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		2. The PRESIDENT (<i>interpretation from Spanish</i>): I now call on Mr. Sami Glaiel of the Syrian Arab Republic, the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, to present the report of that Committee.
		3. Mr. GLAIEL (Syrian Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (<i>interpretation from French</i>): I have the honour, as Rapporteur of the Special Committee, to present to the General Assembly the report of the Committee on its work during 1978 [A/33/23/Rev.1].

4. The report contains an account of the Special Committee's examination of the situation in each particular Territory. That part which deals, *inter alia*, with agenda item 24 has been prepared pursuant to paragraph 13 of resolution 32/42 of 7 December 1977, in which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee:

"... to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular:

"(a) To formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism ...".

5. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of other items referred to in the relevant General Assembly resolutions is to be found in the other chapters of the Committee's report.

6. As in previous years, the programme of work of the Special Committee in 1978 was particularly heavy; nevertheless, the Committee was able, by holding regular meetings between January and September, and by having official and unofficial consultations among its members whenever that was felt necessary, to consider most of the items on its agenda and to adopt appropriate resolutions or make the necessary recommendations. As far as the other items on the agenda are concerned, items which have not yet been considered, the Committee decided to convey to the General Assembly the necessary information and documentation to make it possible for the General Assembly to consider them.

7. The Committee was guided in its work by requests made to it by the General Assembly in resolutions 32/42 and 32/43. It reviewed the situation regarding the implementation of the Declaration [*resolution 1514 (XV)*] and the programme of action [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], as well as the resolutions of the United Nations concerning colonial territories. In the light of recent developments, the Committee was able to make recommendations for the adoption and application of appropriate steps to be taken by Member States and by competent bodies, the specialized agencies and others, to speed up the process of decolonization and the political, economic and social preparation of the peoples in those Territories.

8. In 1978 the Special Committee continued its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which impede the implementation of the Declaration in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and all other Territories under colonial domination, and of efforts made to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 32/35. It also continued its consideration of the military activities of the colonial Powers and their military arrangements in the Territories under their domination which might impede the implementation of the Declaration and which were incompatible with the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 32/36, the Special Committee also continued its examination of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and international institutions asso-

ciated with the United Nations. The Committee held consultations with the representatives of those organizations, made its wishes very clearly known to them and drew up plans for co-operation.

9. As the General Assembly will recall, the Committee was not in a position this year to send a visiting mission. Acceptance of the invitation addressed to it by the United States to visit Guam was postponed until next year, for administrative reasons relating to the Territory itself.

10. As the Assembly may have noted from the pertinent chapters of the report, the Special Committee paid particular attention to the question of the decolonization of small Territories. In this connexion, it approved a number of specific recommendations and proposals on various Territories. I hasten to add that the importance which the Committee attaches to this question was very clearly demonstrated in the recent discussion in the Fourth Committee, as a result of which that Committee recommended a number of draft resolutions to the General Assembly.

11. In the context of the study of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable, the Committee studied, as a separate item, the question of the decision of the Special Committee taken on 2 September 1977 concerning Puerto Rico [*see A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. I, paras. 57-73*]. A large number of petitioners were heard by the Committee and a decision was taken. The Committee decided to keep the matter under consideration.

12. Lastly, I should mention that the Committee discharged a number of other responsibilities under General Assembly resolutions and under its own resolutions. Thus it undertook a number of activities relating to the dissemination of information on the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. During the year the Special Committee celebrated the Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights. The Special Committee also held consultations with non-governmental organizations and took part in a number of international conferences.

13. Regarding the subjects relating to decolonization in general, I should like on behalf of the Special Committee to express the hope that the General Assembly will pay due attention to the various recommendations contained in the report and that the proposals in chapter I, section P, entitled "Future Work", will be approved, which will make it possible for the Committee to continue to discharge its responsibilities in the coming year.

14. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly reiterate its appeal to the administering Powers concerned to take without delay every step necessary for the implementation of the Declaration and the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Committee emphasized the importance it attaches to the assertion by the General Assembly that the association of the colonial Territories in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies is an effective method of promoting the progress of the peoples of those Territories to a state of equality with the States Members of this Organization. Another recommen-

dation is that the General Assembly should call upon the administering Powers to allow representatives of Territories under their administration to take part in the discussions and debates in the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee. Furthermore, the General Assembly might wish to renew its appeal to all Member States, specialized agencies and other organizations to comply with the requests addressed to them by the United Nations in various resolutions on decolonization. The Committee also recommends that the General Assembly, in approving the programme of work, should make the necessary financial arrangements to cover the activities planned for 1979.

15. Finally, the Special Committee expresses the hope that the Secretary-General will continue to provide it with all the necessary facilities and staff so that it can carry out its task in conformity with the mandate entrusted to it.

16. On behalf of the Special Committee, I commend to the General Assembly's attention the report contained in document A/33/23/Rev.1.

17. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania.

18. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania), Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: The General Assembly has just received a detailed account of the work accomplished by the Special Committee during 1978 from its Rapporteur, our colleague, Mr. Glaiel, of the Syrian Arab Republic. I shall, therefore, confine myself, as Chairman, to a few observations concerning some of the developments that have taken place during the year in the field of decolonization, as well as some of the issues which have continued to engage the close attention of the Committee in the discharge of the tasks entrusted to it by the Assembly.

19. Before I comment on these developments and issues, allow me, on behalf of the Special Committee, to take note with deep satisfaction of some positive developments: the accession to independence this year of three formerly dependent Territories—the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu and Dominica—one of which has become a Member of the world Organization and will be followed shortly by another. There is no doubt in my mind that the emergence of these new, independent and sovereign States constitutes a clear demonstration of the role the international community can play—and indeed has played during the last decade—in hastening the decolonization process and in assisting the peoples of the remaining colonial Territories in their efforts to achieve the objectives of the Declaration. That these developments will soon be followed by other similarly happy events is, I trust, a wish that is shared whole-heartedly by all the Members of this Assembly, and one for the realization of which we in the Special Committee will continue to work tirelessly.

20. Nothing would please me more, as the Chairman of the United Nations body primarily entrusted with the task of following the implementation of the Declaration, than to

limit my statement to an account of achievements of the kind I have just referred to. Regrettably, however, this cannot be done, for the progress in the process of decolonization that has taken place in some parts of the world remains overshadowed by the grave situation still prevailing in southern Africa.

21. When I spoke in this Assembly almost exactly a year ago¹ I stated that, in my view, the year 1978 would be most critical for the cause of decolonization in the area, that it would require us to remain constantly alert to changing situations and ever ready to take positive action and initiatives. I added that we must above all intensify our efforts, not only within the General Assembly but also in all other related bodies of the Organization, in particular in the Security Council, to find further ways and means to bring pressure to bear upon the racist minority régimes with a view to terminating their oppressive and illegal domination of the peoples of the Territories concerned. That the year was indeed critical, as well as marked by intensive diplomatic and other activity, and that yet more efforts are to be made to bring the era of colonialism and racist domination in that region to a final and conclusive end are facts that are known to all and need no elaboration.

22. When this year the Security Council adopted resolutions 431 (1978) and 432 (1978), followed by resolution 435 (1978) after prolonged negotiations undertaken by the five Western members of the Security Council, it was our earnest hope that at last the problem of Namibia would be settled through negotiations; for the adoption of these resolutions clearly and eloquently testified to co-operation of the liberation movement in Namibia, the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], supported by free Africa, and its willingness to proceed to a negotiated resolution, even if in the process the liberation movement had to make a number of significant concessions. These hopes have, however, proved to be at best exaggerated; for South Africa, true to form, remains defiant—defiant of the Security Council, defiant of the will of the international community and, significantly, no less defiant of the very Powers without whose support the *apartheid* régime's very survival would be seriously jeopardized, if not mortally affected.

23. So we have today a further deterioration of the situation in Namibia. Instead of hope there is further despair; instead of prospects for an ending of violence there is an ominous threat for a massive escalation of violence. All this because South Africa has chosen, and in many ways is allowed, to defy the world.

24. Yet, disheartening as the recent developments must have been to all of us who have assiduously worked for an end to the bloodshed and tyranny imposed on the Namibian people by the illegal South African régime and who had for one moment dared to believe that such an objective could be achieved without recourse to further violence and confrontations, it is clear that there is nothing surprising in the behaviour of the South African Government. Indeed, South Africa's unparalleled record in the matter made the possibility that the exercise might fail a

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 74th meeting, paras. 33-52.*

very real one from the inception of the negotiating process—an acknowledged hazard in dealing with a Government whose duplicity and delaying tactics would merely be pathetic if they were not so profoundly tragic. The fact that events to date have, unfortunately, borne us out is to be profoundly deplored, for, predictable though it was, South Africa's most recent manifestation of intransigence and its strategy of deception over Namibia can only be viewed as another major set-back to the cause of peaceful change in the whole of southern Africa.

25. In these circumstances, therefore, while we remain confronted with the fact that South Africa has seen fit to disregard yet another decision of the United Nations designed to ensure, through the holding of fair and free elections, a peaceful transfer of power to the genuine representatives of the Namibian people, we must bear in mind that it is ultimately for us, the members of the international community, to find a solution to this problem, as the inability to do so continues to affect seriously the Organization's moral and juridical authority. It is indeed now more than ever imperative that the United Nations reassert in no uncertain terms its central responsibility in the matter and the need for means to be found to ensure that the *apartheid* régime is made to comply with the decisions of the Organization. In this regard, it is also essential, given South Africa's firmly established record and its attitude of intransigence and arrogance—most recently demonstrated by its refusal to forgo the sham elections in the Territory—that we recommend to the Security Council that it consider taking further appropriate measures under the Charter in order to secure South Africa's speedy compliance with the decisions of the United Nations, in view, in particular, of the ever-increasing threat to international peace and security as a result of that régime's policies of confrontation.

26. As set out in the consensus adopted by the Special Committee at the outset of the year [A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. VIII, para. 12], and as reiterated repeatedly within the context of the related work of the United Nations bodies concerned, only a solution based on the free exercise by all Namibians of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia can be acceptable. This, obviously, remains of the essence, and all unilateral manoeuvres by South Africa to impose a settlement on its own terms and circumvent the will of the people should be condemned for what they are: namely, clear violations of United Nations decisions.

27. Equally important at the present stage of the Namibian conflict is the need for us, as responsible members of the international community, to continue to give our unequivocal, moral, political and material support to the Namibian people, under the leadership of its national liberation movement, SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

28. As the Organization entrusted with the historic responsibility of leading Namibia to independence, the United Nations can allow no room for equivocation and our duty is clear. We must continue to deploy every available means to defuse the highly explosive situation in the Territory and to ensure that its oppressed people are finally enabled to exercise their legitimate right to freedom and independence.

29. In Zimbabwe, the struggle for freedom and independence continues unabated. Yet, despite repeated condemnations by the Assembly and by the Security Council, the rebel minority racist régime of Ian Smith continues year after year the selfsame repressive policies that have been its trademark ever since it illegally seized power in the country 13 years ago. As confirmed to the Special Committee during the year, and more recently to the Fourth Committee, by the representatives of the Patriotic Front, the régime, in its attempts to intimidate the African population and counter the ever-effective liberation forces, has intensified yet again its inhuman practices of oppression and terror. As we are aware, the failure of its manoeuvres to stem the tide of liberation has also led the Smith régime to even more desperate measures, such as its repeated, massive acts of aggression against the neighbouring African States, resulting in the massacre of unarmed civilians.

30. I do not intend to recapitulate in this forum the events that have taken place during the year in regard to Zimbabwe. I believe it is important, however, for the benefit of those who might still, even at this late hour, entertain any illusion that Mr. Smith's intentions might be sincere, to recall the fact that, while the elements for settlement which came to be known as the Anglo-American proposals² were genuinely accepted by the leaders of the Patriotic Front and others in Africa as a basis for negotiations, the Smith régime was engaged in the deceitful tactics of the so-called "internal settlement" [see A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. VII, annex, paras. 58-63]. True to expectations, the internal settlement has settled nothing and, as is abundantly clear, it will settle nothing. A cynical farce from its inception, it has served only to promote further escalation of the acts of repression, terror and intimidation perpetrated by the Smith régime against the people of Zimbabwe. At the same time, it has stiffened the resistance and determination of the freedom fighters, led by the Patriotic Front. Obviously, therefore, Africa, and indeed the vast majority of the international community, as evidenced by Security Council resolution 423 (1978), were right in condemning and categorically rejecting a plan whose true design was to keep the instruments of domination in the hands of a minority bent on maintaining itself in power.

31. Faced with this situation, the responsibility of the world community is clear. Given the negativism and deceit displayed by the rebel régime regarding any plan which would result, as any plan obviously should, in a genuine transfer of power to the majority, it is important that conditions be created which will convince the Salisbury régime that its days in power are quickly drawing to an end. Those measures should include the widening of the scope of sanctions applied against the illegal régime. Concurrently we must redouble our efforts in support of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and in ensuring that they and their national liberation movement receive all necessary moral and material assistance. Their struggle obviously needs our continued and effective support if it is to succeed. At the same time, we must take steps to ensure that the isolation of the rebel régime does not remain a pious hope. In this

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

connexion, it might have been hoped that, given Smith's record, it would be superfluous to reassert at this late stage the need for scrupulous observance of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. Lest there be any doubt as to their importance, it should be remembered that, were it not for their existence, combined with the pressure of the armed struggle of the freedom fighters, no thought of a negotiated settlement would ever have entered Mr. Smith's mind. In the light of this, it is vital that all the necessary steps be taken by all concerned to prevent any violation of the mandatory sanctions, since such violations can only further embolden the illegal régime and further delay the end of the intolerable situation prevailing in the Territory.

32. Since it is obvious that any delay in the solution of the problems of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia further aggravates the tragedy undergone by the people concerned, exercises a negative influence on relations among States and is detrimental to the cause of peace and stability in southern Africa, it is particularly regrettable that, because of selfish economic considerations, certain States contribute to the continued existence of the problem by still taking an active part in the exploitation of the colonial Territories in the region. In view of the efforts of the international community to assist in the eradication of colonialism from the world, and particularly from that part of the African continent, the support given to the racist minority régimes by individuals and corporations so consumed by greed and by the appeal of easy profits as to be totally blind to the human consequences of their behaviour not only hampers the struggle for liberation of the peoples concerned but strengthens their oppressors in their inhuman policies. I should like, therefore, to underscore once again the urgent need for the cessation of all such foreign economic activities and all forms of support to the régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury, since such support only results in further suffering and additional hardship for millions of Namibians and Zimbabweans.

33. At the same time, I should also like to call once again for increased international support and assistance to the peoples of the Territories concerned and their national liberation movements, at governmental and inter-governmental levels, a matter to which the Special Committee again devoted much attention during the year. Indeed, in response to the relevant resolutions of the United Nations bodies concerned, several agencies and organizations have expanded the volume and scope of their assistance. Nevertheless, the assistance rendered so far to the peoples concerned, particularly to those of Zimbabwe and Namibia, still falls far short of their pressing needs, and accordingly we must enlist whatever resources are available in providing to them the assistance critically needed. In that context, the support of the major funding institutions within the United Nations system is essential, and the related role to be played by the executive heads of those institutions is particularly important, as has been amply exemplified in the intensified efforts within the framework of UNDP. This, I remain convinced, is the course of action to which the international community must continue to adhere if it is to contribute effectively to the final eradication of colonialism and racial discrimination, and to hastening the liberation of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

34. During the year under review, the Special Committee has also given considerable time and attention to the problems affecting the other colonial Territories, particularly those in the Caribbean and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Because of their small size and population and frequently because of their isolation and limited resources, these Territories, as we are aware, are facing different and often highly complex problems which may compound existing difficulties. In this regard, I would once again emphasize the position of principle of the Special Committee and the General Assembly, which is that, these special circumstances notwithstanding, the peoples of the Territories concerned, like those of all Non-Self-Governing Territories have all the rights and privileges set out in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In the light of their solemn obligations under the Charter and the relevant decisions of the United Nations, it therefore behoves the administering Powers concerned to ensure that these rights are fully respected at all times and that the aspirations of the peoples of the Territories for which they are responsible are fulfilled. Furthermore, the administering Powers concerned must continue to strengthen the economies of these Territories by organizing systematic programmes of assistance and economic development, while ensuring at the same time that steps are taken to safeguard the paramount interests of the peoples in the enjoyment of their natural resources and territorial integrity.

35. In this connexion, the Special Committee, in its consideration and examination of the conditions in those small Territories, has again received during the year the co-operation of the administering Powers concerned. I need hardly stress the importance of such co-operation if the Special Committee is to be able to assist effectively the peoples of these Territories and to facilitate the full and speedy implementation therein of the Declaration.

36. Equally satisfactory for the Special Committee is the co-operation which the Committee continues to receive from the administering Powers concerned as regards the receiving of United Nations visiting missions in the Territories under their administration. As has been the case regarding the missions dispatched by the Committee in the past, the Committee considers the sending of visiting missions to be the most direct means of securing information on the prevailing social, political and economic conditions and of ascertaining at first hand the real wishes and aspirations of the peoples of the colonial Territories. The Committee will continue to dispatch such missions as and when appropriate, with the co-operation of the administering Powers.

37. At this juncture, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his continued dedicated commitment to the cause of decolonization. This year, like previous years in which I have had the honour and privilege of presiding over the Committee, I have enjoyed the fullest co-operation, understanding and collaboration of the Secretary-General. I wish, in particular, to commend the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in support of United Nations objectives on the question of Namibia.

38. As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee has already pointed out, the relevant chapters of the Com-

mittee's report now before the Assembly contain a number of concrete recommendations concerning the various problems existing in the remaining colonial Territories. It is my firm belief and hope that the General Assembly, while discussing this item, will give its most serious attention to the recommendations made by the Special Committee. I am confident that the approval by the General Assembly of those and other important recommendations will enhance the capacity of our Organization to deal more effectively with the remaining colonial issues.

39. I should like at this stage to acknowledge with the deepest appreciation the important contribution made by my friends and colleagues the other officers of the Committee: Mr. Frank Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Anders Thunborg of Sweden and Mr. Neytcho Neytchev of Bulgaria, our three Vice-Chairmen, and Mr. Sami Glaiel of the Syrian Arab Republic, our Rapporteur. For me, as Chairman of the Special Committee, it has been an honour and a privilege to work with such dedicated colleagues.

40. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Under-Secretary-General for the Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, Mr. Tang Ming-chao, for his assistance and continued collaboration, and, through him, to extend my gratitude to all the members of his Department.

41. This year has been a year of achievements and frustrations in the international community's efforts for the promotion of the right to self-determination and independence of peoples. The independence of three former dependent Territories is definitely an important gain in our collective endeavours. There is, however, no denying the fact that developments in southern Africa, both in Zimbabwe and in Namibia, have been the cause of the utmost concern and frustration. The hopes and expectations of negotiated solutions have been severely shattered by the persistent defiance of the minority régimes in the area. I believe that it is incumbent on all of us to do everything in our power and to make effective use of the potentials and resources of the world community to rectify this situation.

42. Two years from now the General Assembly will be commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the proclamation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. No celebration would be more fitting, no tribute more appropriate, than to commemorate that anniversary with the elimination of colonialism in all the remaining Territories. In particular, I am convinced that, given the will and determination of all concerned, it should be possible to commemorate that anniversary with the colonial situations in Namibia and in Zimbabwe a matter of history.

43. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, who wishes to introduce the draft resolutions in documents A/33/L.16 and A/33/L.17.

44. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago): I should like at the outset to express my deep personal appreciation of the kind words spoken a short while ago by the Permanent

Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania and Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Salim Ahmed Saïm. It has indeed been a great honour and privilege to serve under his chairmanship as an officer of the Special Committee for yet another term and to share in the Organization's efforts to achieve the final eradication of the remaining, and in some instances stubborn, vestiges of colonialism.

45. As the Assembly has just received a succinct account of the recent developments in the field of decolonization and the highlights of some of the most intractable problems that continue to confront this Organization, I do not propose to treat these issues in exhaustive detail at this stage. Suffice it to say, as the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago has said on a number of occasions, that the anomaly which still prevails in the two remaining colonial Territories in southern Africa must be brought to an end forthwith. The course of action to be taken by the international community to achieve this goal has been clearly charted. Its implementation, however, depends on the degree of dedication, commitment, determination and sacrifice which all those concerned are prepared to provide.

46. Aware that the only alternative to the continuing bloodshed and suffering of the peoples concerned is the working out of an internationally acceptable solution for the transfer of power to the majority of the people by peaceful means, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has supported and endorsed those efforts which have been aimed at a negotiated settlement in accordance with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. However, the high hopes entertained by my delegation that these efforts would produce meaningful and tangible results are rapidly vanishing. It is therefore with a great sense of urgency that we in Trinidad and Tobago insist that ways be found without any further delay to permit the peoples of southern Africa to emerge as new African nations, freed from racism and minority rule.

47. At the same time, I should like to repeat that my Government stands steadfast in its support of the courageous struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples of those Territories and their national liberation movements. We regard it as incumbent on this Organization and its family of organizations to extend the fullest possible assistance, both moral and material, so as to enable them to exercise their right to self-determination and to achieve the fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed to them in the Charter of the Organization.

48. With respect to the remaining Territories of varying sizes which are scattered over a wide span across the Caribbean and Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, we note with satisfaction that a further positive move towards self-government and independence is clearly discernible. Given the increasing willingness to co-operate on the part of the administering Powers concerned, the task of this Organization in assisting the peoples of those Territories in their speedy and orderly achievement of the objectives of the Declaration is becoming an easier one. In this connexion, my Government places particular emphasis on the importance of the dispatch of United Nations visiting missions to those Territories, and notes that a visit to Guam has been scheduled in May of next year by the Special Committee.

We feel certain that that mission will contribute immensely to the finding of a solution to the complex problems facing that Territory in the process of decolonization.

49. Permit me now to speak on behalf of the sponsors of the two draft resolutions on the item, which have been placed before the Assembly in documents A/33/L.16 and A/33/L.17. The sponsors believe that the Assembly will have no difficulty in giving its unanimous support to the two drafts since they do not differ substantially from the resolutions adopted at the last session of the Assembly.

50. Draft resolution A/33/L.16 deals with the report of the Special Committee and in its preambular paragraphs recalls the pertinent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on decolonization. It pays particular attention to the continuing colonial situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe, condemns the intransigent attitude of their minority régimes and deprecates the continued collaboration by some States with those régimes in defiance of United Nations resolutions. The draft warmly welcomes the accession to independence of the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu and Dominica, and notes with satisfaction the co-operation of the administering Powers and their readiness to receive visiting missions in the Territories under their administration.

51. In its operative paragraphs, draft resolution A/33/L.16 reaffirms resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV), the General Assembly's determination to achieve the complete and speedy eradication of colonialism and its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal. In operative paragraphs 5 and 6 the Assembly would approve the report of the Special Committee, including the programme of work envisaged for 1979 as contained in document A/33/23/Rev.1, chapter I, paragraphs 155-167, and call upon all States, specialized agencies and other organizations to give effect to the recommendations in the report. In operative paragraph 7, the draft resolution condemns the intensified activities of foreign economic interests which are impeding implementation of the Declaration and condemns in particular, in operative paragraph 8, all collaboration with South Africa in the nuclear and military fields. It requests all States, in operative paragraph 9, to withhold assistance from the Government of South Africa and the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and, in operative paragraph 11, to provide moral and material assistance to the oppressed peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. In operative paragraph 12, the Assembly would request the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the full and immediate implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), and in that regard specific details are set out in subparagraphs 12 (a) to (e). In operative paragraph 13, the draft calls upon the administering Powers to permit the access of visiting missions to the Territories under their administration, while in its final operative paragraph 14 the draft requests the Secretary-General to provide the Special Committee with the necessary facilities and services to enable it to carry out its mandate.

52. Draft resolution A/33/L.17 is self-explanatory for it deals with the dissemination of information on decolo-

nization. The importance of publicity as an instrument for furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration has been repeatedly recognized by the Assembly.

53. In its operative paragraphs draft resolution A/33/L.17 approves the chapter of the report of the Special Committee relating to the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, reaffirms the importance of effecting the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, and requests the continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. In so doing, the Secretary-General is requested, *inter alia*, to continue to publish the periodical *Objective: Justice*, to intensify the activities of all information centres, particularly those located in Western Europe, and to enlist the support of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization.

54. We, the sponsors, believe that these two drafts contain nothing of a controversial nature and accordingly we commend them to this Assembly for unanimous adoption.

AGENDA ITEM 24

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples:

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES NOT CONSIDERED SEPARATELY (A/33/460)

AGENDA ITEM 92

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations:

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/33/448)

AGENDA ITEM 93

Question of Southern Rhodesia: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/33/452)

AGENDA ITEM 94

Question of East Timor: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/33/455)

AGENDA ITEM 95

Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/33/408)

AGENDA ITEMS 96 AND 12

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations:

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the Secretary General

Report of the Economic and Social Council

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/33/459)

AGENDA ITEM 97

United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/33/456)

AGENDA ITEM 98

Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/33/449)

55. Mr. DE LA PEDRAJA (Mexico), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration eight reports of the Fourth Committee on the following agenda items: 24, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96 and 12, 97 and 98. In view of the heavy workload of the Assembly at this stage of its session, I shall merely refer to the most important aspects of some of its recommendations.

56. The first report [A/33/460] refers to specific Territories not covered by other agenda items, which the Committee considered under agenda item 24. Paragraph 53 of the report contains eight draft resolutions and paragraph 54 four draft consensuses which the Committee recommends to the General Assembly for approval. The draft consensuses, which I list in the order of their adoption, refer to the following Territories: Gibraltar; Tokelau; St. Helena; Cocos (Keeling) Islands. The draft resolutions, listed in the same order, refer to the following Territories: New Hebrides; Western Sahara; American Samoa; Guam; United States Virgin Islands; Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, British Virgin Islands, Montserrat and Belize.

57. With respect to these Territories, it is the considered opinion of the majority of the members of the Fourth Committee that, in spite of the genuine problems they face because of their small size and population, their geographical isolation and their frequently limited resources, the General Assembly should reaffirm the full applicability to their populations of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and their inalienable right to decide their future status themselves.

58. In the same context, the majority of the members of the Committee stressed the importance of the fundamental right of the peoples of these Territories to sovereignty over their human and natural resources as well as to territorial integrity and security. Many members also once again stressed the fundamental importance of sending visiting missions from the United Nations to these small Territories, in order to give the United Nations an opportunity to assess the conditions prevailing there and to determine the genuine desires and aspirations of the peoples regarding their future.

59. In paragraph 55 of the report, the Fourth Committee also recommends two draft decisions: the General Assembly would defer to its thirty-fourth regular session consideration of the questions of Brunei, Pitcairn, the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and the Gilbert Islands under draft decision I and consideration of Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent in accordance with draft decision II.

60. The second report [A/33/448] relates to agenda item 92. In paragraph 10 of that report, the Fourth Committee recommends a draft resolution in which the Assembly would reaffirm that, in the absence of a decision of the Assembly itself to the effect that a Non-Self-Governing Territory has attained a full measure of self-government in terms of Chapter XI of the Charter, the administering Power concerned should continue to transmit information with respect to that Territory.

61. The third report [A/33/452] relates to the question of Southern Rhodesia. As indicated in the report, representatives of the Patriotic Front, as they have in the past, participated in the work of the Committee in an observer capacity. Taking into account the information given to the Committee by the observers, and on the basis of the recommendations of the Special Committee in this connexion as well as of its own consideration of the question, the Fourth Committee recommends that the General

Assembly adopt draft resolutions A and B appearing in paragraph 14 of the report.

62. By adopting draft resolution A, which refers to the general aspects of the question of Southern Rhodesia, the General Assembly would reaffirm once again the fundamental principle that in Zimbabwe there should be no independence before majority rule and that any settlement relating to the future of the Territory must be worked out with the full participation of the Patriotic Front and in accordance with the true aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. In this connexion, the General Assembly would express its firm support of the people of the Territory in their struggle to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence by all means at their disposal. The Assembly would also condemn the illegal racist régime for its continued war of repression and intensified oppressive measures against the people of Zimbabwe, and for its repeated acts of aggression against Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. It would condemn the so-called internal settlement and all the initiatives of the illegal régime aimed at the retention of power by a racist minority and condemn South Africa and certain Western and other countries for the direct and indirect support they are continuing to give to the illegal minority régime. The General Assembly would also call upon the administering Power to take all effective measures to enable the people of Zimbabwe to accede to independence in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population and not under any circumstance to accord to the illegal régime any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty.

63. Draft resolution B refers to the question of sanctions against the illegal minority régime. In this context the members of the Fourth Committee strongly condemned those Governments, particularly the Government of South Africa, which, in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in contravention of their obligations under the Charter, continue to collaborate with the illegal minority racist régime. In the light of the constantly deteriorating situation in the Territory, and with a view to placing the illegal régime in the most complete isolation, the General Assembly would stress the need for the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime to be widened to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter and reiterate its request that the Security Council consider the possibility of adopting the necessary measures in that regard as a matter of urgency. Bearing in mind that petroleum and petroleum products are transported from South Africa to Southern Rhodesia, the General Assembly would, in addition, request the Security Council to impose a mandatory embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa. In the same context the General Assembly would, furthermore, condemn the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to Southern Rhodesia by oil companies of the United Kingdom and other countries which are circumventing United Nations sanctions, thereby strengthening the illegal régime of Ian Smith.

64. The fourth report [A/33/455] refers to the question of East Timor, which the Committee considered under agenda item 94. In the draft resolution appearing in paragraph 12 of the report, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, would request the Special Committee to keep the

situation in the Territory under active consideration and to dispatch to the Territory as soon as possible a visiting mission with a view to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration.

65. The fifth report [A/33/408] relates to the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration, which the Fourth Committee considered under agenda item 95. Among other things, the General Assembly, in condemning the intensified activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests which continue to exploit the natural and human resources of colonial Territories, would once again urge Governments to adopt the necessary measures to put an end to such activities, which are opposed to the interests of the inhabitants of these Territories. Furthermore, the Assembly would call on all States to adopt effective measures to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance, including military supplies and equipment, to the régimes which use such assistance to repress the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements.

66. The sixth report [A/33/459] refers to agenda items 96 and 12. In the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 10 of the report the General Assembly would, *inter alia*, request the interested agencies and organizations, as a matter of urgency, to render or continue to render all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples of Africa struggling for their liberation from colonial rule. The General Assembly would furthermore urge the executive heads of the specialized agencies and other organizations, as a matter of priority, to formulate with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] concrete proposals for the full implementation of the relevant United Nations decisions, in particular specific programmes of assistance to the peoples in the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements, and to present them to their governing and legislative organs.

67. The seventh report [A/33/456] refers to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, which the Committee considered under agenda item 97. In the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 10 of the report the General Assembly would express its appreciation to all those who have made voluntary contributions to the United Nations Programme and would appeal once again to all States, organizations and individuals to make generous contributions to the programme to ensure its continuation and expansion.

68. The eighth and final report [A/33/449] refers to offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, which the Committee considered under agenda item 98. In the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 8 of the report the General Assembly would invite all States to make or continue to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, particularly those in southern Africa.

69. As I stated at the outset, these introductory observations merely concern some of the basic aspects of the recommendations of the Committee. I must stress that any

omission of which I may have been guilty should not diminish the importance or significance of the ideas which are covered by those recommendations.

70. On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I wish to recommend that the General Assembly give its utmost careful consideration to these reports.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fourth Committee.

71. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Interventions will therefore be limited to explanations of vote. The Assembly will first consider the report of the Fourth Committee under agenda item 24, concerning chapters of the report of the Special Committee relating to specific Territories. The report is contained in document A/33/460.

72. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

73. Mr. CASTILLO-ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala stated its position on the question of Belize in the Fourth Committee in a clear and detailed manner when the Committee discussed agenda item 24.³ Again we stated our position⁴ when we introduced the draft resolution which was adopted in the Committee and which is now before the General Assembly. However, we must explain now why Guatemala will not take part in the vote which is about to take place.

74. Guatemala, through its representative in the Fourth Committee, presented the position of our Government and stated:

“The United Kingdom and Guatemala began more than two years ago a new series of direct negotiations in which positive progress has been made in the interests of bringing about an honourable and just settlement for all the parties concerned.

“Guatemala has decided in good faith to accept conciliatory formulas which would help bring about an honourable and just settlement, for which purpose it is necessary to enter negotiations with a flexible attitude and a willingness to make mutual concessions, in awareness of the aspirations of the people of Belize to self-determination.

“Regrettably, certain Governments which have nothing to do with the dispute have applied political pressure in various international forums in an attempt to resolve the problem on behalf of special interests and have obtained in return political concessions from various blocs and movements, which then try to define matters in the United Nations in a manner which is neither orthodox nor strictly in accordance with the Charter and other rules in force in the Organization. Those actions un-

dermine the legal equality of Member States and may cause them irreparable damage, for with those political intentions, in certain cases, principles are invoked which are claimed to be absolute truths but which, if applied, would be to the detriment of other countries that do not belong to those exclusive blocs. It has been stated here, for example, that the countries which have suffered from colonial régimes have the right to self-determination and independence, and that a country that has achieved the full exercise of sovereignty has the right to exercise that sovereignty within its own borders, which cannot be tampered with, in the interests of preserving its territorial integrity. But that has had to be defended by fire and sword by States in other parts of the world, invoking law, history and tradition. Guatemala, when it was part of the Capitanía General de Centroamérica, which included Central America and the southern part of the territory of Mexico, was under Spanish colonial rule for 300 years. Belize was under Spanish domination first and then under that of Guatemala until independence. But when Guatemala demanded respect for the inviolability of its frontiers, unilaterally and arbitrarily fixed by England as a result of invasion and force that affected the territorial integrity of an American republic, those countries belonging to blocs and movements attacked the principle they uphold and that applies to a State which has suffered from colonialism, in order to benefit the new interests of a colonial Power through the Government of the Territory which, for the past 17 years, it has kept under its thumb in an attempt to create new forms of dependence. If the United Nations accepts that, it would be failing in its primary mission.”⁵

75. On earlier occasions we have emphasized the impropriety of injecting political elements into legal procedures in disregard of values constituting the basic aims of justice in international law, such as peace, security, equality and equity because such action must lead to obstruction of the process of peaceful settlement of disputes and renders null and void any resolution distorted in this way.

76. Generally accepted and undeniably valid international principles must be made effective enough to become rules of law because their application in disregard of those rules must lead to acts or provisions devoid of strength and effectiveness, even if they take the form of mere recommendations. It should also be borne in mind that, notwithstanding the general validity of certain principles, their application must take into account individual features which make one case different from another. In the area of decolonization, no two cases are the same and that is an axiom fully recognized in the United Nations. The case of Belize is unique because the self-determination of its people is being sought through the complete dismemberment of the territory of an established State whose territorial integrity would thus be affected.

77. Guatemala has always respected the principle of self-determination and we moreover vigorously support that principle, but it is undeniable that the implementation of that principle must not go to the extreme of violating another equally sound principle, that of the territorial

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Fourth Committee, 26th meeting, paras. 45-48, and ibid., Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 32nd meeting, paras. 20-24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 26th meeting, paras. 45-48 (for a summary of this statement).

integrity of States. It is possible, however, to combine both principles and thus trace out the best method.

78. That is true in the case of Belize, which goes back to a territorial dispute in existence for many years between Guatemala and the United Kingdom, two sovereign States which have agreed on specific and proper procedures in an endeavour to reach a peaceful and equitable settlement in keeping with the United Nations Charter.

79. That procedure consists of direct negotiations and these have been going on now for several years. There have been ups-and-downs, reasonable intervals between proposals and counter-proposals and other incidents which are normal in such transactions notwithstanding the determination of the parties to come to an early agreement on points likely to lead to a final settlement of the essential issue.

80. Guatemala has constantly striven to steer the negotiations in a positive direction. We are open-minded and flexible; we are prepared to maintain that attitude until a just and honourable settlement of the case has been brought about, with due recognition of the rights of the parties and bearing duly in mind the vital interests and aspirations of the people of Belize. Their aspirations are justified and can be achieved since we are aware of our common destiny because of our geographical proximity, our common history and national interests, and because of the irreversible need to work together in developing our region. We do not consider that we have exhausted all efforts to reach a settlement which can be achieved in short order if the other side takes an equally positive and forthcoming stand.

81. We would remind the Assembly that in accordance with the rules of law governing negotiations and the way in which they are to be conducted, the International Court of Justice had the following to say in the North Sea Continental Shelf case:

“... the parties are under an obligation to enter into negotiations with a view to arriving at an agreement and not merely to go through a formal process of negotiation, as a sort of prior condition for the automatic application of a certain method of delimitation in the absence of agreement; they are under an obligation so to conduct themselves that the negotiations are meaningful, which will not be the case when either of them insists upon its own position without contemplating any modification of it.”⁶

82. In the present case, Guatemala has shown great flexibility and open-mindedness, whereas the other side has insisted on its own position without any modification. Moreover, these negotiations have been disrupted in this Assembly by abnormal alien elements, and that has served only to delay an equitable settlement. Bringing up the matter in this forum for the purpose of predetermining the terms of a settlement can only be viewed as a manoeuvre designed to fix conditions in a manner incompatible with the procedures to be followed in negotiations leading to reasonable and peaceful settlement of disputes. Such

interference in negotiations is a serious violation of customs and rules recognized in international law.

83. Certain other actions of the United Kingdom and other delegations have also been unreliable and counter-productive as they have been clearly aimed at bringing the pressure of the international community to bear against our country. A small country like Guatemala, in spite of the vicissitudes which we have had to suffer in the past century in asserting our independence and our national institutions, has constantly tried to develop and protect its territorial integrity and fulfil its obligations in this and other international bodies. Guatemala has had to fight for its security and well-being against the onslaught of imperialism and colonialism. Eventually, as a result of our conciliatory and correct course of action we have established a position which has gained for us respect and admiration on the American continent; paradoxically, we now have to face attacks by other similar nations which ought to share our desire to emerge from under-development in the face of a major Power which they have always abhorred. Victims of their emotions, they have lost all perspective and all awareness of the realities of the case in the interests of immediate and fleeting objectives. Others have been influenced by the manoeuvres of that colonialist great Power which they themselves have always condemned and which wishes to perpetuate its domination over another country to the detriment of the sovereignty and integrity of an established State, exploiting the weakness of a new entity which it wishes to mould to its own desires using the lure of relative autonomy to further its own designs.

84. It is also well known that the implementation of certain principles is vehemently and indiscriminately demanded, putting expediency above more permanent values and concepts that have a more solid and positive doctrinal base. In this way it has been possible to transform the justified new anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist wave into an effective political instrument for lessening the great prestige of our Organization.

85. The General Assembly has made the mistake of trying to lay down terms and conditions to resolve an issue which has already been made subject to certain procedures laid down in the Charter. Resolutions adopted in this hall in recent years have added nothing positive to the settlement of this problem; far from clearing the way for an agreement, they have served only to obstruct procedures.

86. Guatemala maintains its faith in the principles and purposes of the United Nations and its actions. We are determined to pursue our efforts to find common areas of agreement and finally to settle problems through negotiations. But we cannot vote in favour of any departure from this course, such as the draft resolution submitted by the Fourth Committee proposes. This draft resolution, like its predecessors, attempts to lay down courses of action, to prejudge results and to restrict the actions of parties in the dispute.

87. Instead, we put forward in the Fourth Committee the rational and appropriate draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/33/L.24, sponsored by nine Member States. That draft resolution contained the necessary elements for the General Assembly, in respect for the

⁶ See *North Sea Continental Shelf, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1969, p. 47.*

principles of the Charter and of resolution 1514 (XV), to deal with the problem in a constructive manner and to allow the parties, in one year, to reach a fair settlement of their dispute and to take measures to ensure and fulfill the aspirations of peoples having a common history, geography and destiny who inhabit this region, including, naturally, the people of Belize. That draft was rejected as a result of certain political pressures exerted by certain States, because of their broad and well-known political interests, which we have always repudiated for sound reasons.

88. For these reasons Guatemala will not take part in the vote on draft resolution A/33/L.19, which we specifically reject.

89. Mr. CARIAS ZAPATA (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Together with other delegations in the Fourth Committee my delegation sponsored a draft resolution which was not adopted and whose aim was to urge the parties directly concerned in the question of Belize to conclude negotiations, which have been intensive in recent years, in order as soon as possible to reach a satisfactory agreement in keeping with the principles of the Charter and other relevant instruments.

90. Everything indicates that the negotiations have reached a decisive stage, and that we must be careful to promote their continuation so that the parties may at once safeguard and reconcile their respective rights, thereby preserving not only peace, but also the bright possibilities for future co-operation among the peoples of Central America.

91. It is for this reason that my delegation will not take part in the voting on draft resolution VII on Belize, recommended by the Fourth Committee. However, we wish to reiterate our appeal to Guatemala and the United Kingdom, in consultation with the authorities in Belize and, where appropriate, with other Governments concerned in the area, to pursue their negotiations with a view to a speedy settlement.

92. Mr. MONTIEL ARGÜELLO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Nicaragua has decided not to take part in the vote on the draft resolution before us. With other Central American countries, and with some countries outside our area, Nicaragua sponsored a draft resolution which was not adopted in the Fourth Committee. In that draft resolution, the principle of the self-determination of peoples was reaffirmed, and the Governments of Guatemala and the United Kingdom were urged to accelerate negotiations to bring about a speedy settlement of the dispute. My country considers that such an action would respect and ensure the implementation of the principles of our Organization without introducing any alien elements, as the draft resolution before us does.

93. It is for this reason that we stand with Guatemala in its decision not to take part in the vote on this draft, which we feel would not contribute to a just and impartial settlement of the question of Belize.

94. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We will now proceed to a decision on the various recommendations of the Fourth Committee. We turn first to the

seven draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 53 of its report [A/33/460].

95. Draft resolution I is entitled "Question of the New Hebrides". The Fourth Committee adopted this draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 33/30).

96. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolutions II A and B are entitled "Question of Western Sahara". I shall first put to the vote draft resolution II A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala,⁷ Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia

Against: Central African Empire, Egypt, Gabon, Grenada, Indonesia, Israel, Mauritania, Morocco, Nicaragua, Zaire

Abstaining: Bahrain, Belgium, Burma, Canada, Chad, Chile, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Honduras, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mauritius, Nepal, Netherlands, Oman, Paraguay, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay

Draft resolution II A was adopted by 90 votes to 10, with 39 abstentions (resolution 33/31 A).⁸

97. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now proceed to the vote on draft resolution II B. A recorded vote has been requested.

⁷ The delegation of Guatemala subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

⁸ The delegation of Comoros subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Central African Empire, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala,⁹ Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Liberia, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Zaire

Against: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia

Abstaining: Belgium, Bhutan, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Fiji, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, Mongolia, Netherlands, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, Venezuela, Zambia

Draft resolution II B was adopted by 66 votes to 30, with 40 abstentions (resolution 33/31 B).¹⁰

98. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution III is entitled "Question of American Samoa". The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 33/32).

99. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We come now to draft resolution IV, entitled "Question of Guam". The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 33/33).

100. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution V is entitled "Question of the United States Virgin Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted

⁹ The delegation of Guatemala subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

¹⁰ The delegation of Comoros subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

draft resolution V without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 33/34).

101. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution VI is entitled "Question of Bermuda, Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, British Virgin Islands and Montserrat". The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution VI was adopted (resolution 33/35).

102. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We come now to draft resolution VII entitled "Question of Belize". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Sri Lanka¹¹

Abstaining: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Israel, Japan, Mauritania, Paraguay, Spain, United States of America, Uruguay

Draft resolution VII was adopted by 127 votes to 1, with 12 abstentions (resolution 33/36).

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite the General Assembly to consider the four draft consensuses recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 54 of its report [A/33/460].

¹¹ The delegation of Sri Lanka subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

104. Draft consensus I is entitled "Question of Gibraltar". The Fourth Committee adopted the draft consensus without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft consensus I was adopted (decision 33/408).

105. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft consensus II is entitled "Question of Tokelau". The Fourth Committee adopted draft consensus II without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft consensus II was adopted (decision 33/409).

106. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft consensus III is entitled "Question of St. Helena". The Fourth Committee adopted draft consensus III without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft consensus III was adopted (decision 33/410).

107. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft consensus IV is entitled "Question of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted draft consensus IV without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft consensus IV was adopted (decision 33/411).

108. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We now come to the three draft decisions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 55 of its report [A/33/460].

109. Draft decision I is entitled "Question of Brunei". The Fourth Committee adopted draft decision I without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft decision I was adopted (decision 33/412).

110. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision II is entitled "Question of Pitcairn, of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and of the Gilbert Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted draft decision II without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft decision II was adopted (decision 33/413).

111. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision III is entitled "Question of Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent". The Fourth Committee adopted draft decision III without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft decision III was adopted (decision 33/414).

112. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives wishing to explain their votes after the vote.

113. Mr. BYATT (United Kingdom): In voting for draft resolution VII, concerning Belize, which has just been adopted, my Government wished to emphasize the urgent need for the settlement of this problem, which has been before the Assembly for many years. I welcome the fact that the Government of Guatemala also wishes to speed up negotiations in order to reach an early solution.

114. I should also like to make it clear once again that the United Kingdom has no wish to maintain a colony in Central America. Only our controversy with Guatemala has prevented for the past 13 years our bringing Belize to independence.

115. We regard the question as one concerning the present right of the people of Belize to self-determination, but one historical fact should perhaps be mentioned. For 80 years, from 1859 to 1939, Guatemala recognized the present boundaries of Belize, which were defined in the 1859 Convention between the United Kingdom and Guatemala.¹² We are now offering a modern equivalent of the road project envisaged in that Convention, together with other proposals which my delegation has described in the Fourth Committee. We believe that this package offers the most constructive way forward.

116. We welcome the fact that the Government of Guatemala is ready to continue negotiations with us. My Government believes that by working together we can achieve a settlement in the interests of all the parties and that such a settlement would lead to the establishment with Guatemala of the friendly relations which Britain and Belize currently enjoy with the other States of Latin America. We look forward to continuing those negotiations at an early date.

117. Mrs. DE BARISH (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Costa Rica has already explained its position on agenda item 24.

118. We have always supported the principle of self-determination. Our explanation remains valid today, as we have voted in favour of draft resolutions II A and B, on Western Sahara, in document A/33/460.

119. We wish to say that our support for both draft resolutions is an indication of our desire that this matter be resolved as definitively as possible, because we consider that the participation of the OAU, as indicated in draft resolution II B, would be very valuable.

120. My delegation attributes great importance to the participation of regional organizations in matters which specifically concern a particular region, although we do not rule out consideration of the item in the world Organization.

121. Our vote in favour of draft resolution VII, on Belize, is also in line with our concern for the exercise of the self-determination of peoples, in this case the people of Belize.

¹² Convention between Great Britain and Guatemala, relative to the Boundary of British Honduras, signed at Guatemala City on 30 April 1859. See *British and Foreign State Papers, 1858-1859*, vol. XLIX (London, William Ridgway, 1867), pp. 7-13.

122. We cherish the hope that this difficult problem will be settled by peaceful and equitable means for the benefit of all those concerned and that direct negotiations will be accelerated, bearing in mind the principles set forth in both the charter of the Organization of American States and the Charter of the United Nations.

123. Mr. EL-SIDDIK (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My country, as a member of the OAU and as Chairman of the "committee of wise men" appointed by the OAU to take a decision on the conflict concerning Western Sahara,¹³ voted in favour of the draft resolutions II A and B contained in the report of the Fourth Committee, just adopted by the General Assembly.

124. My country has maintained this attitude in a spirit of impartiality and with an awareness of the ideals of equality, in order to find out the views of all parties concerned in the conflict, because the "committee of wise men" is continuing its efforts to find an African solution to the conflict concerning Western Sahara. My country, both in the Fourth Committee and in the General Assembly, voted in favour of these two draft resolutions in order to create an appropriate atmosphere and to ensure that the work of the "committee of wise men" will be successful. The attitude of my country to the question of Western Sahara is well known to all representatives here, and we do not intend to go into the details of that attitude now. We do not wish to reiterate our position while the efforts of the "committee of wise men" are continuing. Furthermore, given our position as Chairman of the "committee of wise men", where we have expressed our preference for one resolution or another we will not repeat it lest it be construed to mean that Sudan is in any way partial when it is making great efforts to find a solution acceptable to all the parties concerned.

125. Sudan, as Chairman of the committee, wishes to state that, in the interest of resolving the Western Sahara question, it voted in favour of both the draft resolutions because its primary concern was to become familiar with all points of view and thus to achieve the objective of finding a solution which will be acceptable to all the parties concerned.

126. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation supported the consensus that emerged on draft resolution IV on the "Question of Guam". Nevertheless, we would like to enter reservations on operative paragraph 7 and to make the following statement. The presence of foreign military bases and installations in a Non-Self-Governing Territory such as Guam is a serious obstacle to the exercise of the right of self-determination and independence of colonial peoples. It is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Therefore all military bases and installations should be withdrawn immediately and unconditionally.

127. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of El Salvador explained its

¹³ *Ad hoc* committee of Heads of State to consider all the data on the question of Western Sahara, including the exercise of the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination. See document A/33/235 and Corr.1, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).

position on the problem of Belize at considerable length in the Fourth Committee.¹⁴ We have now heard some statements explaining the votes cast, the abstentions or the non-participation in the voting on the question of Belize, and we agree with much of what has been said about non-participation.

128. Although it is true that in draft resolution VII, which was adopted a few moments ago, there are certain paragraphs which we find acceptable, there are others which we feel would not contribute to a settlement of the problem through the peaceful means of the negotiations which are now going on.

129. My government believes that direct negotiation is one of the most appropriate means of solving this type of problem, and consequently we feel that the parties concerned—Guatemala, the United Kingdom and the people of Belize—should be the ones to resolve the problem through the negotiations which are at present taking place and which we naturally hope will be successful. For that reason we preferred not to take part in the vote on that draft resolution.

130. I should like also to say something about draft consensus I which was adopted on the question of Gibraltar. That is a question which has always been of concern to my Government because it is a long-standing problem between two European countries, one of which, Spain, is closely related to our country since it is the former metropolitan country. This does not mean that we do not also have respect and admiration for the United Kingdom.

131. We therefore hope that that decision will lead to an intensification of negotiations between Spain and the United Kingdom that will bring about a satisfactory settlement of the problem of Gibraltar.

132. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We come now to the report of the Fourth Committee under agenda item 92 [A/33/448]. I now put to the vote the draft resolution entitled "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations", which has been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 10 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast,

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Fourth Committee, 27th meeting, paras. 98-101, and ibid., Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: None

Abstaining: France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The draft resolution was adopted by 138 votes to none, with 3 abstentions (resolution 33/37).

133. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 93 [A/33/452]. We shall take a decision on draft resolutions A and B grouped under the heading "Question of Southern Rhodesia", which have been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 14 of its report.

134. We turn first to draft resolution A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: None

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Luxembourg, New Zealand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Draft resolution A was adopted by 130 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 33/38 A).

135. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now take a vote on draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: None

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Dominican Republic, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Draft resolution B was adopted by 124 votes to none, with 15 abstentions (resolution 33/38 B).¹⁵

136. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): To explain his vote after the vote, I now call on the representative of Botswana.

137. Mr. SEKWABABE (Botswana): Botswana voted for the two draft resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia. This is, of course, as it should be, for we feel strongly about the freedom of our brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe. I should, however, like to make the same reservation that Botswana made in the Fourth Committee

¹⁵ The delegation of Somalia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

on operative paragraph 10 of draft resolution B. As I explained in the Fourth Committee, our reservation is based solely on the extreme vulnerability of our economy resulting from our geographical location vis-à-vis South Africa. Our abstention, of course, in no way affects our unflinching support for the just struggle of the heroic people of Zimbabwe. Botswana, as always, stands resolutely behind the people of Zimbabwe, led by their liberation movement, the Patriotic Front.

138. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 94 on the question of East Timor. The report is contained in document A/33/455.

139. In explanation of his vote before the vote, I call on the representative of Indonesia.

140. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): The Assembly is again faced with a draft resolution, the text of which is contained in document A/33/455, as a result of a yearly routine of arbitrarily distorting developments while ignoring facts and existing realities in East Timor. This is particularly disturbing as my delegation has again supplied the Fourth Committee with the relevant facts and additional information with regard to the latest developments to enable the Committee to obtain an objective view of the situation in the province.

141. My delegation has no intention of going into the details of the draft resolution. I have already spoken at length in the Fourth Committee¹⁶ on the developments in East Timor which refute the validity of the provisions in the draft resolution.

142. Apart from my delegation's considered view that the discussion of the situation in East Timor by the United Nations is an unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia in contravention of the relevant provisions of the Charter, I must state that the draft resolution has nothing to do with the facts and realities prevailing in East Timor. This draft is totally irrelevant to what has happened and is developing in the province. It is an established fact that the so-called FRETILIN¹⁷ has ceased to exist in East Timor. Its original "president", Mr. do Amaral, is now in Dili after having been freed from his guards who had held him prisoner. He has denounced his former colleagues in the leadership of the so-called FRETILIN as adventurers, at the same time exhorting them to surrender. The most recent to join the ranks of those who surrendered or were captured is the self-styled Minister of Information of the so-called FRETILIN, Mr. Alarico Fernandez. With Mr. Fernandez were three members of the central committee of the so-called FRETILIN and 40 other followers.

143. One must be an incorrigible cynic to be "Deeply concerned at the . . . critical situation in East Timor"—as stated in the fifth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution and repeated in operative paragraph 4—while remaining blithely unconcerned about truly critical sit-

uations in some other parts of the world which, indeed, constitute a threat to international peace and security. Actually, the so-called "critical situation" exists only in the imagination of a small group of people living in an African country and calling themselves FRETILIN, and their biased supporters.

144. The people of East Timor have made their decision in the exercise of their right to self-determination. Their decision is irreversible. The people of East Timor are now an integral part of the Indonesian people, and East Timor an integral part of the territory of the independent and sovereign Republic of Indonesia. Nothing can change that fact.

145. My delegation puts on record Indonesia's categorical and total rejection of this draft resolution. My delegation will vote against it.

146. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Question of East Timor", which has been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 12 of its report in document A/33/455. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Niger, Portugal, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zambia

Against: Australia, Bangladesh, Chile, Egypt, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Morocco, Nicaragua, Oman, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Zaire

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Burma, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Samoa, Seychelles, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela, Yugoslavia

Draft resolution was adopted by 59 votes to 31, with 8 abstentions (resolution 33/39).¹⁸

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Fourth Committee, 32nd meeting, paras. 6-19, and ibid., Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

¹⁷ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

¹⁸ The delegation of Somalia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as an abstention.