



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 16th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. BOYA (Benin)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

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1. Mr. AL-GHAFFARI (Yemen) said that one of the purposes of the United Nations under the Charter was the maintenance of international peace and security. Yet there were still peoples in the world who continued to be victims of colonialism and hegemonism and were therefore turning to the United Nations in search of support in realizing their hopes and aspirations.
2. In that respect, the realities of the Middle East were cause for deep concern since Israel had become the enemy of the Arab people, and that situation constituted a threat to international peace and security.
3. Mr. ERAN (Israel), speaking on a point of order, said that the speaker was departing from the item under consideration.
4. Mr. HUSSAIN (Iraq) said that the observations of the representative of Yemen related to item 12 of the agenda since the Economic and Social Council had adopted a resolution on the question of the Palestinian people.
5. The CHAIRMAN requested the representative of Yemen to confine himself to the item under consideration.
6. Mr. AL-GHAFFARI (Yemen) referred to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and stressed the important role it had played in the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. International support for those who were still struggling for their independence was extremely important, and the United Nations was the best framework for achieving such co-operation. The attainment of independence each year by new countries represented the triumph of the principles enshrined in the Charter and the sphere of action in which the United Nations had been most successful. In 1979 St. Lucia had joined the organization, and it was to be hoped that at the next session there would be other new Members. In that connexion, it was appropriate to recall the need to revitalize the economies of the newly liberated countries. Lastly, he congratulated the United Nations on its support for national liberation movements.
7. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique) said that throughout history all subjugated peoples had sooner or later struggled to free themselves from their oppressors and that freedom, territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence, mutual respect and equality had thus become fundamental elements in historical development. To achieve those goals, peoples had spared no sacrifice. The peoples of Europe and America had fought for those prerogatives and the peoples of Africa, Asia and the Middle East were still fighting for the same rights. That struggle was legitimate, since its objective was to vindicate the right to self-determination and independence, and it had been waged by force of arms, by negotiations and, in the case of Mozambique and other countries, by a combination of armed force and negotiations.

(Mr. Lobo, Mozambique)

8. Although victories had been won, there were still peoples whose future was uncertain, such as the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Western Sahara, Palestine, Belize and East Timor, and it was the duty of the United Nations to support those peoples since their struggle contributed to the eradication of colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and oppression, which gave rise to tensions which threatened the international community.
9. It was very hard for Mozambique to accept the idea that Morocco, a brother African State which had been host to the historic Rabat Conference, had turned into a colonial monster. If it did not stop acting like a detestable colonial beast, Morocco would have to receive the punishment which Africa reserved for colonialists and racists, since to remain silent in the face of Morocco's brutal aggression against the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic would be a crime against the heroic people of Western Sahara and would create a dangerous precedent for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other independent States.
10. Since 1966, the problem of the self-determination and independence of the people of Western Sahara had been a source of concern for the United Nations.
11. In November 1975 the so-called Madrid Agreement had been signed, and to avert the imminent independence of Western Sahara, the Kingdom of Morocco and the deposed régime of Ould Dada of Mauritania had decided secretly and shamefully to divide the Territory between them. Morocco, which had fought and desperately appealed to the world in order to liberate itself from colonial domination and exploitation, was the very country which now, having sold out to imperialism, was maintaining in all international forums that Western Sahara was culturally, historically and legally an integral part of Morocco. That assertion by Morocco was contrary to the opinion of the International Court of Justice, which in 1975 had declared that there was no tie of territorial sovereignty between the Territory of Western Sahara and the Kingdom of Morocco or the Mauritanian entity which might affect the application of resolution 1514 (XV). The Saharan people resolutely rejected a second era of colonialism, even if the colonialists were now of the same colour and from their own continent, and under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO they were now determinedly defending their national territory.
12. He repeated the statement on the question made by His Excellency Mr. Joaquín Alberto Chissano, his country's Minister of Foreign Affairs on 10 October 1979 at the 25th plenary meeting of the General Assembly.
13. With reference to the question of East Timor, he said that Indonesia continued to maintain its armed forces there and was practising a cruel genocide of the Maubere people. After being defeated by the gallant masses of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, Portugal had adopted a constitutional law recognizing the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples in the Territories under its domination. Indonesia, however, had invaded East Timor and announced the annexation of the Territory. In that invasion some 200,000 persons had been killed, and in its

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(Mr. Lobo, Mozambique)

aftermath the people of East Timor were living in the most degrading conditions. Indonesian authorities were even appropriating relief aid sent by organizations such as the Australian Council for Overseas Aid with the result that the people of East Timor were slowly dying of starvation and malaria.

14. That situation was a source of grave concern to the international community and the United Nations should take the appropriate measures to force Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor so that the decolonization process could go forward to its conclusion. In accordance with the decision taken by the sixth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, his delegation reaffirmed its unconditional support for the just struggle for national liberation of the Maubere people, under the leadership of FRETILIN.

15. Mr. CARR (Jamaica) said that his Government had consistently supported the valiant struggle for self-determination and independence of the people of Western Sahara under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO. As an expression of that unflagging support, the Jamaican Prime Minister had announced at the recent Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries that Jamaica had recognized the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic and had at the same time observed that such recognition should not be construed as a repudiation of Morocco but rather as an expression of Jamaica's firm adherence to the principle of self-determination of peoples, which applied fully to the heroic people of Western Sahara.

16. Since 1975 a series of unfortunate developments had prevented the people of Western Sahara from exercising their inalienable right to determine their future. The Saharan people had not been consulted nor had they given their consent to the presumably secret tripartite agreement of November 1975. The same could be said of the agreement delimiting territorial frontiers between Morocco and Mauritania in April 1976. Those steps had impeded United Nations initiatives to find a just and peaceful solution to the problem and had posed a grave threat to the peace and security of the region by unleashing a war which had led not only to the destruction of lives and property but to the creation of a distressing refugee problem.

17. Since then, the international community had tried by various means to find a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara consistent with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Within that context, his delegation welcomed the agreement recently worked out in Algiers by the Government of Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO, under which the Government of Mauritania had pledged itself to respect the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination, to recognize the Frente POLISARIO as the authentic representative of that Territory and to open talks aimed at achieving a general negotiated solution. In the view of his delegation, the agreement was a notable step forward, which would further strengthen the decisions adopted at the Summit Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Monrovia, Liberia.

(Mr. Carr, Jamaica)

18. He noted with dissatisfaction that the peaceful overtures made by Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO had so far been rejected by the Government of Morocco, whose policy of annexation and control of the Territory it was illegally occupying demonstrated its unwillingness to join in the process of dialogue and compromise, and frustrated all attempts to achieve a lasting political solution to the question of Western Sahara in conformity with resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations and OAU, and with the Mauritanian-Saharan agreement. Jamaica hoped that the positive steps taken to ensure a just and lasting peace, with the full participation of the Frente POLISARIO as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Western Sahara, would be maintained and strengthened, and it believed that the resolution adopted by the Organization of African Unity at Monrovia provided the most appropriate framework for a solution.

19. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana) said that when the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic had been proclaimed in 1976, the people of Western Sahara had exercised their sovereignty and their inalienable right to self-determination in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). However, although that incontestable right had been reaffirmed by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement, and although the principles which lay at the heart of the situation of Western Sahara were clear and unequivocal, certain interests were still trying to ride roughshod over those principles and cling to groundless pseudo-legal arguments irrelevant to the tragedy which had cost the lives of so many Saharans and perpetuated tension and instability in the region.

20. However, there had been some very positive developments in relation to the question of Western Sahara. Some time ago, his delegation had taken the opportunity to congratulate the Frente POLISARIO for having unilaterally declared a cease-fire with Mauritania. On that occasion, it had expressed the hope that that action would soon be matched by similar demonstrations of commitment to the peaceful resolution of the question of Western Sahara. His delegation therefore commended the step taken by Mauritania, which, in an agreement concluded with the Frente POLISARIO, had renounced all claims to the southern part of the Territory. It was without a doubt a positive contribution to the struggle by the Saharan people and to the process of achieving peace in the region.

21. Despite the fact that the right of the Saharan people to self-determination had been reaffirmed in the principal international forums and despite the international community's profound concern that the process of the decolonization of Western Sahara had not been completed, Morocco, far from making its own contribution to peace in the region, continued to maintain that the question of Western Sahara was not one of self-determination. It was not only illegally occupying the Territory of Western Sahara, but it had now annexed the portion of the Territory from which Mauritania had withdrawn. His delegation made a solemn appeal to Morocco to desist from obstructing the process of self-determination in Western Sahara, to respect the decisions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement, and to make a contribution to reducing tension in the area. The Frente POLISARIO was a recognized political force, the sole legitimate representative of a people proud of its identity, and the international community must urge Morocco to abandon its stubborn attempts to frustrate the exercise by the Saharan people of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

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(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

22. Guyana reiterated its whole-hearted support for the people of Western Sahara in their just struggle for the recovery of their freedom and dignity, and called upon all States to support the just claims of the Saharan people.

23. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) said that the question of Western Sahara was one of the most tragic pages in the history of decolonization, it involved a fratricidal struggle between two peoples whose geographical, historical and cultural links should predispose them to good relations, harmony, co-operation, peace and a common destiny.

24. The root of the conflict was the denial to the Saharan people of the right of self-determination. When the situation of the populations of Belize, East Timor and Western Sahara had been discussed at the thirty-third session, Haiti had observed that although in all those cases the colonial Power had decided to withdraw and leave the way open to independence, difficulties inherent in colonialism itself had arisen in the form of claims, which stood in the way of the exercise by the peoples of those Territories of their right to self-determination. At that time, Haiti had warned of the danger of trying to right one wrong by committing another, and had asked those countries which spoke of territorial claims not to forget that in the Territories in dispute there lived populations who also had a right to self-determination.

25. The international community in various forums had repeatedly expressed itself in favour of the decolonization of Sahara and had reaffirmed the right of the Saharan people to decide their own fate by a referendum under international supervision. It was only those erroneous claims with no basis in fact which were keeping the Saharan people from the full realization of their national destiny. The report of the United Nations Visiting Mission mentioned the categorical rejection of those claims by the Saharan people and their determination to exercise their full and sovereign right to self-determination and independence, as evidenced by their support for the Frente POLISARIO, their only legitimate representative.

26. His delegation believed that any acceptable solution of the question of Western Sahara must entail the speedy implementation in full of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and had therefore voted for General Assembly resolution 33/31 A and B. It was to have been hoped that with those resolutions the crisis which concerned the international community so deeply would be satisfactorily solved. A year later, however, the situation in Western Sahara was deteriorating day by day. The position of Morocco had hardened, as shown by its immediate occupation of the Saharan territory which Mauritania had evacuated after signing the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Frente POLISARIO, and by its statement that since Western Sahara now formed part of the territory of Morocco, consideration of the question by the Fourth Committee was ultra vires and constituted intervention in matters which were within domestic jurisdiction of a sovereign State. Those negative developments shed light on the true nature of the Moroccan presence in Western Sahara and were a matter of grave concern for Haiti. His delegation hoped that the Committee would

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of measures to enable the Saharan people to exercise as soon as possible their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

27. Mr. BAZILEVSKY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the importance of active and direct participation by specialized agencies and international institutions in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been repeatedly emphasized in various international bodies such as the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council in their recent sessions, and had been incorporated in relevant United Nations resolutions. The role of specialized agencies and international bodies in the elimination of colonialism was one more proof of the immediacy and importance of the problem. Until the shameful system of colonialism and racial oppression had been completely eradicated, especially from the southern part of the African continent, no one in the world and certainly not the specialized agencies and international bodies of the United Nations system could remain indifferent to the fate of the oppressed peoples.

28. The position of principle of the Ukrainian SSR was that the specialized agencies and international institutions must play an active part in the efforts to sweep away the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid and that they must do everything possible within their respective spheres of competence to give moral and material support to the oppressed peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements.

29. However, it was unfortunately true that there were still organizations which despite many appeals from and decisions by the United Nations continued to refuse aid to colonial peoples in their struggle against colonialism and racism. Documents of the United Nations mentioned the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as organizations which co-operated with the racist régime of South Africa and refused to take the necessary measures to implement resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. That had occurred once again at a meeting of the Special Committee of 24 during the current year. According to information from the Special Committee against Apartheid, the International Monetary Fund, towards the end of 1977, had offered a credit of \$400 million to the racist South African régime. During a symposium on the exploitation of the African peoples in South Africa and Namibia and conditions in South African prisons, held in Lesotho in 1978, it had been stated that in 1976 IMF had offered the Republic of South Africa a credit of 450 million rand. During the same period South Africa's military budget had increased by 433 million rand. In his delegation's view, the actions and policies of those institutions were calculated to give support to the racist régime of South Africa and merited stern condemnation.

30. However, it was satisfying to note that the majority of specialized agencies and international bodies were actively contributing to the efforts to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; he

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(Mr. Bazilevsky, Ukrainian SSR)

again expressed satisfaction with the work of UNESCO, ILO and UNDP in giving positive support to the peoples of colonial Territories and their national liberation movements.

31. In that connexion, mention should be made of the decision of the Seventh World Meteorological Conference of 30 April 1975 to suspend the Government of the Republic of South Africa from membership in the World Meteorological Organization until it abandoned its policy of racial discrimination and implemented General Assembly resolutions on Namibia. There was also the resolution adopted by the most recent UNESCO General Conference which spoke of the need to support the struggle for national liberation, freedom and independence of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and to continue to provide, within the framework of UNESCO's programme and budget, assistance to the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity (resolution 10.1 of the twentieth session of the UNESCO General Conference). UNESCO's Declaration on race and racial prejudice and Declaration on the fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war, were particularly important as being the first documents in the history of the United Nations to call on the information media to contribute to the strengthening of peace and international understanding and in particular, to the struggle against racism and apartheid.

32. In conclusion, he said he shared the view of the Special Committee of 24 that the aid hitherto given by specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies to colonial peoples, and in particular to the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and their liberation movements was insufficient in comparison with the real needs of those peoples. He accordingly supported the proposal to expand such aid and reiterated his conviction that the specialized agencies and international organizations could and should play a leading part in the prompt application of the noble principles and ideals set forth in resolution 1514 (XV).

33. Mr. ULIS (Malaysia) said that the people and Government of Malaysia had firmly and consistently supported all the efforts of the United Nations to assist the Non-Self-Governing Territories in their efforts to attain total independence, for they believed that no territory or people, regardless of size or population, should be denied its fundamental freedom and inalienable right to self-determination. The Fourth Committee and, in particular, the Special Committee of 24, had been given a mandate to study specifically, and to make recommendations in regard to, the manner in which the United Nations could help to expedite the process of decolonization in Territories which had yet to achieve independence. The voluminous records of the United Nations and the various debates which had taken place during past sessions of the Fourth Committee and of the Special Committee of 24 bore ample testimony to the unceasing efforts of the Organization as well as to the difficulties encountered in implementing the various resolutions pertaining to decolonization. They also

(Mr. Ulis, Malaysia)

made it clear that the political, social, economic and cultural environments in the dependent Territories were dissimilar and that each dependent Territory had its own problems, characteristics and peculiarities. His delegation therefore considered that the process of decolonization for those Territories need not necessarily conform to a rigid modality. Most of the Member States represented in the Fourth Committee had at one time or another been colonial territories themselves and had undergone varying experiences and processes before achieving self-government and independence. In the final analysis, paramount importance must be given to the wishes of the people.

34. In regard to the question of East Timor, Malaysia remained convinced that the process of decolonization of the Territory had been completed in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). He reminded the Committee that, on 31 May 1976, the people of East Timor had overwhelmingly declared their wish to become part of Indonesia through integration and, in response to that request, the Territory had been formally accepted as a province of Indonesia on 17 July 1976.

35. As a close neighbour, Malaysia had followed developments in Indonesia very closely and was convinced that the decision of the people of East Timor to integrate the Territory with Indonesia had been taken of their own free choice through consultations in conformity with traditional institutions of the Territory. The process of self-determination had therefore been exercised by the people.

36. As East Timor had become part of the sovereign territory of Indonesia, his delegation saw no justification whatsoever for any discussion on the matter. Such a discussion should only be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of the country and would not serve the interests of the people of East Timor. What the province of East Timor needed was the marshalling of its economic resources to better the social and economic situation of the inhabitants. In that connexion, his delegation drew attention to the statement of the delegation of Indonesia at the 1161st meeting of the Special Committee of 24 on 16 August 1979 to the effect that Indonesia was involved in the rehabilitation and consolidation phases of the development projects of East Timor. His delegation had been happy to note that the bilateral arrangement between the Government of Indonesia and the International Committee of the Red Cross had resulted in the setting up of a relief operation in East Timor to assist the newly displaced people affected by the activities of FRETILIN. Moreover, the delegation of Malaysia was satisfied that conditions in most of the province of East Timor had returned to normal, as was evident from reports of independent press correspondents who had confirmed beyond a doubt that the people of East Timor in fact supported integration with Indonesia.

37. In conclusion, he said that as East Timor was no longer an issue, his delegation could not accept any draft resolution on the matter. It sincerely hoped that all Members would respect the wishes of the population of East Timor so that they could enjoy the fruits of the social and economic policies which were being implemented in that province.

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38. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan) said that almost two decades had elapsed since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV). It had always been his country's policy to support the earliest possible achievement of independence by Non-Self-Governing Territories in accordance with the principle of self-determination, while stressing the importance of the faithful fulfilment by the administering Powers of their obligations under international agreements and in co-operation with the United Nations. Moreover, his country had firmly maintained the position that the rights of self-determination and independence should be realized peacefully and in conformity with the actual conditions in each area, through realistic measures which would guarantee the maximum welfare of the people. That criterion should also be applied to the case of East Timor.

39. The sudden collapse, in April 1974, of the Portuguese Administration in East Timor had created a power vacuum which had eventually led to civil war among various political groups and caused considerable loss of human lives and property in the Territory. The administering Power had not been able to prevent that course of events, and the rapidly deteriorating situation there had aroused great concern in Indonesia, which had close geographical, ethnic and traditional ties with East Timor. Indonesia had thus been obliged to become deeply involved in the decolonization process in East Timor; in May 1976, the Provisional Government of East Timor, formed by several political groups, not including FRETILIN, had submitted a formal request to the Government of Indonesia that East Timor should become independent as an integral part of Indonesia. That request had been accepted by Indonesia in July 1976.

40. The process of decolonization varied according to the circumstances prevailing in any given area. What was really important was, not that each and every case of decolonization should comply with an abstract standard, but that the will and desire of the majority of the people should be respected.

41. The previous year, when the same question had been discussed in the Fourth Committee, his delegation had noted that the Government of Indonesia was governing the Territory effectively and had urged the Committee to take due account of that fact. His delegation continued to believe that only in that way could the interests of the people be advanced. If the current year's draft resolution failed to reflect the course of previous events and the reality currently prevailing in East Timor, his delegation would again be obliged to vote against it.

42. In April and July 1979, the International Committee of the Red Cross and its Indonesian counterpart had conducted a joint survey in East Timor which had revealed that about 60,000 people, located in eight mountainous areas, were in urgent need of food and medical assistance; of the total, 20,000 were facing death from starvation and were the direct victims of turmoil and successive confrontations. The most urgent task at the moment was to respond to the emergency appeals made by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Indonesian Red Cross in August. The Government of Japan, prompted by humanitarian concern for the people of East Timor, had made a commitment to extend assistance in the amount of 100 million yen.

(Mr. Nisibori, Japan)

43. It was the sincere hope of his delegation that, whatever decision might be taken by the Committee during the current session, it would give due consideration to those factors and would enjoy the co-operation of all the parties concerned, including Indonesia. It was not through acrimonious debates but only through discussions among the representatives of all concerned that a satisfactory solution could be reached.

44. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (People's Republic of Angola) said that his Government was a firm supporter of the national rights of the Saharan people and had recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic as the legitimate successor to the Spanish administration in Western Sahara. The people of Western Sahara, led by their liberation movement, the Frente POLISARIO, had been fighting for independence, first against the European colonizer that had invaded the land and now against the illegal annexationist policies of a neighbouring State that had itself been a victim of colonialism.

45. In September 1979, the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting at Havana, had supported the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. The Conference had welcomed the agreement between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO and had deplored the extension of the armed occupation by Morocco into the southern part of Western Sahara, which had previously been administered by Mauritania.

46. The sixteenth summit conference of the Organization of African Unity, held at Monrovia in July 1979, had considered the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State set up to study the issue of Western Sahara; the report had included the reports of various missions to Algeria, Mauritania and Morocco and of the OAU Secretary-General's mission to Spain. The Heads of State had adopted the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee, which, inter alia, called for the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of Western Sahara in a general and free referendum.

47. If the African Heads of State or Government and those of the non-aligned countries were all agreed on a course of action to help the people of Western Sahara to achieve self-determination, what was preventing the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in so far as it related to Western Sahara? His delegation was seriously concerned at the fact that Morocco had been using Mirage F-1 fighter aircraft to decimate the population of Western Sahara and had been making use of F-5 fighter-bombers and spare parts supplied by the United States. The United States Government had now decided to sell Morocco OV-10 Bronco armed reconnaissance aircraft and Cobra attack helicopters, which would be used against the people of Western Sahara, despite a 1960 agreement between the United States and Morocco which prohibited Morocco from using United States weapons outside its own territory. It should be remembered that Western Sahara was not Morocco, just as the occupied Arab territories in the Middle East were not Israeli. Although the United States claimed to be "neutral" in the liberation war being waged by the Frente POLISARIO and the Saharan people, Washington had been Rabat's principal arms supplier, as

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(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

had become evident in the battle for Smara, earlier in October, when Frente POLISARIO freedom fighters had destroyed three United States-made F-5 fighter aircraft. The United States aid package proposal, which included Bronco aircraft and Cobra helicopters as well as advanced methods of pinpointing guerilla positions, came in addition to the \$45 million worth of arms that were already on the way. Morocco was using United States-made artillery, M-15 rifles, C-130 troop-transport aircraft, F-5 fighters, GMC trucks and other equipment in its attempt to crush the just struggle of the Saharan people. Western military assistance from imperialist allies enabled the annexationist Power not only to hold on to the territory it had previously occupied in Western Sahara but also to annex illegally territory from which Mauritania had withdrawn. Furthermore, the armaments being used to keep the Saharan people in a state of oppression, so that El-Aaiún, Western Sahara's largest city, was a virtual concentration camp.

48. The United Nations had been discussing the situation in Western Sahara for a long time, and the international community was aware of the true situation there: the Territory was being subjected to illegal military occupation by a neighbouring State. Furthermore, the entire Saharan people was fighting the Moroccan occupation, and the diplomatic, political and military victories of the Saharan people, led by its vanguard party, the Frente POLISARIO, proved to the world not only the legitimacy of its cause but also the validity of its struggle.

49. The situation now existing in north-western Africa resembled that in southern Africa, and if the recommendations of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee were not implemented, if the just cause of the Frente POLISARIO was not recognized, if the Saharan people's national rights were not honoured, if Morocco's rash military adventurism was not checked, and if Western imperialism was not brought to a halt, north-western Africa might witness a terrible conflagration. The resolutions, decisions, declarations and communiqués demonstrated the support of the international community, but they did not stop the war, did not save lives, did not grant freedom or guarantee independence unless they were translated into specific action. The war must be stopped and peace established, so that the Saharan people could determine its own future.

50. Mr. CASSANDRA (Sao Tome and Principe) recalled that East Timor had been invaded by Indonesian armed forces in December 1975 after the declaration of that Territory's independence by the Liberation Front of East Timor on 28 November 1975. That invasion had been an attempt to prevent international recognition of the Democratic Republic of East Timor as a sovereign State. FRETILIN had therefore launched the armed struggle as a last resort, so that the people could recover its homeland and exercise its inalienable right to self-determination. Although Indonesia had attempted to block all information and close the debate on the issue, the international community had on several occasions expressed its solidarity with the people of East Timor, and in 1976, 1977 and 1978 the United Nations General Assembly had adopted resolutions reaffirming the legitimate right of the people of East Timor to self-determination. The summit conferences of non-aligned countries held at Colombo and Havana had also reaffirmed those rights, in conformity with the relevant resolution of the Security Council.

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(Mr. Cassandra, Sao Tome and Principe)

51. The administering Power had made a positive contribution to the cause of the Maubere people in stating that the process of decolonization in the Territory had not yet been completed; the Committee should take that statement fully into account in considering the matter.

52. In conclusion, his delegation wished to reaffirm its solidarity with the people of East Timor, under the leadership of its authentic representative, FRETILIN, in its just struggle for self-determination.

53. Mr. VALDERRAMA (Philippines) said that ever since the founding of the United Nations, the Philippines, a former colony which had fought for its freedom and independence and had established the first republic in Asia at the beginning of the century, had always supported the decolonization process, which it considered irreversible, despite the remnants of colonialism and the policy of apartheid existing in South Africa and in southern Africa.

54. With regard to East Timor, he cited the important role played by Indonesia in the cause of decolonization and affirmed that the people of East Timor had lived in colonial bondage until three years earlier and had now regained its freedom within the body politic of the Republic of Indonesia, after having exercised its right to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). That people had exercised its inalienable right when it had decided, freely and without hindrance, to choose one of the three ways established under General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), namely, integration with the Republic of Indonesia. It should be remembered that the Government of Indonesia had invited the United Nations to send a visiting mission but, unfortunately, had not elicited a positive response.

55. His delegation reiterated that the people of East Timor had exercised their sovereign will to opt for integration with Indonesia and the Committee therefore no longer had the competence to deal with the question of East Timor.

56. During the civil war that had been waged in the Territory, many people had sought refuge in the mountainous areas, from which they had returned the previous year malnourished and sick. The Government of Indonesia had taken the necessary steps to place them in reception centres where they had been treated and fed until they had returned to their respective villages to resume normal lives. Together with other institutions, the International Committee of the Red Cross had also initiated relief operations in the province of East Timor.

57. His delegation hoped that at the request or with the agreement of the Government of Indonesia UNICEF and UNHCR, as well as other specialized agencies, would provide the people of East Timor with the necessary assistance.

58. Mr. FADHLI (Democratic Yemen) said that peoples suffering under colonialism could not take the same action as free nations; that was the situation of the people of Western Sahara, who were still subject to alien domination, as were Puerto Rico and Belize.

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(Mr. Fadhli, Democratic Yemen)

59. There had been a time when all countries had been calling for freedom for the Saharan people. But currently one country, which claimed that the territory of Western Sahara was an integral part of its territory, contrary to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, had militarily occupied the country, subjugated its population and annexed the Territory by force. Upon considering the question, OAU had decided that it was a purely African and not an international question, and had set up a committee to consider it.

60. Subsequently, following conclusion of an agreement between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO, a number of resolutions on that subject had been adopted at the United Nations and OAU. Mauritania had commendably relinquished its claims, and his country now urged the brother people of Morocco also to comply with the resolutions of OAU, the non-aligned countries and the United Nations, particularly resolution 1514 (XV), since they would otherwise increase both their regional and their international isolation. His country would support any resolution in favour of the Saharan people's right to self-determination and had therefore supported draft resolution A/C.4/34/L.2, together with other countries.

61. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) said that the problems confronting the Committee constituted a real test of the ability of the United Nations to work towards the speedy and unconditional elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Although many small Territories had succeeded in gaining independence, attempts were still being made to delay the effective implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). A number of administering Powers made exercise of the right to self-determination subject to certain conditions, such as the population's political maturity or diversification of economic activities, thus misinterpreting paragraph 3 of resolution 1514 (XV). For example, in the Caribbean, Oceania and other regions the administering Powers had resorted to administrative red tape; in the Pacific, a federation of associated States had been established, following a dubious referendum; in the case of Mayotte, the territorial integrity of the Comorian State had been sacrificed with the aid of an improper interpretation of the results of the referendum. Finally, when they found themselves obliged to grant independence, a number of administering Powers resorted to subterfuges in order to evade the obligation laid down in paragraph 6 of resolution 1514 (XV) to the effect that any attempt at partial or total destruction of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country was incompatible with the goals of the Charter of the United Nations.

62. In that connexion, his delegation drew attention to the situation in the Malagasy islands in the Mozambique Channel, which had been arbitrarily detached from Madagascar by the colonial Power prior to the declaration of independence of his country. In spite of the steps taken by his country to recover them, the former administering Power maintained control over those islands, which were located thousands of kilometres from its borders, and it had installed military units there, prepared landing surfaces for large aircraft, established exclusive economic zones and strengthened the unilateral administrative measures of 1960.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

63. His country considered it urgent to find a solution to that problem in order to maintain peace, security and co-operation in the region and it welcomed the resolutions adopted during the Sixteenth Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity and the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, which reaffirmed that those islands belonged to Madagascar for geographic and historical reasons.
64. With regard to East Timor, his Government had always maintained that nobody could take the place of the people of a Territory in determining their political and constitutional future and it therefore endorsed the Final Declaration of the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. Where the struggle of the Puerto Rican people was concerned, his delegation supported the declaration formulated during that same Conference, which called for full compliance with the resolution on Puerto Rico adopted in 1978 by the United Nations Special Committee of 24 and demanded the transfer of powers to the people of the Territory so that they could freely determine their future political status. His Government also opposed all pressure or threats designed to prevent the people of Belize from exercising their right to sovereignty and independence and maintenance of the integrity of their territory.
65. As far as the question of Western Sahara was concerned, his delegation recalled that, when the International Court of Justice had handed down an advisory opinion in that connexion, the chief conclusion had been that neither Morocco nor Mauritania had exercised territorial sovereignty over Spanish Sahara prior to colonization; and although it had recognized the existence of certain legal ties between those political entities, the Court had expressed the view that those ties did not justify modification of the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to the decolonization of Western Sahara, and more particularly with regard to application of the principle of self-determination by means of the free and authentic expression of the will of the populations in the Territory. His Government endorsed that view and rejected the Madrid Declaration.
66. Moreover, the international legality that Morocco invoked no longer had any value because, since Mauritania had relinquished its claims to the Sahara and since Morocco had annexed the part liberated by Mauritania, Morocco had itself destroyed the agreement that it had allegedly used as a basis. The military aggression and the sham consultations designed to obstruct implementation of the principle of self-determination provided unquestionable proof of the illicit character of Morocco's activities.
67. His delegation considered that the only just and lasting solution to the problem of the Sahara was to hold a referendum under United Nations supervision, with the participation of the entire people of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.
68. In that entire question, the Committee must bear in mind that Mauritania had signed an Agreement with the Sahara on 5 August 1979 in which it had relinquished all claims to Western Sahara and accepted the OAU decision, ratified at the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, to support the struggle of the Saharan people to assert their right to self-determination. In not associating itself with

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(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

that decision, Morocco had demonstrated that its concern was not the establishment of conditions of genuine peace and security in the region and that it in fact feared the verdict of the people.

69. The United Nations now had the responsibility to give the Saharan people the political and material support that was necessary to ensure the success of the mission entrusted to it in the preparation, organization and supervision of the referendum on self-determination. Likewise, the Committee must adopt an unequivocal attitude with regard to the annexation of the Territory by Morocco and invite that country to withdraw its troops immediately and return the administration of the Territory to the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, in order to facilitate execution of the mandate of the special committee responsible for organizing the referendum.

70. In conclusion, his delegation paid a tribute to the Frente POLISARIO and assured it of its full support and co-operation.

71. Mr. ZAGAJAC (Yugoslavia) said that, in the two decades which had elapsed since the United Nations had adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, its membership had increased with the admission of countries which, after a tireless struggle, had achieved independence and emancipation. It was to be hoped that the process would continue, and that the administering Powers would show a greater degree of readiness to co-operate with United Nations organs, in order to promote the political and economic emancipation and social welfare of the inhabitants of the territories under their rule.

72. Nevertheless it should be borne in mind that in some parts of the world the basic principles of the Declaration had still not been implemented, nor were they respected. Witness to that was borne by the situation prevailing in southern Africa, where exploitation, domination and subjugation constituted a negation of basic human rights and an obstacle to peace and security in the world. Attempts had also been made to misconstrue the meaning of the Declaration and to obstruct its application, with the aim of propitiating national interests in the service of certain régimes and their policies. Yugoslavia was opposed to those attempts, regardless of the territory at which they were aimed, the number of its inhabitants, its geographical location or its economic potential. Tendentious interpretation of the Declaration had recently led to the use of force, military intervention, aggression and occupation to deprive certain peoples of their right to self-determination. In some cases, peoples had reacted to that aggression and had striven to change the situation imposed on them by armed and political struggle. Fighting for freedom was gaining acceptance as a legitimate means of endeavouring to implement the Declaration.

73. There were cases where focal points of crisis had emerged in some regions of the world, as a result of the failure to comply with the principles set forth in the Declaration. Given the threat to peace and security in those regions and

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(Mr. Zaga,jac, Yugoslavia)

throughout the world, the United Nations should consider those cases as a matter of urgency. Western Sahara was one of those focal points of crisis. It had already escalated into an armed conflict, was taking a heavy toll of human life and threatened to touch off a wider conflict in the region. It was imperative to find a prompt solution to the problem, which concerned neighbouring countries linked by a similar colonial past. Mauritania's new approach to the problem, and the conclusions of the OAU Summit Meeting in Monrovia, constituted positive developments which could contribute to the acceleration of a final settlement. Departing from the conclusions of the meetings of non-aligned countries, particularly from the decisions of the Havana Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, his delegation felt that in the case of Western Sahara the process of decolonization had not been implemented in the spirit of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The recommendations adopted at the OAU meeting should be implemented without delay.

74. During his visit to Algeria in June 1979, the President of Yugoslavia had stated that a solution to the problem should be based on the genuine exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, as well as the principle of non-alignment.

75. Yugoslavia considered that the use of Non-Self-Governing Territories as military bases seriously hampered the realization of the right of peoples under colonial domination to self-determination and independence. In some cases it inflicted material and economic damage on the populations of those territories. He hoped that the international community's efforts to find a solution to the remaining colonial problems would be successful and that the provisions of the Declaration, the twentieth anniversary of which would be observed in a year's time, would be implemented more rapidly.

76. Mr. TEBAPE (Botswana) considered that the General Assembly's historic resolution 1514 (XV) was one of the most glorious achievements in the history of the United Nations. Guided by its principles, much of the world had been decolonized thanks to the tireless efforts of the Committee of 24. Nevertheless, that record of achievement was marred by the continued rule of traditional colonialism or neo-colonialism in some areas. It was ironic that neo-colonialism and expansionism were, in some cases, practised by countries which only yesterday had themselves been colonial dependencies. It would be less than honest to condemn colonialism in some cases whilst condoning it or remaining silent in others. Guided by the sacred principles enshrined in the Declaration, Botswana had always supported all those struggling for freedom and independence, particularly on the African continent, whose sufferings under colonialism did not need to be renarrated.

77. Botswana strongly supported the position of the United Nations and OAU that the question of Western Sahara was a colonial one. Its solution lay in the full exercise by the people of that country of their right to self-determination and independence. The OAU Ad Hoc Committee, consisting of African Heads of State,

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(Mr. Tebape, Botswana)

had drafted a report and had submitted recommendations on Western Sahara, after consulting all the parties concerned in order to arrive at an objective appraisal of the question. OAU had asserted that the people of Western Sahara had not yet exercised their right to self-determination. A proper climate should, therefore, be created to allow them to exercise that right peacefully in a general and free referendum. His delegation hoped that the Committee would unreservedly support the OAU decision, as a token of its commitment to the cause of freedom. He appealed to the parties involved, particularly to Morocco, to allow OAU to carry out its mandate. He applauded the Republic of Mauritania for having abandoned its claims to part of Western Sahara and for having accepted the principle of self-determination for the people of Western Sahara. The continued existence of the problem and the resultant tension in the region was bedevilling relations among the sister States of the Maghreb. It prevented them from uniting with the other African States in the struggle to eliminate colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

78. His delegation appealed to non-African forces not to complicate the decolonization process in Western Sahara by any acts which might encourage intransigence on the part of those currently occupying that Territory by force of arms. Such acts, including the supply of arms that might be used to suppress the people of the Territory, could lead only to further bloodshed and further delay in the enjoyment by the people of Western Sahara of their long-sought freedom.

79. Territorial claims on the basis of historical and cultural affinities, disregarding conventional boundaries, represented a further serious implication. OAU had recognized that danger, ruling that African States should respect the colonial boundaries if peace and stability were to be ensured after independence. Current developments in Western Sahara clearly violated that decision. Acceptance of such a practice could lead only to chaos on the African continent. Botswana reaffirmed its support for the aspirations of the people of Western Sahara and for the Frente POLISARIO liberation movement. He hoped that wisdom and reason would prevail, so that OAU could be allowed to implement its historic Monrovia decision on Western Sahara.

80. Mr. LOPEZ CABRAL (Guinea Bissau) said that the United Nations was currently made up of 152 independent and sovereign States, many of which could testify to a history of colonial imperialist domination, the struggle of oppressed peoples for independence and, more recently, the efforts of all nations to achieve a more just world on the basis of freedom and equality. The virtual universality of the United Nations was undoubtedly one of the outstanding characteristics of the second half of the twentieth century. It was too soon to call the current century the century of freedom, notwithstanding the ever-increasing number of subjugated peoples that had achieved independence since the United Nations was founded.

81. In Africa, Latin America and Asia, millions of human beings, deprived of freedom and devastated by hunger and sickness, were still dying under the indifferent gaze of impenitent racists, firmly entrenched dictators or neo-colonialists blinded by their desire for power and domination. One might well

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(Mr. Lopez Cabral, Guinea Bissau)

ask wherein lay the equality of peoples, so widely proclaimed by the United Nations, when Member States arrogated to themselves the right to impose their domination on other nations, or where to find that love of freedom, which had been the motivating force in so many struggles and had carried so many peoples to independence, when countries which until recently had been colonies themselves denied to other peoples the inalienable right to live in freedom and to choose their own destiny.

82. How was it possible to understand armed intervention in East Timor by Indonesia, which had served as host to the historic Bandung Conference and whose struggle against foreign domination had been an example to so many peoples of the third world? How was it possible to tolerate the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, a State Member of the United Nations, which had accepted the principles of the Charter and had undertaken to respect and defend human rights? The attitude of Indonesia could only be regarded as expansionist. There was no such thing as integration by armed force; the people of East Timor had never expressed the wish to become Indonesian but, on the contrary, had always condemned the aggressor and urged resistance and struggle.

83. The duty of the international community was to defend the right of all peoples to determine their own future, for no people, however powerful, had the right to subdue another.

84. The process of decolonization initiated by the administering Power in East Timor had not been satisfactorily concluded owing to the intervention of Indonesian troops and, contrary to the statements of the Djakarta authorities, the people of East Timor had never wanted to be integrated into Indonesia. The conditions created by the struggle of the patriots of East Timor for the independence of their country had been systematically disrupted by the Government of Indonesia, whose objective had been to dominate the region. It was not surprising that at such a time, in a country which had been devastated by war and disease, a portion of the population should have acclaimed the aggressor out of an instinct for survival. That did not mean, however, that it was ready to pledge itself to loyalty and obedience. It was a gross error to claim that the people of East Timor accepted the Indonesian presence when they were determined to resist until victory.

85. In such a tragic situation, one might ask how a number of Member States could maintain their position of conniving neutrality or accept the genocide of an entire people. In the current International Year of the Child, the United Nations could not remain indifferent to the fate of the children of East Timor burnt by napalm bombs. The United Nations did not have the right to forget; its duty was to take action. The international community must force the Government of Indonesia not only to accept the urgent shipment to East Timor of food, drugs and medical supplies which were essential to the survival of the population but also to withdraw all its troops from the Territory and to recognize the inalienable right of the inhabitants to self-determination.

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86. Mr. WECKMANN MUÑOZ (Mexico) said that, after listening once more to the statements of petitioners and experts on the question of East Timor, and to the statements of a number of States Members of the United Nations represented on the Committee, his delegation remained convinced that that Territory, formerly subject to Portuguese colonial domination, had not been given the opportunity to exercise its right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

87. It was clear that the population of the Territory had national characteristics of its own, including a separate culture, and that it was inspired by a national spirit. On the other hand, there was no trustworthy evidence that it had ever been given a clear and unequivocal opportunity to express itself freely on its political future.

88. In that connexion, the delegation of Mexico considered that the people of East Timor should be allowed to determine their own future, as for example through a plebiscite under United Nations auspices; it therefore addressed an urgent and friendly appeal in that sense to Indonesia. Until such a solution had been reached, the General Assembly and the Fourth Committee must continue their consideration of the question which, in the light of the principles of the Charter, represented a solemn and unavoidable duty.

89. In regard to the question of Western Sahara, the position of Mexico was based on the principles of non-intervention by one State in the internal affairs of another, the self-determination of peoples and the peaceful settlement of disputes, which also applied to the case of Belize.

90. The International Court of Justice had concluded in 1975 that no clear basis existed for any other country to claim sovereignty over the territory of Western Sahara; pursuant to the principle of self-determination, the people of the Territory should therefore exercise such sovereignty. The General Assembly had repeatedly and unequivocally affirmed the inalienable right of the population of former Spanish Sahara to self-determination, in accordance with Article 73 of the Charter and resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) of the General Assembly.

91. At the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana in September, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Mexico had announced that his Government had recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, with the same frontiers as former Spanish Sahara, as a new State within the international community. He had congratulated Mauritania on the position it had adopted and had appealed to Morocco to permit the inhabitants of the country to exercise the right of self-determination.

92. His delegation considered that the Fourth Committee should submit a draft resolution to the General Assembly which would reiterate the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence and would express confidence that, during the proceedings the following year, the representatives of the Saharan Government would be seated at the United Nations, not as petitioners, but in exercise of their proper and inalienable rights.

93. Mr. HAYDAR (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking as Rapporteur of the Special Committee of 24, clarified a point with reference to a statement made by the representative of India during the preceding meeting in which the representative of India had expressed regret that the Special Committee of 24 had not, until the previous day, had an opportunity to examine the report of the Mission to Guam and to consider its important recommendations. As the report in question had been submitted only the previous day to the Special Committee which had not yet even considered it, he expressed the hope that the members of the Fourth Committee would for the moment abstain from expressing opinions on it.

94. Mr. NAMBIAR (India) said that his statement had referred to the opportunity to begin to examine the report. He appreciated that the substantive consideration of the question had not yet begun.

95. The CHAIRMAN drew the attention of the Committee to the draft resolution on the question of Western Sahara (A/C.4/34/L.2).

#### HEARING OF A PETITIONER

##### Question of East Timor

96. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Chomsky took a place at the petitioners' table.

97. Mr. CHOMSKY said that four years of terror, massacre and starvation had passed since October 1975, when the Government of Indonesia had commenced its armed intervention in East Timor. On 7 December 1975 Indonesia had captured the capital, Dili, and on 12 December such aggression had been deplored by the United Nations in General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX). The reply of the Government of Indonesia to that and subsequent resolutions of the Assembly had been to intensify its aggression, with mounting atrocities. The United States and other Western Powers had continued to provide the military and diplomatic support required by Indonesia to persist in its attempt to subdue the population of East Timor.

98. In December 1978, immediately after the United Nations appeal for withdrawal of its forces, Indonesia had launched new military attacks in East Timor: the Defence Minister of Indonesia had claimed that 1,200 FRETILIN troops had been killed in a single attack. A few days later, the President of FRETILIN, Nicolau Lobato, and members of his family had been killed. Fighting was continuing, but it was difficult to determine at what level because of the barriers imposed by the Indonesian military authorities. For the same reason it was difficult to estimate precisely the human cost of the continued fighting, the tactics of crop destruction and forced population removal, and other atrocities. A year previously an Indonesian official had admitted privately that more than 100,000 people had died because of the war and that hundreds of villages had been wiped off the face of the earth in the bombing. Statistics provided by the Government of Indonesia were still more startling. An October 1978 census had estimated the total population of the Territory at about 330,000 people,

(Mr. Chomsky)

including almost 320,000 displaced persons. Most of those victims had been living for two or three years in centres which had been described as concentration camps or prisons.

99. Before the Indonesian invasion the population of the Diocese of Dili had been estimated at about 690,000 people. When that figure was compared with the figures provided by the Government of Indonesia the conclusion was that some 360,000 people, or more than half of the population had possibly disappeared as a result of the Indonesian invasion and virtually all the survivors were refugees. A study prepared by the Australian Parliament Legislative Research Service in September 1979 stated that the military authorities had estimated the population of East Timor in December 1976 at about 400,000. If that estimate was correct, more than 200,000 people had died. Recent testimony by a Portuguese priest, Father Leoneto Vieira de Rego, supported such assessments. Father de Rego had spent three years in the mountains with FRETILIN before surrendering to Indonesian forces in January 1979, and, after being imprisoned and interrogated, he had been permitted to return to Portugal in June. Father de Rego reported that in the region around his village, probably one third of the population had died, most of them from hunger. From August 1977, Indonesian search and destroy operations had forced the people to flee from one area to another, making it impossible for them to grow or harvest crops, and Indonesian authorities had herded surrendering villagers into internment camps, where the problem of hunger was further aggravated.

100. Other reports stated that those who were in displaced person centres were not refugees; many of them had been ordered into those centres by the military authorities. In one of the camps some 300 people had died each month early in the current year. A report prepared by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid in July 1979 provided additional evidence of the starvation and suffering in the areas controlled by the Indonesian armed forces and spoke of massive corruption in the assistance operations. The situation in areas still under direct Indonesian attack was even grimmer.

101. According to Father de Rego, although the fierce offensives of 1978 had extended Indonesian military control, armed resistance to the occupation continued throughout the country and the East Timorese would never accept the occupation. The resistance would doubtlessly increase again, and no area was under firm Indonesian control. The United Nations had a grave responsibility, because as long as it did not accept annexation by Indonesia there would still be hope, and because the need for an authority which could force Indonesian troops to withdraw from Timor was obvious.

102. Apparently, the United States shared that view and, in his book on his term at the United Nations, Dr. Moynihan mentioned the success which he had had as the Chairman of the United States delegation in preventing effective action by the United Nations to impede Indonesian aggression. Dr. Moynihan also cited an estimate made in February 1976 by the Deputy Chairman of the Provisional Government installed by the Indonesian forces that some 60,000 people or

(Mr. Chumsky)

10 per cent of the population and almost the proportion of casualties suffered by the Soviet Union during the Second World War, had been killed since the outbreak of the civil war. Mr. Moynihan failed to add that, at most, a few thousand had been killed during the civil war which had ended in September 1975 with a victory by FRETILIN. In effect, Mr. Moynihan was claiming credit for "success" in helping to cause a massacre of 10 per cent of the population by February 1976, a feat which he compared to the consequences of Nazi aggression, not to speak of the far larger number of victims in the subsequent period.

103. Mr. Moynihan also stated that the Indonesia invasion must have been successful by March 1976, since the subject had disappeared from the press and from the United Nations after that time. That subject had virtually disappeared from the press, though not from the United Nations, and the curtain of silence drawn by the press in the United States and in much of the West, while hardly demonstrating the success of the Indonesian army, stood as a remarkable testimonial to the effectiveness of Western propaganda systems.

104. There was little doubt that the United States Government had been aware of the impending Indonesian invasion in 1975 and had continued to provide the material support required by the Indonesian military forces, which at the time of the invasion were 90 per cent armed by the United States. Contrary to the false testimony by government witnesses at congressional hearings, new offers of arms had been made immediately after the invasion. Since then, the flow of arms had been uninterrupted and had included attack helicopters and other equipment required to wipe hundreds of villages off the face of the earth, destroy crops and herd the remnants of the population into the internment centres already described. Since the invasion the United States had granted Indonesia over \$170 million in military aid alone, which was crucial in enabling the Indonesian army to carry out the brutal military escalation of late 1977, when it was running short of supplies. Other Western Powers had also sought to provide the needed armaments, a profitable business conducted with little concern for the high cost in human lives.

105. There were reports of the "disappearance" of people, which was assumed to mean that they were dead. There were also reports of torture, execution without trial and other atrocities. The Report of the Australian Parliament Legislative Research Service stated that, according to estimates, an additional 20,000 to 40,000 Timorese would die even if relief was forthcoming, given the conditions in the country. The same report noted the persistent refusal of those countries that normally championed human rights to examine, let alone accept, the steady flow of evidence that a tragedy of far greater proportions than was at first believed had been endured by the Timorese, and that no single nation had sought to bring any significant pressure to bear on Indonesia, the Power largely responsible for what must be one of the most flagrant denials of human rights in the history of modern decolonization. In dramatic confirmation of that conclusion, the 1979 report on human rights of the United States State Department avoided any reference to the actual Indonesian record in East Timor, stating that the Indonesian Government had been criticized for its initial military occupation of East Timor and adding that the United States Government sought to encourage Indonesia to

(Mr. Chomsky)

expand its programmes of assistance to the people of East Timor. The human rights report was silent on the actual nature of that assistance since 1975, and on the crucial responsibility of the United States for the atrocities concealed by the Government and the press.

106. The report prepared by the Australian Parliament Legislative Research Service concluded that most of the deaths since December 1975 and the current poor physical condition of the Timorese were the grim consequences of the deliberate Indonesian strategy designed to starve FRETELIN and its supporters into surrender. It might have added that they were also the direct and predictable consequences of the policies adopted by the Western Powers throughout that period. By trying to starve FRETELIN into submission, Indonesia had also starved tens of thousands of Timorese to death. The report estimated that tens of thousands of Timorese would flee abroad if they were able to do so, but the Indonesian authorities were determined to prevent the kind of exodus that would attract international attention. It observed that the world's conscience had been shocked by the ordeals of the people of Kampuchea, yet scant attention had been given to the consequences of Indonesia's forced integration of East Timor, which seemed to be assuming the proportions of genocide.

107. Unless large-scale international aid with adequate supervision was provided, the toll of death and suffering in Timor would continue to increase. The United Nations must act forthrightly and effectively to ensure that humanitarian aid was dispatched. Despite the cynicism of the great Powers, the Timorese people were not inevitably doomed to total destruction and their courageous struggle for national independence was not a lost cause. The United Nations still had the opportunity to play a crucial role in ensuring their survival and in helping them to realize their right to self-determination.

108. Mr. Chomsky withdrew.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.