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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly (*continued*)*
(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

FIRST REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE
(A/32/336)

1. The PRESIDENT: Before we take a decision on the report of the Credentials Committee I shall call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.
2. Mr. EL SHEIBANI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): I would like to make the following statement regarding the credentials of the delegation of the Zionist entity to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.
3. Much has been said and written about the burning humanitarian problem of Palestine. Suffice it to repeat that the United Nations, lacking any legal capacity to approve the partition of any nation, issued its ignominiously acclaimed resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 partitioning Palestine. Such precipitate action not only contravened the Charter of the United Nations but inflicted an unforgivable and merciless lot on the Arab people of Palestine.
4. The United Nations, which remains guilty of a momentous error of judgement, has found itself, because of its inability to deal effectively, if at all, with the Zionist entity, aiding and abetting the unspeakable atrocities of that entity against the people of Palestine.
5. I will spare my esteemed colleagues the chronology of historical evidence and United Nations resolutions which

* Resumed from the 1st meeting.

led to the occupation of Palestine by a racist, neo-Fascist entity, one which is bent on the total extermination of the Arab people. This is easily available to those who are sincerely interested and wish to study it. This, of course, excludes the hypocrites whose idea of inquiry is to ask the Zionist representatives and blindly to accept their words as holy. The right of the Palestinian people to their homeland is not derived solely from any United Nations resolutions or from the euphoria of international support, but from the plain and simple fact that Palestine is an integral part of the Arab nation, and is a usurped part of the Arab nation.

6. The Zionist occupation and colonization of Arab Palestine is a grave criminal act which contradicts all human ethics and conscience and has involved destruction, robbery and genocide.

7. Thirty years after the illegal occupation of Arab Palestine, the Palestinians are still enduring all the attendant sufferings from previous violations of their human rights. To those unforgivable forces who assisted in hatching the aspirations of the Zionists into a *de facto* régime, who now protect this Fascist régime while alienating the rest of the world by supporting the historic romanticism of 3 million Zionists, and who now try to blur and oversimplify the fundamental issues by speaking of establishing a Palestinian homeland somewhere, anywhere in the Middle East, let me remind them that the Palestinians have a homeland, which is Palestine, and the right of the Palestinians to their ancestral homeland is a legitimate and non-negotiable claim.

8. For 30 years the Palestinian people have not asked for anything in excess of their legitimate right to live in their ancestral homeland. To all the pleas of the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations the representative of the Zionist entity has presented to the Western world a masquerade, couched in diplomatic language, as clever and unobjectionable as possible, and yet in the final analysis the tragic realities have leaked out. Its reply to all the agonized inquiries is a flat denial and refusal of the rights and the existence of the Palestinian people.

9. The history of the Palestinian people is one crowded with acrid memories. Every day they commemorate a crime or plot against them. Invariably they have been the victims, and Zionism the victimizer. Whatever the Fascist Zionists—

10. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Israel wishes to speak on a point of order. I would ask the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to give the representative of Israel the opportunity to address the Assembly on a point of order.

11. Mr. EL SHEIBANI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): May I continue my statement? Then the Zionist representative will have the opportunity to reply or make a statement.

12. The PRESIDENT: On the basis of the rules of procedure, a representative wishing to speak on a point of order should immediately be heard. This is rule 71 of the rules of procedure. I would ask the representative of Israel to be short and precise in his point of order.

13. Mr. Pinhaf ELIAV (Israel): I only have a question. What are we discussing now, the item on the credentials of representatives to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly or the question of Palestine?

14. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Israel knows very well that the agenda for this meeting was announced earlier. The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is expressing his view on the report of the Credentials Committee. The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya may proceed with his statement.

15. Mr. EL SHEIBANI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): Whatever the Fascist Zionists failed to accomplish alone they achieved in collusion with imperialism and reactionary régimes.

16. The long series of Zionist violations and disregard of United Nations resolutions, their constant challenge to the principles embodied in the Charter and to humanity's values of justice and goodness, all urge the international community to take effective measures to contain the Zionist danger and eliminate it. Only the strongest measures will save humanity from the evils of Zionism and the huge consequences which will befall us all as a result of their arrogance, deceit and intransigence. With insolent and cowardly impudence the Zionists throw human life into the balance against the achievement of their ugly ambitions. The wider implications and repercussions are a grave matter involving basic principles which should be of vital concern to all nations, and in particular to those that claim to speak of human rights. The manner in which the international community has dealt with the problem of the Zionist occupation of Palestine is indeed a tragedy of major international proportions, and its implications are indeed both terrifying and sinister.

17. Even on fundamental issues of human rights the Zionist entity enjoys a special immunity. The neo-Fascist Zionists under the protective wing of the imperialists, in their inherent cowardice and abject depravity, perpetrate their evil actions against innocent men, women and children whose only crime is that they ask to be allowed to live in peace and dignity in their ancestral homeland.

18. In reviewing history it is easy to observe that the bloody terrorists of yester-year have since become prime ministers, foreign ministers, ambassadors and generals of the nazified Zionist ghetto of today. The terrorist gangs which wrought terrorism throughout Palestine in the 1940s and tried at that time to exterminate the Arab people of Palestine are now the modern army of today. I should like to recall once again the letter from the fanatic Zionist, Ben-Gurion, who wrote to another Zionist on 15 May 1963 regarding the most despicable terrorist of the twentieth century, a man who will no doubt one day face grave charges as a war criminal, the infamous Menachem Begin. Ben-Gurion wrote:

“Begin is a thoroughly Hitlerite type, ready to destroy all the Arabs for the wholeness of the country, who devotes all his efforts to a holy purpose, absolute rule, and I see him as a great danger to Israel domestically and internationally. I cannot forget the little I know of his activity—and its clear meaning: the murder of tens of Jews, Arabs and Englishmen—in the explosion of the King David Hotel, the pogrom in Deir Yasin . . . I have no doubt that Begin hates Hitler—but this hatred does not prove that he is different from him . . . when for the first time I heard Begin on the radio, I heard the voice and the screeching of Hitler”.

19. Today the Zionist entity makes no pretence of being a State committed to equal rights. There remains no reasonable doubt that the Zionist ghetto is exclusivist, discriminatory and anti-democratic. The constant expansionist appetite of the Zionists increases with every right it usurps and every territory it occupies. It serves as a constant threat to the Arab nation. In the hysterical atmosphere of growing fanaticism, arrogance and the colonial development of Arab territory, the neo-Fascist Zionists prepare the final solution for the Palestinian people, a solution which awakens terrifying memories of pogroms in all people. That is the essence of the Zionist entity to which the Zionist representative is in servitude. That is the democracy that the neo-Fascists and genocidal murderers, along with their allies, brag about. There, mass arrests, expulsion and torture of Arabs are the order of the day; the confiscation and destruction of property a daily event. What an exalting example for all humanity! What a travesty of the ideals of democracy. It is a democracy which has meant the indiscriminate murder of tens of thousands of Arabs, and the use of a vast variety of tortures emulating the methods of the Gestapo, a democracy whose foundations are steeped in the blood of Arabs. I will pay one compliment to the Zionists; at least they are unequivocal in their hatred and make no attempt to conceal their purpose: the total extermination of the Palestinian people.

20. On the aforementioned grounds, the credentials of the delegation of the Zionist entity to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly should not be accepted, since the delegation represents a new Fascist régime which is sworn to the extermination of the Palestinian people and pledged to spreading havoc in the Arab world. It is a ghetto existing on the ruins of another people. It is bound to servitude to imperialism, a watchdog for their imperialist interests in our region, and a total tool against the forces of social progress and revolution in the Arab nation. They are the people who have brought misery, murder and assassination to our area and who have introduced terrorism as a form of international idiom. As such, there is no place for them in the membership of this international Organization, and there is no place for them in our area of the world. They have no future in this world. I would like to place on record my strongest reservations with regard to the credentials of the Zionist delegation to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

21. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 11 of its report [A/32/336]. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to adopt that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 32/21 A).

AGENDA ITEM 16

Election of Eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council (concluded)*

22. The PRESIDENT: As representatives will recall, the decision to postpone consideration of agenda item 16, relating to the election of members of the Economic and

Social Council, was taken by the Assembly at its 44th plenary meeting on 24 October 1977.

23. The remaining seat to be filled belongs to group C, that of the Latin American States. In accordance with rule 94, we have held three restricted ballots followed by two unrestricted ballots, all of which were inconclusive.

24. Before we proceed to the third unrestricted ballot, I call on the representative of Uruguay, the chairman of the group of Latin American States for the month of November.

25. Mr. GIAMBRUNO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As we begin our consideration of the second item on our agenda for today, I would like to make a brief statement on behalf of the Latin American group.

26. Everyone knows that, during the election of members of the Economic and Social Council, it was not possible to fill all the seats to which our region was entitled. I am now pleased to announce that, after consultations, it has been possible to reach final agreement. That agreement provides for a single Latin American country to present its candidacy, in the hope that that election will be decided unanimously. In that connexion I wish to praise the generosity of the delegation of Ecuador which, being before the election assured of the largest number of votes in the Latin American group believed itself entitled to the endorsement of the group, has nevertheless chosen to yield the endorsement to the Dominican Republic because our group had last year undertaken a moral commitment to support the candidacy of the Dominican Republic. Naturally, that allows us to state that our group puts above all else the maintenance of a spirit of solidarity and unity in the region.

27. I therefore invite representatives to bear in mind that the only candidate now being presented for election from the Latin American group is the Dominican Republic. I also wish to announce, on behalf of the Latin American group, that it undertakes a similar commitment for next year in support of Ecuador's candidacy.

28. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Ecuador wishes to express its appreciation to the delegations which have honoured it with their vote in the elections to the Economic and Social Council. It also wishes to point out that it had every right to take part in those elections, since its candidacy was notified to the plenary body by the Latin American group, in which it had the absolute majority of the votes committed by the foreign ministries of member countries.

29. At the same time we wish to point out that for our country both the unity of our regional group and the proper functioning of the regional groups as a whole is of primary importance if the United Nations system is to function. Only thus will decisions be a legitimate reflection of the will of those groups, for presentation in the General Assembly.

30. Regional representation in United Nations bodies must not be imposed on groups by outside parties. That sense of restraint is characteristic of Latin American countries; 20 of

* Resumed from the 44th meeting.

them were founding Members of the United Nations when there were only 51 Members in the Organization, but they never tried to abuse their numerical superiority.

31. For those reasons, and in order to help solve the present voting problem, my delegation had no difficulty in accepting the invitation of the Latin American group to maintain its candidacy for a seat on the Economic and Social Council for the 1978 elections, with the chivalrous support which the representative of Uruguay, Mr. Carlos Giamb Bruno, was good enough to announce as chairman of the Latin American group.

32. I hope this gesture on the part of our delegation will be regarded as an act of faith in the equity of the United Nations system, based on the seriousness and trustworthiness of the commitments entered into within each regional group.

33. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Ecuador for his co-operation.

34. The Assembly will now proceed to the third unrestricted ballot, taking into account the withdrawal of the candidature of Ecuador. May I remind representatives that, in an unrestricted ballot, they have the right to vote for any Latin American State except, of course, those which are already members of the Economic and Social Council or those which have been elected for a term beginning on 1 January 1978, namely: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Jamaica, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela. I request members to write the name of only one country. Those papers containing more than one name will be declared invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Schade (German Democratic Republic) and Mr. Al-Hussamy (Syrian Arab Republic) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

35. The PRESIDENT: I propose to suspend the meeting while the ballots are being counted.

The meeting was suspended at 11.40 a.m. and resumed at 11.50 a.m.

36. The PRESIDENT: The result of the vote for the one remaining seat in the Economic and Social Council is as follows:

Group C

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Number of ballot papers:</i> | 142 |
| <i>Invalid ballots:</i> | 9 |
| <i>Number of valid ballots:</i> | 133 |
| <i>Abstentions:</i> | 10 |
| <i>Number of members voting:</i> | 123 |
| <i>Required majority:</i> | 82 |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Number of votes obtained:</i> | |
| Dominican Republic | 117 |
| Ecuador | 5 |
| Guyana | 1 |

Having obtained the required majority, the Dominican Republic was elected a member of the Economic and Social

Council for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1978 (decision 32/311¹).

37. The PRESIDENT: With the election of the Dominican Republic, the General Assembly has thus completed the election of 18 members of the Economic and Social Council for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1978. Those 18 members are the following: Argentina, the Central African Empire, China, the Dominican Republic, Finland, Hungary, India, Japan, Lesotho, Malta, Romania, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United Republic of Cameroon and the United Republic of Tanzania. I should like to congratulate the Dominican Republic upon its election to the Council. I also wish to thank the tellers for their assistance.

38. Mr. MORENO MARTINEZ (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I thank you for your congratulations upon the election of my country to the Economic and Social Council. I should also like to thank the General Assembly for having taken part in these elections with such great interest.

39. Very briefly I should like to refer to the fact that during the elections—which had been left pending and were concluded today—I was quite confident that the Latin American group, because of the fraternal feelings which exist between these countries, would find a mutually satisfactory solution, since the competition in no way implied that there was the slightest diminution of that sense of brotherhood. That is what happened, and I should like to express my gratitude to our brothers in Ecuador for their generosity and understanding of the legitimate aspirations of the Dominican Republic. I should also like to thank the Latin American group for their fraternal efforts which have met with success today and which, as the representative of Ecuador, my friend Mr. Albornoz, said, represent a triumph for Latin American tradition. May I also add that it is a triumph for the United Nations.

40. The compromise which has resulted today in the election of the Dominican Republic is the best pledge of certain compliance with what, if not yet all, at least most of the Latin American group agreed upon. This includes an undertaking by my country to support Ecuador next year, and we shall do our best to see that that moral commitment is fulfilled. Among Latin Americans a moral commitment never diminishes but only increases in strength.

41. For those reasons, on behalf of my country may I express our sincere thanks to all our friends, not only those in Latin America.

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;

¹ See also the 44th meeting, para. 9.

- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia;
 (c) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES NOT CONSIDERED SEPARATELY (A/32/356)

AGENDA ITEM 90

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/32/341)

AGENDA ITEM 93

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/32/357)

AGENDA ITEM 94

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/32/342)

AGENDA ITEMS 95 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) Reports of the Secretary-General

Report of the Economic and Social Council

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/32/354)

AGENDA ITEM 96

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

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/32/343)

AGENDA ITEM 97

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/32/344)

42. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the seven reports of the Fourth Committee on agenda items 24, 90, 93, 94, 95 and 12, 96 and 97. I call on the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, Mr. Gürsel Demirok of Turkey, to present the seven reports in one statement.

43. Mr. DEMIROK (Turkey), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration the seven reports of the Fourth Committee relating to items 24, 90, 93, 94, 95 and 12, 96 and 97 of the agenda. In view of the heavy workload confronting this Assembly at this stage of its current session, I shall simply point out the key elements which are included in some of the Committee's recommendations.

44. The first report [A/32/356] relates to those territories which were not covered by other items of the agenda and which the Committee took up under agenda item 24. Set out in paragraph 62 of the report are 11 draft resolutions and in paragraph 63 five draft consensuses which the Fourth Committee recommends for adoption by the General Assembly. These draft resolutions and draft consensuses, in the order of their adoption, relate to the following territories: Western Sahara; Tuvalu; Cocos (Keeling) Islands; Tokelau; Gilbert Islands; American Samoa; Solomon Islands; New Hebrides, St. Helena; Brunei; Gibraltar; Guam; Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, and Turks and Caicos Islands; Cayman Islands; the United States Virgin Islands and Belize. As regards those territories, it was the considered opinion of the majority of the Fourth Committee that, notwithstanding the specific problems they face as a result of their small size and population, geographical isolation and frequently limited resources, the General Assembly should reaffirm the full applicability of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to their population, as well as their peoples' inalienable right to decide for themselves their future status. Many members also emphasized again the vital importance of dispatching United Nations visiting missions to these small Territories to enable the United Nations to be fully apprised of the conditions obtaining there, and also of the genuine wishes and aspirations of the peoples concerned regarding their future.

45. Also included in paragraph 64 of the report of the Fourth Committee are two draft decisions that the Assembly should decide to defer to its thirty-third session its consideration of the questions of Pitcairn and of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), as well as that of Antigua, Dominica, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent.

46. The second report relates to agenda item 90 and is contained in document A/32/341. The Fourth Committee recommends, in the draft resolution contained in paragraph

10 of that report, among other things, that the Assembly reaffirm that, in the absence of a decision by the Assembly itself 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.

47. The third report, contained in document A/32/357, relates to the question of East Timor, item 93 of the agenda. Among other provisions, the draft resolution contained in paragraph 16 of the report would have the General Assembly request the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to keep the situation in that 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.

48. The fourth report, on agenda item 94 in document A/32/342, relates to the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration. Among other provisions of the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 9 of the report, the General Assembly, in condemning the intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests which continue to exploit the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories, would call once again upon all Governments to take the necessary steps to put an end to such activities that run counter to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories. The Assembly would also request all States to take effective measures to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance, including military supplies and equipment, to those régimes which use such assistance to repress the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements.

49. The fifth report relates to items 95 and 12 of the agenda and is contained in document A/32/354. Among other provisions of the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 10 of the report, the Assembly would request the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to render or continue to render, as a matter of urgency, all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples in Africa struggling for their liberation from colonial rule. It would also again request those organizations to provide all possible assistance to the newly independent and emerging States. Further, the Assembly would recommend that all Governments should intensify their efforts in the organizations concerned to ensure the effective implementation of the Declaration and should accord priority to the question of providing assistance on an emergency basis to peoples in the colonial Territories and to their national liberation movements.

50. The sixth report, in document A/32/343, relates to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, item 96 of the agenda. In the draft resolution recommended for adoption in paragraph 8 of the report the Assembly would express its appreciation to all those who have made voluntary contributions to the Programme, while appealing once again to all States, organizations and individuals to make generous contributions to the Programme to ensure its continuation and expansion.

51. The seventh and last report, in document A/32/344, relates to offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, item 97 of the agenda. In the draft resolution recommended for adoption in paragraph 8 of the report the Assembly would express its appreciation to those Member States which have made scholarships available to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories and would invite all States to make or continue to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of those Territories, particularly those in southern Africa.

52. As I stated at the outset, these introductory remarks have only touched upon some of the basic elements contained in the Committee's recommendations and thus it should be clearly understood that any omission does not in any way affect the importance or significance of the elements concerned.

53. On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I should like to commend these reports to the serious attention of the General Assembly.

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

54. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will consider first the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 24, concerning chapters of the 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 relating to specific Territories not covered by other agenda items. The report is contained in document A/32/356.

55. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on any or all of the recommendations of the Fourth Committee in paragraphs 62, 63 and 64 of its report.

56. Mr. ROS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina wishes to explain its vote on the draft resolution which refers to the question of Belize, draft resolution XI in document A/32/356.

57. The question of Belize has certain particular characteristics. Even though, when taken separately, they might seem similar to those found in other colonial questions, they are in this case interrelated in such a special way that the question of Belize does turn out to be a unique one, different from any other analysed so far at the United Nations.

58. This uniqueness has been explicitly recognized by the General Assembly, which, in the past, has adopted resolutions on the question of Belize which, because of their content and practical effects, cannot be equated or compared with those on other colonial questions and, consequently, are not even indirectly applicable to any other Territory included in the agenda of the Fourth Committee.

59. I should mention, even if very briefly, the particular features of the question of Belize.

60. The first element is the existence of a colonial Territory which, because of its geographical dimensions, its natural resources and its approximately 140,000 inhabitants, is viable as an independent country.
61. The second element is that the population of that colonial Territory has repeatedly expressed itself in favour of the independence of the country.
62. The third element is the existence of a historical dispute between two countries, Guatemala and the United Kingdom, concerning the colonial Territory. This element, I should point out, is the one that makes the question of Belize truly individual and unique.
63. We should also point out that the dispute that exists between Guatemala and the United Kingdom also has features which make it different from any other dispute between a colonial Power and another country on the subject of a colonial Territory.
64. In fact it is obvious that the existence of a dispute between the United Kingdom and Guatemala is not incompatible or necessarily in contradiction with the eventual independence of Belize. In other words, at no time during the debate in the Fourth Committee did we hear that any Government was opposed to the independence of Belize. What we were able to note were differences concerning, for example, when and how Belize should become independent; but I reiterate that there are no doubts that, without prejudice to the dispute between Guatemala and the United Kingdom, delegations do not oppose the fulfilment of the wishes of the people of Belize.
65. I need not say that all these elements I have pointed out have been taken very particularly into account by the Government of Argentina in deciding on its vote on draft resolution XI, a decision which, I must state, has been taken in the light of our desire to adopt a realistic and constructive position.
66. The delegation of Argentina will vote in favour of draft resolution XI. We shall do so in the belief that, first, this draft resolution covers all the elements I have mentioned, including the dispute existing between the United Kingdom and Guatemala. This is indeed a realistic draft resolution.
67. We find operative paragraph 1 particularly appropriate. It reflects the viability of Belize as a free and sovereign State and at the same time the desire of its people for independence.
68. We also find merit in the appeal in operative paragraph 3, which calls upon the Governments of the United Kingdom and Guatemala to pursue vigorously their negotiations. It goes without saying that we find it only logical to support such a provision. In fact the Argentine Republic cannot remain indifferent to an appeal to the parties to negotiate on a subject which is of concern to our continent.
69. Now, without prejudice to the foregoing, we wish to state clearly that some aspects of the draft resolution are not as well-balanced as they might be, and to some extent restrict the freedom of the parties in the future negotiations.
70. In that context, we think that references such as those contained in the tenth preambular paragraph and in operative paragraph 4 are not felicitous if we truly wish to create a favourable climate for a peaceful and agreed settlement of the dispute between the United Kingdom and Guatemala.
71. We do not wish to conclude without stating our firm conviction that the remnants of colonialism in the Americas are susceptible of peaceful and agreed solutions. In the particular case of Belize such a peaceful negotiated outcome must give due satisfaction to Guatemala and, logically, it must also respect the political realities that exist in Belize.
72. The Government of Argentina, which has no direct interests in this question other than those arising from the fact that Argentina is part of the Americas and is a member of the Latin American group, hopes sincerely that the delicate problem with which we are concerned today can be speedily solved in a realistic spirit.
73. Only thus, when Belize becomes a new sovereign State, can its incorporation into the Latin American family take place in the most favourable circumstances and under the best auspices, with close bonds of friendship and co-operation with Guatemala.
74. Mr. CASTILLO-ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Fourth Committee has recommended to the General Assembly draft resolution XI on the question of Belize, sponsored by the United Kingdom and 50 other States. This draft resolution did not, however, receive the approval of the vast majority of the countries of the Americas, which supported the draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/32/L.23/Rev.1, submitted by seven Latin American countries.
75. Since the draft adopted in the Fourth Committee contains provisions which constitute unwarranted interference in an unquestionably legal dispute between two Member States, that is to say, an international dispute that should be settled in accordance with Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter, the delegation of Guatemala will not participate in the vote on that draft resolution. By so doing we reject the desire of some States, inspired by self-interest, to interfere with and put pressure on the negotiations.
76. According to a strict reading of the United Nations Charter and resolution 1514 (XV), which Guatemala has always supported with profound conviction, the principles of the self-determination of peoples and the territorial integrity of States are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they complement each other, and one need not destroy the other. The overriding aim of the United Nations is to maintain peace and to that end to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes, without detriment to justice and equity.
77. We believe that it is inappropriate for the General Assembly, in adopting this new draft resolution on Belize, to try to impose a political solution on a dispute of a legal nature, trying to indicate to the parties a predetermined outcome of the negotiations or of any other peaceful

procedure the parties might decide to use in order to settle their differences in this territorial dispute.

78. The delegation of Guatemala reaffirms the position previously explained to this Assembly on this subject over the past two years.² As we stated in the Fourth Committee also³, we are ready to seek through negotiations a settlement which would be just and honourable for all parties, which could probably be arrived at before the next regular session of the General Assembly, and which would take due account of the right to self-determination of the people of Belize, as we proposed in the draft resolution submitted in the Fourth Committee by seven countries, including Guatemala.

79. We believe in the decision of the International Court of Justice to raise the resort to negotiations and the manner of conducting them to the level of rules of law. The representative of Guatemala quoted that decision last year and it reads as follows:

“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”.⁴

80. As a token of our good faith in the negotiations, we can assure this Assembly that, with an open mind and in an effort to find a settlement of the dispute, we are considering alternatives which may be just, satisfactory and honourable for all parties.

81. Mr. McCARTHY (United Kingdom): For reasons explained fully to the Fourth Committee on 10 November,⁵ my delegation will not participate in the vote on draft resolution VI, recommended to the Assembly in paragraph 62 of the report of the Fourth Committee. I must also make it clear that my Government is not in a position to take the action called for in that draft. The reason is that Brunei is not a dependent Territory.

82. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to take decisions on the various recommendations of the Fourth Committee. May I invite members to turn their attention to the draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 62 of its report [A/32/356].

83. Draft resolution I is entitled “Question of Western Sahara”. Since the Fourth Committee adopted draft resolu-

tion I without objection, may I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 32/22).

84. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled “Question of the Gilbert Islands”. The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution II without objection. May I consider that it is the wish of the General Assembly to do likewise?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 32/23).

85. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled “Question of American Samoa”. Since the Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution III without objection, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 32/24).

86. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled “Question of the Solomon Islands”. The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution IV without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 32/25).

87. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution V is entitled “Question of the New Hebrides”. Since the Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution V without objection, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 32/26).

88. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VI is entitled “Question of Brunei”. A recorded vote has been requested on that draft resolution.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, 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

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2431st meeting and *ibid.*, *Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 85th meeting, paras. 28-49.

³ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee*, 24th meeting, paras. 1-18, and *ibid.*, *Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

⁴ See *North Sea Continental Shelf, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1969*, p. 47, para. 85 (a).

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee*, 21st meeting, paras. 25-26 and *ibid.*, *Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, United States of America, Zaire.

The draft resolution was adopted by 127 votes to none, with 14 abstentions (resolution 32/27).

89. The PRESIDENT: May we turn our attention now to draft resolution VII which is entitled "Question of Guam". The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution VII without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution VII was adopted (resolution 32/28).

90. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution VIII entitled "Question of Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Montserrat and Turks and Caicos Islands". Since the Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution VIII without objection, may I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution VIII was adopted (resolution 32/29).

91. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IX is entitled "Question of the Cayman Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution IX without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution IX was adopted (resolution 32/30).

92. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution X is entitled "Question of the United States Virgin Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution X without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution X was adopted (resolution 32/31).

93. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XI is entitled "Question of Belize". A recorded vote has been requested on this draft resolution.

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, Comoros, Congo, 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, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, 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, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua.

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

The draft resolution was adopted by 126 votes to 4, with 13 abstentions (resolution 32/32).

94. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the draft consensus recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 63 of its report [A/32/356].

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

Draft consensus I was adopted (decision 32/407).

96. The PRESIDENT: Draft consensus II is entitled "Question of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands". Since the Fourth Committee adopted draft consensus II without objection, may I take it that the General Assembly decides to do likewise?

Draft consensus II was adopted (decision 32/408).

97. The PRESIDENT: Draft consensus III entitled "Question of Tokelau" was also adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt that draft consensus without objection?

Draft consensus III was adopted (decision 32/409).

98. The PRESIDENT: Draft consensus IV is entitled "Question of St. Helena". The Fourth Committee adopted it without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft consensus IV was adopted (decision 32/410).

99. The PRESIDENT: Draft consensus V entitled "Question of Gibraltar" was also adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General assembly also wishes to adopt that draft consensus without objection?

Draft consensus V was adopted (decision 32/411).

100. The PRESIDENT: Finally, we turn to the draft decisions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 64 of its report [A/32/356].

101. Draft decision I is entitled "Questions of Pitcairn and of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)". In the Fourth Committee no vote was taken on draft decision I. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft decision I?

Draft decision I was adopted (decision 32/412).

102. The PRESIDENT: Draft decision II is entitled "Question of Antigua, Dominica, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent". May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft decision II?

Draft decision II was adopted (decision 32/413).

103. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those delegations that wish to speak in explanation of their vote after the vote.

104. Mr. DINH BA THI (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): I should like on behalf of my delegation to reiterate our serious reservations concerning the seventh preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution VII concerning the question of Guam, which has been adopted without objection by the General Assembly, and to state our position as follows:

105. First, the seventh preambular paragraph tends to make a distinction between two kinds of military bases in Non-Self-Governing Territories, namely, those bases which are an obstacle to the exercise of the right of self-determination of peoples and those which are not. In the view of the Vietnamese delegation all military bases, without exception, installed in colonies by the administering Power are designed for the subjugation of the peoples of those Territories and for the destruction of their national liberation movements. That means that the policy of maintaining imperialist military bases as a whole is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. That is the objective reality of history. The assertion to the effect that there are two kinds of military bases, an assertion made in the seventh preambular paragraph, constitutes a dangerous aberration which is being used by imperialism to camouflage its stubborn policy of maintaining military bases in the Territories of other peoples despite the protests and condemnation of the international community.

106. Secondly, operative paragraph 5 constitutes a negation of all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly which have strongly condemned the establishment of military bases on Guam. The secret aim of imperialism is to make obsolete the previous resolutions of the General Assembly concerning Guam and to replace them by a new resolution, while giving the impression that, despite the existence of those bases, the population of that Territory could still freely exercise its right to self-determination. My delegation associates itself with the serious reservations which have been expressed by several countries in the report of the Special Committee, which states:

"... the Special Committee reiterates its strong view that the presence of United States bases on Guam should not

be allowed to inhibit the people of the Territory from exercising freely their right to self-determination...". [A/32/23/Rev.1, chap. XXII, para. 9 (6).]

107. That paragraph has created a very dangerous precedent which the administering Power has used to sow confusion among the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with a view to legalizing its policy of maintaining military bases in all the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and operative paragraph 5 of this draft resolution is the first step towards that goal.

108. Thirdly, one of the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is to support unreservedly the struggle of peoples against imperialist military bases in other countries, in particular in the Territories still under colonial rule, because those bases are not only designed for the subjugation of the colonial peoples in question but also constitute a threat to the peace and security of other peoples and countries. That is why we think that the question of the presence of military bases on Guam should be considered in the general context of the struggle against the presence of imperialist military bases in other Territories. In the past the military bases on Guam have been used in the war of aggression against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. The American military bases in Puerto Rico, in the Panama Canal Zone and in some other countries in Central America have, contrary to the will of the people of those countries, been used in the aggression against Cuba. At present the military bases of the Pretoria régime installed in Namibia are being used for repeated attacks against the front-line countries in southern Africa. The Israeli military bases installed in the illegally occupied Arab territories are being used for the perpetration of loathsome crimes against the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples in the Middle East, and so on. What people, what country will be the next victim if the network of imperialist military bases continues to exist in all parts of the world? The international community has a duty vigorously to condemn the presence of those bases and to demand their total and immediate dismantling.

109. Mr. SOUTHICHAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): While not wishing to oppose the consensus that the General Assembly has just arrived at on the question of Guam, my delegation nevertheless wishes to reiterate its conviction, as already stated in the Fourth Committee, that the presence of military bases and installations in Non-Self-Governing Territories not only does not promote the exercise of the right to self-determination of the peoples of the Territories concerned but also constitutes a constant danger to the independence and security of neighbouring peoples and countries.

110. Mr. GOMEZ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): With regard to the Fourth Committee's report that has just been adopted, the Cuban delegation wishes to make the following comment.

111. Chapter XII on Guam does not state that draft resolution A/C.4/32/L.10, which was adopted without objection as orally revised, was the subject of reservations expressed by Cuba and other delegations when those delegations spoke in explanation of vote. We therefore wish

to reiterate here our reservations, which apply to draft resolution VII on the question of Guam appearing in the Fourth Committee's report.

112. The presence of military bases and installations of colonial Powers in Territories under their domination is a major obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, while at the same time constituting a threat to peace and security in the regions where they are found.

113. We reiterate here the reservation which we entered in the Fourth Committee at the appropriate time.

114. Mrs. BENTON (United States of America): The United States was pleased to participate in the consensus by which draft resolution VII on Guam was just adopted.

115. We have always believed that, in order to make a judgement as to whether or not a military base in a Non-Self-Governing Territory is inhibiting the process of self-determination, it is necessary that the facts and circumstances of each particular case be reviewed.

116. We have said—and I believe that the people of Guam have even more loudly and clearly said—that the United States military presence on Guam is in no way inhibiting their progress towards self-government and self-determination.

117. I believe that this draft resolution does not assert the contrary. It notes in a preambular paragraph the general principle that, if a military base does in fact inhibit the exercise of the right to self-determination, then that base or that installation is inconsistent with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. We would certainly not disagree with that.

118. I wish to repeat for the record that the United States views independence as only one possible outcome of an act of self-determination and that the United States will support a status for Guam which accords with the freely expressed wishes of the people of Guam.

119. In reference to the comments just made by the representative of Viet Nam, I wish to take exception to some and to differ strongly with others. But I note that the tenor of his statement looked back towards the past rather than forward to the future. In our relations with Viet Nam, it is towards the future that I feel we must look, and my Government has every intention of so doing in order to avoid the sort of situations and the sort of circumstances to which he made reference in his statement.

120. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 90, concerning information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 *e* of the Charter of the United Nations. The report is contained in document A/32/341.

121. As there are no representatives wishing to explain their vote before the vote, we shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 *e* of the Charter of the United Nations", 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, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, 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, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, 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, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

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

The draft resolution was adopted by 138 votes to none, with 4 abstentions (resolution 32/33).⁶

122. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 93, dealing with the question of East Timor [A/32/357].

123. I now call on representatives wishing to explain their vote before the vote.

124. Mr. VALDERRAMA (Philippines): My delegation explained its position on the question of East Timor during the deliberations on this item in the Fourth Committee.⁷ It is necessary to reiterate that position before the General Assembly.

125. My delegation believes in the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence and in the legitimacy of their struggle to exercise that

⁶ The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee*, 18th meeting, paras. 20-25.

right. It is our conviction, based on the facts, that the people of East Timor have already exercised that right freely, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and resolution 1541 (XV). The international community and the United Nations should now respect that expression of will.

126. For the reasons that I have stated, and previously stated by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines in the Fourth Committee, we shall vote against the draft resolution contained in paragraph 16 of document A/32/357.

127. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Indonesia's position on East Timor and on the draft resolution now before this Assembly has been explained in the Fourth Committee.⁸ I assume that representatives have taken the time to study my statement before that Committee, and they will therefore surely understand why Indonesia opposes the draft resolution, which is completely unrelated to the facts and the situation in East Timor. For that matter, so were the previous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, which the present draft resolution seeks to reaffirm in its operative paragraph 2 and which Indonesia has rejected totally and categorically.

128. My delegation has explained the facts of the situation in East Timor as they are and has presented evidence from independent sources testifying to the restoration of normal conditions in the province. In that context nothing could be further from the truth than the contention adduced in operative paragraph 6 of the resolution, that a "critical situation" exists in East Timor. That critical situation exists only in the imagination of the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente [*FRETILIN*] abroad and in that of their sponsors. It seems rather odd to my delegation that the sponsors of *FRETILIN* should imagine a critical situation where it does not exist, directing their oratory at East Timor and talking about an imaginary critical situation, but remaining mute as to the really dangerous conflicts nearer their homes. To my delegation, the impression cannot be escaped that East Timor has become a convenient excuse for airing frustrations and relieving impotence in relation to really critical situations elsewhere.

129. The draft resolution calls in operative paragraphs 4 and 5 for the dispatch of missions to the province. As I explained in my statement to the Fourth Committee, the truth is that on four separate occasions efforts were made by the Provisional Government of East Timor at that time and by the Government of Indonesia to invite the United Nations to send a mission to East Timor when such a mission was badly needed. However, no action was taken by the relevant organs of the United Nations. Now that there is no further reason whatsoever to send a mission, the draft resolution calls for such action. My delegation finds it utterly unrealistic for the United Nations even to consider sending a mission to the province, which is now an integral part of Indonesia.

130. To put the matter in its proper perspective, I should like to stress that it is not, as operative paragraph 3 would have it, merely a "claim" that East Timor has been

integrated with Indonesia. It is a firmly established fact, and is the outcome of the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of East Timor themselves, a right which Indonesia has always firmly upheld. It should be noted that from the very beginning *FRETILIN* openly repudiated the principle of self-determination, while rejecting the participation of other parties in the decolonization process. It was only when they lost the support even of their own followers that *FRETILIN* and their sponsors abroad started clamouring for the right to self-determination.

131. Operative paragraph 8 refers to the inclusion of the "Question of East Timor" as an item on the provisional agenda of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. As the process of decolonization in East Timor has been concluded, there is no basis upon which to discuss East Timor during the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. To do so would constitute unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State Member of this Organization and would be in contravention of the most basic principles of the Charter.

132. My delegation would like to stress once again the fact that the people of East Timor have exercised their right to self-determination in accordance with their own traditional practices; the territory has become independent as an inseparable part of the sovereign Republic of Indonesia.

133. In that connexion, I shall quote once again the President of Indonesia when he addressed the Parliament on 16 August 1976, on the eve of Indonesia's Independence Day:

"Time and again we have stated that the East Timor problem is a question of self-determination. The fate of the people in East Timor can only be decided by themselves and right there on the soil of East Timor, not in New York, in Lisbon or in Djakarta."

The people of East Timor have decided, and they have done so on the soil of East Timor in the exercise of the right to self-determination.

134. In the light of all those reasons, my delegation declares its categorical and total opposition to the draft resolution and will vote against it.

135. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Question of East Timor" which has been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 16 of its report [A/32/357]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/32/364. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Angola, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana,

⁸ *Ibid.*, 19th meeting, paras. 4-58.

Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Romania, 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, Viet Nam, Zambia.

Against: Bangladesh, Chile, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Morocco, Nicaragua, Oman, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Surinam, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Zaire.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Burma, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Honduras, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Kuwait, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Qatar,⁹ Samoa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

The draft resolution was adopted by 67 votes to 26, with 47 abstentions (resolution 32/34).¹⁰

136. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Cyprus, who wishes to explain his vote after the vote.

137. Mr. STEPHANIDES (Cyprus): Our stand on East Timor stems from our long-held position of principle that aggression and other international illegalities create no rights and are considered not acceptable in the United Nations, in this era of realities. This is why we condemn aggression and/or illegal occupation of territories wherever it occurs. This is the nature of our struggle in Cyprus—a struggle to free our occupied national territory from the oppressive heel of the aggressor and invader.

138. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 94 concerning 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. The report is contained in document A/32/342.

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

140. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ecuador reiterates on this occasion its support of any measure aimed at putting an end to the practice of

apartheid in South Africa, as well as to any intended co-operation with the Government of that country which has controverted the decisions of the United Nations, which are the most honourable expression of the international community and of law in our times.

141. In this connexion, we have viewed with satisfaction Security Council resolution 418 (1977), adopted by the Council on the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada, which provides that all States must cease forthwith any deliveries of weapons and related material to South Africa.

142. Ecuador follows with attention the process of applying world pressure on the Pretoria régime to end its policy of *apartheid*, the most inhuman form of racial discrimination known to man. It is in that spirit that we have supported every draft resolution leading to that end, and for those reasons, we shall vote for the draft resolution contained in document A/32/342.

143. The foregoing notwithstanding, we believe that there has not been sufficient proof in all the cases of countries expressly condemned. Furthermore, some of them have shown a determined willingness to co-operate with the initiatives of the world Organization and to halt all collaboration with South Africa.

144. Mr. THIEMELE (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to confirm here the reservations expressed by my delegation in the Fourth Committee on paragraphs 6 and 7 of the draft resolution contained in paragraph 9 of document A/32/342¹¹ concerning the 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.

145. The Ivory Coast which earnestly desires that the principles contained in that draft resolution should be applied in all situations in order to bring about the disappearance of the anachronistic phenomenon of colonialism, in particular in Africa, is not able to associate itself with those two paragraphs, which cite restrictively a number of countries on a non-objective and, therefore, discriminatory basis.

146. Furthermore, it believes that the efforts made recently by several countries to obtain independence for Rhodesia and Namibia should lead the international community to facilitate the task of those who are engaged in that endeavour and who have committed themselves for the first time, I think, so formally and, it seems, decisively to that cause.

147. Operative paragraphs 6 and 7 of the draft resolution, while pleasing some members of our Organization, do not create conditions likely to encourage the goodwill which is being manifested at present. The procedure adopted for consideration of the draft resolution in the Fourth Committee did not permit a separate vote on those paragraphs. We regret that.

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

¹⁰ The delegation of Israel subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished its vote to be recorded as an abstention.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee*, 10th meeting, para. 15.

148. By not supporting a draft resolution which, while invoking principles that we approve, risks by its very existence slowing down the process of negotiation in southern Africa, the Ivory Coast is remaining true to itself because it believes that in no case should we hesitate to explore all ways leading to the liberation of this part of Africa, which is dear to us for so many reasons.

149. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the draft resolution entitled "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" which has been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report [A/32/342]. A recorded vote has been requested on this draft resolution.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, 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, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Central African Empire, Chile, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Rwanda, Singapore, Spain, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Turkey, Zaire.

The draft resolution was adopted by 101 votes to 12, with 28 abstentions (resolution 32/35).

150. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives wishing to explain their vote after the vote.

151. Mr. HUSSAIN (Sri Lanka): The Sri Lanka delegation would like to clarify the sense in which it supports this draft resolution.

152. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that Sri Lanka takes a serious view of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding decolonization and that, therefore, Sri Lanka is in entire sympathy with the objectives of this draft resolution. Nevertheless, my delegation wishes to express some misgivings about the formulation of operative paragraphs 6 and 7. It is the view of Sri Lanka that the naming of certain countries might have been avoided in this particular draft resolution, as naming them leads inevitably to negative votes and abstentions. This could prove counter-productive for the fundamental purpose of this draft resolution, which is to secure unanimous support in order to take really effective action against activities impeding decolonization and against *apartheid*.

153. The Sri Lanka delegation has misgivings also about the comprehensive condemnation of certain countries, which leads to questions about factual accuracy. It is questionable, for instance, whether the countries mentioned in operative paragraph 6 deserve strong condemnation on the grounds that they are all collaborating with South Africa "politically, diplomatically, economically and militarily". However, account has to be taken of the fact that, while several countries find themselves compelled by circumstances to engage in some sort of relations with South Africa, there are a few countries whose relations with South Africa seem to be of a significantly different order. In the case of a few countries it has been felt that their relations with South Africa have provided strength to the *apartheid* régime. Part of the purpose of the draft resolution is evidently to identify those countries. It remains, however, that operative paragraphs 6 and 7 do not make the nice distinctions and fine discrimination that are required by scrupulous regard for factual accuracy.

154. Taking all the circumstances into account, the Sri Lanka delegation wishes not to make reservations on operative paragraphs 6 and 7, but to express some degree of dissatisfaction with their formulation.

155. Mr. PINTO-BAZURCO (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation, in determining its position on the draft resolution just adopted concerning the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and the efforts being made to eliminate *apartheid*, wishes to reaffirm what it stated on this subject when it explained its vote in the Fourth Committee. That statement appears in the records of the meeting of the Committee held on 28 October last^{1 2}.

156. My delegation also wishes to state that, in voting in favour of this draft resolution, Peru is acting in conformity with its continuous support for the struggle against colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

157. Mr. FUENTES IBÁÑEZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Bolivia wishes to make an explicit reservation concerning operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution in document A/32/342, since the condemnation of several States expressed in that paragraph represents an attitude that is not in keeping with the policy of full respect for all states and their sovereign decisions that the Government of Bolivia practises.

^{1 2} *Ibid.*, 9th meeting.

158. This in no way affects our unchanging repudiation of *apartheid* or our feelings concerning the fact that the régime practising it still has the international co-operation of some States.

159. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda items 95 and 12, entitled, respectively, "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" and "Report of the Economic and Social Council", chapter VII, section E. The report of the Fourth Committee is contained in document A/32/354. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "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", 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 Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, 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, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, 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, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, 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, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: France, Germany, Federal Republic of, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 139 votes to none, with 4 abstentions (resolution 32/36).

160. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 96. The report is contained in document A/32/343. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa", which has been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 32/37).

161. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Fourth Committee of agenda item 97 [A/32/344]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories" which has been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 32/38).

162. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Viet Nam has requested to be allowed to speak in exercise of his right of re, 'y.

163. Mr. DINH BA THI (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation wishes to reject what was said by the representative of the United States and reaffirms that our statement was justified. In view of the late hour I shall not tax the patience of the Assembly. But I would merely like to recall to the representative of the United States that the American military bases have clearly been used not only against the right of self-determination of the people of Guam but also against the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

164. That is the incontestable fact. My Government's position concerning relations with the Government of the United States is that we should look mainly towards the future. But it is important to recall certain facts from the past which illustrate the commitment of the Vietnamese people to the common struggle of peoples against the presence of military bases of imperialism in colonial territories.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.