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> IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Report of the Third Committee

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The General Assembly, at its 2037th plenary meeting, on 23 September 1972, allocated to the Third Committee agenda item 51, entitled "Importance of the universal realization of the right of people to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights".

2. The Third Committee considered this item at its 1948th meeting, on 13 November 1972, its 1950th and 1951st meetings, on 15 November, its 1953rd meeting, on 17 November, its 1957th and 1958th meetings on 22 and 23 November, its 1961st and 1962nd meetings, on 27 November and at its 1965th meeting on 30 November. The views expressed by Member States are contained in the summary records of those meetings (A/C.3/SR.1948, 1950, 1951, 1953, 1957, 1958, 1961, 1962 and 1965).

3. The Committee had before it the report of the Secretary-General on the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to selfdetermination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights (A/8778 and Add.1-3), submitted pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2787 (XXVI) of 6 December 1971. In paragraph 8 of that resolution, the General Assembly urged the Security Council as well as States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies to take effective steps to ensure the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on the elimination of colonialism and racism, and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session. The Committee also had before it a letter dated 6 November 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/C.3/631).

II. DEBATE

4. Speakers in the debate reaffirmed that the subjugation of peoples, alien domination and colonial exploitation were a violation of the principle of self-determination as well as a denial of basic human rights. It was pointed out that although substantial progress had been made in the field of decolonization, many millions of people remained under the yoke of colonialism, racial discrimination and <u>apartheid</u> in Africa and elsewhere in the world despite the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and numerous United Nations resolutions on decolonization, racism and selfdetermination.

5. Many representatives who spoke condemned the policies of Portugal and South Africa which persistently refused to implement these decisions of United Nations bodies. They deplored measures of repression and even of warfare which had been aimed by colonial and other alien forces against peoples struggling to achieve self-determination. These oppressed people, it was said, were left with no alternative but armed struggle in view of the negative attitude of the colonial Powers and their continued reluctance to apply the right of self-determination and independence for the peoples of the Territories under their jurisdiction. Many representatives condemned the policies of those States which persisted in supplying economic and military aid to Portugal and racist régimes in violation of United Nations decisions.

6. Several representatives referred to the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Palestine for liberation and self-determination.

7. Some representatives made reference to Puerto Rico where, in their view, there existed a colonial situation. This view was denied by the representative of the country concerned.

8. Many representatives stressed the need to grant international recognition to the national liberation movements which had gained <u>de facto</u> control over particular areas, and suggested in particular that they might be invited to bring to the attention of the Third Committee their views on the humanitarian aspect of the situation. It was said that it was the responsibility of the international community to give moral, material and humanitarian assistance to peoples struggling for liberation and independence. The importance of ensuring

that such assistance was provided on a voluntary basis, and in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, was stressed. 9. The need for further studies of various aspects of the right to selfdetermination was also mentioned. It was said that a careful study of ways and means of providing the greatest possible humanitarian assistance to the liberated areas should be undertaken without delay, and that the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities should be authorized to undertake the study on "the historical and current development of the right of peoples to self-determination on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and other instruments adopted by United Nations organs", which it had proposed to the Commission on Human Rights.

10. There was broad support for a proposal that the General Assembly should itself undertake to examine concrete ways and means of extending maximum humanitarian assistance to the peoples of liberated areas, as well as to colonial territories and peoples. It was suggested that, as a first step, the General Assembly should request the Secretary-General to report at its twenty-eighth session on the scope and nature of assistance being provided by the United Nations and co-operating organizations to colonial countries and peoples, as well as to those in liberated areas, from relevant existing voluntary funds and other forms of assistance.

11. In this connexion it was indicated that, since most of the pertinent material was already available, the Secretary-General would be required only to identify existing reports or studies, indicate their scope and nature, and relate them to areas of interest to the General Assembly.

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III. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS

12. At the 1962nd meeting, on 27 November, a draft resolution relating to the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to selfdetermination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights was submitted by <u>Cameroon</u>, <u>Cuba</u>, <u>Ghana</u>, <u>Indonesia</u>, <u>Jamaica</u>, <u>Mali</u>, <u>Upper Volta</u> and <u>Zambia</u> (A/C.3/L.1973). <u>Afghanistan</u>, <u>Rwanda</u> and the <u>United Republic of Tanzania</u> subsequently became sponsors of the draft resolution.

13. At the 1965th meeting, on 30 November, <u>Afghanistan</u>, <u>Algeria</u>, <u>Cameroon</u>, the <u>Congo</u>, <u>Cuba</u>, <u>Egypt</u>, <u>Ghana</u>, <u>Guinea</u>, <u>Indonesia</u>, <u>Mali</u>, <u>Mauritania</u>, <u>Morocco</u>, <u>Rwanda</u>, <u>Senegal</u>, the <u>Sudan</u>, the <u>United Republic of Tanzania</u>, <u>Upper Volta</u> and <u>Zambia</u> submitted a revised draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1973/Rev.1), incorporating amendments suggested by various members of the Committee. <u>Chad</u> and <u>Togo</u> subsequently became sponsors of the draft resolution, which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"<u>Having considered</u> the item on the 'importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights'.

"<u>Recalling</u> General Assembly resolution 2787 (XXVI) of 6 December 1971, urging the Security Council as well as States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies to take effective steps to ensure the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions,

"<u>Reaffirming</u> the inalienable right of all peoples under colonial and alien domination to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and General Assembly resolutions 2649 (XXV) and 2787 (XXVI),

"Disturbed at the continued reluctance of the colonial and racist Powers such as Portugal and South Africa to recognize and to apply the right to self-determination and independence for the peoples of the Territories under their control,

"<u>Deeply concerned</u> at the negative attitude of certain States Members of the United Nations to the implementation of the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on decolonization, racism, and selfdetermination,

> "Strongly deploring the intensification of armed repression and wanton slaughter of peoples under colonial and alien domination, and acts of aggression committed by colonialists and alien forces against a number of sovereign States and peoples struggling for their self-determination, which obstruct the full enjoyment of human rights,

"<u>Noting</u> the urgent need for providing maximum material, humanitarian and moral assistance to the peoples in the liberated areas, colonial countries as well as territories under alien subjugation,

"1. <u>Reiterates</u> the right of all peoples, notably of those mentioned in the General Assembly resolution 2787 (XXVI) to self-determination, freedom and independence, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle for liberation from colonial and alien domination and foreign subjugation by all available means consistent with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations;

²2. <u>Strongly condemns</u> all those Governments, particularly the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, who persistently refuse to implement resolution 1514 (XV) and other pertinent resolutions:

'3. <u>Strongly condemns</u> the policies of those members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other Powers who assist Portugal and other racist régimes in Africa and elsewhere in their suppression of peoples' aspirations for and enjoyment of human rights;

"4. <u>Decides</u> to examine concrete ways and means of extending maximum humanitarian and material assistance to the peoples of the liberated areas, colonial territories and peoples;

"5. <u>Requests</u> the Secretary-General to submit a report at the twenty-eighth session indicating the present scope and nature of assistance being provided to colonial countries and peoples, as well as those in the liberated areas, from relevant existing voluntary funds and other forms of assistance, by relevant organs of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, regional intergovernmental organizations and relevant non-governmental organizations after consultation with the Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations, in order to assist in the examination of areas and of ways and means of further promoting humanitarian and material assistance account being taken of the need for co-ordination:

"6. <u>Invites</u> the aforementioned organizations to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the preceding paragraph."

14. At the same meeting, the sponsors accepted an oral amendment from Greece and revised the seventh preambular paragraph to add the words "in accordance with the provision of the Charter of the United Nations" after the word "need".

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IV. VOTING

15. At its 1965th meeting, the Committee voted on the draft resolution $(\Lambda/C.3/L.1973/Rev.1)$ as orally revised (see para. 14 above). At the request of the representatives of Uruguay and Ecuador, a separate vote was taken on each paragraph of the draft resolution. The results of the voting was as follows:

(a) The first preambular paragraph was adopted by 110 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

(b) The second preambular paragraph was adopted by 91 votes to 4, with 15 abstentions.

(c) The third preambular paragraph was adopted by 91 votes to 3, with 16 abstentions.

(d) The fourth preambular paragraph was adopted by 97 votes to 2, with 13 abstentions.

(e) The fifth preambular paragraph was adopted by 100 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions.

(f) The sixth preambular paragraph was adopted by 94 votes to 1, with 19 abstentions.

(g) The seventh preambular paragraph, as orally revised (see para. 14 above), was adopted by 96 votes to 1, with 17 abstentions.

(h) Operative paragraph 1 was adopted by 79 votes to 10, with 20 abstentions.

(i) At the request of the representative of Zambia, a roll-call vote was taken on operative paragraph 2. The paragraph was adopted by 91 votes to 2, with 22 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Fcuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico,

> Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, Spain.

Abstaining: Aus

ng: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

(j) At the request of the representative of Zambia, a roll-call vote was taken on operative paragraph 3. The paragraph was adopted by 82 votes to 13, with 20 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Barbados, In favour: Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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<u>Against</u>: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Dominican Republic, France, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Bhutan, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Khmer Republic, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela.

(k) Operative paragraph 4 was adopted by 97 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions.

(1) Operative paragraph 5 was adopted by 101 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions.(m) Operative paragraph 6 was adopted by 101 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions.

(n) At the request of the representative of Mauritania, a roll-call vote was taken on draft resolution A/C.3/L.1973/Rev.1 as a whole, as revised. The draft resolution was adopted by 89 votes to 9, with 17 abstentions (see para. 16 below). The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

- <u>Against</u>: Dominican Republic, France, Israel, Italy, Nicaragua, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Morthern Ireland, United States of America.
- <u>Abstaining</u>: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, Ireland, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Venezuela.

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V. RECOMMENDATION OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE

16. The Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights

The General Assembly,

<u>Having considered</u> the item, entitled "Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights",

<u>Recalling</u> resolution 2787 (XXVI) of 6 December 1971, in which the General Assembly urged the Security Council as well as States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies to take effective steps to ensure the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions,

<u>Reaffirming</u> the inalienable right of all peoples under colonial and alien domination to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and with General Assembly resolutions 2649 (XXV) of 30 November 1970 and 2787 (XXVI) of 6 December 1971,

Disturbed at the continued reluctance of the colonial and racist Powers, such as Portugal and South Africa, to recognize and to apply the right to selfdetermination and independence for the peoples of the Territories under their control,

<u>Deeply concerned</u> at the negative attitude of certain Member States to the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly on decolonization, racism, and self-determination,

<u>Strongly deploring</u> the intensification of armed repression and wanton slaughter of peoples under colonial and alien domination and acts of aggression committed by colonialists and alien forces against a number of sovereign States and peoples struggling for their self-determination, which obstruct the full enjoyment of human rights,

Noting the urgent need, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, for providing maximum material, humanitarian and moral assistance to the peoples of the liberated areas, colonial territories as well as territories under alien subjugation,

1. <u>Reaffirms</u> the right of all peoples, notably of those mentioned in General Assembly resolution 2787 (XXVI), to self-determination, freedom and independence, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle for liberation from colonial and alien domination and foreign subjugation by all available means consistent with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations;

2. <u>Strongly condemns</u> all those Governments, particularly the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, which persistently refuse to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other pertinent resolutions;

3. <u>Strongly condemns</u> the policies of those States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other Powers which assist Portugal and other racist régimes in Africa and elsewhere in their suppression of peoples' aspirations for, and enjoyment of, human rights;

4. <u>Decides</u> to examine concrete ways and means of extending maximum humanitarian and material assistance to the peoples of the liberated areas, colonial territories and territories under alien subjugation;

5. <u>Requests</u> the Secretary-General to submit a report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, indicating the present scope and nature of assistance being provided to colonial countries and peoples, as well as those in the liberated areas, from relevant existing voluntary funds and other forms of assistance, by relevant organs of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, regional intergovernmental organizations and relevant non-governmental organizations after consultation with the Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations, in order to assist in the examination of areas and of ways and means of further promoting humanitarian and material assistance, account being taken of the need for co-ordination;

6. <u>Invites</u> the aforementioned organizations to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of paragraph 5 above.