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New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 20th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba)
later: Mr. VALTASAARI (Finland)

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Question of Western Sahara: hearing of petitioners

1. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Habib (Frente popular para la liberación de Saguia-El-Hamra y Río de Oro (POLISARIO)) took a place at the petitioners' table.

2. Mr. HABIB (Frente popular para la liberación de Saguia-El-Hamra y Río de Oro (POLISARIO)) said that Moroccan aggression unceasingly continued to concern, and indeed outrage, the international community. The Sahraoui people continued to believe in the ability of the United Nations to restore justice and respect for the right of every nation to live free and independent, and without fear of foreign pressures or aggression. He welcomed the fact that the question of Western Sahara continued to be considered by the Fourth Committee, in spite of the delaying tactics of the expansionist Moroccan régime and its attempts to misrepresent the purely colonial nature of that question. The United Nations had always defended the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the Sahraoui people to self-determination and independence, but its efforts had been frustrated by the paralysing action of imperialism. The resolutions it had adopted had not always been implemented because of the arrogance and intransigence of Morocco, supported by the United States.

3. The attempt by the Kingdom of Morocco to annex the territory of Western Sahara by force had been condemned and had been considered to be a violation of the right of the Sahraoui people and the Charter of the United Nations as well as of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The war being waged in Western Sahara was creating a hotbed of instability and threatened to degenerate into a conflict that would leave no North African country unscathed.

4. The Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic had been admitted to membership in the Organization of African Unity; it had been recognized by more than 50 States, and Morocco's isolation was thus an irrefutable fact. The Moroccan aggressor had had to take refuge in a small corner in the north of Western Sahara, while the Sahraoui Government was exercising undisputed and effective sovereignty over virtually the entire territory. It had taken far-reaching action, particularly in the social, educational and medical sectors. Infant mortality had been greatly reduced, many hospitals and clinics had been established, and there were enough schools to accommodate all school-age children.

5. From a military point of view, Moroccan expansionism would have foundered within less than a year before if the United States had not directly intervened to assist it. From the time of the heroic battle of Guelta Zemmour, the United States Government had been supplying Morocco with experts and logistical assistance and had even intervened directly. United States military bases had been set up in Moroccan territory. The United States intervention in Western Sahara was undermining the efforts being made by the African countries to achieve a political

(Mr. Habib)

settlement of the conflict and represented a serious violation of the United Nations Charter. Although Moroccan expansionism would inevitably prolong the war and leave a part of Africa the victim of fire and blood, it would ultimately be vanquished.

6. Furthermore, Moroccan military operations in Western Sahara were being paid for at the cost of a deteriorating economic situation in Morocco. Two thirds of the population there were living below the poverty threshold, and financial resources which could have been used for that country's development were being allocated to the purchase of weapons and military equipment that were being used to conduct a colonial war which was resulting in the loss of human life.

7. The Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic was a non-aligned African country that intended to play its full role as a member of the Organization of African Unity. Its admission to OAU testified to the support it was receiving from the majority of African countries so that the Sahraoui people might be able to take their rightful place in the family of African nations. The decision by the Government of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic not to participate in the nineteenth OAU Summit Conference had been an act of sovereignty, but it had been a provisional act, and the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic remained a full-fledged member of OAU.

8. The admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to OAU had nothing to do with the war that pitted it against Morocco, a conflict which could be resolved only by direct negotiations and the withdrawal of the Moroccan forces of occupation from the areas they currently controlled in the north of Western Sahara. The indications were, unfortunately, that the King of Morocco had chosen a policy of headlong determination, intransigence and intensification of the war, and that OAU efforts had failed precisely because of that intransigence. That being the case, the decision had been made at the fifth Congress of POLISARIO, held in October 1982, to refrain from all further political appeals to Morocco and to proceed, instead, to intensifying its military activities against the occupier.

9. Mr. Habib withdrew.

Consideration of draft resolutions and draft decisions (A/C.4/37/L.5, L.5/Rev.1, L.6/Rev.1, L.7 and L.12)

10. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Afghanistan, Angola, the Congo, Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mali, Mauritius, Vanuatu and Viet Nam had become co-sponsors of the amendments (A/C.4/37/L.12) to draft decision A/C.4/37/L.5. He further announced that Ethiopia and Zambia had become co-sponsors of revised draft resolution A/C.4/37/L.6/Rev.1, drew attention to revised draft decision A/C.4/37/L.5/Rev.1 and announced that Finland had become a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/37/L.7.

11. Mr. JANI (Zimbabwe), introducing, on behalf of the sponsors, the amendments contained in document A/C.4/37/L.12, recalled that the previous year the Committee had had before it a draft decision submitted by the Chairman of the African Group

(Mr. Jani, Zimbabwe)

of States and, as an OAU document, it had been a consensus decision. The draft decision currently being submitted (A/C.4/37/L.5) was not absolutely identical to the one of the previous year. In the view of the sponsors of the draft amendments, that could only create confusion, since the decision of the previous year remained valid and the only thing further that needed to be done was to apply it. The sponsors of document A/C.4/37/L.12 had therefore felt that they should improve upon the text of document A/C.4/37/L.5 to make it reflect the Nairobi decision. That was accordingly the aim of the first amendment, which was intended to be a faithful rendition of the terms of the OAU decision. The second amendment was based on the sponsors' view that it was important to secure the agreement of the parties concerned and to take their points of view into account. That was why the insertion of an additional phrase in the draft decision was proposed in that amendment.

12. He asked the members of the Committee to give their full support to document A/C.4/37/L.12 so that the position taken by the Committee would correspond exactly to that of the OAU Heads of State and Government and the decision would have the support of all the parties concerned.

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

13. Mr. SHERMAN (United States of America) said that the United States was proud of the good relations, based on mutual respect, which it had with the Territories under its jurisdiction. The close association of the peoples of Guam, American Samoa and the United States Virgin Islands with the United States was the result of their free exercise of the right to self-determination. The United States had enabled the peoples of those Territories freely to choose their own political status and political institutions, and it had respected their choice. Under the Charter, the members of the General Assembly were also obliged to respect that choice. There had, unfortunately, been repeated efforts by a small number of delegations seeking to influence, contradict or prejudice the freely expressed wishes of those peoples. Ironically, those delegations were usually the representatives of the same régimes that had consistently sought to deny the right of self-expression and self-determination to their own people and had all too often sought to impose their will on the peoples of other nations. It might well be asked how those delegations could presume to instruct others on the rights of peoples and the responsibilities of States.

14. The United States had successfully sought to ensure the political, economic, social and educational development of the inhabitants of the Territories. It had encouraged the growth and development of local political institutions. Each of the Territories administered by the United States elected its own governor and legislature. Each had established the institutions and procedures which regularly allowed the people to exercise their rights and to express their views on their political status. This country had, furthermore, given extensive financial aid, more than \$400 million, to the Territories it administered. The average per capita income had risen and was higher than that of all but a handful of developing countries.

(Mr. Sherman, United States)

15. The United States was gratified that the people of Guam, American Samoa and the United States Virgin Islands had repeatedly affirmed their desire for a close and continuing relationship with the United States. The United States was pleased to count them as Americans and welcomed their contributions to the cultural diversity that had given its own democratic institutions their greatest strength. Although the peoples of those Territories differed in regard to their history and cultures, they shared with the rest of the United States a deeply held respect for the concept of liberty and the rights of man, which were simply an older formulation of the right of all peoples to self-determination.
16. In the case of Guam, the Government of the United States had made an effort to strengthen and diversify its economy and assist the Government in attaining a greater degree of economic self-sufficiency by promoting private sector development. Under way was a review of the Territory's agricultural potential and of plans for the further development of its land and water resources. A centre for assistance to small businesses on Guam was in the process of being set up and technical assistance was being provided to the Government of the Territory in installing automated systems for tax information and for a new budget and accounting system. The United States Government was making a concerted effort to accelerate the process of releasing additional federal land to the Guamanians. The United States military bases in Guam continued to play a positive role in the development of the Territory, and they contributed over \$400 million annually to its economy. The relationship between the civilian and military populations remained friendly. His Government wished to recall that it categorically rejected the idea that the military bases necessarily constituted an obstacle to self-determination. The Government of Guam viewed the presence of United States bases as positive and had in fact expressed in public its desire that the United States military presence should be increased. Discussions were now taking place on the means to implement the decision taken in a referendum by the inhabitants of Guam to adopt commonwealth status.
17. With regard to American Samoa, the people elected their governor and the members of their legislature. There was a bill before the legislature which would empower the Governor of American Samoa, and not the United States Secretary of the Interior as was currently the case, to approve the appointment of justices to the High Court of American Samoa.
18. With reference to the United States Virgin Islands, the problem of aliens mentioned in the draft resolution had been satisfactorily resolved. A bill had recently been passed in the United States Congress to legalize the status of aliens who had been living in the islands for 15 years. The results of the vote by the people of the United States Virgin Islands on a proposed constitution were not yet complete, but the vote proved that the people of the Territory were freely exercising their right to determine their own future.
19. Mr. Valtasaari (Finland) took the Chair.

20. Mr. KAMARA (Senegal) commended the valuable contribution made by the Special Committee to the work of the Fourth Committee and its judicious recommendations. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)) had made it possible to take important steps towards decolonization, thanks to the heroic action of the liberation movements.

21. Nevertheless, that process was impeded by several obstacles, sometimes totally fabricated, and by the delaying tactics of certain Powers, which incidentally, proclaimed their commitment to the principle of self-determination, independence and racial equality. Those tactics were explained by the determination of the colonialist Powers to continue to exploit Non-Self-Governing Territories and preserve their strategic position. No Territory had acceded to independence since the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. There were still approximately 20 Territories to be decolonized: Namibia, a vast Territory rich in natural resources, and numerous small Territories scattered throughout the world, some of which were of great strategic importance.

22. His delegation would support the various recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee. It would continue to request the administering Powers to provide the information requested by the Special Committee on the Territories placed under their jurisdiction and to encourage the dispatch of visiting missions. It urged the specialized agencies of the United Nations system to promote in an effective manner the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence. In that regard, he expressed satisfaction at the efforts of UNESCO, UNDP, FAO and WHO. It was important to maintain, finance and expand the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and develop the study and training facilities offered by Member States to the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Such assistance was indispensable in order to train the national personnel which the Territories would require after acceding to independence.

23. One of the most serious problems arising in the field of decolonization was undoubtedly the problem of Namibia, where economic and strategic interests were impeding all progress. Although the General Assembly would consider that question in plenary meeting, it should be said in passing that the time had come to eliminate the obstacles and subterfuges preventing that Territory from achieving independence. It was necessary to accelerate the progress of the islands of the Caribbean towards the exercise of the right to self-determination. The administering Powers, the United States and the United Kingdom, must bring about progress beyond the stage of resolutions and decisions. Australia, the United States and New Zealand should be requested to facilitate the rapid accession of the islands of the Pacific to self-determination. The area of those Territories and the size of their populations should not be an obstacle to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

24. Certain other Territories, in view of their importance and the very serious problems facing them, should be considered at greater length. The first such case was East Timor. His delegation had read attentively the document drawn up by the

(Mr. Kamara, Senegal)

Special Committee and, in particular, the summary records of the Special Committee's discussions on that question since 1975. It was undoubtedly a very difficult question, concerning which views differed widely. The position of his delegation was based on the right of colonial peoples to self-determination, and it stressed the need for discussion and negotiation between the parties concerned in order to bring about an acceptable solution to the problem of that Territory.

25. The second case on which his delegation wished to dwell was that of Western Sahara, which perhaps posed even more serious problems, not the least of which was the threat it represented to the Organization of African Unity. That threat was serious in itself and, what was more, it jeopardized the implementation of the programme which had already been carefully drawn up and finalized by OAU and which should bring about a cease-fire and the self-determination of the Saharan people fairly promptly. He would not discuss the question of the admission of the "Saharan Arab Democratic Republic" to OAU, because the process which had begun had already made that question largely irrelevant. Nevertheless, it was common knowledge that the Senegalese Government, like other Governments, considered its admission contrary to the provisions of the charter of OAU and, therefore, invalid.

26. After reviewing the background to the question, he said that it was profoundly regrettable and dangerous to attempt to create the impression that, if "SADR" voluntarily refrained from participating in the next summit conference of OAU, it was because of a decision taken by the contact group. It was clear that, if that was the case, the compromise which would enable the nineteenth summit meeting of OAU to take place would never have been achieved.

27. His delegation, which was a sponsor of draft decision A/C.4/37/L.5, strongly supported OAU, which was following the right course. Senegal favoured the effective co-operation of the United Nations in organizing a referendum on self-determination for the people of Western Sahara, in conditions of equality and impartiality. That position was based on principles which his delegation had always espoused and which should bring about: first, the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of the right to self-determination, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, together with the resolutions adopted by the Organization of African Unity on the question, in the spirit of the decisions taken at its eighteenth summit conference in 1981; secondly, application of the decisions of the Implementation Committee of OAU; and, thirdly, full and effective co-operation by the United Nations through the joint OAU/UN team whose establishment the Implementation Committee of OAU had recommended.

28. Mr. RASON (Madagascar) said that a rapid review of the world situation showed that most of the major international problems were the direct or indirect result of colonialism. The situation in southern Africa and, particularly, in Namibia, the events which had occurred in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the conflict in Western Sahara and other situations which were no less disturbing in Asia, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, Latin America and the Middle East reflected an obvious determination to ignore the course of history. The world was currently witnessing

(Mr. Rason, Madagascar)

a process of colonial reconquest and the resurgence of colonialism. The colonialist and the neo-colonialist circles were endeavouring to revive the notion of dependence, to use democracy for questionable purposes, to promote and support sham independence, and to subvert, violate or ignore the fundamental principles of the Charter in order to maintain their domination and protect their economic and strategic interests.

29. In Namibia, for the sake of a so-called peaceful solution, attempts were being made to impose on the Namibian people a sham independence, which would perpetuate the existing political domination, strengthen strategic positions and give the region a particular ideological orientation. In Asia, a new colonial Power, disregarding the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, was replacing the old colonial Power and refusing to let the people of a territory express themselves freely and validly on their future status. In the Caribbean and Oceania, the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence was constantly being postponed on the pretext of the lack of political maturity of the inhabitants, their small number and the limited nature of their natural resources. In the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, military bases had been established, without the consent of the inhabitants, in order to strengthen strategic positions.

30. In Western Sahara, the problems arose primarily from the fact that Morocco did not accept certain historical realities. In 1981, the Heads of State of OAU, including the King of Morocco, had agreed to organize a referendum with a view to the self-determination of that Territory. It had been understood that such a referendum could not be held freely without the withdrawal of the Moroccan administration and armed forces from the Territory. To that end, there was a need for direct negotiations between Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO. The Implementation Committee set up for that purpose had, however, been unable to complete its mission, owing to Morocco's refusal to negotiate with the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. Since then, it had become clear that Morocco was playing for time and trying to deceive Africa and the international community in order to legalize its domination over the Saharan people and to impede the decolonization of the Territory.

31. His delegation wished to remind the Committee of those events in order to refute the assertion that the action currently being taken within OAU was being thwarted by the admission of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to that organization. The fact was that its admission was the manifestation of Africa's desire to remedy an injustice while strictly respecting the provisions of the Charter. The only obstacle to a settlement of the issue was Morocco's persistent refusal to bow to the decisions of OAU and of the United Nations, and to recognize the true nature of the conflict in Western Sahara. OAU - and the United Nations and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, for their part - had given Morocco every opportunity to solve the problem by agreeing to an immediate cease-fire and the preparation of a referendum. The desire of Africa to find a lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara remained firm. The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic had recently announced its decision voluntarily to refrain from participating in

(Mr. Rason, Madagascar)

the work of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU in order to permit the holding of the forthcoming nineteenth session of that Assembly. It had once again demonstrated a spirit of co-operation and conciliation which testified to its political maturity and its devotion to the African cause. The OAU Assembly had repeatedly appealed for the exercise by the Saharan people of their right to self-determination and, in the resolution it had adopted in 1981, it had called upon Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO to engage in negotiations. The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic had indicated that it was ready to accept a political settlement of the dispute. His delegation hoped that the United Nations would no longer accept Morocco's blackmail and procrastination, or sacrifice its principles for the benefit of expansionist and hegemonistic interests.

32. Miss GORDON (Trinidad and Tobago) paid a tribute to the memory of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

33. Turning to items 97 and, 18, with particular reference to the small Territories in the Caribbean, she said that, as a member of the Special Committee of 24 and of its Sub-Committee on Small Territories, Trinidad and Tobago endorsed the recommendations relating to those Territories in document A/37/23 (Part V)/Add.1. In one year, little change had occurred in the constitutional field, since the Governments of those Territories had been more concerned with developing their economies, educating the population and improving infrastructure, health, housing and social services.

34. It went without saying that such steps were a necessary prelude to any change in the colonial status of those Territories, but her delegation was of the view that those steps were being implemented too slowly, in view of the continuing vulnerability of the economies of those Territories, which were largely dependent upon one or two sources of income, usually high-risk industries such as tourism and transnational corporate business, which were susceptible to the vagaries of world economic forces and were controlled by non-nationals. Her delegation was aware of the constraints which limited resources and a small market imposed upon diversification in those small Territories, but emphasized that effective programmes of economic diversification must be undertaken if long-term economic viability was to be achieved.

35. In several of those Territories, particularly Montserrat and the British Virgin Islands, effective measures had been undertaken to improve and encourage agriculture and fisheries, develop light industries and thereby promote exports. Improved self-efficiency in food and a wider range of revenue earners would enable the peoples of those Territories to consider changes in their constitutional status with greater confidence. She noted, however, the commitment of the administering Power to respect the wishes of the peoples of those Territories by increasing their awareness of the possibilities regarding self-determination provided for in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(Miss Gordon, Trinidad and Tobago)

36. Her delegation noted the lively controversy surrounding the current status of East Timor, as shown by conflicting reports placed before the Fourth Committee; it should therefore be recalled that the General Assembly was still waiting for the people of East Timor to be given the means of exercising the right of self-determination under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in a properly constituted referendum based on universal suffrage. The General Assembly would be acting irresponsibly if it were to remove the question of East Timor from its agenda without ensuring that the proper procedures had been followed. Her delegation urged the Indonesian Government to allow a United Nations mission to visit East Timor so as to be able to report at first hand on the situation there; that would be a first step towards resolving the impasse.

37. Mr. THEOPHILOU (Cyprus) paid a tribute to the memory of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

38. Referring to items 97 and 18, he said that, since its adoption on 14 December 1960, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had guided the action taken by the General Assembly in the field of decolonization, and that the Cypriot people had made a valuable contribution to independence through its valiant liberation struggle between 1955 and 1959. The past 20 years had witnessed a marked acceleration in decolonization, with the accession to independence of many countries; however, that process had been delayed in a number of cases, including East Timor and Western Sahara.

39. With regard to East Timor, his delegation could but express its grave concern over the latest developments: despite numerous General Assembly resolutions on that question, the latest being resolution 36/50, of 24 November 1981, the people of East Timor had not yet been allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination; meanwhile living conditions in East Timor continued to deteriorate and gross violations of human rights had occurred there. That humanitarian aspect of the question of East Timor should be given priority, since it was essential to satisfy the basic needs of the East Timorese and therefore to authorize the various relief and human rights agencies to operate in East Timor and to guarantee them real freedom of movement. The initiatives taken by the Portuguese Government in order to bring the question of East Timor to the attention of the international community with a view to arriving at an internationally negotiated settlement that would secure the political and the human rights of the East Timorese people was an encouraging sign, in view of the importance of Portugal's position on that question. His delegation considered that the question of East Timor must be solved in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other relevant General Assembly resolutions. That position was guided by the principles of the Charter and accorded with the position taken by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which Cyprus was a founding member.

(Mr. Theophilou, Cyprus)

40. The question of Western Sahara was another case of the non-implementation of the principle of self-determination: seven years after the withdrawal of the administering Power, the Saharan people had still not been given the opportunity to express themselves freely and democratically and to exercise thus their inalienable right of self-determination. The appeal made by the United Nations to the two parties to the conflict to observe a cease-fire in accordance with the decisions of OAU and of its Implementation Committee had gone unheeded; his delegation appealed again to the two parties to the dispute, Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO, to start negotiations with a view to achieving, as a first step, a cease-fire in accordance with General Assembly resolution 36/46 and the decisions of OAU. Only through negotiations between Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO would peace be brought back to that region of Africa and permit the holding of a free and orderly referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara. In that regard, OAU and its Implementation Committee had indeed a vital role to play, and their efforts to promote a just and lasting solution to the question of Western Sahara should be commended.

41. For the past 22 years, the Fourth Committee had successfully guided the decolonization process. It was therefore a matter of serious concern that a number of cases of recolonization had occurred, jeopardizing the progress made during those long years of commendable effort. Such cases of neo-colonialism and recolonization were due primarily to the expansionist designs of neighbouring countries which did not hesitate to resort to the invasion of sovereign States in order to serve their own purposes. That also applied to Cyprus, which had fallen victim to the new wave of colonization that had struck it shortly after its emancipation.

42. Mr. ADAMOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) expressed his people's profound sorrow at the great loss they had just experienced in the person Leonid Brezhnev. He paid a tribute to that great patriot, who had continued Lenin's work and rendered his country distinguished services.

43. With regard to agenda item 99, the complete elimination of colonial régimes called for concerted efforts on the part of the United Nations and United Nations organizations. Those organizations must provide national liberation movements with all the necessary moral and material support. The General Assembly had adopted a series of resolutions concerning assistance to those movements, particularly SWAPO, which his country had sponsored. Considerable progress had been made in that area, as demonstrated in the report of the Secretary-General in document A/37/177, and a great effort had been made, particularly by ILO, UNESCO, FAO, WHO and UNICEF, to isolate the Pretoria régime. Nevertheless, as stressed in the draft resolution set forth in the report of the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization (A/37/23, Part III), - the assistance provided by the organizations of the United Nations system to the colonial peoples, particularly the people of Namibia, was far from adequate, and it was essential that there should be more effective and more positive co-operation in that field.

44. Unfortunately, certain organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, had not only not taken the necessary steps to ensure

(Mr. Adamovich, Byelorussian SSR)

implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of other United Nations resolutions but continued to co-operate with the racist régime of Pretoria. IMF had been a generous financial backer of South Africa since 1975. With the aid of the Fund's machinery, the United States and other Western protectors of the racist régime had just guaranteed that régime a windfall of over \$1 billion. IMF had decided to grant the loan in question despite the appeal made to it by the General Assembly, at its current session, in resolution 37/2. Those who defended the Fund claimed that its decisions should be based solely on economic considerations and that politicization of that organization should be avoided at all costs. That argument was not at all convincing, since the United States was, on the other hand, opposing the granting of loans by IMF to countries such as Viet Nam, Nicaragua and Grenada, which demonstrated the marked politicization of that supposedly apolitical organization. It was obvious that the loan granted to South Africa would strengthen the apartheid régime and its military and police machinery and serve the economic, military and strategic interests of the United States and the Western Powers. The granting of that loan should be regarded as an endorsement by the Western Powers of the Pretoria régime's policy of illegal occupation of Namibia.

45. The action taken by the Fund should be vigorously condemned. He supported the proposal made by the representative of Czechoslovakia that the study on the relationship between the Fund and South Africa that was to be conducted should contain a paragraph making specific reference to the negative consequences that the loan granted to the racist régime would have for attainment of the goals of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

46. Mr. HAMODY (Mauritania) paid a tribute to the memory of Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

47. With regard to agenda item 18, his country attached as much importance as ever to the timeless principles of decolonization, particularly as set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), because of the colonial occupation of which it had been a victim and owing to the fact that it belonged to a continent that had experienced shameless economic exploitation, many parts of which were still being subjected to humiliating and anachronistic colonial occupation. His country therefore felt more solidarity than ever for all peoples struggling for their national liberation against traditional colonial Powers, racist entities or recent colonial undertakings, from any quarter and on any pretext whatsoever. It was thus adhering strictly to the cherished concepts of pan-Africanism and to the letter of the Charter and other resolutions of the Organization of African Unity, which stipulated that the right of colonial countries and peoples to self-determination and independence was inalienable, imprescriptible and sacred and that the borders inherited from colonization were sacrosanct.

48. As in so many other cases in which might had been right, the question of Western Sahara had been obscured by clouds, mirages, untruths and simplistic

(Mr. Hamody, Mauritania)

formulas. However, the truth was that it was solely a question of an unfinished process of decolonization, for which the Saharan people, in particular, had both individually and collectively paid an extremely high price as a result of forcible relocation and exile, violation of their life-style and invasion of their territory. In the war in question the other party involved, which was also dear to the Mauritaniens, namely, Morocco, had lost men, set back its development projects and tarnished a magnificent reputation acquired in the course of its long and prestigious history, particularly at the time of its epic resistance to the protectorate, during which people and king had been as one.

49. The United Nations mission that had visited Western Sahara just prior to the outbreak of hostilities had noted and reflected in its report the Saharan people's genuine desire for self-determination and independence and their identification, virtually without exception, with their representative, the Frente POLISARIO. Developments with respect to his country's attitude towards the Saharan people had led to the signing of a peace agreement with the Saharan people and to the withdrawal of the Mauritanian armed forces from the southern part of the Saharan territory. Since that time that conflict had remained a threat, and his delegation therefore believed that draft resolution A/C.4/37/L.6, of which it was a sponsor, had the merit of emphasizing certain truths, which, although they might be obvious, seemed sometimes to be forgotten or regarded as being of secondary importance. That draft resolution first of all recalled the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and national independence in accordance with the requirements of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It also stressed the courageous decision taken by the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to refrain temporarily and voluntarily from attending the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, which was soon to be held at Tripoli.

50. That responsible initiative had come just in time to defuse the most serious crisis experienced by OAU since its inception. A number of points needed to be clarified in that connection: the admission of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, as announced by the Secretary-General of OAU, was merely an administrative formality that was perfectly legal and in conformity with the Charter of OAU, since it was a question of a notification ratified by a majority of member countries; moreover, it was surprising that sovereign decisions taken by African States at one of their summit meetings should be presented as being immutable and permanent doctrines of the future, in order to serve the purposes of a given argument. The plenipotentiaries who had taken a majority decision to ratify the notification of the admission of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to OAU had been settling a dispute. Furthermore, the work of the OAU Implementation Committee had been hampered by delaying tactics, and the acknowledged inability to define the two parties involved, namely, the Moroccan and Saharan parties, despite the views expressed by virtually all members of that Committee, had put an end to any real progress towards finding a genuine and definitive way of resolving the Western Saharan tragedy. The crisis within OAU had been merely a consequence of that obvious lack of realism. The statement made at the end of the meeting of Saharan countries, including his own country, had prompted great optimism throughout the continent of Africa, and the responsible initiative taken by the

(Mr. Hamody, Mauritania)

Frente POLISARIO should satisfy those who regarded the problem in question merely as a legal mishap and continued above all to be moved by the concern to see justice triumph and by respect for the African consensus, and who wished OAU to be consolidated through dialogue and adherence to its inviolable principles.

51. It would appear that the conflict in question could not be settled definitively at the military level alone, and it would be logical to conclude that there must be negotiations between the two parties involved, which were, in his country's view, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO. It should be noted that the draft resolution was moderate both in form and substance, that it rejected polemics and that it was open-minded. The time had come to endeavour, without complacency, subterfuges and delaying tactics, to complete the process of decolonization by applying to the Saharan issue the standards that had enabled the United Nations to free so many countries.

52. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique) expressed sincere condolences on behalf of the FRELIMO Party and his Government to the Government and people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics upon the death of President Leonid Brezhnev.

53. His delegation was glad that the item entitled "Question of East Timor" had been kept on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, despite Indonesia's efforts to remove East Timor from the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The right to self-determination of the population of East Timor had been recognized by the new Portuguese Government in 1974, and the Territory would have become a sovereign State by 1978 but for the fact that Indonesia had invaded it in December 1975 and annexed it by force of arms. Despite the two Security Council resolutions demanding Indonesia's withdrawal from East Timor, the situation in the Territory had remained unchanged. If the United Nations yielded to the pressure of the countries which wished to delete the question of East Timor from its agenda, it would lose all moral authority to deal with similar situations, particularly the Israeli annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights.

54. In June 1974, after the change of Government in Portugal, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Mr. Adam Malik, had sent a letter to FRETILIN in which he had welcomed the "good opportunity" for the people of East Timor to gain independence. When one knew that, in December 1975, the same Minister had been supervising the foreign policy of his country while Indonesian soldiers attacked East Timor and massacred the population, one could well ask what he had meant by a "good opportunity".

55. The chain of events in East Timor had been the following: after the invasion of the Territory in December 1975 and its annexation by Indonesian forces in the same way that the Arab territories of the West Bank had been absorbed by Israel, the occupation forces had staged a farcical People's Assembly, which had paralleled the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Assembly in Namibia. As in the territories occupied by Israel, no referendum or consultation in accordance with United Nations principles had been held in East Timor.

(Mr. Lobo, Mozambique)

56. It was therefore hard to understand why certain countries supported Indonesia's brutal annexation of East Timor and its policy of genocide against the East Timorese, yet criticized Israeli actions in the West Bank and Beirut. His delegation hoped that the States which rightly condemned Israel's annexationist policies and supported the fight for independence of the Saharan people would join in defending a people which was the victim of aggression and annexation in another part of the world.
57. Mozambique wished to see the people of East Timor independent, just as some years ago it had desired the independence of Zimbabwe and now wanted independence for Namibia and the Palestinians. The people of East Timor were currently living under colonial occupation, and all colonial occupation forced peoples to resist. The people of East Timor were no exception to that rule. His delegation was convinced that, sooner or later, the representatives of FRETILIN would be part of the United Nations as representatives of an independent State. It was encouraging, in that connection, that the former colonial Power had given the question of East Timor the serious attention it deserved, and Mozambique would support Portugal in its future efforts to preserve the identity and dignity of the people of that Territory.
58. Mr. TANC (Turkey), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said he wished to express to the people and Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics his country's sincere condolences upon the death of Leonid Brezhnev.
59. It was unbelievable that the question of Cyprus had been described as a question of decolonization by one of the speakers who had preceded him. In addition to the fact that it was not on the Fourth Committee's agenda, the question of Cyprus had ceased to be one of decolonization in 1960, after the signing of international agreements by the United Kingdom, Greece and the heads of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, and after the formulation of the Cypriot Constitution. If there were still problems in Cyprus, it was because of the signatory communities had violated the fundamental provisions of those agreements and of the Cypriot Constitution. Furthermore, the question of Cyprus was currently being considered in the intercommunal talks being held under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
60. Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said he did not intend to enter into polemics with the representative of Mauritania, but wished to rectify the untruths contained in that representative's statement. The first related to the admission to the Organization of African States (OAU) of the so-called Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), which Mauritania had recognized. Without going into the details of that affair, it should be recalled that in 1980, at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU held at Freetown, it had been decided, in response to a question raised by Morocco as a motion, to postpone the vote on the admission of SADR and to allow the committee of "wise men" to continue studying it. Six months later, in February 1981, certain delegations had put pressure on the Secretary-General of OAU to admit SADR to OAU. The Secretary-General had referred those delegations in writing to the decision

(Mr. Haddaoui, Morocco)

taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Freetown. In February 1982, at Addis Ababa, it had been not the Council of Ministers but the Secretary-General of OAU that had decided to admit SADR to OAU, presenting the members of OAU with a fait accompli. Those were the facts.

61. The representative of Mauritania had also stated that the OAU Implementation Committee had failed in its mission in Addis Ababa in February 1982 following manoeuvres designed to prevent it from naming the parties to the conflict. The two decisions taken by the Implementation Committee mentioned only "parties", as could be seen from document A/37/570/Rev.2, and if the seven heads of the States members of the Implementation Committee had not named those parties, it had been with good reason. Having discovered that certain States members of OAU were implicated in the armed conflict in Western Sahara, the Implementation Committee had preferred to refer to "the parties concerned". The Implementation Committee had the full authority of OAU, and he requested that it be recorded that Mauritania was questioning the decisions of that Committee.

62. Mr. THEOPHILOU (Cyprus), replying to the representative of Turkey, said that as unbelievable as it might appear, the question of Cyprus was directly linked to the question of decolonization which was before the Committee, since Cyprus was indeed colonized.

63. Mr. TANC (Turkey), speaking on a point of order, said that the question of Cyprus was not before the Committee. He therefore requested the Chairman to determine, before the representative of Cyprus resumed his statement, whether the Committee should be discussing that question.

64. Mr. THEOPHILOU (Cyprus) explained that he was merely exercising his right of reply.

65. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that, in view of the late hour, two representatives who had also wished to exercise their right of reply had decided to postpone their statements until the following meeting. He urged the representative of Cyprus to do likewise.

66. Mr. BEREZOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thanked those delegations which had expressed their condolences to his country upon the death of the head of the Soviet Government, Leonid Brezhnev.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.