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Monday, 4 November 1985
at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 15th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua)

later: Mr. SKOFENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered by other agenda items)
(continued)

Requests for hearings (A/C.4/40/7 and Add.1 to 3)

1. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received four communications containing requests for hearings relating to the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). If he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant those requests.
2. It was so decided.
3. Mr. Skofenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) took the Chair.

Question of Western Sahara

Hearing of petitioners (A/C.4/40/4/Add.5 and 7)

4. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Ahmed Rachid, Secretary-General of the Mouvements des originaires du Sahara (AOSARIO) and representative of the Mouvement de Résistance des Hommes Bleus (MOREHOB), took a place at the petitioners' table.
5. Mr. RACHID (Mouvement des originaires du Sahara (AOSARIO)) said that he had appeared as a petitioner for the first time in 1975 as President of MOREHOB (Mouvement de Résistance des Hommes Bleus), one of the first resistance movements in Saharan territory, to which Algeria had at that time granted political asylum. He was appearing today on behalf of a population the vast majority of which lived in complete freedom in the Saharan provinces of Morocco.
6. If there was a conflict in the Sahara, it was because the Algerian Government had hegemonist intentions in the region. The so-called Frente POLISARIO, established in 1974 in Algiers, and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), established a few years later, were the artifacts of a handful of influential Algerians who, unscrupulously and for specific ends, had manipulated the Algerian, Malian, Mauritanian and Nigerian Saharans and hundreds of inhabitants of Western Sahara whom they had been keeping for the last 10 years in internment camps at Tindouf in violation of international conventions which provided for the freely-consented repatriation of refugees. Moreover, Algeria was managing, by means of powerful media, to ensure that certain information did not reach international public opinion: it was stubbornly refusing, for example, to open the Tindouf camps for inspection by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, so that it would not be discovered that the only refugees there were false ones and that the so-called army of the Frente POLISARIO, a disparate group to which only a very few real Saharans belonged, was in reality merely part of the regular Algerian army on assignment. Even Dutch parliamentarians had declared,

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(Mr. Rachid)

during a press conference held on 16 March 1981, that the Frente POLISARIO did not control any territory and was only an extension of the Algerian Government. According to two founder members of Frente POLISARIO itself, who, having escaped from Tindouf and taken refuge in the Netherlands, had given testimony to Amnesty International which had been communicated to the press on 11 February 1981, 90 per cent of the Frente POLISARIO was composed of foreigners who had no links with the Sahara. It was incumbent on the United Nations, and in particular on the Fourth Committee, to bring to light everything that was really happening in the Tindouf camps and to prevent such abuses and violations of human rights from being perpetrated with impunity by a Member State.

7. Certain States, including African States, had docilely accepted the myth that the Frente POLISARIO was representative. That was understandable because it was an easier scenario to understand than the real situation. However, the vast majority of the Saharan population lived peaceably in Western Sahara, where the economic and social situation was flourishing. The international press had reflected that situation and everyone who had gone there had been able to observe, for example, that El Aiun had become a most modern town. The Saharan populations did not form a people that was distinct from the Moroccan people. That was a myth fabricated by Algeria, which, appropriating a heroic role for itself, had set itself up as the defender of the right to self-determination of the so-called people invented by it. And yet Algeria had formerly withheld that right from the Tuareg people in central Sahara, even going to the point of genocide, despite the fact that the Tuaregs' history, language and customs were distinct from the Algerians'. Algeria should have recognized the historic rights of Morocco over Western Sahara. If Spain had decolonized that Territory at the same time as Ifni, there would have been no Saharan problem, because Moroccan sovereignty over the Saharan territories would have been recognized de facto.

8. AOSARIO did not recognize the right of anyone to speak on behalf of the populations of Western Sahara. Since the principle of self-determination was recognized universally, those populations should be allowed to express their wishes themselves. Morocco had agreed to the holding of a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations. In fact, Algeria was putting obstacles in the way of such a referendum, because it was afraid of the people's verdict.

9. Aware that only a just and lasting solution could prevent a direct conflagration between Morocco and Algeria, AOSARIO requested the Committee to bring pressure to bear on Algiers to accept the holding of a referendum in Western Sahara. There was no question of Morocco's accepting to negotiate with the Frente POLISARIO, a group which had been established and was being manipulated by a neighbouring country. That would constitute a dangerous precedent. On that basis, the whole of Africa could be transformed into a powder-keg. It would also amount to an endorsement of the continuing violations of human rights in the Tindouf camps.

10. AOSARIO reaffirmed its commitment to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and assured the Organization of its total support and concrete collaboration in organizing the referendum, in accordance with the

(Mr. Rachid)

resolutions adopted in Nairobi. It also requested the United Nations to postpone any decision which might harm the Saharan populations, pending the people's verdict. AOSARIO undertook to respect the result of that referendum, whatever it might be, and emphasized that no one had the right to prejudice the outcome.

11. Mr. Ahmed Rachid withdrew.

12. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Mohamed Taquiollah Maalainine, for the representatives of Río de Oro, took a place at the petitioners' table.

13. Mr. TAQUIOLLAH MAALAININE said that he had come as the elected representative of Dakhla to inform the Committee of the situation which prevailed in the Western Sahara. For 10 years the Saharan populations had been living in peace and safety in the Territories recovered by Morocco, which were enjoying unprecedented social, economic and cultural development. Those populations had given proof of their ability to participate in popular consultations, since all municipal and regional representatives had been elected democratically. They were ready, as the King of Morocco had indicated, freely to express their views in a referendum organized under United Nations auspices.

14. The ancestral links between the Saharan populations and Morocco were well known and had been described on many occasions before international bodies. Morocco had been carved up by the colonial Powers into many zones, each with a different status. Western Sahara, the enclave of Sidi Ifni, the Tarfaya zone and the zone to the north on the Mediterranean coast had gone to Spain. After achieving independence, Morocco had pursued its struggle for the liberation of the Spanish enclaves, a struggle in which the populations of Western Sahara had participated. Morocco had repeatedly demanded, before the Fourth Committee itself, the restoration of Western Sahara to the motherland. On 16 October 1975, the International Court of Justice had handed down an advisory opinion recognizing the ancestral legal links between the inhabitants of Western Sahara and the Kingdom of Morocco. The latter, certain of its rights and wishing to decolonize Western Sahara by peaceful means, had then started the famous Green March in which 350,000 citizens had participated. It was in that context that the Security Council had adopted, on 6 November 1975, resolution 380 (1975) calling upon all parties concerned to conduct negotiations in accordance with Article 33 of the Charter. Those negotiations had resulted in the Madrid agreement providing for the withdrawal of colonial troops, an agreement which had been endorsed by the General Assembly.

15. The Algerian authorities had then interfered with that peaceful process by creating a movement entirely in its pay. The Frente POLISARIO enjoyed no credibility with the Saharan populations. That movement had never acquired legitimacy by taking up arms against the Spanish occupier. It had emerged after the liberation of the Territories of Western Sahara by Morocco. It was a band of mercenaries established on Algerian territory, trained and armed by Algeria, and dedicated to serving Algeria's aim of destabilizing the region. The tension thus artificially created constituted a threat to international peace and security. In

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(Mr. Taquiollah Maalainine)

order to avoid a conflict which would have disastrous results, Morocco had declared itself ready, at the Nairobi summit conference in 1981, to organize a free and general referendum in the Territories of Western Sahara under the auspices of the United Nations. That was the wish of the Saharan populations, who aspired to a just and lasting peace in the region.

16. Mr. Taquiollah Maalainine withdrew.

17. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Mr. Felice, of the International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples, had been unable to appear to give his statement himself and that it would be circulated subsequently to the members of the Committee.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued) (A/40/3, A/40/23 (Part VII), A/40/113, 121, 429, 529, 692 and Corr.1; A/C.4/40/L.2; A/AC.109/801 and Corr.1, 802-807, 808 and Corr.1, 809-815, 816/Rev.1, 817-820, 823, 827 and Corr.1, 829, 832 and 834)

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(b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 109: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/40/23 (Part V) and A/40/629)

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

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AGENDA ITEM 111: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS (continued) (A/40/23 (Part V), A/40/318 and Add.1; A/AC.109/L.1558 and L.1561)

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(b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/40/3, chapters I to VI E)

AGENDA ITEM 112: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/40/781)

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18. Mr. BRANCO (Sao Tome and Principe), speaking on the question of Western Sahara, expressed concern over the prolongation of a conflict which opposed two fraternal peoples. Morocco had made an important contribution to the anti-colonial struggle in Africa and it was therefore to be hoped that it would agree to a peaceful solution to that ruinous conflict. It was also undeniable that the people of Western Sahara was intent on the realization of its legitimate rights. Such an issue could only divide Africa, because the complete liberation of the African continent from colonialism and racism was still a unifying factor.

19. The position of OAU, clearly expressed in its resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), was that the establishment of a dialogue between the Frente POLISARIO and the Kingdom of Morocco was the first stage in a peaceful settlement, to be achieved through the establishment of a cease-fire as an essential prerequisite for the organization of a referendum on self-determination. That OAU decision had been endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 39/40 and by the ministerial conference of non-aligned countries held in Luanda. It therefore reflected an international consensus and one could only express surprise at the recent proposals of the Moroccan Government.

20. The Moroccan Government was in fact ignoring the framework for solving the conflict which had been decided upon by the international bodies. Ignoring objective reality, it also failed to see in a national liberation movement which enjoyed unquestionable international recognition anything but a band of mercenaries, with which it had none the less organized a number of successive meetings. Its proposal was contradictory because it included a cease-fire with alleged mercenaries whose sole international legal status was supposedly that of criminals.

21. He stressed that the solution to the conflict could only be negotiated and that the role of OAU was to help the two parties to resolve their dispute with the participation of the United Nations, the main point being to create conditions under which the people of Western Sahara could express itself freely on its future.

22. Mr. KUTENDAKANA PUMBULU (Zaire) recalled that, since the founding of the United Nations, 108 States had regained their dignity as free peoples by expressing their views on their status. Unfortunately, a number of Territories were still under the colonial yoke or subjected to revolting treatment.

23. By and large, his delegation supported the conclusions of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, he wished to clarify certain points.

(Mr. Kutendakana Pumbulu, Zaire)

24. With regard to the question of Western Sahara, his country continued to support the resolution adopted at the eighteenth summit meeting of OAU which called for a referendum. In that connection, the latest initiatives taken by Morocco, and particularly the announcement of a cease-fire and a referendum, deserved serious consideration. Instead of embarking on a new round of polemics on that question, it would be more useful to work out means of organizing that referendum. For that purpose, the Committee should adopt a resolution providing for the organization of a referendum early in 1986, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in collaboration with OAU, should be invited to make the necessary arrangements to that end. The proposed resolution should contain no references to texts which had proved controversial in the past.

25. His country would continue to participate in the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. It was indeed essential that all States should show solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa by increasing their voluntary contributions, thereby reversing the trend observed the previous year. His delegation congratulated the States which had provided study and training facilities for the population of the dependent Territories and recalled the considerable efforts already made by his country in that respect. He called on the administering Powers to give full support to the activities of the Special Committee.

26. It would also be desirable for the Special Committee to draw up a medium-term plan specifying the points of reference that would enable all the dependent Territories freely to determine their own future, in accordance with operative paragraph 5 of the Declaration, and taking into account the information gathered by the Committee during the hearing of petitioners. In that way, the results of the referendum would not be called into question.

27. Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua) resumed the Chair.

28. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea) said that the question of decolonization was one of the prime considerations underlying the foreign policy of his country, which had taken every opportunity to denounce the maintenance of the out-dated system of colonialism that degraded and exploited the colonized peoples and prevented them from exercising their inalienable rights to self-determination, independence and total freedom. Unfortunately, 25 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence, there were still Governments and countries which continued to pursue their narrow interests at the expense of the well-being of millions of people. Indeed, the selfish interests of the colonial Powers, coupled with racial and cultural discrimination, undeniably lay at the root of the problem.

29. His country fully subscribed to the spirit of the 1960 Declaration which stipulated that the subjection of peoples to foreign domination was contrary to the Charter and that immediate steps should be taken to ensure that all powers were transferred without any conditions or reservations to the peoples of the Territories which had not yet attained independence.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

30. However, what appeared to be moves towards decolonization were often accompanied by conditions or mechanisms which would perpetuate neo-colonialism. The colonial Powers should demonstrate their genuine desire for decolonization by unreservedly upholding the universally accepted principles of the Declaration.
31. The will of the peoples of Namibia, South Africa, Western Sahara, Micronesia and elsewhere that wished to take their rightful place among nations must be respected without reservation. In that connection the Special Committee had an important mandate which consisted in facilitating the realization of their aspirations. However, there had been attempts to spread the belief that the presence of the colonial Powers in those Territories was desirable, and that the right to self-determination and independence was negotiable, or could be bought and sold. People living under colonial domination had the same claim to human rights as others, and it was unfortunate that hollow rhetoric had been heard for too long.
32. Like other independent Pacific island countries, Papua New Guinea was particularly concerned about the remaining dependent territories of the Pacific region. However, he was pleased to note that a "Compact of Free Association" was about to be concluded between the United States, on the one hand, and the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia, on the other. In that connection, he urged the Government of the United States to honour the arrangements that had been negotiated and agreed by both parties.
33. However, an appropriate compact of free association with the administering Power had yet to be concluded in respect of Palau, another Pacific island territory. It was hoped that the impasse would be only temporary and that both parties would soon find a mutually agreeable formula enabling the Palauan people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination as soon as possible.
34. His country had been pleased to note that a very important decolonization issue had been discussed at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries at Luanda. It was also encouraging that an increasing number of States Members of the United Nations were taking an interest in the need for decolonization in the Pacific.
35. The question of New Caledonia had been on the agenda of the South Pacific Forum for a number of years, and its members were fully committed to helping the population of that territory to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence, peacefully and as soon as possible.
36. Mr. TAIX (France), speaking on a point of order, pointed out that the question of New Caledonia was neither on the agenda of the Committee nor on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, and that it should therefore not be addressed by delegations during the general debate.
37. The CHAIRMAN asked the representative of Papua New Guinea to resume his statement, taking into consideration the observations made by the representative of France.

38. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea) said that the people of New Caledonia had been struggling for decolonization since the 1800s, and recalled that New Caledonia had been placed on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories pursuant to General Assembly resolution 66 (I) of 14 December 1946. However, in 1947 France had unilaterally stopped transmitting information on that territory under the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter. He also recalled the list of territories contained in General Assembly resolutions 77 (I) and 222 (III), which called for information on certain territories.

39. On 29 April 1949, France had addressed a letter to the Secretary-General asserting that the peoples which had not yet achieved full autonomy were subject to the exclusive authority of the administering Power, while also mentioning the cultural development, prosperity and self-determination of such peoples. That letter had been written in 1949 but still in 1985 had not been given any concrete effect.

40. He asked why the Committee and the United Nations were standing by idly while indigenous peoples were still struggling for freedom, self-determination and independence.

41. Mr. TAIK (France), speaking on a point of order, said that the representative of Papua New Guinea had misunderstood him. The rules of procedure should be borne in mind. It was sufficient to ask two very simple questions: was New Caledonia on the list of Territories to be reviewed by the Committee, and were speakers in the Fourth Committee entitled to deal with Territories that were not on that list? The reply to those two questions was obviously in the negative, and he would therefore request the representative of Papua New Guinea either to change the subject or to conclude his statement.

42. The CHAIRMAN again asked the representative of Papua New Guinea to keep to the item on the agenda.

43. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea), resuming his statement, recalled that he had brought up the question of New Caledonia in the debate in the plenary Assembly in 1984 under agenda item 18, and the General Assembly, the most important deliberative body of the United Nations, had allowed him to speak about it. He was perfectly familiar with the rules of procedure and he had insisted on speaking on the subject in order to demonstrate the difficulties that certain non-self-governing peoples and third-world States encountered when they wanted to talk about the problems of their friends in the world.

44. He had sent a letter to the Chairman of the Special Committee of 24 asking him to consider the applicability of the Charter and the Declaration to the situation in New Caledonia. The Special Committee had issued an official document dealing with the matter (A/AC.109/847).

45. Having demonstrated the difficulty he had referred to, he would end his statement with the hope that now that the difficulties had been revealed, it would be possible in the year of the fortieth anniversary, to bring about an effective improvement in the system and achieve the objectives of the Charter.

46. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) said that the question of Western Sahara was one of decolonization, the solution to which lay in the authentic exercise by the people of the Territory of their right to self-determination and independence. OAU and the United Nations shared that same conviction and had sought patiently to construct the framework for a negotiated settlement. Those efforts had culminated in the African peace plan set forth in OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), ratified by the United Nations General Assembly in resolutions 38/40 and 39/40, and recently endorsed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

47. Morocco, in the usual semblance of willingness to enter into a dialogue that it displayed each year on the occasion of the General Assembly debate on Western Sahara, claimed to be showing its readiness to accept a definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara, by proposing a unilaterally declared cease-fire and organizing a so-called consultation. The proposal was unacceptable because it was contrary to the provisions of the peace plan and the aforementioned resolutions, which called for direct negotiations between Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO with a view to bringing about a cease-fire. Furthermore, since it refused to negotiate directly with the Frente POLISARIO, Morocco could not claim that the consultation it proposed to organize constituted a genuine referendum for self-determination. Moreover, in its proposal, Morocco made no mention of the essential condition, namely the elimination of all administrative or military constraints, referred to in the peace plan and the relevant resolutions. He stressed in that connection how paradoxical it was that Morocco should now reject conditions that it had itself sought to impose 10 years before on the then occupying Power, Spain, as a pre-condition for holding a referendum.

48. The proposal put forward by Morocco was a step away from, rather than towards, peace, and the United Nations could not endorse it. He emphasized that to make genuine progress towards the restoration of peace in Western Sahara, the first need was for the Frente POLISARIO, long internationally recognized, and today more so than ever, as the authentic representative of the Saharan people, to be recognized by Morocco also, so that the two parties to the conflict could finally engage in direct negotiations. OAU, for its part, had decided to welcome the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to membership.

49. In view of the persistence of the conflict in Western Sahara, OAU and the United Nations must spare no effort and must take co-ordinated measures to implement the peace plan. He urged Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO to call on the common history of the peoples of the Maghreb in order to overcome their differences and be reconciled. Algeria, which shared with those two fraternal peoples a common heritage through the same civilization, was ready to make its own fullest contribution to bringing the two parties to the conflict together. It still nourished the hope that reason would finally prevail and lead Morocco to take the path of dialogue and to move towards meeting the wishes of the people of Western Sahara for self-determination, in brotherhood with the Moroccan people but without any constraint on their freely expressed will.

50. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) paid a tribute to the noble attitude of courage and tenacity displayed in the Fourth Committee by the young representatives of Western Sahara and contrasted it with that of the so-called petitioners, who had come to defend not the interests of the Saharan people, but rather those of the Moroccan metropolis.

51. The intransigence of Morocco, a country which had itself suffered under colonialism and whose contribution to African independence was well known, was disconcerting. Cuba therefore dared to hope that Morocco would shortly be able to take a position consistent with the principles it had once defended, and would facilitate the implementation, without reservation, of the OAU plan endorsed by the General Assembly, which had Cuba's whole-hearted support. Cuba, for its part, would continue resolutely to back the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic in its struggle for independence, self-determination, freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and in that connection endorsed its most recent demands for the settlement of the conflict, namely, the complete withdrawal of the Moroccan army and administration, the installation of an interim administration during the transition period, and arrangements to ensure that the Saharan people became sole masters of their destiny.

52. Mr. KAMAL (Bangladesh) recalled the many successes achieved by the United Nations in the field of decolonization. Bangladesh had enshrined in its Constitution its commitment to support oppressed people throughout the world who were waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

53. Despite the successes achieved, however, much remained to be done, particularly in Namibia, where, in defiance of the many resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, the Pretoria régime had continued for more than 20 years to impose upon the people of the Territory the double yoke of occupation and colonial exploitation. Namibia was the unique responsibility of the United Nations, and it was incumbent on all Member States to take concrete and effective measures to bring about its independence without further delay. Although colonialism was on the verge of extinction, a few pockets still remained, and only through the strict implementation of the Declaration on decolonization could they be eliminated once and for all. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its adoption, Member States should therefore pledge themselves once again to implement the Declaration.

54. Mr. BUDAI (Hungary) said that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was a good opportunity to underscore the fact that the continued existence of colonialism in certain regions of the world continued to impede the economic development of certain countries and the development of their peoples. A major task of the United Nations and its Member States was to help those peoples, in the Pacific Islands, in the Caribbean region and in southern Africa, to develop a better awareness of themselves, their situation and their rights. Thus, his country strongly condemned the use of certain islands for nuclear testing and the establishment of strategic bases. Moreover, as the report of the Special Committee emphasized, the exploitation and pillaging of the resources of colonial countries

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

by foreign economic interests, particularly in Namibia, in association with the South African occupying régime, constituted a direct violation of the right of the peoples and of the principles of the Charter, as well as of all relevant United Nations resolutions.

55. He emphasized that local authorities, trade-union federations, religious organizations and solidarity movements had a role to play in promoting the full implementation of the Declaration. The Government and people of Hungary pledged to support colonial countries and peoples in their struggle for independence and self-determination.

56. Mr. MARCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that many specialized agencies and international organizations had contributed substantially to the struggle for the definitive elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid. The fact that the question of decolonization appeared on the agenda of organs of the specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations was of great importance. Thus the Executive Director of UNEP, in his report to the Governing Council at its thirteenth session, had described the negative impact of apartheid on the environment and on the health of miners. UNESCO for its part, was providing effective assistance to national liberation movements by preparing the population of colonial Territories for self-determination and independence. ILO was helping the people of Namibia and southern Africa in the field of vocational training and was following the development of social and professional contacts in Namibia and South Africa very closely.

57. However, it must be noted that the representatives of certain Western companies and countries had expressed serious reservations at the seventy-first session of the ILO General Conference regarding the arms embargo and economic sanctions against South Africa. His country called upon those specialized agencies which had not yet done so to include in the agenda of the regular sessions of their governing bodies an item dealing specifically with the review of the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization. Inasmuch as the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies had recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples, the specialized agencies were obligated to provide all necessary moral and material assistance to those peoples and to their national liberation movements, particularly in southern Africa. UNESCO, FAO, WHO, UNICEF and other organizations were already making very valuable contributions to efforts to improve the situation of the inhabitants of colonial Territories, and the Namibian people and SWAPO were benefiting from a range of programmes being carried out within the framework of the United Nations Institute for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. The specialized agencies still had to apply more flexible procedures for developing their programmes and had to establish or strengthen contacts with colonial peoples and their national liberation movements.

58. Some States had recently attempted to limit, and even to eliminate, certain activities of the specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations, particularly those which contributed to the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid. Thus, some countries had sought to pressure UNESCO to revise its

(Mr. Marchenko, Ukrainian SSR)

programmes. He recalled that the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council called upon all the specialized agencies to put an end to all types of co-operation with the South African régime and to refrain from taking any steps that might suggest that they recognized South Africa's domination of Namibia. Explanations should therefore be demanded of those agencies which continued to support South Africa in any manner whatsoever.

59. South Africa was still a member of the World Bank and IMF. His delegation joined in the General Assembly's appeal to IMF to cancel its \$1.1 billion loan to South Africa and to refrain from granting any more loans to the racist South African régime. That type of support served the interests of transnational corporations and imperialist States, in particular the United States of America and the countries members of NATO, by strengthening their southern African ally. A wide range of measures could be taken by the specialized agencies to implement the Declaration. Those measures must be taken without delay and must be pursued in the most efficacious manner.

60. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) said that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the twenty-fifth anniversary of which was being celebrated in 1985, was an important landmark in the history of decolonization, for in 25 years more than 50 countries had been liberated from the colonial yoke, had won independence and had become Members of the United Nations.

61. Unfortunately, despite those important achievements, certain peoples remained unable to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination, in particular the Palestinians, who were deprived of their rights in their own country, and Africans in South Africa and Namibia. The international community therefore should intensify its efforts and strengthen its determination to provide those peoples with effective assistance in order to eliminate all forms of colonialism once and for all. Furthermore, a Territory's limited resources, small population or small size could in no way serve to justify a refusal to apply the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to it. His delegation reiterated its firm support of that Declaration.

62. The positive achievements of the United Nations contrasted sharply with reality and with the dangerous situation prevailing in South Africa and Namibia, where the racist régime was pursuing its policy of persecution and discrimination and defying the will of the international community, as expressed in the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

63. His country attached particular importance to the work of the United Nations Institute for Namibia and the Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, and hoped that all countries would assume their responsibilities and provide the necessary assistance for further and more vigorous efforts. Kuwait had always provided material and moral support in pursuit of that objective.

(Mr. Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

64. His delegation thanked those specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations which had severed all ties with South Africa pursuant to the relevant United Nations resolutions, and hoped that IMF and the World Bank would follow that example. The assistance and credits which South Africa continued to receive and which enabled it to perpetuate its oppression and occupation were a source of continuing deep concern to his delegation, which noted in addition that the front-line States' assistance to Namibia placed a heavy burden on them and compelled them to divert precious resources which they could otherwise devote to their development. IMF should shoulder its responsibility in that regard and participate in the general effort.

65. Mr. BRAVO (Angola) said that during the 25 years since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the world had undergone radical geopolitical changes, foremost among which was the process of decolonization. Since 1960, 59 colonial territories and more than 80 million people had attained independence. Nevertheless, colonial régimes of occupation, oppression and exploitation still remained one of the principal sources of conflict and tension in a number of areas of the world.

66. The question of Western Sahara provided a good example. At the recent Ministerial Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries which had taken place in Luanda in September 1985, the President of the People's Republic of Angola had declared that the conflict in Western Sahara constituted a potential threat to peace, security and stability in the entire region of Africa. His delegation therefore wished to reaffirm its unswerving support for its people's struggle to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It should be recalled that the General Assembly, by its resolution 39/40, and the Eighth Ministerial Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, had reaffirmed that the question of Western Sahara was one of decolonization and had requested the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO to commence direct negotiations with a view to securing a cease-fire which would pave the way for a peaceful referendum under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. His delegation had no doubt that the Frente POLISARIO and the Kingdom of Morocco would demonstrate the good sense that was required and reach an understanding.

67. In the year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, each Member State of the Organization must assume its political, moral and legal responsibilities and honour its commitment to the noble and just cause of the colonial peoples, including the people of Western Sahara, thereby strengthening the democratization of international relations.

68. Mr. LOPATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that specialized agencies and international organizations made a very significant contribution to the process of decolonization by providing assistance to national liberation movements and to refugees, by training national cadres and by assisting newly independent States to freely choose the type of development they wished.

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(Mr. Lopatov, USSR)

69. Unfortunately, more remained to be done in that area, and certain specialized agencies contributed very little to decolonization and to the settlement of the Namibian problem, in particular. It was particularly distressing to observe that some international organizations continued to collaborate with the apartheid régime, in spite of the Assembly's resolutions and decisions. Indeed, he wondered what justification the International Monetary Fund had for granting a loan of \$1.1 billion to the Pretoria régime in 1982. It was also surprising that South Africa continued to participate in the work of the International Monetary Fund and that the World Bank maintained relations with the racist régime.

70. Such a situation was only possible because the imperialist Powers had reached agreement among themselves to revive the colonial system. His delegation joined the Special Committee in condemning the collaboration between the International Monetary Fund and South Africa. As curious as it might seem, a number of delegations had claimed during the previous session of the General Assembly, that such demands were contrary to the statutes of those financial organizations and constituted an undue interference in their internal affairs. They acted as if the financing of the apartheid régime was compatible with the struggle against colonialism and as if the participation of South Africa in the activities of the World Bank and of the International Monetary Fund did not have a negative impact on the granting of credits to freedom fighters. The delegations of the Western countries sought to justify the financing of the measures of repression which South Africa directed against its own people and against the peoples of Namibia and other African countries. It was therefore time for the international community to take decisive action and to totally isolate South Africa.

71. Like the Special Committee, his delegation was of the view that specialized agencies and other organs of the United Nations system should not only aim at responding to the immediate needs of colonial peoples, but at creating the conditions which would enable them to develop after their attainment of independence. In that regard, he stressed the critical importance of resolution A/AC.109/843, in which the Special Committee requested specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations to provide assistance to the Governments of the front-line States. That document was a great help in strengthening the activities of the specialized agencies aimed at implementing the Declaration.

72. Mr. MAUNA (Indonesia) said that, for the Fourth Committee, 1985, which marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, was of particular significance as it affected the very raison d'être of the Committee. The catalytic impulse started by that historic document had hastened the process of decolonization which was already under way and the goal of universal representation was ever closer to realization. The Special Committee could take justifiable pride in its achievement.

73. At the same time as the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration, the people of Indonesia were also celebrating 40 years of independence and sovereignty. Indonesia, like many other States in Asia, Africa and Latin America,

(Mr. Mauna, Indonesia)

had been greatly influenced by the United Nations and by the struggle for decolonization and national independence, and it had developed a strong sense of solidarity with all liberation struggles. The newly-independent States were united in the conviction that world peace and security could not be attained without freedom and equality for all nations.

74. The historic conference held in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 had crystallized that sense of common destiny and purpose: the establishment of a new world order based on independence, justice, equality and human dignity. The year 1985 also marked the thirtieth anniversary of that conference and Member States had once again gathered to reaffirm their common objectives and principles. Their efforts had been immeasurably strengthened by the founding of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the overwhelming majority of whose members had themselves been the beneficiaries of the decolonization process and were now therefore the strongest proponents of decolonization.

75. In looking back at the road travelled, the United Nations could take satisfaction in the decisive impact of the Declaration on the progressive demise of the colonial era. It should not be forgotten, however, that colonialism had not been totally eradicated and that some 3 million people scattered in many Territories across the world were still languishing under the yoke of colonial domination. The examples of Palestine and Namibia were the most noteworthy.

76. Regarding Namibia in particular, it should be recalled that it had become a victim to colonialism a century previously, that the United Nations had been seized of the question for 40 years and that almost 20 years had passed since South Africa's mandate over the Territory had been revoked. The situation in Namibia was a glaring failure in the field of decolonization. Indonesia would continue to contribute to the international community's assistance to the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, an important aspect of the question. Indonesia was striving to provide its own people with the requisite technical training to safeguard the country's economic, social and cultural development, and to improve the social and economic condition of its citizens.

77. Thus the larger struggle still being waged was the struggle to achieve independence through economic decolonization and to preserve and promote the national and cultural identity of former colonial nations. In that context the countries of the third world were currently striving to restructure the world economy and promote greater equity in the workings of world institutions.

78. The process must take into account the particular needs of nations not yet having achieved independence: the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and the inhabitants of Trust or Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean. Priority consideration must be given to the economic and social development of those Territories in order to safeguard their true current and future interests. In his delegation's view, the report of the Special Committee on the status of Non-Self-Governing Territories was positive on the whole. After so many years of arduous work, it was at last possible to foresee a day, in the not-too-distant future, when the Special Committee would have discharged its mandate in full.

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79. Mr. HELLER (Mexico) said that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted 25 years previously, had established unequivocally that the subjection of peoples to foreign domination and exploitation was a denial of fundamental human rights, was contrary to the Charter and endangered world peace and co-operation. The International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights upheld the right of peoples to self-determination as foremost among human rights.

80. The decrease in the number of colonial Territories considered by the Committee each year demonstrated that decolonization was one of the Organization's greatest successes. Unfortunately, 25 years later there were still colonial situations which, in some cases, posed a threat to international peace and security.

81. An international order had to be established which respected plurality and national aspirations - no easy task. It was time to put an end to attempts to deal with the freedom process in the context of world ideological confrontations, and to cease trying to give effect to resolution 1514 (XV) through an approach contrary to its spirit and letter. Likewise, the time had come to tackle the problem of colonial Territories in all its aspects, not overlooking the growth of new forms of colonialism which were hampering the economic, cultural and even political independence of many peoples.

82. Certain situations were particularly alarming, for example that in Namibia. His country reiterated its outright condemnation of the Pretoria racist régime, both for its illegal and prolonged occupation of the Territory and for its policy of apartheid, applied in Namibia with the same irrational obstinancy as in South Africa itself. Mexico firmly supported SWAPO, the Namibian people's sole authentic representative, and condemned all the South African régime's manoeuvres to prolong the current situation. That régime should be completely isolated, and the Security Council should urgently impose global mandatory sanctions pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter. Likewise, attempts to link the question to extraneous issues and to deal with it in a context of East-West confrontation should be eschewed. His country reiterated that the sole internationally acceptable solution was the implementation in full of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

83. With regard to the Malvinas Islands, his delegation regretted the lack of progress in giving effect to the General Assembly resolutions, particularly resolution 39/6. His country reiterated its support for Argentina's sovereign rights and for the opening of negotiations with a view to settling the dispute.

84. No less important was the fate of other Territories hitherto unable to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Mexico called again upon the Administering Authorities to observe scrupulously the political and economic rights of colonial Territories and to engage in no activities or measures liable to prolong the colonial situation or to undermine the viability of those nations once they had become independent.

(Mr. Heller, Mexico)

85. On the question of Western Sahara, his delegation reiterated its support for the Sahrawi people's right to defend its territorial integrity and sovereignty. The current situation was highly alarming in that the outline solution adopted by consensus by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU in resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and reiterated in General Assembly resolution 38/40 had not yet been implemented. His delegation reiterated its support for the African peace plan and urged all interested parties to give effect to those resolutions. His country also acknowledged the responsible, constructive attitude of the Frente POLISARIO of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, with which Mexico had established diplomatic relations and with which it expressed its whole-hearted solidarity. No solution was possible until the Sahrawi people had been able to express its will freely. The first need, therefore, was to negotiate a cease-fire and establish the requisite conditions for the holding of a referendum free from administrative and military restrictions. Moreover, the draft resolution put forward that year envisaged special machinery to help in seeking an agreement.

86. If the developing world was to have a better future, colonialism would of necessity have to be eliminated, along with all the new practices being resorted to by certain circles attempting to maintain it. Removal of all the obstacles to the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) was the greatest homage that Member States could render the Organization in the current anniversary year.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

87. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Senegal had been added to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2.

88. He had received a request for hearings on agenda item 34. In accordance with the current practice, the communication would be circulated as a Committee document and considered at a later meeting.

89. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.