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at 3 p.m.  
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 27th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. DOLGUCHITS (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)

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1. Mr. MARMULAKU (Yugoslavia) said that the past two decades had been very significant as a result of the anti-colonial revolutions which had radically changed the map of the world and had brought the number of members of the world community to more than 150 countries. The States and peoples emerging from such revolutions had always worked for and contributed to understanding and peaceful co-operation and coexistence among States and peoples, regardless of their social system. They had promoted the relaxation of international tension throughout the world and, by opting for a policy of non-alignment, as almost all of them had done, they had greatly contributed to the democratization of international political and economic relations. That was best reflected in the United Nations.

2. Although the process of decolonization appeared to be nearing an end, in many of the remaining colonies people had not yet realized their right to self-determination and measures were being taken to impose on them various neo-colonialist solutions that were not in harmony with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations or the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Such a situation was bound to cause concern to all peace-loving countries. The United Nations should therefore take resolute steps to thwart such neo-colonialist schemes, which could further aggravate tension and threaten peace and security in the world.

3. The agenda items under consideration encompassed most of the colonial Territories which, together with southern Africa, constituted the remnants of the former world colonial system. Measures must be taken to eradicate that system completely, regardless of such factors as the size or number of inhabitants of the Territories involved, their economic power, geographical location or strategic importance. Every colonial people should have the opportunity to exercise effectively its right to self-determination and independence on the basis of the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

4. In the past, certain peoples had been forcibly prevented from exercising their right to self-determination; there had also been cases of intervention, occupation and aggression in violation of the Charter and the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV). In many such cases, the people had offered armed resistance to colonial and neo-colonial solutions, thus proving that they would not accept situations that failed to recognize their right to self-determination. Areas of crisis had thus been created which threatened peace and security both in the region concerned and in a broader context.

5. It should be emphasized that the United Nations was still an irreplaceable instrument for the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and all attempts to by-pass or exclude it from the process of decolonization must be resolutely opposed.

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(Mr. Marmulaku, Yugoslavia)

6. The question of Non-Self-Governing Territories and the application of Chapter XI of the Charter, in particular the implementation of Article 73, constituted a very important problem. Some administering Powers were showing a greater spirit of co-operation than before, but further efforts should be made to ensure that the information they submitted contained more up-to-date data on events and social conditions, as well as on the aspirations of the peoples of those Territories. Military bases or installations in some Non-Self-Governing Territories involved those Territories and their peoples, against their will, in the administering Power's strategic interests. His Government's position was that the use of Non-Self-Governing and colonial Territories for such purposes undoubtedly impeded the realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

7. Yugoslavia, a socialist and non-aligned country, was consistent in its anti-colonial policy and had always worked to promote the rights of peoples under colonial and foreign domination. In the United Nations, it had lent active support to the process of decolonization and had assisted the struggle of colonial peoples for liberation, a policy that was in harmony with its policy of non-alignment.

8. His country's position regarding Western Sahara was based, as in other cases, on the assumption that the people of that Territory should fulfil their inalienable right to self-determination, including independence, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and should, without outside interference, decide their own fate, chart the course of their future development and dispose of the natural resources that had been exploited by the Spanish colonial administrator during the colonial era. An urgent solution to that problem, which was fraught with the danger of further complications, was in the interest of the people of Western Sahara, of all the neighbouring peoples and States as well as in the interest of peace and security. His country therefore supported all the efforts of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries, as well as other initiatives aimed at finding a solution. A positive shift had occurred, and therefore all parties should make further efforts to enable the people of Western Sahara to attain their rights and thus to eliminate a hotbed of crisis and put an end to a dangerous conflict. His delegation welcomed the initiative of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity in convening a meeting of the ad hoc Committee entrusted with the task of considering all facts relating to Western Sahara.

9. The people of East Timor, too, should realize their right to self-determination, in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations, with a view to normalizing the situation on the island.

10. The people of Brunei should also be given the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination through free elections under the supervision of the United Nations. He considered it important that petitioners from that Territory had submitted their cause to the Committee during the current session.

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(Mr. Marmulaku, Yugoslavia)

11. Belize should long since have realized its inalienable right to self-determination and independence, with full respect for its territorial integrity. His delegation was convinced that the people of Belize, together with their neighbours, would solve all the problems stemming from the Territory's geographical location and from the need for co-operation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. It hoped that the negotiations which had been going on for some time would finally enable Belize to achieve freedom and independence without infringing on the sovereignty or territorial integrity of Belize.

12. His delegation also hoped that the negotiations concerning the Malvinas Islands and Gibraltar would produce satisfactory results with a view to solving the colonial problems in those Territories.

13. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland), recalling that he had had to report to the Committee the previous year that his country had failed in its attempts to negotiate a settlement to enable Belize to attain full and secure independence, said that, at a meeting held on 2 June 1978, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Premier of Belize and the Leader of the Belizean Opposition had agreed that the settlement of the Anglo-Guatemalan dispute would help Belize to move towards independence. Both the Government and Opposition of Belize had also agreed that the interests of the people of Belize should come first and that independence should become a national issue rather than a question of party politics. That national approach was illustrated by the fact that a member of the Government of Belize and the Leader of the Belizean Opposition were both present during the current debate.

14. As stated in previous years, his Government's policy was to bring Belize to early and secure independence, and any proposals for a settlement would be put to the Government and people of Belize.

15. The United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the new Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala had met in September 1978 in New York and had agreed that further efforts should be made to create a climate propitious for a settlement between Guatemala and the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom had submitted proposals designed to end the controversy and those proposals were to be studied carefully by the Government of Guatemala while substantive negotiations continued. At the same time, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Minister of State of the United Kingdom had held detailed discussions with the Deputy Premier of Belize and the Leader of the Belizean Opposition. The proposals which had been put to the Guatemalans had been discussed with the Belizean Government and Opposition although they had not been made public.

16. Now, however, his Government believed that it should make known publicly what those proposals were. His country had been engaged in negotiations with the Government of Guatemala for three years in an attempt to find a settlement. The Guatemalans had wanted territory to be included in a settlement and, while the United Kingdom had been prepared, without commitment, to examine that possibility,

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(Mr. Richard, United Kingdom)

it had proved to be unacceptable, not only to the representatives of the people of Belize, but also to other States in the region, including some Latin American members of the Organization of American States, which had been concerned at the implications of any change in Latin American boundaries. Thus, after consultation with the Belizean parties and in conformity with the Memorandum of Understanding which they had signed on 5 June 1978, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs had suggested to the Guatemalan Minister for Foreign Affairs at their meeting in New York in September 1978 that a new approach should be adopted aimed at eliminating the original cause of the dispute.

17. Guatemala's claim to the Territory of Belize had first been formulated in 1939 on the grounds that article VII of the 1859 Treaty, by which Guatemala had recognized the then-existing boundaries of Belize, had not been fulfilled. The fact that the road from Guatemala City to the Caribbean coast referred to in that article had never been built jointly had led to Guatemala's current claim. A road to the Caribbean coast had subsequently been built by the Guatemalans alone. Successive Guatemalan Governments had stressed the need for better access to the Guatemalan province of Peten, which was adjacent to Belize, and the United Kingdom had therefore proposed in September 1978 that it would help with a major road project which would aid in developing the Peten. That project would be the modern equivalent of the provisions of article VII of the 1859 Treaty. The United Kingdom had also proposed that Guatemala should enjoy free port facilities in Belize City and should have access by road to the port. The free port facilities would enable Guatemala to import and export goods from the Peten by the most direct route and free of customs formalities. The Guatemalan Government had also stressed the need for secure, permanent and guaranteed access to the sea from its Caribbean ports and, while it currently enjoyed such access, it believed that it might be deprived of it after Belize became independent. The United Kingdom had therefore proposed that a seaward boundary should be agreed by treaty as part of the settlement, guaranteeing Guatemala permanent secure access from its ports to the high seas through its own territorial sea. Such an agreement would eliminate all doubts and problems for the future. The United Kingdom had further suggested that a separate treaty of amity and mutual security should be concluded between Belize and Guatemala, with provisions covering non-aggression and subversion, to ensure the security of the area. The provisions would include limitations on the stationing of foreign, but not British, armed forces.

18. His delegation believed that those proposals were constructive and fair to both sides. Guatemala's complaint that the road envisaged under the 1859 Treaty had never been built would be satisfied. In addition, it would gain greatly improved communications to aid in the development of the Peten, and permanent access to its Caribbean ports through its own territorial sea would be guaranteed by the treaty. Belize would gain security once the problem had been settled and the Guatemalan claim had been withdrawn, and would have an agreed seaward boundary which would eliminate future disputes. The settlement of the problem would enable Belize to move towards secure independence and to concentrate on the development of the country, which had been inhibited by the uncertainty caused by the dispute. His delegation therefore hoped that Guatemala would accept those proposals and that an early settlement could be reached, thereby establishing a basis for friendship between Belize and Guatemala to the benefit of the stability of the whole area.

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(Mr. Richard, United Kingdom)

19. So far there had been no substantive reaction to the proposals from the Guatemalan Government but his delegation hoped that it would be able to pursue negotiations on that basis. It also hoped that an agreement could be reached before the Committee met the following year, at which time it might be possible to announce that the way was clear for Belize to proceed to independence, knowing that the dispute with its neighbour had been resolved.

20. Until that time, his delegation believed that the international community should demonstrate to all concerned its firm support for Belize's accession to independence in accordance with the freely expressed wish of the people. Accordingly, he urged all delegations to support draft resolution A/C.4/33/L.19 and urged all States to refrain from any action that might make a settlement more difficult to achieve.

21. In conclusion, with regard to the petitioners from the Toledo Progressive Party who had addressed the Committee at its 23rd meeting, he said that, as his delegation had pointed out the previous year that Party was very small and had yet to be given any support by the population of Belize. Furthermore, one of the petitioners had publicly admitted that his Party had links with Guatemala and had received funds from that country, and that he had offered foreign money and gifts to any Belizeans who would support the Guatemalan position in the dispute. It was therefore hardly surprising that that petitioner should have come before the Committee and should have argued as he did; he was more a spokesman for Guatemala than for any segment of the population of Belize. The same was true of the other petitioner from the Toledo Progressive Party. In point of fact, the district of Toledo had elected its representatives in a democratic process based on universal adult franchise, and those representatives were publicly committed to the principle of seeking early and secure independence for Belize.

22. His country would continue to pursue vigorously a settlement in conformity with the principles of General Assembly resolutions on Belize and would be constructive and realistic in its negotiations. He urged the Government of Guatemala to approach his country's proposals in the same spirit. The dispute was indeed one of long standing but his delegation believed that the proposals it had put forward could lead to an early settlement that would be constructive and fair to all parties. However, the need for a settlement became more urgent as the frustration of the people of Belize grew; the wishes of the Belizeans should be respected and they should obtain the secure independence they had sought for many years. His Government remained committed to that goal.

23. Mr. ABUPAKER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that his delegation believed that the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories could provide tremendous benefits to the peoples of those Territories, in view of the importance of education and training for the advancement and progress of peoples. Unfortunately, despite the many appeals launched by the General Assembly over a number of years for assistance for those purposes and despite the efforts made to date by some States, the

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(Mr. Abubaker. Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

assistance had not reached the desired level, as was clear from the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (A/33/297). Although the number of scholarships had increased, most of the funds had had to be reserved for renewals of scholarships rather than the award of new ones. The same was true with regard to assistance given to other colonial Territories.

24. All the colonial Territories had suffered from oppressive colonization, the sole objective of which had been to pillage their natural resources and keep them in a state of ignorance and backwardness in order to facilitate domination over them. It was therefore incumbent upon those States which had exploited other peoples to provide assistance to them in all areas, particularly in the field of education and training, in order to prepare them for self-government. That was the least that the administering Powers could do.

25. The oppression and expulsion of students by the racist régimes in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe bore out his earlier statement regarding the colonialist aim of keeping subject peoples in a state of ignorance and backwardness. That terrorist policy had led to a continued outflow of young refugees from southern Africa to neighbouring countries, which meant that additional assistance must be given to the latter to enable them to give asylum and education to those refugees.

26. His own country had experienced similar circumstances. After decades of colonization, the Fascist colonialists had left it in a state of extreme ignorance and backwardness, the effects of which were still being felt. The same applied, moreover, to all the newly independent countries, which found themselves at the starting point of the long and arduous path towards global development.

27. In the light of its commitment to international solidarity and its fraternal feelings towards the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had provided and was still providing all the assistance that it could. The previous year his delegation had announced that the number of students from those Territories and from friendly and sister States studying on scholarships in Libyan schools, institutes and universities totalled 1,823. In 1978, his country had contributed 12 university scholarships through the United Nations.

28. The United Nations should urge those States which had not contributed their share to education and training for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories to do so as soon as possible and it should urge the colonialist States to shoulder their responsibilities towards the colonized peoples in order to raise their educational level. The colonialist States should also provide technical and material assistance to those newly independent States which were still suffering from the results of their long period under colonization.

29. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana) said that the record of success in the field of decolonization was a source of great satisfaction and a manifestation of both the indomitable desire of oppressed peoples for freedom and the resolute commitment of the United Nations to the process of decolonization.

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(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

30. The Committee continued to grapple with the question of Zimbabwe, where its initiatives had been consistently guided by the principles of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Yet there had been a perceptible tendency to compromise on the strict application of those principles in certain other instances, particularly with regard to the situation in Western Sahara and East Timor, which, as colonial Territories, had been recognized to be of legitimate concern to both the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee of 24.

31. Some Member States, after having given their full support to General Assembly resolutions recognizing the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence, now sought to redefine that right and place obstacles in the way of its full realization. Those negative reactionary attempts had already exacted their toll in human life and suffering and seriously endangered peace and security in the area. His delegation unequivocally expressed its whole-hearted support for the people of Western Sahara in their just struggle, under the militant leadership of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Rio de Oro (Frente POLISARIO).

32. The Organization of African Unity had undertaken important initiatives to resolve the situation in Western Sahara. The Fourth Committee's consideration of that situation and the action taken by the ad hoc committee established by OAU would complement each other. A positive step towards an early and peaceful solution had recently been taken by the Frente POLISARIO when it had unilaterally declared a cease-fire with Mauritania. His delegation saluted the Frente POLISARIO for that magnificent gesture and hoped that it would soon be matched by similar demonstrations of commitment to the peaceful solution of the question.

33. The United Nations had a solemn responsibility to defend, vigilantly and without compromise, the legitimate rights of the people of Western Sahara and East Timor, who must be allowed to express, without restraint, their wishes with regard to the future status of their Territories.

34. Mr. SAHLOUL (Sudan) commended the Special Committee of 24 on its report and its efforts to ensure the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He reaffirmed his country's unswerving solidarity with all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence.

35. His delegation welcomed the concern shown by Member States in the Fourth Committee's discussion of the question of Western Sahara. He wished to state his country's position on that question, in the hope that such clarification would help the Committee to arrive at conclusions acceptable to all the parties concerned, which were all linked by strong fraternal bonds.

36. In implementation of resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV) adopted by the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on the question of Western Sahara, Mr. Gaafar Mohammed Nimeri, President of the Sudan and Chairman of the current session of the Organization of African Unity, had held consultations with other African Heads of State, and the ad hoc committee provided for in the aforementioned resolution had been established. As stated in document A/33/364, the committee

(Mr. Sahloul, Sudan)

would initiate its work on 30 November 1978 by considering all the data relating to the question of Western Sahara. The Chairman of OAU had requested him to transmit that information to the Secretary-General, expressing at the same time, his hope that all Member States would refrain from taking any action likely to hamper the work of the ad hoc committee or to delay arrival at a fair and peaceful solution to the problem. He was sure that the members of the Fourth Committee would understand the reason for that request.

37. His country did not and could not deny the right of the United Nations to discuss any question concerning Member States, and the Organization's role in dealing with issues relating to oppressed peoples was well known and was admired and esteemed by his country. The reason why President Nimeri had made the request set forth in the last paragraph of document A/33/364 lay within the framework of the spirit of co-operation and trust which characterized the relationship between OAU and the United Nations, which had in the past led to considerable co-ordination and co-operation in the treatment of problems of concern to both organizations. His country was fully confident that States Members of the United Nations were anxious to maintain that same spirit and that they would demonstrate that by the position which they adopted on the item under consideration.

38. The ad hoc committee of OAU would commence its study of the question in the light of the following principles: General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); the conclusions of the report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission of 11 November 1975; the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned States; and the advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice on 16 October 1975 with respect to the principle of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination.

39. He hoped that, in keeping with the spirit of co-operation which existed between the two organizations, the discussions in the Fourth Committee would reaffirm the Committee's confidence in OAU and in the members of the ad hoc committee by enabling them to study the problem. Indeed, it was no exaggeration to say that the future and effectiveness of OAU hinged on that question. How could OAU play its role in the solution of disputes and the treatment of issues concerning its members if it was not given the opportunity to do so. It went without saying that that task was the duty of the States members of OAU before any other body.

40. While he fully comprehended the concern of some States that the question of Western Sahara should not remain in suspense between the two organizations, he stressed that the Chairman of the current session of OAU and the Heads of State constituting the ad hoc committee shared the concern of those States to achieve a speedy and just solution to the problem.

41. His delegation had hoped that the appeal of the Chairman of OAU would meet with a positive response from all States, particularly the African States, because it expressed the wishes of the Heads of more than 40 States who had participated and were still participating actively and confidently in OAU. He stressed his delegation's confidence in the African Heads of State and in their wisdom and ability to deal with the issues of the continent.

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(Mr. Sahloul, Sudan)

42. In that connexion, he cited the statement contained in paragraph 114 of the Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries (A/33/206, annex I). He hoped that the spirit of Belgrade would prevail in the Fourth Committee and that, in the spirit of co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, the draft resolutions submitted on the question of Western Sahara would be withdrawn. He hoped that all delegations would work together to find a just formula acceptable to all the parties concerned, within the framework of the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and OAU, in particular General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

43. Mr. NIKULIN (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the question of the decolonization of the so-called small Territories was important for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It was becoming increasingly acute because of the use of small Territories, especially islands, by colonial Powers as military bases, and the attempts to annex those Territories in defiance of the Charter and decisions of the United Nations.

44. It was clear from the consensus adopted by the Special Committee on 23 August 1978 (A/33/23 (Part IV), para. 10) that the colonial Powers concerned had taken no steps to implement the request which the General Assembly had repeatedly addressed to them, most recently in paragraph 11 of resolution 32/42 of 7 December 1977, to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones. Nor had the campaign against the military activities and arrangements referred to in resolution 2621 (XXV) been successful. The Special Committee considered that the establishment and maintenance by colonial Powers and their allies of military bases and other installations in Territories under their administration impeded the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and was incompatible with the principles of the Charter and of resolution 1514 (XV). Such activities, particularly in the Caribbean and Pacific regions, prevented the people of those Territories from exercising their right to self-determination and independence, while the plundering of the natural resources of the Territories deprived them of the right to their own natural wealth.

45. That was the case with Micronesia, where illegal actions were leading to the dismemberment and annexation of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in contravention of the basic objectives of the trusteeship system, as defined in Article 76 of the Charter. In Micronesia, the Administering Authority had carried out its functions for more than 30 years in such a way as to perpetuate its dominance over the Territory and turn it into a colonial appendage. It had encroached upon the territorial integrity of Micronesia, imposing upon its constituent parts the status of a so-called "political union" or "free association". Earlier the Administering Authority had used the islands as a testing ground for weapons, with irreparable consequences for the indigenous population and the environment. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands now played a quite specific role in the military and strategic plans of the Administering Authority, plans which posed a serious threat to the security both of the peoples of Micronesia and of the

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(Mr. Nikulin, Byelorussian SSR)

countries of Asia and Oceania which belonged to that region. The future of Micronesia was an inseparable part of the decolonization problem; it could not and should not be arbitrarily and unilaterally decided by the Administering Authority, bypassing the United Nations and its Security Council, for such action could have no legal force.

46. In supporting the struggle of peoples for the immediate and complete elimination of all vestiges of colonialism, his Government adhered to the principle that, in so far as the right to self-determination and independence was concerned, no distinction should be drawn between large and small nations. That inalienable right must be secured in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

47. Another important question was the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and international organizations associated with the United Nations, a question which had become acute at a time when the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and other colonial Territories was entering its decisive phase. The entire international community had a responsibility to implement agreed measures to support the struggle of the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements. The principle of granting moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements had been reaffirmed in General Assembly resolution 32/36. The specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system bore responsibility for taking all effective measures within their respective spheres of competence to bring about the full and immediate implementation of the Declaration and other decisions of the United Nations concerning the urgent provision of such assistance. Definite progress had recently been achieved: certain specialized agencies had given advice and material assistance to countries and peoples which had recently attained independence, and a number of international organizations, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, had established or were establishing contacts with the national liberation movements with a view to helping them. The efforts made by some of the specialized agencies and by UNDP in planning such aid were commendable. That aid would, however, be more effective if, in planning it, the interests and needs of the national liberation movements were directly taken into account.

48. In the latest resolution which it had adopted on the subject (A/33/23 (Part V), para. 16), the Special Committee expressed its deep concern that, although there had been progress in the extension of assistance to refugees from the colonial Territories in Africa, the action taken by the organizations concerned in providing assistance to the peoples of the Territories through their national liberation movements was far from adequate in relation to the urgent needs of those peoples. His delegation fully supported the recommendation that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system should initiate or broaden contacts with the colonial peoples in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, review their procedures with respect to the formulation and preparation of assistance programmes and projects and introduce greater flexibility as as to be able to extend the necessary assistance without delay to help the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements in

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(Mr. Mikulin, Byelorussian SSR)

their struggle to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

49. He was glad to note the growing number of specialized agencies and organizations within the United Nations system which were providing an opportunity for representatives of national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity to participate fully as observers in activities connected with their countries. Other organizations should follow their example without delay and all the specialized agencies should include in the agenda of the regular meetings of their governing bodies a separate item on the progress they had achieved in the implementation of the Declaration and other relevant decisions of the United Nations. However, some organizations had taken a negative position with respect to assisting the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements. In resolution 32/36, the General Assembly expressed regret that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank continued to maintain co-operation with the colonialist racist minority régime of South Africa and urged the executive heads of those agencies to draw the particular attention of their governing organs to that resolution with a view to formulating specific programmes beneficial to the peoples of the colonial Territories, particularly Zimbabwe and Namibia. The International Monetary Fund had, however, offered South Africa loans which totalled more than those offered to all the other African States combined. It was a grave tragedy that the Western Powers were using certain international organizations to provide economic and financial assistance to colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa. That was one example of the way in which certain Western Powers, while demonstrating an apparent concern to find a solution to the problem in southern Africa, disguised their anxiety to retain their interests and privileges in that region.

50. In the latest resolution which it had adopted on the subject (A/33/23 (Part V), para. 16), the Special Committee deplored the fact that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had not yet taken the necessary measures towards the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly; and requested the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to take all necessary measures to withhold any financial, economic, technical or other assistance from the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia until they restored to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe their inalienable right to self-determination and independence and to refrain from taking any action which might imply recognition of, or support for, the legitimacy of the domination of the Territories by those régimes.

51. His delegation was convinced that effective measures should be taken to ensure that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system observed all the relevant United Nations decisions relating to decolonization and that the implementation of those decisions should continue to receive the unremitting attention of the United Nations. His delegation felt that specific and effective measures should be devised and implemented by all the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to ensure the full and immediate implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

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52. Mr. BIN-HUMAM (Democratic Yemen) said that the strong aspiration of peoples for independence and freedom and their readiness to make any sacrifice to achieve those goals were understood by all. The majority of States represented in the Committee had formerly been peoples struggling for their freedom and their right to self-determination and independence and they would unquestionably recall the major role played by the United Nations in helping their peoples to achieve those goals, beginning with the drafting of the Charter and continuing with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the General Assembly's two recent resolutions on the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

53. Nevertheless, the present debate was not an occasion for self-congratulation, because some peoples were still subjected to occupation, injustice and oppression. The people of Western Sahara were still struggling for the exercise of their right to sovereignty and self-determination, and their desire for liberation had been crystallized through the revolution which they had been waging against Spanish colonization since 1970; the struggle had developed to the point where it had been organized under the Frente POLISARIO in 1973, and eventually the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic had been proclaimed.

54. The resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned States, which had all affirmed the right of the people of Western Sahara to freedom and self-determination, were known to all. He cited in particular, General Assembly resolution 3458 A and B (XXX). The conclusions of the report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission of 11 November 1975 had definitively indicated that the majority of the population wanted independence. The advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice on 16 October 1975 had stated that there was no evidence pointing to the existence of any ties of sovereignty between the Territory of Western Sahara, on the one hand, and the Kingdom of Morocco and Mauritania on the other. The Court had thus not found legal ties of such a nature as might affect the application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to the decolonization of Western Sahara and, in particular, the application of the principle of self-determination through the free and genuine expression of the will of the peoples of the Territory. Moreover, the resolution adopted by OAU at Port Louis, in 1976, had reaffirmed the established right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and national independence and called for the prompt withdrawal of all forces of foreign occupation and for respect for the territorial integrity of Western Sahara and the sovereignty of the Saharan people.

55. His delegation did not want the question of Western Sahara to remain a mere item on the agenda recurring every year without any effective measure being taken to enable the people of Western Sahara to achieve freedom and self-determination. He warned that there were persistent efforts at trickery aimed at preventing the United Nations General Assembly from assuming its responsibilities with regard to decolonization and the discussion of that sensitive issue. It was argued that the

(Mr. Bin-Husain, Democratic Yemen)

issue was being discussed or would be discussed elsewhere. As all were aware, the issues of decolonization and the right of colonial countries and peoples to self-determination were indeed discussed in other forums, but that had not prevented the General Assembly from discussing those issues each year and adopting resolutions on them. His delegation believed that the General Assembly's discussion of the question of Western Sahara could only serve to strengthen the opportunities for peace in the region, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

56. His country, which had suffered the ills and oppression of colonialism for over a century and had engaged in an armed struggle to achieve its freedom and independence, had spared, and would spare, no effort to assist all peoples aspiring to achieve freedom and independence. Its support for the just struggle of the Saharan people and its recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic was based on that resolve and on its firm adherence to the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations.

57. Mr. KAMARA (Senegal) said that, until recently, the small Non-Self-Governing Territories had tended to be overlooked; in many cases, it had been their struggle for independence which had now awakened the international community to their situation. Solomon Islands, Tuvalu and Dominica had already acceded to independence; St. Lucia would follow suit in December 1978 and the Gilbert Islands, which had enjoyed internal self-government since 1976, would become fully independent in 1979. His delegation hoped that the status of the Banaban community of the Gilbert Islands would be resolved before independence, so that that community could return to its island of origin and decide its own future.

58. With regard to East Timor, he recalled that General Assembly resolution 32/34 reaffirmed the right of the people of that Territory to independence and rejected the claim that East Timor had been integrated into Indonesia. The international community should continue to exert pressure on Indonesia to implement resolution 1514 (XV) with respect to the Territory.

59. The New Hebrides had been promised independence in 1980 and he hoped that the two administering Powers would, before that date, resolve all the problems arising from the lack of political unity and cohesion in the Territory. The statements by the two petitioners from the New Hebrides indicated what must be done to enable the Territory to accede to independence in an atmosphere of unity and harmony.

60. Despite the efforts of the international community to find a solution to the question of Belize which did not leave the Territory open to aggression or occupation by Guatemala, such a solution had still to be found. The administering Power should pursue its negotiations with Guatemala, in consultation with the Government of Belize and taking into account the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the non-aligned countries, which had been endorsed in 1977 by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Latin American countries who had upheld the aspirations of Belize to independence on the basis of self-determination and territorial integrity.

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(Mr. Kamara, Senegal)

61. He regretted that the debate on Western Sahara had been somewhat heated. It was clear that all members of the Committee wished to see the situation in that Territory resolved. General Assembly resolution 3458 A and B (XXX) had shown what path should be followed in order to find a solution which was fair and acceptable to all the parties concerned. Any durable solution must be based on that resolution, which was itself based on resolution 1514 (XV). Following the adoption of resolution 3458 (XXX), the next step had been to find ways of consulting the populations directly concerned. It was at that point, and in view of the danger threatening the region as a result of the situation in Western Sahara, that OAU had begun to study the situation in the Territory more fully and to try to find a solution. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, meeting at Port Louis in July 1976, had decided to hold an extraordinary session devoted to Western Sahara, and since that time OAU had done everything possible to find a solution to the question. Its actions were guided by the realization that the problem of Western Sahara was an African problem and was very different from other, more typical, cases of decolonization. The Madrid agreement was proof of the Territory's unusual situation and of the need for a special solution. The situation in Western Sahara had, moreover, brought two African countries to the brink of war on more than one occasion. One delegation had observed that the problem should be resolved taking into account the African mentality, a point of view which his delegation would endorse. In any case, Article 33 of the Charter encouraged the solution of disputes by such means as mediation and arbitration and Article 52 encouraged the solution of disputes which threatened international peace by regional arrangements or agencies. As a regional organization with close ties to the United Nations, OAU could play a part in resolving such disputes.

62. Some delegations had, however, expressed reservations concerning the procedure followed since the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, when OAU had been entrusted with a major responsibility for resolving the problem of Western Sahara. Those delegations maintained that Morocco and Mauritania were trying to take the responsibility for that problem away from the United Nations and to delay the solution of the problem for as long as possible. They had even argued that there was a conflict between the responsibilities of the United Nations and OAU in that connexion. Such arguments showed very little respect for OAU, and even some defiance.

63. It should be recalled, however, that since 1976 OAU had made repeated attempts to convene the proposed extraordinary session on the question of Western Sahara. After a number of setbacks, it had finally decided to hold the extraordinary session after its fifteenth ordinary session, held in Khartoum in July 1978. That had not been possible, however, because of the very heavy agenda of the ordinary session. Instead, a decision had been taken to set up an ad hoc committee to consider the question. The resolution in question (AHG/Res.92 (XV)) dealt with every aspect of the question of Western Sahara and went much further than earlier resolutions. It instructed the newly established ad hoc committee, composed of at least five Heads of State of OAU, to consider all the data on the question of Western Sahara, including the question of the exercise of the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination. Its final paragraph provided for the resolution to be brought to the attention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and indicated that the United Nations would continue to be responsible for the decolonization of the Territory.

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(Mr. Kamara, Senegal)

64. The Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade in July 1978, had endorsed the OAU resolution and had expressed the hope that the ad hoc committee of OAU would arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the problem of Western Sahara in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the resolutions of the non-aligned movement and the Charter and resolutions of OAU.

65. On 29 October 1978, the President of Mauritania had expressed his confidence in the OAU initiative and, despite some reservations, the Frente POLISARIO had on 12 November 1978 stated that the activities of the United Nations and OAU in the area of decolonization were complementary and not contradictory, as some countries might claim. It was clear therefore that the two organizations must support each other's efforts in that area.

66. The Frente POLISARIO had, in addition, taken independent steps to create suitable conditions for the solution of the problem of Western Sahara, and between 9 and 14 September 1978 contacts had taken place in Paris between the Saharan and Mauritanian leaders. Thus, while there was no reason to minimize the problem, it was clear that the prospects for a solution were better than they had been in 1977.

67. As he had said, a solution to the problem should be based on General Assembly resolution 3548 (XXX). The broad outlines of a solution were in fact already well-known. On 8 November 1978, the President of Mauritania had stated that the only possible solution would be one to which all the countries and parties concerned agreed and which offered the most guarantees to the peoples of that Territory. His own delegation believed that the ad hoc committee of OAU could be relied upon to work out such a solution. It therefore endorsed the hope expressed by the current Chairman of OAU in document A/33/364 that all Member States would refrain from taking any action likely to hamper the work of the ad hoc committee or to delay a fair and peaceful solution to the problem of Western Sahara. He also shared the view expressed by the representative of Algeria, that the United Nations and OAU should support each other's efforts to find a just solution to the problem of Western Sahara. He therefore urged the Committee to adopt draft resolution A/C.4/33/L.8/Rev.1, by which the General Assembly would reiterate its confidence in OAU and give it every possible encouragement so that its efforts with regard to Western Sahara might prove successful.

68. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola) said that Africans must raise the loudest voice in defence of the independence struggle of the people of Western Sahara because it was an African issue, although as a decolonization issue it also concerned the United Nations itself.

69. Western Sahara was a classic case of colonialism. In late 1975, Spain, the colonial ruler at the time, in clear denial of the people's right to self-determination, had partitioned Western Sahara between two neighbouring States; it had, however, refused to sign the take-over document and had later declared that it had handed over the administration of the Sahara but not its sovereignty. The claims of the two neighbouring States to sovereignty were not substantiated. In

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(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

1975, a United Nations mission to the Territory had concluded that the population was categorically in favour of independence and against the territorial claims of Morocco and Mauritania, and that the Frente POLISARIO appeared to be the dominant political force in the country. Further, in October 1975, the International Court of Justice had ruled that there was no historical tie of sovereignty between Western Sahara and the neighbouring States. The States impeding the exercise by the Saharan people of their right to self-determination and independence referred to just one General Assembly resolution, which took note of the Madrid agreement, but not to the fact that it went on to call upon those two States to ensure respect for the people's will, not to a second General Assembly resolution asking Spain to hold a plebiscite in the area, which had not yet been done.

70. Both the Spanish colonization and the current colonization of the Sahara were equally illegal: the land belonged to the Saharan nation. Principles such as the inheritance of colonial borders could not be invoked in that situation, while all the principles of international law that did apply, such as the right to self-determination and independence, were being violated.

71. The Saharan issue was not an internal affair of the States involved, but a decolonization issue. His country could not betray its own revolution and its own past by refusing help and solidarity to the people of Western Sahara in their fight for independence.

72. In July 1978, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU had established an ad hoc committee of African Heads of State to discuss the matter, and had considered the matter sufficiently important to devote an extraordinary session to it. The Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries, meeting in Belgrade also in July 1978, had expressed the hope that OAU would find a solution. The most recent United Nations resolution on the subject, General Assembly resolution 32/22, had reaffirmed the Assembly's commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. All those resolutions and declarations by various groupings pledged Member States politically and morally to the cause of the colonized people.

73. It was sad indeed to see that the formerly colonized had in turn become neo-colonizers, denying a Territory and a people whose identity had been clearly established for centuries the right to exist as an independent entity because of their expansionist designs, and placing phosphate deposits above the sanctity of human lives.

74. While the international community dawdled, the Saharan people were being subjected to attacks by French and United States aircraft. The Frente POLISARIO, the people's national liberation movement, had announced a cease-fire as a goodwill gesture to promote a drive towards peace in Western Sahara. The international community could not continue to pretend that the issue had been resolved; it would have to deal with it and extend its support to the Frente POLISARIO and the Saharan people.

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75. Mr. CRISTOBAL (Philippines) said that his Government's policy had been one of continued support for the inalienable rights of colonial countries and peoples to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Many peoples had achieved independence, but, until majority rule was attained in Southern Rhodesia and elections were held in Namibia under United Nations supervision and in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, the great task of decolonization would continue to be incomplete.

76. On the question of East Timor, his delegation was persuaded that the people of East Timor had exercised their inalienable right to self-determination by an act of free and deliberate choice. The process of decolonization had been completed in East Timor when its people, through the duly elected members of the Regional Popular Assembly, had opted for integration with the Republic of Indonesia in 1976. Until then, the Indonesian Government had scrupulously respected the wishes of the people and had declined to accede to the wish expressed by the coalition of four parties for integration with Indonesia.

77. At every stage of the implementation of that act of self-determination, the United Nations had been given free access to full information on developments in the Territory by the Provisional Government of East Timor and the Indonesian Government, and had even been invited several times to send a mission to check on those developments. The issue of East Timor was thus no longer one of decolonization, and to persist in discussing it in that context did not serve the interests of the Timorese people, who would rightly regard such continued consideration as an unwarranted interference in Indonesian internal affairs.

78. It only remained for the international community to assist Indonesia in promoting the social and economic development of the people of East Timor.

79. Mr. ZITU (Zaire) said that, by adopting resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly had wanted to remind the world 15 years after the adoption of the Charter that colonialism was contrary to the aims of the United Nations. Despite the optimism that had then prevailed, one year later the General Assembly by resolution 1654 (XVI), had been obliged to establish 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 Special Committee had accomplished its work perspicaciously and should continue to do so until colonialism had been wiped off the face of the globe.

80. The report of the Special Committee showed that the administering Powers had collaborated with visiting missions in the dependent Territories. It also indicated the specific situations peculiar to individual Territories, which should be taken into consideration before a decision was taken regarding the way in which the people of the Territories should finally exercise their right to self-determination. The international community should require the administering Powers to create the necessary conditions for self-determination rather than allow those Powers to gloat over impending disasters and seek to take further advantage of the situation. The achievement of independence by the people of

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(Mr. Zitu, Zaire)

dependent Territories should not mean submission to another form of foreign domination and exploitation. On the other hand, self-determination could be conceived under the form of a free association or juxtaposition of peoples, provided that the people involved fully exercised their sovereign rights.

81. With regard to the question of Western Sahara, the African Heads of State, at the fifteenth regular session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held in July 1978, had decided to establish an ad hoc committee to examine all the data and clarify the situation prior to the calling of an extraordinary summit meeting on the question. In paragraph 5 of resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV), they called upon all the States of the region to refrain from taking any action likely to hamper the search for a fair and peaceful solution to the problem. The latest reports indicated that the ad hoc committee would begin its work on 30 November 1978.

82. The search for a peaceful solution to differences through recourse to such regional bodies and arrangements was consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. World public opinion would recall other volatile situations in Africa to which African wisdom had found a solution without resort to force.

83. Mr. CHAO Wei (China) said that his delegation welcomed the participation of the representatives of the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente (FRETILIN) in the Committee's deliberations regarding the question of East Timor. The people of East Timor had long waged a determined and valiant struggle to overthrow colonial rule and win national independence and, in November 1975, they had finally ended Portuguese colonial domination. However, just as they were celebrating their independence, they had met with an armed invasion from outside and thus their aspirations had once again been frustrated.

84. Since then, the United Nations had adopted many resolutions demanding the immediate withdrawal from East Timor of all invading troops and calling upon all countries to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor and the inalienable right of the people to self-determination and independence. That right had also been reaffirmed in 1978 by the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries. It was not permissible that the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council should still remain unimplemented.

85. The people of East Timor, under the leadership of FRETILIN, were waging a just struggle to which his Government and people had always given resolute support. The exercise by the people of East Timor of their right to self-determination and independence, free from any foreign interference, was not only in keeping with their fundamental interests and those of the people of Indonesia, but it would also contribute to the safeguarding of peace and stability in South-East Asia. Otherwise the super-Powers would have an opportunity to fish in troubled waters in that region, a situation which would not be welcome to those countries which were opposed to imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

86. With regard to agenda item 96, his delegation took the position that it was intolerable that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund should thus far have refused to implement General Assembly resolution 2758 (XXVI), in obdurate pursuance of the policy of creating "two Chinas".

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87. Mr. SIKAULU (Zambia) said that, since his country's attainment of independence, decolonization had been the corner-stone of Zambian foreign policy. Although naturally preoccupied with the situation in its own region, southern Africa, it was concerned with the existence of colonialism and alien domination throughout the world. In exercising the sacred right to self-determination, Territories could opt for independence or any other arrangement, including continued association with the administering Power, but there must be no attempt, under any pretext whatsoever, to deny the right to self-determination.

88. By and large, the report of the Special Committee provided encouraging news. Progress had been made in relation to the future of a number of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Pacific region. The success of the Special Committee would continue to depend on the co-operation received from the administering Powers and, in view of their inescapable responsibilities as set forth in Article 73 of the Charter and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), his delegation hoped that in all cases they would co-operate fully with the Special Committee. The Special Committee's practice of sending visiting missions to those Territories for the purpose of assessing the conditions obtaining in them and determining, in co-operation with the administering Powers, how best to assist the inhabitants in the decolonization process was of vital importance. It was, in particular, essential to ensure that the economies of those Territories were viable enough to sustain them after the departure of the administering Powers.

89. Despite the progress made in the Pacific region, however, the over-all decolonization situation was not rosy. Apart from the situation in southern Africa, which constituted a serious threat to international peace and security, the situation in Belize, East Timor and Western Sahara was a cause for grave concern.

90. His Government unequivocally supported the right of the people of Belize not only to self-determination but also to independence. It regretted that the unfounded claims of Guatemala should delay its accession to independence. Zambia rejected outright Guatemala's territorial claims over Belize and deplored the lack of progress in the long-drawn-out negotiations between that country and the United Kingdom. The United Nations must exert all possible pressure to ensure that Guatemala respected the right and wish of the people of Belize to become independent, and to preserve the territorial integrity of their country.

91. His delegation had consistently supported all General Assembly resolutions reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence and had rejected the claim that that Territory had been integrated into a neighbouring country. It hoped that all the parties concerned would co-operate fully with the Special Committee in the search for a solution to the regrettable conflict, on the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

92. It was natural that the countries of Africa which, more than any other continent, had known the evil of colonialism should champion the cause for self-determination anywhere in the world. His delegation therefore viewed with grave concern the conflict over Western Sahara, the core of which was that the

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(Mr. Sikaulu, Zambia)

people of that Territory had not properly exercised their right to self-determination. It was for the people of the Territory alone to decide on either independence or integration with neighbouring States. His Government naturally supported the efforts of OAU to find a solution to that problem. Those efforts were in no way exclusive of the option of genuine self-determination for the people of Western Sahara. Nor was there any contradiction between those efforts and efforts by the United Nations. Both should be complementary and consistent with the interests of the people of Western Sahara.

93. Mr. OWONO ASANGONO (Equatorial Guinea) said that, as his delegation had stated in the general debate in the General Assembly, it was convinced that the General Assembly would work out new methods of expressing its solidarity with and militant support for peoples fighting for national independence and human dignity throughout the world. It was sure that the international community would assume those responsibilities and consequently pay special attention to the colonial problem which persisted in Western Sahara as a result of Spanish occupation. The right of that Territory to self-determination and independence had been the subject of numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, OAU and the movement of non-aligned countries. It was therefore inconceivable and unacceptable that the international community should shirk its responsibilities and permit the perpetration of an international crime against a victim whose only offence had been to have been colonized. Many countries were trying to distract the attention of Member States from the legitimacy of the aspirations of the people of Western Sahara, who were daily giving their lives for independence.

94. The United Nations and OAU had always worked in close co-operation, especially with regard to the decolonization of the African continent. The Organization's responsibility for decolonization had been clearly defined and recognized by OAU, as was shown in the resolution adopted at the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, which requested that the decision of that Assembly should be brought to the knowledge of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, which should continue to concern itself with the problem of the decolonization of Western Sahara. The General Assembly had also reaffirmed its responsibility for the matter in resolution 32/22, by requesting the Special Committee to keep developments in the matter under review and report thereon to the General Assembly. Any attempt to prove that the problem was the responsibility of OAU alone was an imperialistic manoeuvre designed to conceal the true colonial context of the question, by stating that it was merely an African conflict. Moreover, if Africa alone was expected to solve all the colonial problems in its continent, the United Nations would have to give up its joint struggle to eliminate colonialism in Namibia and Zimbabwe. The Political Declaration adopted at the recent Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries had reaffirmed the responsibility of both the United Nations and OAU by explicitly accepting the resolutions adopted by both organizations. Consequently, the search for a solution to the question clearly called for joint and complementary action by the United Nations and OAU.

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(Mr. Owono Asangono, Equatorial Guinea)

95. His delegation denounced the criminal, cowardly action of the colonialist Spanish Government which, being unable to decolonize the Territory in accordance with its international obligations, had preferred to become an accomplice in the criminal sabotage of the inalienable rights of the people of that Territory. However, the determination of a people to fight for its legitimate rights was stronger than the ambitions of colonialism and imperialism. The Frente POLISARIO had rebelled against the sale, partition and occupation of its national territory, preferring to die rather than submit to domination, exploitation and expansion. That consideration should give food for thought to the parties concerned and persuade the international community to restore to the brave people of Western Sahara their legitimate rights.

96. The policy of the Government of Equatorial Guinea concerning decolonization was based on the irrefutable principles contained in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Nothing should prevent the self-determination of peoples and their accession to independence. The destiny of Western Sahara must be decided by the people of that Territory alone, through universal suffrage and without foreign interference. In accordance with the principle of self-determination recognized by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and taking into account the withdrawal of the administering Power from the Territory, the people of Western Sahara had decided that their legitimate representative would be the Frente POLISARIO and had proclaimed the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. In accordance with the sacred right to self-determination, Equatorial Guinea had recognized the Government of that Republic on 3 November 1978 and had stated that any claims to Western Sahara by third parties were tendentious.

97. He once again called upon the parties concerned not to disturb the peace in that region and to reach a suitable solution in accordance with universally accepted principles and criteria.

98. Mr. LOVO-CASTELAR (El Salvador) said that the question of Belize was a complex one, since it concerned the decolonization of a Territory to which a State Member of the United Nations had valid claims. It was therefore necessary to take both sides of the problem into account in order to maintain the balance necessary to reach a solution satisfactory to all interests.

99. The rapid progress in decolonization achieved pursuant to the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had been not only one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations but also a triumph for the intelligence and fighting spirit of the countries of the third world. El Salvador had strongly supported the decolonization process and reiterated its solidarity with the aspirations of people legitimately engaged in the struggle for independence. To do otherwise would be to deny its own origin, which was closely linked to that of Belize. However, each case called for treatment suited to the particular features of the situation. Barely 150 years previously, the Central American countries had attained independence from the Spanish yoke as a single sovereign nation. Although the vicissitudes of history had separated them into five different States, they had maintained the idea of union and had made various attempts to achieve it, the latest of which was a programme of economic integration. Belize had historically

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(Mr. Lovo-Castelar, El Salvador)

and geographically been part of Central America and had legally become part of the Republic of Guatemala when Central America had been divided into different countries. His country had therefore repeatedly recognized the validity of Guatemala's claim and had welcomed its desire for a negotiated solution to the controversy. Without analysing the illegitimacy of the reasons for the United Kingdom presence in Belize, it was an undeniable fact that it had produced a different people, with a different language and different customs, although in the southern part of Belize many people, mainly indigenous, identified themselves more with the Guatemalan people, as had been proved by the testimony of various petitioners from the Territory.

100. With regard to the administrative organization of Belize, there was a Governor appointed by the United Kingdom, who was responsible for defence, foreign affairs, internal security (including the armed forces) and public administration, and a local Government to which some of those functions had been delegated since 1974. The United Kingdom Government and the representatives of the Government of Belize had both said that they were in favour of independence and the representatives of the Belizean Government also insisted on the territorial integrity of Belize in the face of Guatemala's claims.

101. The persistence of a vestige of colonialism in Central America was a source of disturbance in the area which should be removed as soon as possible. El Salvador supported the principle of self-determination of peoples and considered it essential that the rights, interests and opinions of the people of Belize should be respected. However, it also recognized the legitimacy of Guatemala's claims and thought it essential that the matter should be settled by negotiation. Representatives of the Government of Belize were taking part in the negotiations between Guatemala and the United Kingdom, which had lasted for several years. The Committee should therefore recommend that the negotiations should be continued and request the parties to try to reach agreement before the following session of the General Assembly.

102. The CHAIRMAN announced that Kenya had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/33/L.7/Rev.1; Sweden had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/33/L.11; Fiji, Malaysia and Singapore had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/33/L.15; and Bahamas, India, Norway, Oman and Zambia had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/33/L.19.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.