start of a process that would eventually lead to peace in the area and the restoration of constructive and harmonious relations among the States of the region.

46. The people of East Timor must also be allowed the full exercise of their right of self-determination. Guyana opposed all attempts to compromise that principle, and maintained that the rights of the people of East Timor must be respected, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

47. Consistent progress had been made in the area of decolonization, yet there was still a considerable way to go in order to achieve the full implementation of the Declaration. While most of the dependent Territories had particular characteristics which posed a special kind of challenge both to the administering Powers concerned and to the leaders of the Territories themselves, nonetheless

(Miss Jacob, Guyana)

factors such as size, geographical location, population or limited natural resources should in no way delay the speedy application of the Declaration to any Territory under colonial domination.

48. Her delegation reaffirmed its opposition to those activities of foreign economic and other interests which impeded the implementation of the Declaration. Economic co-operation could certainly play a positive and constructive role in the development of the resources of dependent Territories; but when such co-operation created or reinforced relations of domination and exploitation it violated the interests of the people of the Territories concerned. The resources of dependent Territories were the property of the people of those Territories and any relationship with foreign economic interests regarding resources must be grounded in respect for that principle.

49. Her delegation had no doubt that the persistence of exploitative relations between foreign economic and other interests and the colonial Territories had unnecessarily complicated the political development of the Territories and only aggravated their situation.

50. There was no question that the administering Powers, working in conjunction with the Special Committee, could devise effective arrangements which would allow the Non-Self-Governing Territories to proceed to genuine independence. Her delegation expressed special appreciation for the assistance those Territories had been receiving from the specialized agencies.

51. The tasks ahead in the area of decolonization would require the continuing commitment of the international community and a willingness to be innovative, particularly where the small Territories were concerned. The task was one of defending human dignity and the rights and interests of peoples. Her delegation was confident that, with the necessary political will, any action in that direction would hasten the achievement of the goal of guaranteeing all peoples their right to self-determination and independence.

52. Mr. LESETEDI (Botswana) joined in welcoming the delegations of Vanuatu and Belize, whose countries had been freed from the bondage of colonialism and would now be able to participate actively in the Committee's endeavour to solve the problems of colonialism.

53. Botswana, as a member of the United Nations, OAU and the non-aligned movement, upheld the principles of those organizations and was therefore dedicated to decolonization.

54. Botswana gave full support to the people of Western Sahara in their attempt to liberate themselves and create an independent Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. Like any other people, the people of Western Sahara had the right to determine their destiny, and they could do so only if they recovered their freedom. It was therefore the duty of peace-loving countries to assist the Saharan people to achieve their right to independence and self-determination. Consequently, Botswana sincerely hoped that Morocco, as a peace-loving country and a responsible member of the United Nations and OAU, would participate in a peaceful

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(Mr. Lesetedi, Botswana)

settlement of the question of Western Sahara, and would recognize the right of the people of the area to independence and self-determination by withdrawing its troops and ending its military occupation of those parts of Western Sahara which were still under its control.

55. A peaceful solution to the question of Western Sahara could be found only if the Government of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO were willing to come together at the negotiating table. Botswana therefore appealed to both parties to the conflict to seek to resolve the question together and it appealed to Morocco to carry out the decision adopted by OAU at its Nairobi summit meeting in 1981 which called for a cease-fire and a referendum.

56. The escalation of the war in Western Sahara would simply lead certain super-Powers to intervene in the region, since the conflict guaranteed the survival of their armament industries and gave them the opportunity to test their armaments on African soil. Those Powers must recognize the right of the people of Western Sahara to independence and join in the endeavour to find a peaceful solution to the question.

57. Botswana reaffirmed its support for the Frente POLISARIO and the people of Western Sahara in their struggle for independence and looked forward to the day when an independent Saharan Arab Democratic Republic would be represented in the United Nations.

58. Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde) said that, although the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been adopted some 20 years earlier, certain reactionary and expansionist regimes continued to stifle independence movements by force. Thus, in Western Sahara, which had been occupied militarily by Morocco in 1976, the martyred people of the Territory had had to pursue against Moroccan aggression the struggle they had begun against Spanish colonization. In violation of the United Nations Charter and the OAU charter as well as General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), Morocco had persisted in flouting one of the fundamental principles of African unity, the respect for colonial boundaries. The question of Western Sahara had taken on particular importance at the moment and Cape Verde was anxious to join the common search for a solution favourable to the cause of the Saharan people.

59. The independence of the Territory of Western Sahara had been demanded and upheld by the overwhelming majority of the international community. An incontrovertible proof was the great number of resolutions adopted since 1975 by the United Nations, OAU and the non-aligned movement in which the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence was recognized. Cape Verde had always sustained the Saharan people in their heroic struggle for independence under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, just as it had always combated colonialism, whatever its origin.

60. Substantial progress had been made on the question of Western Sahara since the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU had been held in Nairobi in June 1981, when Morocco had accepted that a referendum should be held in Western Sahara for the purpose of enabling the Saharan people

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

to exercise their right to self-determination. That had been a positive development as it had made for optimism regarding the peaceful solution of a conflict which had already cost many human lives; it would contribute to the re-establishment of peace and security in that part of the African continent. In that connexion, he welcomed the document prepared by the OAU Implementation Committee, which established a sound basis for finding a peaceful solution to the conflict.

61. His delegation considered that the first step towards a settlement of the conflict should be the conclusion of an agreement between the Frente POLISARIO and Morocco which would define the conditions of the cease-fire and re-establish peace and security in the region. It would be desirable for Morocco to agree to enter into negotiations with the Frente POLISARIO with a view to creating the conditions whereby the Saharan people could freely choose their own destiny.

62. The self-determination referendum was not a simple internal consultation within the framework of Moroccan sovereignty over the Saharan Territory, but rather the exercise of the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination, in accordance with the principles enshrined in the charters of the United Nations and of OAU as well as in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

63. His delegation strongly rejected Morocco's attempt to tamper with the nature and purpose of the referendum when that country had stated that the organization of a controlled referendum in the territory was acceptable since it would enable the people to reaffirm their devotion. His delegation considered that the OAU Implementation Committee should play a primary role, in collaboration with the United Nations, in organizing the referendum and in order to ensure that it would take place in a fair and impartial manner. In its statement on the issue in the general debate during the current session of the General Assembly, Morocco had claimed that the Territory was a Moroccan province, and the arguments it had used in order to justify that annexation represented an affront to the principles of international law and the resolutions which had been adopted. The attitude of Morocco was dangerous because it could make the conflict a factor of instability and insecurity in the whole region. Any attempt by Morocco to perpetuate its military occupation of the Saharan Territory would meet the firm opposition of the entire international community.

64. In spite of the bombings, the arrests of Saharan nationalists and the superiority of the Moroccan military forces, the Saharan people, inspired by their indomitable will and their right to freedom and independence, and led by the Frente POLISARIO had succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on the invading army. The recent defeat suffered by Moroccan troops at Guelta Zemmour was clear proof that the Saharan people were determined not to accept the policy of *fait accompli*. All States should give their unreserved support to the OAU Implementation Committee in its difficult task and should insist that Morocco should end its military occupation without further delay and enter into direct negotiations with the Frente POLISARIO, which was the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people.

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65. Mr. NGUEMA-MVE (Gabon) welcomed the substantial progress made by the United Nations on the issue of decolonization thanks to a series of measures and texts particularly the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples - which were based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples. The Special Committee of 24 had also played a crucial role in the decolonization of a number of States, and the presence of the representatives of Belize and Vanuatu at the current session bore testimony to that fact.

66. Tension continued to exist in a number of regions of the world, particularly in Africa, where the apartheid regime of South Africa continued to occupy Namibia illegally in defiance of United Nations resolutions. Gabon hoped that the Western contact group would succeed in finding a rapid solution to the problem in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

67. On the question of Western Sahara, Gabon welcomed the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at its eighteenth session, in Nairobi, to establish an Implementation Committee responsible for studying the means whereby a definite settlement of the question of Western Sahara could be reached once the parties to the conflict had accepted the principle of a self-determination referendum. At its first session, from 24 to 26 August 1981, the Implementation Committee had taken a series of measures for establishing the framework for the referendum. It would therefore be ill-advised to question the decisions adopted by the OAU Assembly. Since the principle of the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara had been accepted by all, and as efforts were under way to define the modalities for implementing the OAU decision on the referendum, it was necessary to have confidence in OAU, to support its action and to request the United Nations simply to furnish technical assistance.

68. The solution of the Sahara question was African and must remain so; new demands would damage the cause of peace. Each party to the conflict should assume its responsibilities for ending the conflict and assuring the well-being of all the peoples of the region.

69. Mr. LOPEZ DEL AMO (Cuba) said that, notwithstanding the efforts of those in illegal occupation of the territory of the Saharan Democratic Republic to present the question of Western Sahara as a difference between regional States, the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations itself had always recognized that a problem of decolonization was involved. It was therefore for the United Nations, particularly the Special Committee of 24 and the Fourth Committee, to consider the question and to attempt to settle it within the framework of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

70. There was no point in dwelling further on the fact that the Territory of the former "Spanish Sahara" had been seized from its people and occupied by its neighbour, Morocco, nor on the heroic struggle of the Saharan people, under the direction of its liberation movement, the Frente POLISARIO, to exercise its

(Mr. Lopez del Amo, Cuba)

right to self-determination and to achieve independence. It should however be stressed that the international community, particularly OAU and the Non-Aligned States, had given their unequivocal support to the inalienable rights of the Saharan people.

71. The African States had long been endeavouring to find a final settlement of the question within the framework of the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU. In June 1981, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU had adopted a decision designed to end the conflict between Morocco and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and to guarantee the rights of the Saharan people. King Hassan II of Morocco had solemnly undertaken to accept the organization of a referendum in Western Sahara. That presupposed, however, that hostilities would be ended by direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict, namely, Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO. To open negotiations between parties not directly interested, as suggested in the letter addressed by the Head of State of Morocco to the current Chairman of OAU, was tantamount to giving the conflict a regional rather than a colonial character.

72. The accusations which Morocco had levelled against Mauritania to the effect that the latter had participated in recent military actions of the Frente POLISARIO - accusations categorically rejected by the Mauritanian Government - seemed to confirm such a purpose. Furthermore, the suggestions made by certain representatives of Morocco that the scope of the referendum should be limited was inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the decision of the OAU Implementation Committee, which had defined it as an act of self-determination.

73. His delegation reaffirmed its unreserved support for the Saharan people in its struggle for self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The decisions adopted by OAU and by its Implementation Committee on Western Sahara were consistent with justice and respect for the rights of peoples, rooted in the history of the African continent. Draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.3, which was co-sponsored by Cuba, was in complete conformity with those decisions, with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement as well as with the United Nations Charter and the right of peoples. Cuba was convinced that the just cause of the Saharan people and its national liberation movement, the Frente POLISARIO, would triumph.

74. Mr. CARR (Jamaica) hailed the determined efforts of the United Nations to assist the people of Western Sahara in the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles of the Charter and with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

75. A sequence of tragic developments since 1975 had negated the right of the Saharan people to determine their own future freely. The first had been the secret tripartite agreement of 14 November 1975 and the second had been the agreement of 14 April 1976 delimiting territorial frontiers. Those events had had significant consequences. They had impeded the efforts of the United Nations

(Mr. Carr, Jamaica)

and of OAU to arrive at a peaceful and durable settlement of the problem within the framework of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); they had essentially maintained the colonial character of the Territory and had constrained the people of Western Sahara to wage a struggle of national resistance for the recovery of their rights.

76. Efforts made by the international community during the year to find a just solution to the dispute included the communique issued by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in February 1981 in New Delhi, which called upon the parties concerned to enter into immediate negotiations with a view to determining the true aspirations of the people of Western Sahara and to ensuring that they could freely exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the principles of the movement of non-aligned countries and the United Nations Charter.

77. Progress towards a just and peaceful settlement had been strengthened by the decision taken by the Implementation Committee on Western Sahara of the Organization of African Unity at its first regular session in August 1981 at Nairobi.

78. The provisions of the Nairobi decision supported the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and provided for the holding of a general and free referendum, under the auspices of the Implementation Committee, in collaboration with the United Nations. The remaining provisions, relating to a cease-fire, the establishment of a United Nations or OAU peace-keeping force and possible financing of the implementation of the decision by the United Nations, would constitute very encouraging preliminaries for a negotiated and internationally accepted settlement of the problem. During the decisive subsequent phase the parties to the dispute would need to demonstrate the requisite political will by immediately taking all necessary steps to implement the OAU decision.

79. Mr. JEICHANDE (Mozambique) said that the question of Western Sahara, a country attacked and occupied by Morocco, was again before the Committee.

80. Despite efforts by the Moroccan authorities to mislead public opinion, the situation was becoming clearer owing to the struggle of the Saharan people led by Frente POLISARIO and the decisions taken by the Fourth Committee in support of the people of Western Sahara.

81. Morocco was becoming more isolated every year, while Frente POLISARIO was consolidating its position in the field and in the international community. The Saharan people, who were fighting for freedom and peace, were gaining universal recognition by their victories. By leading the struggle in Western Sahara Frente POLISARIO was liberating not only its people and homeland, but also those countries which were fighting against it. That had been true of Mauritania, and the events of June 1981 in Morocco gave grounds to believe that it would also be true of Rabat.

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(Mr. Jeichande, Mozambique)

82. At its eighteenth session, held recently at Nairobi, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity had laid down the political framework for solving the problem of Western Sahara by adopting resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII), which provided that before the end of August 1981 the Implementation Committee should formulate, in co-operation with the parties to the dispute, the means of implementing a cease-fire and of holding a referendum. That resolution thus clearly identified Morocco and Frente POLISARIO as being the parties to the dispute, and without them there could be no cease-fire and, consequently, no referendum. The international community should induce Morocco to negotiate with Frente POLISARIO so that peace could be established in the Maghreb.

83. To accept the argument that the parties to the dispute were Algeria, Mauritania and Morocco would be tantamount to advocating the continuation of the war, the losses of human life and the destruction of property which was badly needed by the peoples of Western Sahara and Morocco; it would mean disregarding the agreement reached between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO, by which Mauritania had withdrawn from the fighting and recognized the existence of the Saharan people, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO. Finally, it would mean spurning the recommendations of the heads of State and government of OAU, from which it was clear that, without the Frente POLISARIO, there could be no solution to the problem of Western Sahara.

84. The Kingdom of Morocco had sought to place a tendentious interpretation on the decision adopted at the eighteenth OAU Summit meeting, which had, however, clearly defined the referendum as being a general, standard referendum on self-determination for the people of Western Sahara. It was accordingly not, as the Rabat regime claimed, a simple act of allegiance, for which there would have been no need for the heads of African States to request the United Nations to deploy peace-keeping forces in Western Sahara while the referendum was in progress. The Implementation Committee, meeting from 24 to 26 August 1981, had eliminated any ambiguity by defining the referendum as being a referendum on self-determination to enable the people of Western Sahara to decide their future freely and democratically. The referendum could not be organized by the Moroccan authorities, since that would violate the spirit and letter of the Implementation Committee's decision, which specified that the referendum would be organized by that Committee, in co-operation with the United Nations.

85. The war could not be blamed on the Frente POLISARIO. The Saharan people were fighting for their freedom and every battle won was a victory over the war which had been forced upon them. One view held that the Frente POLISARIO should not fight, but it could not arrange a cease-fire while the Kingdom of Morocco refused to negotiate on the details.

86. At the meeting of the Implementation Committee it had been observed that the Frente POLISARIO had been prepared to negotiate with the Kingdom of Morocco, but that the latter had refused. To stop fighting in those circumstances would not only amount to suicide by the Frente POLISARIO, but also would be a crime against the Saharan people, who had always believed the Frente POLISARIO to be their guide on the road to freedom and national independence. The Frente POLISARIO had consistently stated its willingness to negotiate with the Rabat authorities in order to arrange a cease-fire and to enable free and fair elections to be held.

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(Mr. Jeichande, Mozambique)

Such a proposal was already a concession to the extent that the Saharan people had already exercised their self-determination by taking up arms in the name of freedom. It should be recalled that at least 26 African States had already recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and that more than 50 countries in Africa, Asia and the Americas had recognized the Sahara as a sovereign State belonging to the Saharans. Acceptance of the principle of the referendum was in itself a concession which testified to the political stature of the Frente POLISARIO.

87. In his statement during the general debate on Western Sahara, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique had appealed to the Kingdom of Morocco to honour the commitment made at Nairobi by King Hassan II and to restore to the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic its rightful place in the concert of nations.

88. Mr. ADOSSAMA (International Labour Organisation) said that ILO had always implemented the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly relating to assistance to colonial peoples by the specialized agencies of the United Nations system. The ILO had submitted an extremely detailed report (A/36/154) to the Secretary-General on all the practical steps taken in support of the peoples of southern Africa and their liberation movements, which were being deprived of their rights and fundamental freedoms.

89. As part of its co-operation with OAU, the front-line states of southern Africa, UNDP and the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, and with multilateral and bilateral aid institutions, ILO had organized training courses for African national liberation movements recognized by OAU and for African refugees from South Africa, on manpower planning, vocational training, labour administration and legislation, workers' education, secretarial training and employment. With regard to manpower and employment, the Southern Africa Team for Employment Promotion (SATEP), established at Lusaka in April 1980, had organized, in co-operation with SWAPO and the United Nations Institute for Namibia, training courses for Namibians with a view to promoting the development of indigenous manpower in an independent Namibia. In consultation with SWAPO, the subregional team for employment promotion had undertaken research on the most urgent aspects of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. It was also providing technical support to the United Nations Institute for Namibia for the implementation of the Programme.

90. At the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council, in July 1981, the Deputy Director-General of the International Labour Office had reminded the Council of the Organisation's work against apartheid and, in particular, of the adoption in 1964 by the International Labour Conference of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa.

91. Following a decision by the Office's Governing Body, a Tripartite Meeting on Apartheid had been held in Zambia in May 1981 to finalize an international plan of action in co-operation with OAU and the Special Committee against Apartheid. Representatives of governments and employers' and workers' organizations

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(Mr. Adossama, ILO)

and tripartite delegations from front-line States and national liberation movements recognized by OAU, together with observers from international workers' and employers' organizations, had participated in the meeting, the conclusions of which had been considered by the International Labour Conference, in conjunction with a special report by the Director-General of the Office on implementation of the 1964 Declaration. It was clear that working and living conditions for black and coloured workers in South Africa had scarcely improved and that 1980 had been marked by widespread resistance by workers.

92. In November 1980, the ILO Governing Body had recommended the establishment of a Committee on apartheid to deal with the recommendations of the ILO meeting against apartheid, and more specifically, to update the 1964 Declaration. In the updated Declaration, adopted on 18 June 1981, the Conference of ILO had reaffirmed its resolve to ensure the freedom and dignity of the peoples of southern Africa and made an urgent appeal to Governments, employers and workers to take action towards that end. It had confirmed the mandate of the Director-General for assessing and monitoring the labour situation in South Africa and to report annually on the matter to the ILO Conference. The Conference had established a standing Committee on Apartheid to consider the situation in South Africa and information on anti-apartheid action. It had called upon ILO to increase its technical assistance to liberation movements, black workers and their trade unions in South Africa, and had proposed the establishment of a voluntary fund which Member States of ILO and employers' and workers' organizations would contribute on a regular basis.

93. The International Labour Office hoped to develop its assistance in all areas relating to the training of workers and their conditions of work. The Director-General of ILO was exploring ways of giving effect to the recommendations on the establishment of a training institute for South Africa and several missions in southern Africa were planned before the end of the year for the purpose of preparing technical assistance programmes and projects to be submitted to sources of multilateral and bilateral funding.

94. ILO thus spared no effort in contributing to the implementation of United Nations resolutions on assistance to colonial peoples. By virtue of its tripartite structure, it was particularly well placed to mobilize world public opinion against apartheid and promote action to eliminate it.

95. Miss KASSIMOU (Comoros) said that her country was seriously concerned at the situation prevailing in Western Sahara. Her delegation considered that the commitments undertaken by Morocco at Nairobi with regard to the conduct of a referendum in the territory constituted an important step towards a solution of the conflict. It welcomed the efforts of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations to find a just and satisfactory solution to the question of Western Sahara and appealed to the parties to display co-operation and goodwill so as to enable the Implementation Committee to carry out its mandate. Her delegation endorsed draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.2, which reflected the decisions taken by OAU.

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96. The CHAIRMAN invited the representative of Zimbabwe to introduce the draft resolution on East Timor (A/C.4/36/L.7).

Draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.7

97. Mr. JANI (Zimbabwe) said that none of the many speakers and petitioners who had addressed the Committee on the question of East Timor had denied the fact that the people of East Timor had never exercised their right to self-determination and that Indonesia had no historical or legal right to the Territory. The situation in East Timor had deteriorated considerably in the past several months and as many as 200,000 had perished since Indonesia had invaded the former Portuguese colony. Some speakers had defended the Indonesian position, and it was obvious that that attitude had been determined by their countries' bilateral relations and economic interests, which should not overrule the principles of self-determination, freedom and independence.

98. The question of East Timor was a colonial issue and the people should be given an opportunity to decide their own future, on the basis of internationally accepted procedures.

99. Introducing draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.7, he said that the international community should encourage the Portuguese Government in its efforts to expedite the decolonization of East Timor. Indonesia should show courage and wisdom by joining the Portuguese Government in ensuring the exercise by the people of East Timor of their right to self-determination and independence.

100. The sponsors of the draft resolution were very disturbed at reports of military activities in the Territory in the past several months and of the famine which might break out in the Territory if the international community did not immediately provide humanitarian assistance to the people of East Timor. The sponsors noted with satisfaction that some Member States and relief agencies had already provided humanitarian assistance in the Territory.

101. The draft resolution before the Committee was very balanced and moderate in tone. It did not condemn Indonesia or any other party. It was concerned exclusively with the fundamental right of all countries to self-determination of the Namibian people and the right of the Palestinians to a homeland. If they recognized the right to self-determination as universal, they would also vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.7.

102. The sponsors called upon the countries of Africa, the Arab world, Asia and Latin America, as well as on the socialist countries, to support the draft resolution on East Timor. They also called upon the Western countries to aid them in upholding the principles of self-determination, freedom and democracy.

Draft resolutions A/C.4/36/L.3/Rev.1, L.4 and L.5

103. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Ghana had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.3/Rev.1, the Syrian Arab Republic a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.5.

104. Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statements made on the question of Western Sahara by the representatives of Cape Verde, Cuba and Mozambique, abounded in contradictions. The representative of Mozambique had appealed to Morocco to accept the decision adopted by OAU at Nairobi concerning the holding of a referendum, while it had been King Hassan II himself who had proposed at Nairobi a referendum on self-determination, while indicating that, in so doing, Morocco was not abandoning its just and legitimate cause.

105. Morocco had consistently maintained that the people of Western Sahara had already exercised their right to self-determination since, from 1976 onwards, they had elected their own representatives. Morocco had had the courage to issue a challenge and agreed to give the people an opportunity to express their will once again, under international control.

106. Attempts were being made to impose an interlocutor on Morocco and a representative on the inhabitants of Western Sahara. Morocco could not accept those new conditions and it also rejected any attempt to call into question the decision taken at Nairobi to the effect that the Implementation Committee should determine all the procedures for the holding of a referendum and the cease-fire. That decision was the result of a compromise reached at the price of hard efforts, which had been accepted by all African countries, and with regard to which no reservations had been made at the summit conference. The Implementation Committee must be assisted in carrying out its task and in organizing a democratic consultation in Western Sahara.

107. Morocco had consistently supported resolution 1514 (XV) and the right to self-determination proclaimed therein, and the referendum was a technical means for the exercise of that right.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.