



UN/SA COLLECTION

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. JAMAL (Qatar)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

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1. Mr. SHERMAN (United States of America) said that the United States Government had co-operated fully with the Special Committee, by providing it with the information necessary for the preparation of its report, although unfortunately the Special Committee had on occasion ignored facts and reached conclusions at variance with reality. With respect to American Samoa, his delegation would comment in detail on the situation in that Territory when it had studied the report of the Visiting Mission sent by the United Nations earlier in the year. The United States, which was one of the principal supporters of self-determination for all peoples, had applied in all the Territories under its administration policies designed to promote their political, economic and social development. Its record made the anti-American rhetoric on decolonization often heard in the Committee sound unconvincing. The Territories of Guam, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa were largely self-governing, with popularly elected governors and legislatures. The three Territories had delegates which represented their interests in the United States Congress. In addition, the Department of the Interior had recently raised the level of the post of director of the office which dealt with territorial affairs.
2. During the past year, the Government of Guam had endeavoured with some success to reduce the Territory's economic dependence, to improve the standard of living of the population and to develop better relations with its neighbours in the Pacific. For example, Guam had become an associate member of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). Efforts had been made to seek alternative sources of energy, to ensure the productive civilian use of federal land no longer needed for military purposes, and to plan the island's infrastructure development. More diversified industries had been established and port facilities had been developed. In his most recent annual report, the Governor of Guam had reported substantial progress in reducing crime and providing better utility services and educational programmes.
3. A plebiscite had been scheduled for 30 January 1982 to enable the people of Guam to express their preferences regarding their future status.
4. The Special Committee had been told that the people and Government of Guam enjoyed a close co-operative relationship with the United States military commands based on the island and wanted an increase in the United States military presence, as was confirmed by the actions and statements of the leaders and of the Governor. Inexplicably, the Special Committee's resolution came to the opposite conclusion.
5. The population of the United States Virgin Islands would, in a constitutional referendum to be held in November 1981, be able to express their views regarding the constitution drafted by a constitutional convention in 1980, which had been approved by the United States Congress. The United States Congress was expected to amend federal law in order to ensure consistency and to make the new constitution operative. With the adoption of the new constitution, the Virgin Islanders would assume greater responsibility for local self-government.
6. Over the past year, the Government of the Virgin Islands had signed a tax agreement with the Virgin Islands Refining Corporation, which operated the largest oil refinery in the western hemisphere. The refinery constituted one of the major sources of employment in the private sector and was expected to provide increased employment in the near future.

(Mr. Sherman, United States)

7. The construction of two major hospitals on St. Croix and St. John would be completed in 1982 and would markedly improve on existing facilities. New desalination plants recently opened on St. Thomas would alleviate the problem of the shortage of fresh water and would stimulate business activity. An additional plant was scheduled to open on St. Croix in November.
8. The United States Government would assist the Virgin Islands Government in financing investigations into charges of white-collar crime and public corruption, and particularly misappropriation of public funds, since that was a high priority concern of the Government of the Territory.
9. Mr. KHANDOGY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism was one of the most important tasks of the specialized agencies and of the other organs of the United Nations system. The information provided by those agencies showed that they had stepped up their activities and that the elimination of racism and apartheid constituted a current and constant topic of discussion at all gatherings within the United Nations system. The agencies had also strengthened their ties with the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Council for Namibia and had encouraged participation by the national liberation movements in their meetings.
10. In particular, UNESCO had intensified its aid to the national liberation movements and to the peoples of the colonial Territories, and had thus contributed to the campaign condemning the Pretoria racist régime for its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia. At the Paris Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, special attention had been drawn to military co-operation between the Western Powers and the Pretoria régime and the Security Council had been asked to impose mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.
11. Other agencies, such as FAO, UNDP and WHO had considered measures to improve the economic and social situation of the peoples of colonial Territories. In some cases the specialized agencies had expelled South Africa from their meetings. His delegation fully supported the Special Committee's conclusions, as reflected in paragraph 6 of the resolution contained in document A/AC.109/676, because the assistance that the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system were giving to SWAPO was still insufficient.
12. Despite some favourable developments, it had to be pointed out that some specialized agencies had not taken the necessary measures in connexion with non-self-governing territories and that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund still maintained links with the South African régime. His delegation accordingly endorsed the recommendation that by virtue of article III of the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund, the General Assembly should propose that the Board of Governors of the Fund should review its relations with South Africa with a view to adopting the relevant measures.
13. The administering Powers of the small territories had not fulfilled their obligations and were unwilling to grant independence to those territories because that would be contrary to their interests. As the Special Committee had observed, the small size of a territory did not justify delay in granting it independence.

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(Mr. Khandogy, Ukrainian SSR)

14. He stressed the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV). The question of Puerto Rico should be placed on the agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly as a separate item.

15. The assertion of the administering Powers that they were contributing to the development of the territories for which they were responsible was unacceptable in the light of the fact that they were in reality extracting concessions and benefits from them - even installing military bases - and failing to respect their right to determine their own future. An example was the information on Guam contained in document A/AC.109/651. His delegation strongly condemned the establishment and maintenance of military bases as contrary to resolution 1514 (XV).

16. In conclusion, his delegation drew attention to the efforts being made by the United States illegally to dismember Micronesia by imposing the status of "free associated State" on part of the territory.

17. Mr. FIGUEIREDO (Angola) said that his Government had recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and fully supported the liberation movement of the Saharan people, POLISARIO, which had mobilized a people which had endured the colonial occupation of Spain and was currently under military occupation by Morocco. His delegation appealed to Morocco to respect the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the decision on the Sahara adopted at the meeting of OAU earlier in the year at Nairobi. Morocco and POLISARIO should enter into negotiations and put an end to the unhappy situation in the region.

18. In supporting POLISARIO and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, his Government was merely observing the principles of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), of the non-aligned movement and of third-world solidarity and unity. With issues such as racism, imperialism, economic colonialism, the new economic order and so many others still on the agenda and to be fought for, it was essential to concentrate on those that united countries and not on those that divided them. His delegation accordingly urged Morocco, in the interests of the unity of Africa and of the non-aligned countries, to withdraw its troops and end its military occupation of Saharan territory, because a fully independent Sahara would be one more bulwark against imperialist and colonialist activity and would bring peace and stability to an important part of Africa. The Saharan people, led by POLISARIO, would one day be free, like so many other peoples that had inexorably marched towards independence. Every effort should be made to shorten a war that merely brought suffering and loss of life.

19. Angola had fought hard for its own independence and it supported the fight for the liberation of peoples everywhere. It was inconceivable that in its external relations it should not adhere to the principles of African unity and non-alignment, and it therefore supported POLISARIO and the Saharan people in their struggle for independence and urged Morocco to abide by the Nairobi decision.

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20. Mr. ZEGERS (International Monetary Fund) said, with reference to the International Monetary Fund's relations with South Africa, a member country, that the authorities of all member countries of the Fund were fully familiar with those relations, which were conducted in accordance with the Articles of Agreement of the Fund. The Fund's decision in connexion with its activities were taken by the Board of Governors or by the Executive Board. The Board of Governors consisted of governors appointed by all member countries of the Fund and the Executive Board of 22 Executive Directors appointed or elected by the members. The decisions of the Executive Directors were taken on the instructions of the authorities in member countries. Resolutions of the General Assembly, to which reference had been made, were promptly drawn to the attention of the Executive Board and, through it, to the authorities of member countries, which gave instructions on the decisions to be taken by the Executive Directors. The decisions of the Fund on its financial transactions had been taken, without exception, scrupulously in conformity with the Articles of Agreement, the By-Laws adopted by the Board of Governors and the general decisions adopted by the Executive Directors, and they implied no approbation or disapprobation of any policies or actions by a member country that were not within the authority of the Fund. For the Fund to venture beyond the boundaries of its authority and to base decisions on considerations unrelated to the Articles of Agreement would mean that the Fund would cut itself adrift without the safeguard of agreed principles. Whatever the advantages of acting in that way might be on isolated occasions, the general effect would soon be highly detrimental to the interests of all members.

21. The Fund's Articles of Agreement had recently been subjected to meticulous scrutiny by the Committee of Twenty, the Interim Committee and the Executive Board. At no time had there been the slightest suggestion that the Fund should change its method of action. On the contrary, there had been full endorsement of the principle that the Fund had to act uniformly in relation to members and strictly in accordance with the governing provisions.

22. He pointed out that, as of mid-October, the IMF had outstanding loan commitments or arrangements with 41 countries for a total of \$16.5 billion. Of those commitments or arrangements, all of them with developing countries, 20 had been concluded with 20 African countries, thereby categorically refuting the insinuations that the International Monetary Fund was not deeply concerned with the problems of Africa.

23. In conclusion, he said that he was aware of a lengthy paper circulated at the United Nations which supposedly described relations between the IMF and South Africa and that he deplored the lack of scientific objectivity and validity evident in the paper and the extreme bias and animosity of the author, which had led him to numerous erroneous conclusions, based, moreover, on insufficient information.

24. Mr. BOLD (Mongolia) said that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the progress made since its adoption had been important in the struggle against colonialism, but colonialism had not yet been eliminated and still prevailed in a number of places.

25. He pointed out, with reference to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, that in 1947 the United States had concluded with the United Nations a Trusteeship Agreement in which it had undertaken to promote the economic and social development of the Territory with the ultimate objective of granting it independence. After a lapse of over 30 years not only had the Administering Authority not kept its undertakings but it had caused the economic and social situation in the Territory to worsen, its external dependency to increase and its agriculture to decay, and it had not given the islands a satisfactory infrastructure. Moreover, the United States had recently initiated a process of dismembering the Territory by imposing on part of it the status of a free associated State with the intention of appropriating certain zones, thereby unilaterally violating the territorial integrity of a Trust Territory administered by it. He pointed out that under Article 83 of the Charter the amendment of the terms of a trusteeship agreement was a function of the Security Council. Citing paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV), he said that the aim of the illegal activities of the United States was to remove the Territory from the supervision of the international community; that situation was a threat to the security not only of the population of the Territory but of the entire region and neighbouring countries.

26. The imperialist domination of the small Territories, resulting in the exploitation and plunder of their resources by the transnational corporations and the utilization of such Territories for military purposes, constituted an impediment to independence. The use by the imperialist Powers of the small Territories administered by them for military purposes, principally by the establishment of bases, constituted a source of particular concern which, instead of diminishing with time, was increasing. On the basis of its well-known position of support for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, his delegation supported the request of the people of Micronesia concerning the strengthening of the role played by the Security Council in connexion with the implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The small Territories needed the support of all countries and international organizations. His delegation reaffirmed the right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which was fully applicable to Puerto Rico. Furthermore, it considered that Member States and United Nations agencies should increase their co-operation with the national liberation movements.



27. Mrs. BERMUDEZ (Cuba) said that, although very positive results had been achieved since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it must be recalled that many peoples still lived under the yoke of and were exploited by colonialism and were unable to exercise their most basic rights. In order to preserve the colonial situation, the administering Powers of Non-Self-Governing Territories used various subterfuges, such as calling those Territories "strategic zones" or "free associated States" or distorting the information which they were required to submit under Article 73 e of the Charter by submitting reports which did not reflect the true situation of those peoples or the absence of measures to promote their development. The real interest of the colonial Powers lay in extracting the natural resources of the administered Territories by exploiting the labour of the inhabitants and preserving their strategic interests so as to maintain military control over vast regions of the world. That was happening in Namibia, Western Sahara, East Timor, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico and other islands in the Caribbean. Thus, in order to maintain the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, the high dignitaries of the apartheid régime and those of the United States entered into alliances. The reports of the administering Powers did not refer to the plundering of the resources of the administered Territories which was being carried out by the great transnational corporations and which impeded any attempt at decolonization. They did not describe the wretched living conditions in the Pacific islands; they did not point out that one of the largest military bases in the world was located in Guam and they made no mention of the fact that the United States planned to keep it there for centuries, to the detriment of the political, economic and social interests of the population. For all those reasons, the administering Powers must be required to fulfil their obligations fully, to provide real information and to take effective steps as a matter of urgency to ensure that the Territories administered by them acceded rapidly to independence.

28. Furthermore, her delegation was greatly concerned at the ties which continued to exist between the racist South African régime, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, notwithstanding the decisions of the General Assembly. It was disgraceful that those organizations should flout the international community. Her delegation would always join in the just demands for an end to all collaboration with the Pretoria racists.

29. The United Nations must demand that the administering Powers dismantle their military bases and facilities in the small Territories and allow the peoples to settle their own destiny.

30. Her delegation reaffirmed the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence and firmly supported the peoples of Guam, Micronesia, Western Sahara and all those peoples who remained under foreign domination, in their aspirations for freedom and sovereignty. Finally, she welcomed the decision adopted in August by the Special Committee on Decolonization to ask the General Assembly to consider the question of Puerto Rico as a separate agenda item at its thirty-seventh session.

31. Mr. DIATA (Niger) reaffirmed the keen interest taken by the Niger -- a country which had endured colonial administration for many decades -- in the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Colonialism and the exploitation of the natural resources of the Territories which were still under foreign domination heightened tensions within the international community. Although progress had been made in the last 20 years, much remained to be done, as was demonstrated by the very serious situation which existed in southern Africa, where the racist Pretoria régime continued to occupy Namibia illegally despite the many resolutions which had been adopted by the United Nations, to apply its scandalous policy of apartheid, which was an intolerable insult to human dignity, and to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States. All that constituted a grave threat to international peace and security; the time had therefore come to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions so as to force the racist South African régime to respect the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. The international community, and in particular the countries which traded with South Africa, must assume their responsibilities once and for all. His delegation reiterated its support for and solidarity with SWAPO, ANC and PAC in their struggle to free the peoples of southern Africa from the yoke of colonial and racist oppression.

32. The colonial problems still remaining in other parts of the world were also an anachronism which could not in all conscience be tolerated. The Niger expressed its solidarity with the peoples which had not yet been able to exercise their right to self-determination and its conviction that they would soon succeed in their struggle for liberation.

33. Turning to the question of Western Sahara, he was pleased that the recent Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity had adopted a resolution calling for the organization of a referendum, under United Nations supervision, so that the people of Western Sahara might express themselves freely and democratically on the future of their Territory. All parties to the conflict must scrupulously respect the proposals of the Implementation Committee of the Organization of African Unity to establish the conditions of a cease-fire and the arrangements for organizing and holding the referendum. In view of the tremendous progress which had been achieved under the auspices of OAU towards bringing the problem of the Sahara to an end, the United Nations must collaborate fully in the achievement of the objectives laid down in the relevant OAU decisions and in the implementation of the recommendations of the OAU Implementation Committee, above all with regard to the just and impartial organization of the referendum and the establishment and financing of the peace-keeping forces. Any draft resolution submitted to the Committee must take into account the main elements contained in the OAU resolutions on that question, which were designed to bring about a peaceful and definitive solution to the problem. His delegation would spare no effort to draft a resolution that would win unanimous approval.

34. Mr. THEOPHILOU (Cyprus) said that his Government had been following closely the deliberations of the Committee since 1960 when, after a four-year struggle against the colonial Power then ruling in Cyprus, it had emerged as an independent State and become a Member of the United Nations. Having suffered under colonial

(Mr. Theophilou, Cyprus)

rule for many years, Cyprus was better able to understand the oppressed peoples of colonial Territories; having itself been the victim of aggression and occupation by a powerful neighbour shortly after independence, it was also in a position to understand the sufferings of those peoples who had passed directly from the stage of colonialism to a situation of aggression and foreign occupation of their lands. Moreover, Cyprus adhered strictly to the principles of the Charter. For all those reasons, it sincerely supported the efforts made by the United Nations to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism in various parts of the world.

35. Turning to the question of Western Sahara, his delegation reiterated its support for and solidarity with the courageous Sahraoui people and their representative, the Frente POLISARIO and it deplored the non-implementation, in the case of Western Sahara, of the principle of self-determination and the non-implementation of the numerous General Assembly resolutions on the subject and of the declarations and decisions adopted by the non-aligned countries and the Organization of African Unity. Accordingly, it appealed once again to the parties to cease all hostilities and to observe a cease-fire. While welcoming the steps being taken by the Implementation Committee of the Organization of African Unity with a view to organizing a referendum in order that the people of Western Sahara might decide their own future, his delegation was gravely concerned at the continuing bloodshed and the deterioration of the situation in the Territory. The United Nations had a vital role to play, together with the Organization of African Unity, in the efforts to solve the problem permanently and democratically through a referendum on self-determination. Cyprus was one of the sponsors of the draft resolution on the question of Western Sahara contained in document A/C.4/36/L.3; that draft resolution contained all the necessary elements for a just and lasting solution of the problem.

36. The situation in East Timor had worsened even further compared with previous years. The international community could not and should not remain passive before the tragedy of the people of East Timor. The only solution was to apply the principle of self-determination. The fact that Portugal, the administering Power, supported that position was of special importance and should be taken into consideration by all concerned. In the same context his delegation observed the unwillingness of one of the interested parties to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions or the declarations of the non-aligned countries. The non-implementation of the United Nations resolutions on East Timor did not concern only the parties directly involved but had wider repercussions; it could set a very dangerous precedent which might be followed by other relatively powerful countries that had expansionist aims with respect to neighbouring countries or Non-Self-Governing Territories. Faits accomplis did not confer legal rights on those who had the audacity or the military force to violate the Charter. The people of East Timor must be allowed, without further delay, to exercise freely its inalienable right to self-determination, and Cyprus stood ready to assist it within the framework of the United Nations.

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(Mr. Theophilou, Cyprus)

37. On the subject of agenda item 95, he said that most of the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations were to be commended for the measures they had taken and were continuing to take to promote the self-determination and independence of colonial countries and peoples, to create the infrastructure required and gradually to pave the way for the transition from colonial rule to independence, self-reliance and autonomous development. That assistance could be improved however by co-ordinating the action of all those agencies and institutions. There were of course limits, often related with the unwillingness of the colonial Powers to co-operate sincerely. In that context, he recalled that his delegation had joined other delegations in urging increased assistance to colonial peoples, especially the Namibian people and its liberation movement, SWAPO. On the other hand, all the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations must withhold any financial, economic, technical or other assistance from the racist South African régime and refrain from taking any action implying recognition of South Africa's domination over Namibian territory. In that connexion, it was pertinent to mention resolution 1981/54 of the Economic and Social Council, which was of particular importance, and a step forward towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

38. With respect to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, he noted with pleasure the satisfaction expressed by the Advisory Committee with respect to the co-operation between the Programme and the Secretary-General of the OAU, the Administrator of UNDP, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and the executive heads of specialized agencies. He drew attention to paragraphs 29 to 34 of document A/36/147 containing the conclusions of the Secretary-General. His delegation hoped that supplementary contributions would be made in order to remedy the serious financial crisis facing the Programme. For its part, and despite its own pressing needs, Cyprus would continue to provide scholarships for the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

39. Mr. NOVASH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that all the successes that had been achieved in the elimination of colonialism had been won by the arduous struggle of the peoples concerned with the support of all anti-colonialists. Unfortunately, there were still many peoples which had not exercised their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. It was essential for them to exercise those rights if the peoples were to progress and if international peace and security were to be strengthened and international co-operation broadened. In accordance with Article 73 of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, immediate steps must be taken for the transfer of power to those countries, in accordance with their wishes expressed freely, unconditionally and without reservation. The inadequacy of their economic, educational or social preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying their progress towards independence.

40. And yet, the people of Namibia was still under the racist régime of Pretoria. At the other end of Africa, he mentioned the situation of the people of the Western

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(Mr. Novash, USSR)

Sahara, which must immediately be given the opportunity to exercise its right to self-determination. The reports of the Committee on Decolonization and reports from other sources gave a tragic picture of the situation in the colonial territories of certain islands of the Pacific, the Atlantic and the Caribbean. The colonial Powers were using the small size and the geographical isolation of those territories or other spurious arguments as a pretext for imposing new forms of colonial dependence on them. The economic situation in the smaller territories was unsatisfactory because it was based on tourism and the activities of foreign firms. Unemployment and poverty were growing, and many of the inhabitants were having to leave the territories and seek work elsewhere. The United Nations Visiting Mission which had gone to the Turks and Caicos Islands in 1980 had pointed out the need for measures to develop the island economies, but nothing had changed since then.

41. The deplorable economic and social situation of the small territories was also due to the military activities of the administering Powers, which wished to retain their bases in Guam, Diego Garcia, Micronesia, Puerto Rico, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands and other territories. In that connexion, special mention must be made of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Although the United Nations resolutions called for the suspension of military activities in the Trust Territories because they were violations of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the administering Powers ignored them and not only did not dismantle the bases but increased their activities.

42. In August 1981, the Special Committee had condemned the confiscation of land for military purposes. Although such bases were supposed to provide employment, in practice, they drained off financial and human resources which could be used more advantageously elsewhere. He cited the example of Guam: one third of the territory was occupied by United States military bases and according to the Committee on Decolonization, the population's uncertainty about the tenure of the land now in the hands of the federal authorities was an obstacle to the territory's development. The way to ensure a people's survival was to provide independent jobs, not jobs in military bases.

43. Another subject of concern to the international community was the situation of Puerto Rico. The Special Committee had repeatedly affirmed the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), urged the United States to take the necessary steps to transfer all powers to the people of Puerto Rico, declared any attempt to change the situation without the agreement of the people to be incompatible with resolution 1514 (XV), and urged the administering Power to cease its military activities in the territory. Many States had called for the granting of self-determination and independence to the people of Puerto Rico, and in the debates and the decisions of the Special Committee particular emphasis had been laid on the obligation of the United Nations, under the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to help the people

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(Mr. Novash, USSR)

of Puerto Rico to exercise its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. It was therefore imperative that the General Assembly should consider the question of Puerto Rico as a separate item of its agenda.

44. The elimination of all forms of colonialism was one of the international community's most important tasks, and it was closely linked to the elimination of the threat of war, the reduction of tensions and the strengthening of détente, the halting of the armaments race and the creation of an international atmosphere of trust and understanding.

45. In accordance with the Peace Programme for the decade of the 1980s adopted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its 16th Congress, the Soviet Union would continue to struggle for the attainment of those goals and for the eradication of racism, colonialism and apartheid.

46. Mr. KABIA (Sierra Leone), referring to the question of East Timor, said that despite Indonesia's protestations that the people of East Timor had exercised their right to self-determination in accordance with the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and that East Timor had ceased to be a Territory under Portuguese administration and had freely and democratically opted to join the Republic of Indonesia, in fact East Timor was still a colony and its people had not duly exercised their right to self-determination.

47. It should be noted that under Article 73 of the Charter, the administering Power should transmit regularly to the Secretary-General information relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which it was responsible. Prior to 1975 hardly any information on the Territory had been received from Portugal, which fact had prevented the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee from considering the question properly. The situation had been complicated by the declaration of independence in 1975 and Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. Nevertheless, in a letter dated 30 November 1975 from the administering Power addressed to the Secretary-General, it had been stated that Portugal could not accept the claim that East Timor had obtained independence, nor its supposed integration into a third State, since such claims were not in accordance with United Nations principles on decolonization. The Representative of Portugal had gone on to request an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia, an act of aggression which had prevented the people of the Territory from exercising their right to self-determination. Under such circumstances, the United Nations could not consider East Timor to have obtained its independence.

48. The Permanent Representative of Indonesia had maintained, in a letter annexed to document A/36/598, that the people of East Timor, in exercising their right to self-determination, had decided through their duly elected body, the People's Assembly, to become independent through integration with the Republic of Indonesia, in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly

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(Mr. Kabia, Sierra Leone)

General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV), 1541 (XV) and 2625 (XXV), and with the Charter of the United Nations.

49. In that regard, he recalled that General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) provided that integration should be on the basis of complete equality between the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territory and those of the independent country with which it was integrated, that the peoples of both territories should have equal guarantees of fundamental rights and freedoms and that both should have equal rights and opportunities for representation and participation in executive, legislative and judicial organs of government. Moreover, the integrating territory should have attained an advanced stage of self-government with free political institutions, and integration should be the result of the freely expressed wishes of the territory's peoples acting with full knowledge of the change in their status, their wishes having been expressed through informed and democratic processes. The representative of Indonesia might well be asked if the above provisions had been fully complied with in East Timor.

50. The international community was aware that, owing to the military invasion of East Timor, the administering Power had been unable to discharge its responsibilities in accordance with the Charter. It was therefore obvious that, for the people of East Timor to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, Indonesia should terminate its illegal military occupation without delay.

51. Mr. SANGSOMSAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) said that, although in the 20 years since the proclamation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples millions of human beings had obtained freedom, colonialism had not totally disappeared. It subsisted in its classic and in more subtle forms, such as the activities of foreign economic and other interests which plundered and exploited the natural resources of colonial Territories and peoples and which participated indirectly in colonial wars with the aim of quashing attempts by peoples to gain freedom. That retrograde political system continued to exist, owing to the support provided by the imperialists to their colonialist, racist allies throughout the world, in order to defend their economic and strategic interests. On behalf of those interests, the imperialists had publicly stated that colonialist, racist and reactionary régimes, against which all peace-loving peoples ceaselessly fought, were their "faithful friends". They had branded the national liberation movements, recognized and supported by the entire international community, as being terrorist organizations. That heightened tension in colonial Territories, especially in southern Africa.

52. Over the year the peoples of southern Africa, especially those of South Africa and Namibia, had suffered bloody, widespread acts of repression and aggression perpetrated by the South African apartheid régime, with the support and encouragement of its Western allies. That open colonial war was a direct consequence of the imperialists' new policy of portraying the struggle for decolonization as an ideological conflict and as mere acts of terrorism. At the same time, the South African racists and their protectors were attempting to delay

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(Mr. Sangsomsak, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

settlement of the Namibian question so as to impose a long-term solution which suited their economic and strategic interests in the region.

53. In Western Sahara the situation had evolved favourably for the struggle of the Saharan people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. That had been due to the courage and determination of the Saharan people and the justice and legitimacy of their struggle, which was receiving increasing support from the international community. It was gratifying that the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, at its session held in Nairobi in June 1981, had decided to hold a self-determination referendum whereby the people of Western Sahara would freely and democratically decide the future of their Territory. The speedy and full implementation of that decision would meet the wishes of the international community and was an essential factor for the peace and security of the region. Constructive talks aimed at agreeing on a cease-fire should therefore begin straight away in accordance with the wishes of OAU and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Rio de Oro (Frente POLISARIO), one of the parties concerned. He reiterated the support of the people of the Lao People's Democratic Republic for the people of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic which, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, was waging a decisive struggle for justice and national independence.

54. His delegation was also concerned over the fate of the small colonial Territories in the Caribbean, and in the Pacific and Indian oceans, which were still unable to exercise their right to self-determination, owing to manoeuvring by the administering Powers. The people of Puerto Rico should freely exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). His delegation therefore fully supported the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its latest session which recommended that the General Assembly study the question of Puerto Rico as a separate agenda item at its thirty-seventh session and called upon the administering Power to transfer all powers to the people of Puerto Rico.

55. With regard to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, his delegation reiterated its support for the struggle of the peoples of Micronesia for self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. Similarly, it shared the concern expressed by the Special Committee with regard to attempts by the administering Power to dismember the Territory and impose a neo-colonial status on parts thereof.

56. Another cause for serious concern was the continuing establishment and expansion of military bases and installations in the small Non-Self-Governing Territories. The presence of those military bases and the carrying out of military activities in and around those Territories not only impeded the people's right to self-determination but also threatened the peace and security of the region and the entire world. Only the complete dismantling of military bases could allow the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

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(Mr. Sangsomsak, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

57. The administering Powers themselves should not use the political and cultural immaturity of the indigenous populations or the economic and social under-development of their Territories as a pretext to retard the process of independence. On the contrary, they should create the necessary conditions provided for in the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration (General Assembly resolution 35/113) to give the people the necessary preparation and to allow a final time-table to be set for accession to independence.

58. Miss AL-MULLA (Kuwait) said that all people had the right to aspire to complete freedom and to exercise sovereignty over their territories. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as pretext for delaying independence. That was clearly stipulated in paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Furthermore, in the course of the 20 years since that resolution had been adopted, the General Assembly had reiterated that factors such as geographical situation, area, population and natural resources should not delay independence. Hand in hand with that went the obligation of the administering Powers to create conditions conducive to a free choice by the people of their future. The administering Powers were responsible for the political, social and economic situation of the peoples of the Territories they were administering and had a duty to inform them of all the possibilities available to them when exercising their right to self-determination. At the same time, they must preserve the integrity of the Territories for which they were responsible until the people were ready to exercise their right to self-determination. Valvis Bay was a case in point: it was part of the Territory of Namibia and must be reintegrated within it as provided for in Security Council resolution 432 (1978). Her delegation also supported the appeal made by the Special Committee at its most recent session that the United States, as administering Power of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, should preserve the territorial integrity and unity of that Territory until the people were ready to exercise their right to self-determination.

59. The administering Powers must also maintain the stability of the Territories for which they were responsible. The use of such Territories for strategic purposes, to establish military bases and to carry out military activities was contrary to the spirit of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and were detrimental to the Territories involved. Her delegation supported the General Assembly resolutions which declared that military activities constituted an obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). Although some administering Powers maintained that military bases were useful for the Territories in which they were established because they braced the economy and provided employment for the population, their negative consequences were considerable. The economies of the Territories should not be allowed to depend upon military bases but should have a much more solid and much broader basis. The administering Powers must protect the Territories from economic exploitation by foreign interests and from the depletion of their resources. As the General Assembly had already declared, the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories had the right to dispose of their resources and assume the responsibility for their own development. At the same time, the administering Powers must contribute to the

(Miss Al-Mulla, Kuwait)

development and diversification of the economies of the Territories. They must discover new activities and try new approaches. For example, in Guam the land belonging to the Federal Government could be transferred to the local population.

60. Her delegation condemned the depletion of the resources of Namibia by South Africa and the pillage that Israel and the colonialist and imperialist forces were carrying out in the West Bank for the purpose of consolidating their dominion and perpetuating it.

61. Her delegation thanked the administering Powers for their co-operation with the visiting missions of the Special Committee, which were essential for ascertaining the actual situation of the Territories. It also paid tribute to certain specialized agencies which had made special efforts to promote the implementation of the resolution on decolonization and had adopted a flexible approach in providing assistance to the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

62. Mr. AZIZI (Afghanistan) said that, despite the important progress made since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), there were still millions of people in various parts of the world living under alien rule. He mentioned the cases of Namibia, Western Sahara, East Timor and other Non-Self-Governing Territories.

63. With regard to Namibia, the United Nations had spared no efforts towards finding a just and peaceful solution, but they had all been frustrated. The Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia currently being observed coincided with the commemoration of the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), in which South Africa's mandate over Namibia had been terminated and the United Nations had assumed direct responsibility for the Territory. It was therefore up to the Member States to put an end to South Africa's manoeuvres and enable the Namibians to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

64. The people of Western Sahara, too, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, were engaged in a struggle to free themselves from the yoke of colonialism and put an end to the military occupation of their Territory. It was time for Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO to negotiate, so as to put an end to the suffering of the people of Western Sahara, who had fought courageously so as to be able to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

65. The right of a people to self-determination could not be realized through the integration of a Territory by force. Therefore General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was fully applicable to the case of East Timor.

66. It remained the responsibility of the administering Powers in other Non-Self-Governing Territories to promote the political, social and economic advancement of the peoples of the Territories for which they were responsible so as to enable them to determine their own future freely.

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Mr. Aziz

67. The international community must give every kind of assistance to Namibia and their national liberation movement, SWAPO, to ensure the Pretoria régime complied with United Nations resolutions. No group has the inherent right to oppress another.

Draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.3

68. The Chairman informed the Committee that Barbados, Costa Rica, and Panama had joined the sponsors of resolution A/C.4/36/L.3.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.