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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 18th MEETING

Chairmen: Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus)

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1. Mr. MAJENGO (United Republic of Tanzania) noted that it was over 10 years since Western Sahara had been illegally occupied by Moroccan troops, and efforts by the international community to resolve the conflict had proved unsuccessful owing to the intransigence of Morocco. Resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and General Assembly resolution 41/16 both called for a cease-fire prior to an internationally supervised referendum held without any administrative or military constraints. Morocco, on the other hand, had laid down its own pre-conditions, which were contradictory to the spirit of both resolutions. His delegation endorsed the view of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries that the solution lay in the Saharan people's right to self-determination and independence.

2. His delegation had noted the Secretary-General's report on his ongoing mediation efforts and on those of the Chairman of OAU (A/42/601) and his plans to dispatch a technical survey mission to Western Sahara to collect data necessary for the formulation of proposals for a cease-fire and a referendum. It did not oppose such initiatives but they should comply with the two foregoing resolutions. It therefore called upon the parties to the conflict to enter into direct negotiations with the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y de Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) in order to reach a just and lasting solution.

3. Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic) called for the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In that regard, Namibia constituted the most serious colonial problem facing the international community. The continued occupation of Namibia constituted a challenge. Pretoria still received support and political protection, and linked Namibia's independence to matters unrelated to Security Council resolution 435 (1978). His delegation had repeatedly affirmed the need for implementation of Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to ensure that Pretoria ceased forthwith its policies of apartheid, occupation of Namibia and aggression against neighbouring African States.

4. Concerning General Assembly resolution 41/41 B on the implementation of the Declaration, his delegation welcomed the suggestions made by the Special Committee in accordance with paragraph 12 (b) and called upon the administering Powers to implement them. In that connection, the existence of military bases in colonial Territories impeded the expression of the aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories and their exercise of the right to self-determination.

5. His delegation hoped that visiting missions would continue to be dispatched to the Territories to enable the Special Committee to discharge its mandate based on the first-hand information gathered during those visits.

6. Specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system had a responsibility within their respective spheres of competence to ensure the implementation of United Nations resolutions relating to the provision of moral and material assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements. Whereas several agencies had complied with that recommendation the same was not true for the World Bank and the International

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

Monetary Fund. The World Bank was pursuing a policy of refusing any assistance to freedom-seeking peoples and liberation movements. He called upon the World Bank to take the relevant General Assembly resolutions into consideration. With regard to the \$241.8 million which was still being channelled to South Africa through World Bank loans, that figure had been given by the World Bank in its 1987 annual report.

7. His delegation called upon all United Nations agencies dealing with the racist régime to refrain from having any relations with it until it had abolished apartheid and ended its illegal occupation of Namibia and aggression against neighbouring States. The Syrian Government had offered 11 scholarships to students from liberation movements in southern Africa to study in Syrian institutions of higher learning for the academic year 1987/88 under the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa.

8. Concerning the question of Western Sahara, his delegation hoped that progress could be achieved towards the holding of a referendum under the auspices of OAU and the United Nations, as provided for in OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), thus enabling the people of Western Sahara to exercise their right to self-determination, without any military or administrative constraints.

9. Mr. BRAVO (Angola) said that his country had been consistently working to facilitate the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia and contribute to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in southern Africa. In April 1987, it had resumed its dialogue with the United States and in August 1987, had proposed a comprehensive agreement to improve the situation, to which Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) would be parties and the implementation of which would be monitored by the Security Council.

10. Concurrently, however, South Africa was intensifying its aggression against Angola, in order to assist the South African gangs of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), as well as its violations of his country's airspace. Details of those recent acts of state terrorism perpetrated by South Africa against Angola would be set forth in a document shortly to be circulated to Member States.

11. Turning to the question of Western Sahara, he reiterated his country's unshakeable support for the struggle of the Saharan people for self-determination and independence in accordance with the relevant resolutions of OAU, the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. His delegation welcomed the joint initiative of the current Chairman of OAU and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to send a technical survey mission to Western Sahara to obtain information concerning the conditions for a cease-fire and a referendum without administrative or military constraints, and hoped that the parties concerned would reach a negotiated agreement.

12. Mr. HELLER (Mexico) said that United Nations decolonization efforts had been hampered by attempts to weaken the multilateral approach, which embodied the values of democracy, pluralism and equality before the law, as well as by the emergence of

(Mr. Heller, Mexico)

new forms of colonialism and the persistent violation of international law. Yet all those obstacles could be overcome if the international community held to its convictions and objectives.

13. In the case of Namibia, notwithstanding arduous efforts by the United Nations, it had not been possible to give effect to Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The United Nations Council for Namibia itself had been prevented from carrying out its mandate as Administering Authority of the Territory. Although every Member State condemned the shameful racism of South Africa and its illegal occupation of Namibia, some States found excuses to avoid acting energetically against both forms of lawlessness. No irrelevant conditions, such as the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, could be attached to Namibia's independence. The selective application of international law to serve particular interests in the East-West conflict could not be countenanced. Mexico would continue battling for Namibia's early independence, which would be achieved if the relevant United Nations resolutions were implemented and if comprehensive and mandatory sanctions were imposed on South Africa.

14. With regard to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Mexico supported Argentina's sovereignty over the Islands and deplored the lack of progress in implementing the relevant General Assembly resolutions. Unilateral measures that prolonged the status quo were unacceptable, and it was urgent for the parties to begin negotiations on the future of the Islands.

15. The people of Western Sahara, too, were being denied their right to self-determination and independence. The resolutions of OAU and the United Nations offered a framework for a peaceful settlement. In that connection, Mexico was sponsoring draft resolution A/C.4/42/L.5. The actions taken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, as reported in document A/42/601, were encouraging, and his delegation looked forward to their presenting the further proposals they intended to formulate, which might hasten direct negotiations between Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO on a cease-fire and a referendum without constraints.

16. Mexico supported the Special Committee's draft resolution regarding New Caledonia. That question would be resolved only by implementing the relevant United Nations resolutions and observing all other United Nations provisions regarding decolonization.

17. His Government would stand behind all dependent Territories - regardless of their particular characteristics and circumstances - which were striving to achieve self-determination.

18. Mr. BASRI BAJURI (Malaysia) said that as a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Malaysia had been following recent developments in New Caledonia, which were undermining the hope of seeing a stable Pacific region as a centre of future world economic growth. Malaysia had always taken the position that self-determination and independence should proceed in accordance with

(Mr. Basri Bajuri, Malaysia)

the Charter. It was convinced that New Caledonia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of the Charter and had therefore supported General Assembly resolution 41/41 A. It also wished to see a peaceful, just exercise by the people of that Territory of their right of self-determination, which would facilitate the early attainment of full independence.

19. The testimony of representatives of the Front de libération nationale Kanak socialiste (FLNKS) before the Special Committee on decolonization and the Fourth Committee had clearly shown that the administering Power had not permitted self-determination to be carried out in accordance with the Charter. His delegation whole-heartedly endorsed the views expressed by the Chairman of the South Pacific Forum in document A/42/606 and particularly his insistence on the need for United Nations involvement. The issue of New Caledonia had also been the focus of attention during the recent Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Vancouver, the final communiqué of which his country fully endorsed.

20. He called upon the administering Power to heed the overwhelming views of the international community regarding the granting of self-government and independence to New Caledonia in accordance with the Charter and in that spirit supported the draft resolution of the Special Committee on decolonization (A/42/23 (Part VI), para. 128).

21. Miss DAPUL (Philippines) said that the principles of the Declaration on decolonization which certain States found difficult to observe were unambiguous. Guided by those principles and by 350 years of colonial experience, the Philippines reaffirmed its unequivocal stand that all non-self-governing peoples had a right to determine their destiny.

22. The Philippines had co-sponsored General Assembly resolution 41/41 A, which had restored New Caledonia to the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

23. On the issue of Western Sahara, the Philippines welcomed the efforts being made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of OAU to reach a mutually acceptable solution and noted with interest the recent dispatch of a technical survey mission to the Territory.

24. The process that set nations on the road to independence was one of the great achievements of the United Nations. The peoples of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, no matter how small in size or population and no matter how poor, should also have the right to determine their future.

25. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) said that the Declaration on decolonization attested to the Organization's continuing vigilance to ensure the exercise of the right to self-determination, as evidenced by the reinclusion of New Caledonia among the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the support for the people of Western Sahara.

26. United Nations involvement in the question of Western Sahara had prevented the imposition of a fait accompli in that Territory and had allowed Africans to

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

establish ways and means for a definitive settlement of the conflict as outlined in OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX). The United Nations had repeatedly reaffirmed that the OAU peace plan was the only way to resolve the issue, and both the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Secretary-General had committed their good offices to its implementation.

27. Their efforts, as described in the Secretary-General's report (A/42/601), had been blocked, however, by the attitude of one of the parties. Morocco's erection of a wall along Western Sahara's border with Mauritania spoke only too clearly of the military option it had chosen to pursue, at a time when the joint good offices process was in progress. The deployment of additional occupying troops in Western Sahara also militated against the holding of a referendum without military constraints. Similarly, the rush to reinforce administrative and political structures betrayed a desire to control the outcome of any referendum, and the massive settlement of Moroccan families in Western Sahara was clearly an effort to change the demography of the Territory and prevent the Saharan people from freely deciding their own future.

28. The Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Secretary-General had urged both parties to refrain from any action which would be contrary to the achievement of a negotiated settlement, and it was to be hoped that Morocco would heed that call. All Member States should give their full support to the joint good offices process, as a result of which Morocco had at long last recognized its inevitable partner in any peace negotiations.

29. The plan to dispatch a technical survey mission to Western Sahara was an excellent one, for it would thus be possible to gather the information needed to make appropriate arrangements for a credible referendum.

30. Various prerequisites for peace in Western Sahara had been repeatedly endorsed by the international community. There must be direct negotiations between the two parties, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO, on the conditions for a cease-fire and the arrangements for a referendum. Western Sahara must be decolonized through a referendum conducted without any administrative or military constraints, and organized and monitored by the United Nations and OAU; and such a referendum could obviously be held only after the Moroccan troops and administrators illegally occupying Western Sahara had been withdrawn and the United Nations had taken charge of the Territory. Lastly, the only people who had the right to take part in the referendum were the Saharan people themselves.

31. A just and definitive solution would usher in a new era of understanding among the nations of the Maghreb. That would come about only if all worked together to lay the bases for the stability and development of the region as a whole. Such a conviction had prompted the meeting in May 1987 of the Heads of State of Algeria and Morocco in the presence of the King of Saudi Arabia, and their meeting had been an expression of support for the joint peace efforts of OAU and the United Nations.

32. Mr. AMARAL (Mozambique) said that, since independence, his country had been deeply concerned with the rights of other peoples and countries. The Namibian people were still oppressed by the South African régime, and the South African people were brutalized by apartheid. Pretoria not only persisted in illegally occupying Namibia, plundering its resources, but had also invaded and occupied part of Angola, supporting the UNITA bandits. The régime was attempting to destabilize neighbouring countries. In that regard, Mozambique was one of its preferred targets: Pretoria's war of aggression, including the infiltration of terrorists and the massacre of defenceless people, had destroyed much of his country's economic and social infrastructure.

33. The Namibian people were still fighting courageously under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative. South Africa's human rights abuses in Namibia and its refusal to negotiate with SWAPO were in violation of United Nations resolutions and represented a challenge to the international community.

34. The Saharan people, arms in hand, were struggling for self-determination under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO. His country reaffirmed its support for the Secretary-General's efforts to lead the parties in conflict to the negotiating table. The Saharan people had a social, cultural and political identity and a legitimate right to self-determination that must be respected.

35. In East Timor, the Maubere people should have become independent in 1975, along with the other former Portuguese colonies. However, a neighbouring country - a non-aligned Member of the Organization - had invaded and subjugated those people, who were struggling for their freedom under the leadership of the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente (FRETELIN).

36. Mr. SRIWIDJAYA (Indonesia), speaking on a point of order, said that although the General Assembly had again deferred consideration of the item on East Timor, the representative of Mozambique was still referring to that so-called question. He requested the Chairman to ask him to address only items under consideration.

37. The CHAIRMAN invited the representative of Mozambique to continue, bearing in mind the point just made.

38. Mr. AMARAL (Mozambique) said that his delegation, indignant over the suffering of the people of East Timor, wished to encourage the Secretary-General to use all his efforts in the context of General Assembly resolution 37/30, and reaffirmed the need for the holding of an international conference on solidarity with the people of East Timor.

39. Mr. RAKOTOZAFY (Madagascar), referring to the report of the Secretary-General on Western Sahara (A/42/601), said that he welcomed the efforts made by the Chairman of OAU and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to reach a just and definitive solution. While the Secretary-General's report seemed to indicate that a settlement might be at hand, and while the indirect negotiations among the various parties to the conflict, begun the previous year, should have nurtured hopes to that effect, Morocco's deceitful actions did not allow him to state that such was indeed the case.

(Mr. Rakotosafy, Madagascar)

40. While ostensibly taking part in the joint efforts of OAU and the United Nations towards a peaceful settlement, Morocco continued to reinforce its military occupation of Western Sahara and to lay down pre-conditions for withdrawal, contrary to the goals of OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX). As proof, he could point to the construction of a sixth new wall in the southern sector of Western Sahara and the installation of settlement colonies in the Territory, as well as Morocco's refusal to withdraw its administration and troops from the Territory before the organization of a referendum.

41. He deplored Morocco's attitude, which only prolonged the fratricidal war, and hoped that its public commitment to accept the results of a referendum organized and supervised by the United Nations would be reflected shortly in its withdrawal. Since the Frente POLISARIO had frequently declared its willingness to apply OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and General Assembly resolutions 40/50 and 41/16, the next move was up to Morocco, and diplomatic pressure should therefore be brought to bear to induce it to negotiate directly with the Frente POLISARIO.

42. His country's position remained unequivocal. The aforementioned resolutions were the sole basis for a peaceful solution. The current contacts must lead as soon as possible to direct negotiations between Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO. That position had been reaffirmed in a recent message from his country's President to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of OAU.

43. Mr. SMITH (United Kingdom) said that only 10 Territories, with a total population of 150,000, remained under his country's administration. The vast majority of its former Territories had taken their rightful place as independent States in the international community. One fundamental principle had guided successive British Governments in bringing those Territories to independence - the wishes of the people of the Territories. But there could be no question of forcing independence upon the dependent peoples.

44. If the remaining dependent Territories had chosen to retain their links with his country, it was not because of a colonialist or neo-colonialist strategy on its part, but because those Territories, which had their own democratic political structures, had chosen to do so. It was not for his country, and far less for the United Nations, to tell people what constitutional status they should choose, and how and when they should move towards it.

45. The Committee should not fall into the trap of assuming that the exercise of the right to self-determination could result only in a choice of independence. There was no single model for decolonization, and they should not seek to impose one.

46. The colonial era was long over. Hence his delegation must question - at least as far as the United Kingdom dependencies were concerned - why the Committee was meeting. There remained, of course, the serious problems of apartheid in South Africa and the situation in Namibia. Yet members of the Committee should not allow their views on decolonization to be coloured by the unique situation in southern

(Mr. Smith, United Kingdom)

Africa. Apartheid was abhorrent, but it was not a manifestation of colonialism; rather, it was a shameful abuse of human rights. As for Namibia, it was widely discussed in other United Nations forums.

47. His delegation concluded, first, that the Committee should recognize that colonialism was no longer the phenomenon that it once had been; secondly, that the United Nations should adapt its decolonization machinery - including the Committee - to the changes which had taken place in the world. Thirdly, the Committee should apply a pragmatic and flexible approach to the remaining dependent Territories. Otherwise, there was a risk of losing sight of what was best for the dependent peoples themselves, and of endangering the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations.

48. The CHAIRMAN said that Pakistan and the Ukrainian SSR had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/42/L.2, relating to southern Africa; Pakistan had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/42/L.3, relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories; and Sao Tome and Principe had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/42/L.5, relating to Western Sahara.

REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS

49. The CHAIRMAN said that three communications had been received containing requests for a hearing relating to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), under item 37. If he heard no objections, he would take it that those requests should be considered at a subsequent meeting.

50. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12 noon