



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 16th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. JAMAL (Qatar)

AGENDA ITEM 19: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued):

- (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;
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 92: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued):

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL;
- (b) 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

AGENDA ITEM 93: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR (continued):

- (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;
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 95: 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) 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;
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

/...

* This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, room A-3550, 866 United Nations Plaza (Alcoa Building), and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL
A/C.4/36/SR.16
10 November 1981
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: SPANISH

CONTENTS (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 96: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 97: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEM 19: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued):

- (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;
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 92: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (continued):

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL;
- (b) 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

AGENDA ITEM 93: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR (continued):

- (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;
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 95: 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) 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;
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 96: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 97: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/36/3/Add.30, A/36/23 (parts III, V and VI), A/36/116 and Corr.1, A/36/138, 147, 154 and Add.1-3, A/36/155, 156,160, 287, 412, 421 and Corr.1, A/36/448, 488, 512, 522, 525, 563, 566, 580, 584, 598, 602; A/C.4/36/L.2, L.3/Rev.1, L.5, L.6; A/AC.109/643-646, 647 and Corr.1, 648-651, 652 and Corr.1, 654-658, 659, 661, 662 and Corr.1, 663, 665, 667, 670, 671; A/AC.109/L.1389)

/...

1. Mr. CASSANDRA (Sao Tome and Principe) observed that, for the past eight years, the POLISARIO Front had been fighting for the self-determination of the Saharan people and for their liberation from Moroccan colonial occupation. Morocco's annexation of the territory of Western Sahara was a most dangerous precedent. His Government had always considered the question of Western Sahara to be a problem of decolonization. Despite the manoeuvres of Morocco, which, for more than four years, had sought to prevent the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries from considering the question on the pretext that the OAU was trying to find a solution to the problem, decolonization was an irreversible process.
2. The entire people of Western Sahara, under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front, was not merely demanding its right to self-determination but was fighting for its independence and freedom. The POLISARIO Front had repeatedly expressed its readiness to negotiate with the Rabat régime, without any pre-condition, for a cease-fire and the holding of a referendum, as agreed upon by the OAU Heads of State and Government at their eighteenth session in Nairobi. In order to ensure that agreement was reached on the cease-fire and referendum, his delegation would welcome any initiative by other entities that would help the two parties to the conflict to find a solution in accordance with the OAU decisions. It therefore attached extreme importance to any steps to implement the decision of the OAU Implementation Committee. Peace and security could be attained in that area of the African continent only when the Government of Morocco stopped its delaying tactics and followed up on the initiative taken by King Hassan II himself.
3. Mr. HAMMAMI (Tunisia) said that, although great progress had been made in decolonization, what remained to be done was particularly difficult, since while the vast majority of States Members of the United Nations respected the principles of international law and international morality, others persisted in violating the principles of the Charter.
4. In southern Africa, the racist régime in Pretoria, and foreign interests of all kinds, placed enormous obstacles in the way of the decolonization process. The situation in Namibia and South Africa was aggravated, because the apartheid system, which was the crux of all the problems in southern Africa, was strengthened by the political, diplomatic, economic and technological support given to it. At the same time, South Africa was daily attacking the independent African front-line countries, thus putting them in constant need of assistance, since their development efforts were brought to nought and their accumulated backwardness exposed them to future domination.
5. South Africa's manoeuvres could not, however, prevent Namibia from obtaining its independence or prevent the South African majority from exercising all their rights.
6. The many steps taken by the United Nations and the specialized agencies were commendable, but were insufficient to satisfy the growing needs of the territories still subject to domination, particularly with respect to education,

(Mr. Hammami, Tunisia)

training and assistance. Education and training efforts in favour of all the territories that were under colonial and racist domination or non-self-governing should be increased and diversified so that when they became independent they could control their own development without always having to depend on international charity.

7. The activities of foreign interests in the non-self-governing territories obstructed the action taken by the United Nations and, far from improving the lot of the peoples concerned, delayed their independence and liberation. The investments they made were undeniable, but so was their involvement in particular cases of domination of peoples that were prevented from exercising their rights.

8. With respect to the right of small territories to self-determination, the geographical area or size of the population must not be used as a pretext for keeping them in subjection. The sole criterion for the adoption of measures by the United Nations should be the legitimate aspirations of the peoples concerned.

9. History had shown that dialogue was always preferable to confrontation, which could solve nothing but, on the contrary, give rise to uncontrollable situations, which endangered the life of the entire international community. It was essential to prevent conflicts from escalating and, within the standards recognized by the United Nations, to guarantee the early emancipation of the peoples subject to colonial domination and apartheid and the exercise of their legitimate rights. Only thus could peace be promoted and a balanced order of universal co-operation established.

10. As many political economists and philosophers knew, it was more profitable to further the development of the oppressed peoples than to brand them as rebels or terrorists when they demanded their rights to a free and dignified existence. The vision of a future solidarity among all members of the international community could help to overcome the various obstacles and to establish the bases of a structure capable of achieving the objectives of the Charter.

11. With respect to the question of Western Sahara, his delegation supported the action taken by the Organization of African Unity for the re-establishment of peace and stability in the Maghreb, and expressed appreciation to the OAU and its Implementation Committee.

12. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia) said that his Government had continued its efforts to create conditions which would enable the people of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands to exercise their right to self-determination, in accordance with the United Nations Charter. To that end it had promoted political, social, economic and educational development.

13. The Cocos (Keeling) Islands Council had functioned satisfactorily since its creation in 1979. In addition to its fiscal responsibilities, the Council was responsible for managing the profits of the postal service for community

/...

(Mr. Anderson, Australia)

purposes. Two advances on profits, totalling \$A 250,000, had already been paid to the Council, which showed that the service was proving a success.

14. Because of the small population of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands and its limitations of size and resources, Australia was continuing to examine ways of promoting its economic viability. A number of activities had been successfully sustained, including building construction and the provision of stevedoring and lighterage services. At present the coconut was the sole cash crop in the Territory. An animal quarantine station was about to be opened. Although the poor quality of the soil had limited the amount of locally-grown fruit and vegetables, a pilot agricultural programme had been started. Animal fodder crops had been planted and fertilizers were being used to improve the land. Other agricultural initiatives were planned as a result of scientific research.

15. The Co-operative Society had enjoyed a surplus on its past year's trading period and had distributed dividends of \$A 101,704 to its working members. In respect of social amenities, the project to increase water supplies and install a sewerage system was now well advanced.

16. A government medical officer and three nursing sisters provided free medical attention to the Home Island community and arrangements had been made for periodical visits by a dental team and an eye specialist.

17. The cost of education was met by the Australian Government. At the primary school on Home Island instruction was now given in the Cocos Malay language. Primary and secondary students were taught about world affairs and international organizations. A number of secondary school students had recently been on a trip to Australia to assist their academic and personal development and help to counter problems caused by the geographical isolation of the islands. In December 1979 an adult literacy programme had been introduced, the teachers being three of the young people who had been specially trained in Australia in the same year.

18. The United Nations Mission which had visited the Territory in 1980 had raised the question of the relationship between the community and Mr. Clunies-Ross. The Australian Government shared the views expressed by the Mission and had taken appropriate measures.

19. The observations, conclusions and recommendations in the report of the Mission were favourable. Australia had maintained its commitment to the advancement of the people of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands towards the exercise of their basic rights, including the right of self-determination. Australia believed that it was for the people of the Islands themselves to determine their future political status, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and to decide when they wished an act of self-determination to take place.

20. Mr. ADHIKARI (Nepal) said that the independence of Vanuatu and Belize was a sign that the process of decolonization was coming to an end, as a result of a combination of the strong will for freedom of the subject peoples and the determined commitment of the United Nations.

21. The situation in the non-self-governing territories varied widely, a factor which must be taken into account when discussing their future. The basic principles governing each colonial case had been laid down in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). His delegation was confident that the administering Powers would continue to co-operate with the United Nations in allowing the population of the non-self-governing territories full enjoyment of their right to determine their own future. His Government firmly supported the inalienable rights of the colonial countries and peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. His delegation wished to pay a tribute to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the success of whose work was clearly reflected in the diminishing agenda of the Fourth Committee.

22. It was a matter of great regret, however, that no progress had been made towards the independence of Namibia, whose people had an inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Nepal supported their legitimate struggle to exercise that right under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and considered that the international community should intensify its action in support of the people of Namibia. It shared the international community's indignation at South Africa's defiance of international law and justice, which was an open defiance of the purposes and principles of the Charter. South Africa's oppression of the Namibian people through large-scale arrests, torture and massacre, was an affront to the standards of civilized behaviour. Its overwhelming military strength was an instrument of terror in Namibia and a persistent threat to the peace and security of southern Africa and the whole of the African continent.

23. The emergency special session had reaffirmed the solidarity of the international community with the people of Namibia struggling for national independence under the leadership of SWAPO. Nepal reiterated its support for Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which embodied the only accepted basis for the achievement of an internationally accepted independence for Namibia.

24. His delegation wished to pay a tribute to the specialized agencies and other international institutions associated with the United Nations for their efforts in implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those agencies and institutions should continue giving generous support to all programmes of assistance for Namibians in exile and for preparing the Namibians for independence. He also commended the Governments of front-line States for their commitment to the cause of a free and independent Namibia and their determined efforts to extend all moral and material assistance to the courageous people of Namibia and their national liberation movement.

(Mr. Adhikari, Nepal)

25. The programme of assistance to South African student refugees was extremely valuable and his delegation appreciated the support and facilities provided by a number of countries for those students and for other inhabitants of non-self-governing territories. Nepal also appreciated the role of UNESCO, UNDP and other United Nations agencies.

26. Continued implementation of the Programme of Action was necessary for the attainment of self-determination and independence by the heroic people of Namibia.

27. Mr. NINGATA (Central African Republic) said that the independence of Vanuatu and Belize was a symbol of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and a source of encouragement to the peoples that were still under colonial domination and to the liberation movements that were struggling for independence.

28. The present situation in East Timor, the different aspects of which had emerged in the Committee's debates and in the statements of petitioners, was disturbing. A country which had played a very important role in the Non-Aligned Movement was stubbornly flouting the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence. However, as the country in question must know, neither armed force nor hunger could break the will of a people determined to fight for its freedom. It could only be hoped that the Government of Indonesia would respect the appeal of the international community for the problem of East Timor to be solved within the framework of the United Nations. It was especially important to find a solution to the problem of hunger in the Territory. In that connexion he commended Portugal, the administering Power, for having taken a series of political and humanitarian measures, by virtue of its responsibility, to alleviate the problem. It was to be hoped that the international community also would respond to the appeals of the petitioners. The Central African Republic reaffirmed its solidarity with the people of Timor in their legitimate struggle and would support any draft resolution offering a solution to the problem.

29. The case of Western Sahara was further evidence of African wisdom. At the most recent conference of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU, the King of Morocco had agreed that a referendum should be held in Western Sahara and an implementation committee had been set up to supervise the application of the OAU resolution on the question. The OAU Implementation Committee on Western Sahara, whose activities were set forth in document A/36/602, had decided to organize a free and general referendum on the Territory and to establish and maintain a cease-fire by various measures.

30. The situation was clear, although a few differences of interpretation still remained concerning the decision of the Implementation Committee. It was unfortunate that two similar draft resolutions on Western Sahara had been submitted to the Committee, thus exacerbating the feelings of the interested parties, dividing Africa and putting the friends of Africa in an awkward position.

/...

(Mr. Ningata, Central African Republic)

In the case of Sahara there should be neither victors nor vanquished. His delegation appealed to all the parties concerned to make every effort to reach agreement without delay, since the only victim would be the people of Western Sahara, who had already endured five years of suffering.

31. Mr. YOSSIPHOV (Bulgaria) pointed out that, in the more than 20 years which had elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, many peoples had exercised their right to self-determination and independence. However, the imperialist forces and the racists in southern Africa continued to raise obstacles to decolonization in violation of the Charter, the Declaration and other resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. Such was the case in Namibia and in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Caribbean and in the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans.

32. The racist Pretoria régime continued to receive all kinds of assistance from the main imperialist States the objective being to continue the plunder of the natural and human resources of Namibia by the imperialist monopolies, to preserve the positions of dominance in southern Africa, to control the strategic sea lanes in the region and to keep up the pressure on and military threat to the independent neighbouring African States. South Africa had become a terrorist bastion of imperialism which was trying to preserve racialism, apartheid and its imperialist aggressiveness against the neighbouring States thereby jeopardizing peace on the African continent and beyond. The Committee had heard statements to the effect that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were not in a position to pass judgement concerning the predatory activities of the imperialist monopolies and that those activities were, in fact, beneficial to them. The thesis concerning the "immaturity" of the colonial peoples and the "progressive" role of colonialism was not new. It had been rejected by the vast majority of Member States when they had adopted the Charter, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and many other resolutions and decisions. The colonialist States were trying to perpetuate and consolidate their positions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to prevent the peoples of such Territories from exercising their right to self-determination and independence. Furthermore, they were arrogating to themselves the right to map out the future constitutional and political development of those Territories, in practice, pursuing a policy of diktat and violation of their territorial integrity. For example, the United States, as administering Power, was pursuing a policy of "divide and conquer" in Micronesia and had fragmented the Territory without the Security Council into taking any action, thus flagrantly violating Article 83 of the Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Moreover, the administering Power had used part of the Territory of Micronesia as a testing ground for nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, as a result of which two islands had completely disappeared and the population which had been exposed to radiation as well as having suffering and damage inflicted on it. As was evident from the report of the United Nations mission which visited the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, in 1980, and from documents A/AC.109/661 and A/36/23 (Part V), in the past 30 years the United States had done virtually nothing to comply with

(Mr. Yossiphov, Bulgaria)

Article 76 b of the Charter in that Territory. The Special Committee of Twenty-Four had also drawn the attention of the relevant organs of the United Nations to Article 83 of the Charter in connexion with the question of Micronesia.

33. The United States was pursuing its military and strategic objectives in the Territories under its administration. It was, in fact, using the Territories to implement Washington's doctrine of dividing the world into spheres of vital United States interest. It was building huge military bases in the Territories and had even turned vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean into sui generis colonies. Those actions constituted a threat to peace and security in the world while, at the same time, furnishing favourable conditions for the unfettered exploitation of the resources of the Territories by the monopolies.

34. The island of Guam, for example, had already been annexed de facto by the United States which, notwithstanding the repeated calls and decisions of the United Nations, was expanding the military installations - which already occupied one third of the island's territory - and was preventing the population from exercising its right to self-determination and independence. The Special Committee had clearly expressed its view on the matter in document A/36/23/Part V, chapter XVI, paragraph 10. It should be remembered that, in the not so distant past, United States military bases on Guam had been used to launch the B-52 bomber attacks against Viet Nam. It was evident that the expansion of United States military bases in the Non-Self-Governing Territories had a special place in United States and NATO plans for the creation of the so-called "rapid deployment force" to defend the "vital interests" of United States imperialism. The United States military bases in the Turks and Caicos Islands established pursuant to a decision adopted by the United Kingdom not by the peoples of the islands was another example.

35. In the consensus contained in document A/AC.109/674 the Special Committee had reiterated its condemnation of all military activities by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration and had once again called upon those Powers to terminate such activities and to eliminate such military bases. It had also requested the Secretary-General to undertake an intensified campaign of publicity with a view to informing world public opinion of the facts concerning military activities and arrangements in colonial Territories.

36. All those facts indicated that the eradication of colonial domination and oppression in the Non-Self-Governing Territories was a task of paramount importance.

37. His delegation unreservedly supported the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence and it supported the decision of the Special Committee concerning the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico in the agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

38. True to its traditions, Bulgaria would continue to support the just struggle of colonial countries and peoples and of the national liberation movements throughout the world for the exercise of the inalienable right of the colonial countries and peoples to self-determination and independence.

/...

39. Mr. AMPAT (Congo) pointed out that, despite commendable efforts made by the United Nations system and the other international organizations to promote decolonization, nearly four million people in the world remained under colonial domination. In order to achieve the liberation of those oppressed peoples the colonial Powers would have to implement the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), thereby putting an end to the growing conflicts caused by the perpetuation of colonialism and contributing to the maintenance of international peace and co-operation.

40. Although the international community could congratulate itself on the large number of Territories which had achieved freedom and independence during the past 20 years, it was nonetheless astonishing to see the further manifestations of colonialism such as the apartheid policy of the racist South African régime and its illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia, and the obstacles placed by a neighbouring country in the way of the decolonization of Western Sahara.

41. The General Assembly had been considering the question of Western Sahara ever since its fifteenth session; it was worth repeating that the issue was essentially one of decolonization and should be resolved only by implementing the principles set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Any attempt to use Machiavellian schemes to try to make the brave Saharawi people accept a fictitious solution would simply be a cynical travesty of the normal decolonization process and could lead to a war with serious consequences. The international community was better informed than it had ever been about the situation of the Territory and demanded the unconditional withdrawal of the foreign occupying forces. Even the former administering Power had declared itself to be resolutely in favour of self-determination for Western Sahara. The Organization of African Unity had been, and was still, considering the question seriously and had worked out the principles on which to base a just and lasting solution, a task which had been entrusted to an ad hoc committee of heads of state and government. In its resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII), the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, which had met earlier that year in Nairobi, had welcomed the pledge made by King Hassan II of Morocco to agree to the holding of referendum in Western Sahara and had established an Implementation Committee to work out the conditions for a cease-fire and for the holding of the referendum. It was essential that that Committee's recommendations be scrupulously followed. The parties to the dispute and neighbouring States must refrain from any action which might delay the referendum, and the foreign Powers must refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of the African continent. The United Nations, for its part, should take charge of implementing those provisions of the resolution which concerned it.

42. Mr. JANI (Zimbabwe) said that the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples was a vital feature of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and constituted the basis for friendly relations among nations. It was therefore with great sadness that he was appealing to Morocco to respect that principle, at a time when the peoples of Africa should be joining hands to eliminate the menace of apartheid from the

(Mr. Jani, Zimbabwe)

continent. It was unfortunate that the gallant people of Western Sahara, under the revolutionary leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, were struggling against the efforts at territorial expansion of a neighbouring State which was thereby violating the precepts of Islamic law. Morocco, like all States, must refrain from any action aimed at disrupting the national unity and territorial integrity of another country, for such behaviour was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Although certain ties had existed between Morocco and Western Sahara at the time of colonization they had not been ties of territorial sovereignty and they could not affect the application of the principle of self-determination to the decolonization of Western Sahara. The only logical and realistic solution to the problem lay in the accession to independence of the people of Western Sahara under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO.

43. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU had decided that a general referendum on self-determination should be held in Western Sahara. The importance which Africa attached to that decision was demonstrated by the commendable steps taken by the Implementation Committee of OAU for the establishment of appropriate machinery for conducting the referendum. The parties to the conflict, the POLISARIO Front and Morocco, must begin negotiations without preconditions in order to reach an immediate cease-fire agreement, which was an essential prerequisite for the referendum. Such an achievement would be an honour and a source of pride for all those who wished to see peace and security in that region; moreover, it was essential for bringing an end to colonialism in Western Sahara and the rest of Africa. The continued existence of colonialism impeded the economic, social and cultural development of colonized peoples and was contrary to the United Nations ideal of universal peace.

44. Mr. KALAMBAY (Zaire) said that his delegation wished to contribute to the efforts being made by the international community to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The implementation of United Nations decisions should be a constant concern for all the Member States, since it raised the serious question of the Organization's credibility. Member States could overcome the problem of lack of confidence in the United Nations if they approached it with the necessary political will, as they had done on many occasions.

45. His delegation appealed to the administering Powers to speed up the process of decolonization in the Territories under their administration, so that thereafter the United Nations could deal with basic problems such as the survival of mankind, world poverty, and the ever-growing danger of war. Zaire also condemned the military collaboration of certain Powers with South Africa, especially in the nuclear field, as well as the economic and financial assistance they continued to give to that country.

46. His delegation fully shared the Special Committee's opinion that the assistance which the specialized agencies and other institutions related to the United Nations were providing to the colonial peoples and their national liberation

/...

(Mr. Kalambay, Zaire)

movements was not enough to enable them to meet their real needs. Nevertheless, it was grateful for the assistance provided by those agencies and urged them to increase it.

47. The question of Western Sahara had to be tackled in the light of the decision taken by the Organization of African Unity. His delegation appealed to all delegations from fraternal countries to assist the Implementation Committee of OAU in carrying out its task.

48. Mrs. GONTHIER (Seychelles) said it was in the interest of the African countries and of the world community at large that the question of Western Sahara should be settled as soon as possible, so that the Sahraoui people might freely express their aspirations to self-determination in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity. That would put an end to the suffering and loss of life on the part of the Sahraoui and Moroccan peoples.

49. The Implementation Committee of OAU had formulated a plan for the holding of a referendum in Western Sahara to enable the Sahraoui people to decide whether it wanted independence or integration with Morocco. The plan provided for the establishment of an interim administration, a cease-fire, collaboration with the United Nations and the eligibility of Sahraoui refugees who were currently in neighbouring countries to vote in the referendum.

50. There could be no lasting solution of the problem of Western Sahara unless the two parties to the conflict initiated direct negotiations with a view to determining the practical measures for a cease-fire and creating the free and secure environment necessary for the referendum. Morocco must comply, fully and without reservations, with the decisions of the Implementation Committee.

51. Her delegation called on the Fourth Committee to give its full support to the work of the Implementation Committee and not to adopt any resolution that did not contain the basic points proposed by the latter. Seychelles was willing to assist the two belligerents, Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, in undertaking negotiations in good faith with a view to achieving a cease-fire and lasting peace.

52. Mr. KESSELY (Chad) said that although traditional colonialism was vanishing, it was sometimes replaced by a new type of colonialism which was more pernicious because it was "integrationist". It was paradoxical that the new colonialists were countries which had recently become independent and therefore were thoroughly familiar with the evils of colonialism. Yesterday, civilization, vital space, the need for military bases or other economic interests were invoked to colonize peoples. Today, the concept of nationhood, implying the immediate erasing of frontiers after the departure of the traditional colonialists and based on the existence of one single people, one history and one culture, was invoked to justify incursions into other territories, even though in most cases the peoples concerned had previously been colonized by different Powers, a fact

/...

(Mr. Kessely, Chad)

which made it difficult to speak of a common past, and their languages and customs were radically different. Integration was decided upon unilaterally, on the basis of requests made by small groups of exiles or conveniently orchestrated sectors of society, disregarding the principle of uti possidetis, according to which the new States inherited the frontiers of the former colonies. His delegation had no objection to association or integration, provided that it was the free and democratic expression of the wish of the population of the colonial Territory concerned. The ignoring of principles led to disturbing situations. Therefore, Chad was closely following, inter alia, the questions of East Timor and Western Sahara.

53. After the Nairobi summit conference of the Organization of African Unity, during which the King of Morocco had made a solemn undertaking to accept the holding of a referendum in the Territory of Western Sahara and OAU had established an Implementation Committee (resolution AHC/Res.193 XVIII), the problem of Western Sahara now consisted of arranging a cease-fire, and to that end it was essential to hold negotiations between the parties concerned. However, Morocco refused to negotiate with the POLISARIO Front, which was recognized by OAU as a "party to the conflict" and preferred to turn to third States which the OAU regarded as merely "interested parties". The people of Chad supported the Sahraoui people in their just struggle and had given that support tangible form through the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Chad and Sahraoui Governments.

54. With respect to the question of East Timor, after listening to the testimony presented and reading document A/36/448, his delegation was of the opinion that it was not only a question of decolonization but also, and above all, a humanitarian issue, because the indigenous population of the Territory was the victim of genocide. The time had come for Indonesia to demonstrate political maturity and grant independence to that former Portuguese Territory, which had nothing in common with Indonesia.

55. Mr. KALINA (Czechoslovakia) reaffirmed his delegation's unswerving support for the principle of the immediate and unconditional recognition of the right of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination and independence; with specific reference to the small Non-Self-Governing Territories, he stressed that geographical area, level of economic and social development and similar factors could not be used as excuses to delay the exercise of their inalienable rights in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). His delegation condemned the plundering of the natural resources of the small Non-Self-Governing Territories and the exploitation of their population by the administering Powers, which put forward excuses of every kind to delay the transfer of power to the people. Some administering Powers had even arrogated to themselves the right to decide the future of the Territories for which they were responsible. In some cases, they subdivided the Territories and annexed parts of them. Others did not carry out their obligation to promote the economic and social development of the Territories and put their own interests before those of the local population. The arms race and military psychosis were also reflected

/...

(Mr. Kalina, Czechoslovakia)

in small Non-Self-Governing Territories: the establishment of military bases and facilities such as those in Guam, Puerto Rico, Micronesia, Diego Garcia, Bermuda and the Turks and Caicos Islands constituted an obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those bases should be unconditionally and immediately dismantled, in conformity with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, particularly General Assembly resolution 35/118.

56. His delegation was convinced that the only way to resolve the problem of the people of Puerto Rico was to apply General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) to that Territory. The question of Puerto Rico should be included in the General Assembly's agenda as a separate item.

57. His delegation supported the resolution of the Organization of African Unity on the question of Western Sahara.

58. The activities of the United States in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands constituted a manifest violation of Article 76 of the Charter, since none of its provisions had been fully complied with by the Administering Authority. In contravention of United Nations resolutions on the need to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of Trust Territories, the United States had dismembered Micronesia into four island State units and imposed on them the neo-colonialist legal status of "free association", with the clear intention of annexing the Territory. Under United States administration, the Territory had reached a pitiful economic state. Agriculture had practically disappeared, the unemployment rate was 13 per cent, there had been no development of the infrastructure or of the communications and transport systems, and the Territory was increasingly dependent on the Administering Authority. The only explanation for that situation was that the United States intended to perpetuate its rule over the Territory in order to make it a springboard for United States imperialism in the western Pacific. The military activities of the United States in the Territory were particularly dangerous. The aircraft which dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima on 6 August 1945 had taken off from the Marianas. After that, the atolls of Bikini and Eniwetok had been converted into test ranges for atomic and nuclear weapons. Between 1949 and 1958, 96 nuclear explosions had been carried out there. It was estimated that between 30 and 60 years would have to pass before land could be cultivated again in that area. More recently, in 1975, the Pentagon had acquired 7,500 hectares in the Marianas with the intention of modernizing existing bases and building new ones. In 1980, the United States had acquired exclusive military rights in the Palau Islands for a period of 100 years. All those facts showed the Administering Authority's intention to maintain and strengthen its control over that area of the Pacific and to strengthen its strategic military position in that part of the world, which constituted a threat to the security of the population of the Territory and of neighbouring countries. He recalled that many delegations at meetings of the Special Committee had stressed the need for the Security Council to examine that question and to ensure the fulfilment by the United States of the

/...

(Mr. Kalina, Czechoslovakia)

obligations it had assumed under the Charter. In conclusion, he said that his delegation would continue to support all actions taken by the United Nations to put an end to colonialism once and for all.

59. Mr. BIRIDO (Sudan) said that his country's position on the issue of Western Sahara was based on the conviction that the Organization of African Unity was capable of solving the problem, since the parties concerned had confidence in it. However, co-operation between OAU and the United Nations was of vital importance. The Sudan had adopted a policy of impartiality and open-mindedness with regard to all the parties involved in the conflict, and that had guided its activities in relation to the problem within OAU. His country was one of the seven States which were members of the Implementation Committee responsible for working out all the details relating to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct and administration of the referendum by which the people of Western Sahara was to determine its future. At its recent meeting at Nairobi, the Implementation Committee had agreed on the modalities for organizing and holding the referendum, in collaboration with the United Nations, and had delineated the modalities for the cease-fire, which would be agreed upon by all parties to the conflict, as well as those relating to the financial arrangements for implementing the decision which would be agreed upon in consultation between the Chairman of OAU and the United Nations. The Implementation Committee had laid a sound basis for a solution to the problem of Western Sahara, and the Sudan trusted that the General Assembly and the international community would give all possible support to the efforts of OAU to reach a final settlement of that complicated question. His delegation requested all parties to the conflict to accept and implement the decisions of OAU and of its Implementation Committee and hoped that the General Assembly would not take any action which might undermine the efforts of OAU and its Implementation Committee.

60. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) said that although considerable progress had been made since the proclamation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the task of decolonization had not yet ended. In southern Africa, the racist Pretoria régime was maintaining its illegal occupation of Namibia and continuing its policy of aggression against sovereign States. The international community must redouble its efforts to adopt political, diplomatic, economic and military measures aimed at ensuring the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and support the Namibian people's struggle for liberation.

61. The inhabitants of small Territories still had not exercised their right to self-determination. The administering Powers had a duty to create the conditions needed to enable the peoples of those Territories to decide their fate freely, irrespective of their geographical, demographic or economic characteristics. The international community too must help to speed the political, economic and social evolution of those Territories, and to that end the activities of United Nations bodies responsible for development, particularly the specialized agencies, must be co-ordinated and intensified. Visiting missions should also be sent regularly to those Territories, since they were very valuable.

(Mr. Coulibaly, Mali)

62. Unfortunately, some administering Powers were continuing to exploit the natural resources of small Territories irrationally and to expand the military installations which they maintained there. His delegation, once again, strongly and categorically denounced those practices, which were harmful to the colonial peoples and violated the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter. Those Powers must put an end to such activities, which had no other purpose than to gain them immediate benefits and to favour their political designs.

63. With regard to the question of Western Sahara, he observed that OAU had set up an Implementation Committee to which it had entrusted the task of working out the specific modalities for reaching a definitive settlement of the problem. The Implementation Committee had decided to organize and carry out a free and general referendum in Western Sahara and to establish and maintain a cease-fire. The aim of the referendum was to enable the people of Western Sahara to decide freely and democratically on the future of its Territory. The Implementation Committee's decision was clear and precise and had been accepted by all the interested parties. It must be implemented faithfully and speedily. Mali, for its part, would continue to contribute to achieving a definitive solution of the problem of Western Sahara.

64. Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he wished to refer to certain statements made during the meeting which did not reflect the decision on Western Sahara adopted at Nairobi. Those statements attempted to impose conditions which had not been approved at Nairobi either by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU or by the Implementation Committee set up by that Assembly. All of the conditions approved at Nairobi were stated in the relevant resolutions reproduced in document A/36/602. Delegations which wished to impose new conditions should first announce that they rejected the Nairobi decision. Attempting to impose new conditions amounted to reopening the debate.

65. Morocco remained faithful to the commitment it had made at Nairobi, through its most authoritative spokesman, to accept the organizing of a self-determination referendum in Western Sahara. It also reaffirmed its adherence to the conditions stipulated by the Implementation Committee for organizing the referendum and for establishing and maintaining the cease-fire. The only thing to be done was to encourage that Committee to pursue its work. Any other attitude, any misrepresentation of Morocco's attitude, would only complicate the tasks of the Implementation Committee.

Documents A/C.3/36/L.3/Rev.1, L.4, L.5 and L.6

66. The CHAIRMAN drew the attention of the Committee to the revised draft resolution on agenda item 19 contained in document A/C.4/36/L.3/Rev.1 and announced that Swaziland had joined the sponsors. Similarly, he announced that the delegations of the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Iraq and Mongolia had

/...

A/C.4/36/SR.16

English

Page 18

(The Chairman)

joined the sponsors of the draft resolution on agenda item 94 contained in document A/C.4/36/L.4; that the delegations of the Philippines, Qatar and the Syrian Arab Republic had joined the sponsors of the draft resolution on agenda item 96 contained in document A/C.4/36/L.5; and that the Cape Verde delegation was also sponsoring the amendments to draft resolution A/C.4/36/L.2 on agenda item 19 which were contained in document A/C.4/36/L.6.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.