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**President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE
(Sri Lanka).**

AGENDA ITEM 112

Implementation by States of the provisions of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/31/403)

AGENDA ITEM 114

Resolutions adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Representation of States in their Relations with International Organizations:

- (a) Resolution relating to the observer status of national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and/or by the League of Arab States;
- (b) Resolution relating to the application of the Convention in future activities of international organizations

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/31/397)

AGENDA ITEM 115

Consolidation and progressive evolution of the norms and principles of international economic development law

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/31/398)

AGENDA ITEM 124

Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations (*concluded*)*

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/31/360)

1. Mr. BOJILOV (Bulgaria), Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee: It is with pleasure that I take this opportunity to introduce the four reports of the Sixth Committee relating to agenda items 112, 114, 115 and 124.

2. With respect to agenda item 112, the recommendation of the Sixth Committee is to be found in paragraph 9 of its report [A/31/403]. In accordance with the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee, the General Assembly would urge States which have not yet done so to become parties to the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961. It would reaffirm the need for the strict

* Resumed from the 57th meeting.

implementation of that Convention by States and it would invite Member States to submit or to supplement their comments and observations on ways and means to ensure its implementation and on the desirability of elaborating provisions concerning the status of the diplomatic courier, with due regard to the question of the status of the diplomatic bag not accompanied by the diplomatic courier. The General Assembly would also request the International Law Commission to study, in the light of the information on this question to be received from Member States through the Secretary-General, the proposals on the elaboration of a protocol concerning the status of the diplomatic courier and the diplomatic bag not accompanied by the diplomatic courier. Furthermore, it would request the Secretary-General to submit to the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-third session an analytical report on ways and means to ensure the implementation of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 on the basis of comments and observations on this question received from Member States and also taking into account the results of the study by the International Law Commission. Finally, the General Assembly would include the topic in the provisional agenda of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

3. With respect to agenda item 114, the recommendation of the Sixth Committee is found in paragraph 4 of its report [A/31/397].

4. The recommendation of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 115 is found in paragraph 5 of its report [A/31/398].

5. Neither agenda item 114 nor item 115 could be considered by the Sixth Committee because of lack of time, and it is recommended to the General Assembly that these two items be included in the provisional agenda of its thirty-second session.

6. With regard to agenda item 124, the report of the Sixth Committee is contained in document A/31/360. I wish to recall that the General Assembly decided to allocate that agenda item to the First Committee and to refer it at the appropriate stage to the Sixth Committee for an examination of its legal implications. At its 57th meeting, the General Assembly, after adopting resolution 31/9 on the recommendation of the First Committee, decided that the Sixth Committee should consider the legal implications of the item and report thereon. It is now my duty to report that the Sixth Committee considered the legal implications of the item and, on the recommendation of its Chairman, decided, by consensus, to include in its report to the General Assembly the following text:

“The Sixth Committee has noted the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 31/9 entitled ‘Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations’. In this connexion the Sixth Committee requests the General Assembly to recommend that Member States, in their consideration of statements and proposals on this item to be reported to the Secretary-General, should give due weight to the important legal issues involved. The Sixth Committee recalls the role it played in elaborating the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-opera-

tion among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)] and the Definition of Aggression [resolution 3314 (XXIX)]. The legal issues which the item under discussion involves have been, and will need to be, examined in the current and future deliberations on this subject which any further consideration of this item by the General Assembly will entail.” [A/31/360, para. 4.]

In conclusion, I wish to commend the Sixth Committee’s report for adoption by consensus.

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

7. The PRESIDENT: We shall consider first the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 112 [A/31/403]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled “Implementation by States of the provisions of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961” recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report [A/31/403]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Lao People’s Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Surinam, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, 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, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Fiji, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 92 votes to none, with 25 abstentions (resolution 31/76).¹

8. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 114 [A/31/397]. The recommendation of the Sixth Committee appears in para-

¹ The delegations of Cyprus, Equatorial Guinea, Guyana and India subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

graph 4 of its report. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided (decision 31/408).

9. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 115 [A/31/398]. The Sixth Committee's recommendation appears in paragraph 5 of that report. That recommendation is that the item should be included in the provisional agenda of the General Assembly's thirty-second session. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the recommendation of the Sixth Committee?

It was so decided (decision 31/409).

10. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 124 [A/31/360]. The Sixth Committee's decision appears in paragraph 4 of that report. May I take it that the General Assembly approves the decision of the Sixth Committee, which was adopted by consensus?

It was so decided (decision 31/410).

AGENDA ITEM 69

Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination:

- (a) Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Reports of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination;
- (c) Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;
- (d) Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE
(A/31/273 AND ADD.1)

AGENDA ITEM 72

World social situation: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/31/389)

AGENDA ITEM 74

Torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/31/394)

AGENDA ITEM 81

Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/31/391)

11. Mr. BADAWI (Egypt), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: It is a great honour and pleasure for me to

introduce to this Assembly the following reports of the Third Committee.

12. The first report is contained in document A/31/273 and Add.1. Part I of the report is contained in document A/31/273, and it covers subitems (a), (c) and (d) of agenda item 69, which the Third Committee considered jointly. Subitem (b) of agenda item 69 is the subject of a separate report, document A/31/273/Add.1.

13. The Third Committee took up subitem (a) as a matter of high priority at the beginning of the current session, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3377 (XXX). In addition to a number of reports which the Secretary-General submitted to the General Assembly concerning different aspects of the Programme for the Decade, the Third Committee had also at its disposal the reports and documentation submitted under this item to the Economic and Social Council at its sixtieth session, and the texts of two draft resolutions recommended by the Council for adoption by the General Assembly. Over 90 delegations participated in the debate on this item. Speakers in the debate reaffirmed the need for concerted and accelerated efforts on behalf of the international community to eradicate the abhorrent policies of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination.

14. Paragraph 17 of the Third Committee's report [A/31/273] contains the draft resolutions which the Third Committee now recommends to the General Assembly for adoption.

15. Draft resolution I concerns implementation of the Programme for the Decade of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It was adopted in the Third Committee by a roll-call vote of 103 to 1, with 16 abstentions. The draft, *inter alia*, condemns the intolerable conditions which continue to prevail in southern Africa and elsewhere, including the denial of the right to self-determination and the inhumane and odious application of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. It urges all States to co-operate loyally and fully in achieving the goals and objectives of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination by taking actions and measures called for by the Programme for the Decade at the national, regional and international levels. It also appeals to Governments and private organizations to make voluntary contributions which would make it possible to carry out all the activities provided for in the Programme for the Decade.

16. Draft resolution II, entitled "World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination", *inter alia* welcomes with appreciation the offer of the Government of Ghana to act as a host to the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and takes note of the measures contemplated by that Government aimed at ensuring the success of the Conference. In adopting this draft the General Assembly would decide, in conformity with paragraph 13 of the Programme for the Decade of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to convene the Conference in Ghana in order to mobilize world public opinion and adopt measures likely to secure the full and universal implementation of United Nations decisions and resolutions on racism, racial discrimination, *apartheid*, decolonization and self-determination. This draft

was adopted by the Third Committee by a roll-call vote of 99 to 2, with 20 abstentions. In connexion with this draft, I wish to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the report of the Fifth Committee in document A/31/404, concerning the financial implications of draft resolution II and in particular of paragraph 9 of that document.

17. Draft resolution III, entitled "Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination", was adopted by the Third Committee by consensus, and draft resolution IV, concerning the status of the International Convention on the Suppression and the Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, was adopted by the Third Committee by 90 votes to none, with 28 abstentions.

18. Part II of the report, in document A/31/273/Add.1, concerns subitem (b) of agenda item 69. This year, among other documents before it, the Third Committee considered the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination for the year 1975-1976 [A/31/18]. The debate of the Third Committee on this item reaffirmed the important role played by the Committee in order to implement the provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, thus contributing effectively to efforts aimed at the elimination of all forms of such discrimination. On this item the Third Committee adopted without a vote a draft resolution contained in paragraph 11 of its report. This draft *inter alia* expresses appreciation to the Committee for the work it performs in pursuance of the provisions of the Convention, thus contributing significantly to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. It calls upon the States parties to the Convention to observe fully the provisions of the Convention and other international instruments and agreements to which they are parties concerning the elimination of all forms of discrimination based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin. It invites the States parties to include in their reports, under article 9, paragraph 1, of the Convention, information on the status of their relations with the racist régimes of southern Africa in accordance with the Committee's decision 2 (XI) of 7 April 1975.

19. The second report, in document A/31/389, concerns agenda item 72. Paragraph 17 of this document contains three draft resolutions which the Third Committee recommends for adoption by the General Assembly.

20. Draft resolution I, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons", *inter alia* recommends that all Member States take account of the rights and principles laid down in the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons in establishing their policies, plans and programmes. The draft was adopted by the Third Committee without a vote.

21. Draft resolution II, entitled "Report on the world social situation", takes note, *inter alia*, of the 1974 Report on the World Social Situation as well as the various points of view expressed regarding its substance and format during the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. The Third Committee adopted this draft without a vote.

22. Draft resolution III, entitled "World social situation", *inter alia* reaffirms the urgency of observing the principles

and implementing the decisions regarding the establishment of the new international economic order as well as the targets and policy measures of the International Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade as a necessary pre-condition for the success of measures to eradicate poverty and to ensure real social progress in developing countries. It reaffirms also that the elimination of imperialism, colonialism, aggression, foreign occupation, all forms of discrimination and *apartheid* and threats against national sovereignty and territorial integrity is a pre-condition for social and economic progress. It requests the Secretary-General to continue to issue the report on the world social situation every four years, "taking into consideration the provisions of the present resolution". The Third Committee adopted this draft by 91 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

23. The third report, in document A/31/394 concerns agenda item 74. In paragraph 8 of this document the Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly adoption of a draft resolution entitled "Torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment in relation to detention and imprisonment". That draft recalls, *inter alia*, the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 3452 (XXX). It also calls upon Governments, as well as intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations concerned with human rights, to give maximum publicity to the Declaration. The Third Committee adopted that draft without a vote.

24. The fourth report, contained in document A/31/391, concerns agenda item 81. Speakers in the debate on this item emphasized that the entry into force of the Covenants has been one of the most interesting and encouraging developments in the field of human rights during the past year. The draft resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly in paragraph 10 of the report reflects that fact. According to the draft the General Assembly would welcome with deep satisfaction the entry into force of the Covenants as a major step in the international efforts to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. This draft resolution was adopted by the Third Committee by 97 votes to none, with one abstention.

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

25. The PRESIDENT: We shall consider first the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 69 [A/31/273 and Add.1].

26. I shall now call on the representative of Mexico who wishes to explain her delegation's vote at this stage.

27. Mrs. GONZALEZ MARTINEZ (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico has asked to be allowed to speak because we should like to explain that we shall vote in favour of draft resolution II in part I of the report of the Third Committee [A/31/273] on the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination because that is the only position that is compatible

with our unswerving repudiation of racism and racial discrimination, and especially of the intolerable situation in southern Africa resulting from the implementation of the policy of *apartheid*. However, our vote should be interpreted in the light of the reasons we put forward on 15 December 1975 during the previous session of the General Assembly.²

28. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take a decision on the four draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 17 of document A/31/273.

29. Draft resolution I is entitled "Implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, 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, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Honduras, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 113 votes to 1, with 14 abstentions (resolution 31/77).³

30. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution II, entitled "World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination". I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the Fifth Committee's report on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution, and in particular to the Fifth Committee's decision in

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2441st meeting.

³ The delegations of Equatorial Guinea and Nigeria subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

paragraph 9 of that document [A/31/404]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, 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 Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Canada, Israel.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Costa Rica, Denmark, Fiji, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 110 votes to 2, with 16 abstentions (resolution 31/78).⁴

31. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to draft resolution III in paragraph 17 of document A/31/273, entitled "Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination". The Third Committee adopted that draft resolution by consensus. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 31/79).

32. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution IV, entitled "Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Domini-

⁴ The delegations of Equatorial Guinea and Nigeria subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

can Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, 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, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 99 votes to none, with 30 abstentions (resolution 31/80).⁵

33. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of their vote on draft resolutions I to IV.

34. Rev. Robert P. HUPP (United States of America): We wish the record to reflect the fact that the United States did not participate in the vote on draft resolutions I and II. The United States position on these draft resolutions was explained during the debate on this item in the Third Committee.⁶

35. Mrs. BEN-AMI (Israel) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As a matter of principle, Israel sincerely supports any legitimate and justified action aimed at eliminating racial discrimination and we wish to say that respect for human dignity is axiomatic in the way of life of our people. That is why my country has endeavoured to eliminate any form of distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour or national or ethnic origin that might undermine the equal enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

36. Consistent with that position, Israel would have undoubtedly participated in the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination on the basis of the original principles and objectives established in resolution 3057 (XXVIII).

⁵ The delegations of Equatorial Guinea and Nigeria subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Third Committee*, 12th meeting, para. 5.

37. Much to our regret, however, draft resolutions I and II are unacceptable to my delegation for the reasons expressed in the course of the debate in the Third Committee.⁷

38. This is an opportune time to say that the direct or indirect references in this draft resolution to certain resolutions have introduced by implication alien elements and comparisons which destroy the consensus on racism and completely vitiate the action of the Decade. Reference to erroneous or faulty resolutions does nothing to remedy these inherent deficiencies. On the contrary, the successive repetition of such references serves only to increase and to perpetuate them.

39. For the reasons stated, my delegation was compelled to vote against draft resolutions I and II. However, it is still our hope that in the near future there will be a return to the original aim of the Decade. When that happens, Israel will unquestionably and enthusiastically support any international effort that is genuinely aimed at the elimination of racial discrimination in all its forms and in all countries of the world.

40. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members of the Assembly to turn to the report of the Third Committee on item 69 (b) contained in document A/31/273/Add.1. The draft resolution entitled "Reports of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination" recommended by the Committee appears in paragraph 11. The Third Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/81).

41. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 72 [A/31/389]. In paragraph 17 of the report, the Third Committee has recommended three draft resolutions to the General Assembly.

42. I call on the representative of Algeria who wishes to explain his vote.

43. Mr. KHAMIS (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Strictly speaking, this is not an explanation of vote before the vote. I wish merely to draw the Assembly's attention to the inclusion in operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution III, entitled "World social situation", in document A/31/389, of a foot-note referring to General Assembly resolution 3362 (S-VII).

44. I do not believe that, when the Third Committee adopted this draft resolution—operative paragraph 5 of which reads as follows: "Reaffirms the urgency of observing the principles and implementing the decisions regarding the establishment of the new international economic order . . ." that it was its intention to make reference solely to General Assembly resolution 3362 (S-VII). The new international economic order is based on a number of other resolutions, not merely on the one that was adopted during the seventh special session.

45. For that reason, my delegation would like through you, Mr. President, to ask that any reference to General

⁷ *Ibid.*, 11th meeting, paras. 22-27.

Assembly resolution 3362 (S-VII) be eliminated, and that the text read simply:

“Reaffirms the urgency of observing the principles and implementing the decisions regarding the establishment of the new international economic order, as well as the targets and policy measures of the International Development Strategy . . .”.

In connexion with the Strategy, I similarly think there is no need to make reference, in the same paragraph 5, to General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV) inasmuch as that resolution is familiar to all Members of the United Nations, and has indeed determined the guidelines for the General Assembly on this subject.

46. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Algeria has referred to the two foot-notes to operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution III, which refer to General Assembly resolutions 3362 (S-VII) and 2626 (XXV). Those foot-notes do not seem to me to be very appropriate; if I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees to their deletion.

It was so decided.

47. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolutions contained in paragraph 17 of document A/31/389.

48. Draft resolution I is entitled “Implementation of the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons”. The Third Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to do likewise?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 31/82).

49. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution II, entitled “Report on the world social situation”. The Third Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to do likewise?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 31/83).

50. The PRESIDENT: We now come to draft resolution III, entitled “World social situation”. A recorded vote on this draft resolution has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People’s Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar,

Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, 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, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

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

Draft resolution III was adopted by 120 votes to none, with 12 abstentions (resolution 31/84).⁸

51. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 74 [A/31/394]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled “Torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment in relation to detention and imprisonment” recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Third Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/85).

52. The PRESIDENT: We shall now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 81 [A/31/391]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled “Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights” recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 10 of its report.

The draft resolution was adopted by 129 votes to none (resolution 31/86).

AGENDA ITEM 25

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: 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 (continued)*

53. Mr. SOUTHICHAK (Lao People’s Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Since the adoption by the General Assembly in 1960 of the Declaration on the

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

* Resumed from the 86th meeting.

Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in resolution 1514 (XV), several Territories have acceded to independence. My delegation feels deep satisfaction again this year at seeing the peoples of the Seychelles, Angola and Western Samoa, after a very long period of subjugation, achieve full freedom and independence. The admission of those countries to membership in the United Nations will further strengthen within our Organization the struggle for the liberation of peoples and Territories, small or large.

54. This strengthening is absolutely necessary in particular because at the present time, regrettably, we see the colonialists, neo-colonialists and imperialists, although on the retreat and discredited everywhere, still clinging desperately to their vain attempt at maintaining the *status quo* by perpetuating their domination and exploitation of the colonial peoples and their natural resources. This is what is happening in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and several other parts of the world.

55. In various large and small Territories located either in continents or far out in the ocean, the colonialists, neo-colonialists and imperialists are using all sorts of treacherous manoeuvres to impede the process of decolonization, thus obstructing United Nations efforts in that field.

56. But our international Organization is more than ever aware of its responsibilities towards peoples which are still dependent and wishes, at all costs, to see the end of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in all their forms and manifestations.

57. In this respect, our Organization's efforts and in particular those 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—are very encouraging and deserve our deep admiration. My delegation wishes to express to that Committee and, in particular, its Chairman, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, our gratitude for his immense and unremitting efforts devoted to the noble cause of decolonization. Everyone knows that, within the framework of its activities, the Special Committee has sent visiting missions to several Territories to report on the situation prevailing in them and has held meetings and consultations away from Headquarters. The information submitted to us by the Special Committee is very useful and has enabled us to take objective decisions.

58. Bearing in mind our modest experience in this matter, my delegation wishes to express our views on some striking facts that seem to be obstacles to the process of decolonization.

59. These facts are the result—and my delegation stresses this—of the ill-will of the colonial, neo-colonial and imperialist Powers and their agents. Thus, as has been said repeatedly, as the process of decolonization draws to a conclusion in respect of a given Territory, the colonial and neo-colonial Powers and their agents do everything they can to raise all sorts of geographical, historical, ethnic, legal and constitutional obstacles and resort to all kinds of pressure, threats and intimidation to thwart the profound aspirations of colonial peoples. The clever practice currently used is to

divide the people of the same nation so that various groups of the population do not take the same path towards independence or adopt one dictated by the colonialists. As a result one sees amid the same people differing movements towards independence: one towards independence under the domination of the colonialists and another towards genuine independence. For the supporters of the latter policy, struggle is difficult and inevitable. Another practice to which the colonialists or neo-colonialists resort either directly themselves or through the intermediary of persons close to them and in their pay, is that of repression in order to deprive the liberation struggle of any momentum.

Mr. Moreno Martinez (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

60. In most cases, the forces of oppression combine these two practices, thus inflicting on the colonized peoples enormous frustration and harsh suffering. The tense situation and the escalation of violence which exist at the present time in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe as a result of the criminal policy of *apartheid* and the brutal policy of repression practised on a large scale by the white minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, doubtless reflect the true face of colonialism. But in South Africa, as in Namibia and Zimbabwe, the oppressed African peoples do not allow themselves to be intimidated and, relying on their own strength and the growing support of the international community, are waging fierce struggles under the guidance of their genuine representatives to conquer their right to freedom and independence.

61. Thus, in southern Africa the people of Zimbabwe, guided by their national liberation movements, is more determined than ever to wrest from the rebel Salisbury régime a transition majority government before gaining total independence, which should take place as soon as possible. In this connexion, the conference between the administering Power, the rebel Government and the genuine African leaders which is now taking place in Geneva should not lull the vigilance of the Members of our Organization, because the past has proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Ian Smith will never accept the inevitable as long as he can shilly-shally. It is important that our international community should relentlessly step up its pressure against his illegal régime in spite of the negotiations, which we all welcome.

62. With respect to South Africa, it is also imperative that all Members of our Organization resolve to take the steps which are necessary to force the Government of Pretoria to put an end without delay to its odious policy of *apartheid* and to its policy of brutal repression of the African people of South Africa, and to give power back to the majority.

63. Moreover, all possible means must urgently be used to force South Africa to withdraw from Namibia, an international Territory which it occupies illegally despite the advisory opinion handed down by the International Court of Justice⁹ and in spite of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. To expedite that withdrawal and to help

⁹ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

the Namibian people to achieve their freedom and full independence, the unreserved support of the international community is more than ever necessary for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole genuine representative of the Namibian people. In this regard, although SWAPO has already scored remarkable victories both in the field and on the international scene and has made considerable progress along the path which will lead in the near future to freedom and total independence, there are still many obstacles in its path—quite considerable obstacles when we think of the triple veto which three Western Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, cast in the vote on the draft resolution of the African and non-aligned members of the Council recommending appropriate measures to be taken against South Africa to oblige it to react positively to Security Council resolution 385 (1976).¹⁰

64. This situation is especially regrettable since it is these countries, among others, which continue, in spite of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, to provide the South African régime with arms and military equipment, thus allowing it to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia. The unholy alliance between South Africa and these same Western Powers is a serious threat to peace in southern Africa. It is a serious miscarriage of justice towards the Namibian people, whose right to self-determination and independence is recognized by these same Powers. What valid explanation can be found for the attitude of those Powers which, while publicly proclaiming their faith in the inalienable rights of the Namibian people, still continue to arm their tyrant-oppressor, that is to say, South Africa, to the teeth?

65. It is high time for those Powers, to salvage their own honor, to cease deluding themselves and to collaborate with the rest of the international community in adopting the necessary measures to put an end to the dangerous situation which prevails at the present time in Namibia.

66. However, in spite of the manoeuvres and obstructions both locally and on the international scene, the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO will continue their relentless struggle until complete victory is achieved. That struggle is increasingly supported by the international community. Thus the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held last August in Colombo, Sri Lanka, reaffirmed its unshakable support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people and warned the racist régime of South Africa—emphasizing that warning in no uncertain terms—that any manoeuvres to stifle the legitimate struggle of the Namibians for self-determination and independence could lead only to an escalation of violence, with all its consequences.

67. The Lao people, which were subjected for about a century to one of the most backward colonial régimes and then to the most barbarous type of aggression by imperialism and neo-colonialism, has just recovered its complete freedom, independence and dignity thanks to our obstinate,

resolute and invincible struggle under the far-sighted and creative guidance of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party. Having realized our national aspirations, we are in duty bound to come to the aid of the oppressed peoples, with whom we have a great deal in common. That is why we attach great importance to the decolonization activities of the United Nations and resolutely support the struggle of all genuine and legitimate national liberation movements, whether in small or in large Territories.

68. With respect to the small Territories, my delegation welcomes the fact that the United Nations, and in particular the Special Committee, has over the past year given special attention to this matter. There is no doubt that all peoples, however few they are in number, possess the same rights to self-determination and independence under the terms of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). My delegation subscribes entirely to the idea that considerations of area, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way impede the application of the Declaration on the granting of independence in resolution 1514 (XV). We therefore disapprove of all manoeuvres and attempts at annexation by the colonialists, neo-colonialists and imperialists to gain control over the small Territories and make them into naval and military bridge-heads at the expense of the interests and basic aspirations of their inhabitants.

69. One of the most outstanding successes of the United Nations since its founding has clearly been its work in the sphere of decolonization. Thanks to the resolute and continuous action of our Organization, millions and millions of oppressed peoples have recovered their freedom, independence and dignity. Thus it is very easy to understand why liberated peoples have been in such a hurry to occupy their rightful place in the United Nations, if only to give their vigorous support to the struggle for freedom and independence of all peoples.

70. One can also understand what great hopes the peoples that still suffer under domination and colonial oppression place in the United Nations, and it is important for us not to disappoint those hopes.

71. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): If there is any question that deserves special consideration by our Organization, it is the one now before the General Assembly.

72. The many statements made from this rostrum for several days and those which will follow are, moreover, eloquent testimony to the interest which the United Nations attaches to this question.

73. More than 15 years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV) on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The adoption on 14 December 1960 of resolution 1514 (XV) was not aimed solely at seeking ways and means of putting an end to an anachronistic situation, which was characterized by dependence, exploitation and humiliation. Above and beyond that objective, the adoption of that resolution was and still is a true act of faith not only in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1976*, document S/12119.

human person, but also in the need to preserve the unity of nations and their territorial integrity.

74. The United Nations, by reaffirming in this resolution the most fundamental and sacred principles of the Charter, and, above all, by giving our Organization a prominent role in promoting the independence of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, intended that law and reason should triumph and that the force of international law should hold sway where the law of force had long prevailed.

75. The adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) was—and this should be stressed—one of the most important and most decisive turning-points in the history of our Organization. It was an important and a decisive turning-point because the small nations and the dependent Territories, whose only strength was their rights, could thenceforward rely on United Nations support and the solidarity of the international community to uphold their just and legitimate claims. It was an important and a decisive turning-point also because it made it possible for our Organization to move ever closer to its objectives, in particular its ideal of universality. Finally, it was an important and a decisive turning-point because the flexible, realistic and practical approach of resolution 1514 (XV) gave each nation and each people a number of choices in determining their own future and destiny.

76. This charter of decolonization, which was not a mere statement of intentions, could consequently only facilitate the role of our Organization and at the same time open the way to better understanding among peoples.

77. During these 15 years a number of countries that not so very long ago were under colonial domination have regained their independence and most of them are now Members of the United Nations. Of course, in many cases the promises made and contained in resolution 1514 (XV) have not always been respected. The process which the United Nations envisaged for decolonization in order to prevent sufferings and misfortunes for many peoples was disregarded in some cases, leaving the oppressed peoples concerned with no alternative but to resort to violence to achieve their national liberation.

78. While it is regrettable that this last-ditch effort by colonialism in some cases has caused the sufferings and losses that many generations of colonial countries and peoples have endured, this struggle has nevertheless shown that international solidarity with the oppressed peoples in these cases is not a meaningless term.

79. Indeed, in the cases where colonialism has ignored reason and common sense, the international community, by its material and moral support, has made it possible for the colonial peoples to bring to bear the force of international law and justice, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV).

80. This international solidarity has made it possible to eliminate one after the other some of the last bastions of colonialism, thus making irreversible the movement of emancipation and independence of the colonial countries and peoples.

81. After these 15 years we can today welcome the fact that many countries have acceded to independence and that many of the vestiges of colonial domination will from now on evoke only a sad and distant memory of a time long past and never to return. However, we must deplore the paradoxical situations which still persist here and there in the world and, in particular, in Africa, where iniquitous régimes based on domination and racism continue to defy the international community.

82. In Namibia the situation remains frozen, notwithstanding a number of resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the unambiguous opinion of the International Court of Justice. Everything today would seem to indicate that South Africa, by defiance after defiance, is attempting to show that this Organization is powerless to settle this problem.

83. By its refusal to allow our Organization to play its legitimate role in the question of Namibia and by pursuing its systematic policy of bantustanization, South Africa has committed itself to a deliberate policy of provocation and intimidation.

84. Should this challenge not be met in the coming years—and there is no doubt that it will be met—the liberation movements, supported by the international community, will see to it that right and justice triumph.

85. In Rhodesia, the general uprising of the liberation movements, supported by the international community, has sounded the death knell of an illegal and, in many respects, paradoxical régime. The political upheavals in the past few years in this rebel republic could not but lead Ian Smith's régime to sink into a quagmire. The handful of white settlers who against all odds wished to impose their will on the African majority have finally abandoned their long-standing ostrich-like policy, and are at last facing reality.

86. The recent opening of the Geneva conference on the future of Rhodesia, with the participation of the African liberation movements, is eloquent testimony to the changes which have occurred in Rhodesia. We appeal to the United Kingdom to persevere and to play its proper role in facilitating the advent of a government of the African majority in Rhodesia.

87. In South Africa itself the recent popular uprisings in Soweto and the brutal repression practised on the people of this community are not isolated phenomena but the logical outcome of a resistance and liberation struggle which has for a number of years been waged by the people of South Africa.

88. The international community will forever remember the events of Sharpeville, where women, children and old persons were savagely and cold-bloodedly massacred by the supporters of racism. Moreover, it is a difficult paradox to explain and understand that such a monstrous régime could have belonged to this Organization and should long have been authorized to defend a thesis that is one of the most contrary to the spirit and the letter of our Charter. How long will South Africa and the like be able to continue to defy the United Nations and to justify the actions they are taking against peoples whose sole defence is their rights?

89. It is high time that this healthy awakening which the still-oppressed peoples are awaiting from our Organization should take place. It is high time that the régimes, such as that in South Africa, which base their prosperity on the domination, exploitation and humiliation of millions of human beings were banished from our society. It is high time, finally, that our Organization gave the peoples that still have faith in it additional reasons to believe in the inevitable triumph of justice and law.

90. While we are convinced that the process of liberation is irreversible, we cannot but express concern at the strengthening of the offensive and defensive potential of, and the ever-growing co-operation between, the last bastions of domination.

91. The increasingly sophisticated methods of repression being developed in South Africa are no longer the fruit of the genius of the Vorster régime. Israel, by the technical and material assistance it is giving the South African régime, is in fact taking part in the installation of equipment designed to improve the methods of torture used against the people of South Africa. To allow that co-operation to develop without denouncing it and taking measures against it is surely to encourage those two régimes and, at the same time, to impose upon the peoples they are oppressing an additional burden of suffering, misfortune and tragedy.

92. Nevertheless, the changes taking place in the world, and in the United Nations in particular, do allow for a glimmer of hope. The unequivocal condemnation by the United Nations of the so-called Republic of Transkei is an example of those changes. The convening of the Geneva conference on the future of Rhodesia and the resolutions recently adopted by the General Assembly calling for the resumption of the negotiations on the Middle East with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization are indications of the inevitable victory of the peoples now struggling for their liberation.

93. We express the hope that justice and right will triumph over the final obstacles on the long and difficult path towards the emancipation of peoples, and that the United Nations will make in this respect, as it has always done, its characteristically valuable contribution.

94. Mr. HRČKA (Czechoslovakia): My delegation would like to take this opportunity to welcome among us the representatives of the People's Republic of Angola. It was during the discussion of this very item at last year's session of the Assembly that we heard words of significant support for the people of Angola, who at that time were going through the complicated period of the birth of their independence. My delegation, having then been unambiguously on the side of the Angolan people, considers that the presence among us of the representatives of Angola is the symbol of the victory of nations fighting for their independence and freedom.

95. There have been many changes during the past year in the field of decolonization. On the one hand, the firm determination of the oppressed nations to fight for their independence has been even further strengthened. On the other hand, the attempts of the imperialist forces to stop, or at least slow down, that significant historical process

have been intensified. It is becoming clear that the coming year will be a continuation of the critical period during which the destiny of the still-colonized nations will be finally decided. That is why it is extremely important that the anti-colonialist front in our Organization should increase its moral and political pressure on the colonialist forces at this very session.

96. The heart of the present national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples is the region of southern Africa. For the majority of persons living there, the humanistic aims of our Organization are still only a dream.

97. Recently the situation in southern Africa has become the subject of lively diplomatic activity. It is characteristic that this increased interest on the part of the prominent Western countries is being shown only since it has become clear that the nations of Africa are able to threaten the existence of the racist régimes, to stop the plundering by monopolies of the material and human values, and to attain independence for the whole African continent. Everyone can see that one of the final dramatic confrontations between Africa's past and present—between the remnants of colonialism and independence—is taking place in southern Africa. The struggle of the African nations for independence is, in that sense, a significant part of world progress.

98. The Czechoslovak delegation is of the opinion that the condemnation of the racist régimes in southern Africa must be accompanied by decisive measures, including sanctions. Those delegations that are impeding the introduction of concrete and comprehensive pressure on the racists are not only committing an offence against the subjugated African peoples but also endangering peace and security in all of Africa.

99. Attempts have been made recently to obstruct the process of decolonization in small island Territories also. The articles of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) clearly provide that each Territory, regardless of its size or number of inhabitants, has a right to independence.

100. Particularly during the past year the administering Powers have shown imagination in their attempts to justify their further presence in these colonial Territories. The allegation has been placed before us that independence is only one of the possible means of decolonization, and that the right to self-determination is the first priority. The emphasis on that priority is, however, accompanied by the suggestion that so long as the colonial or administering Power is a so-called democratic one, the referendum on a colonized Territory is automatically democratic also. It is proper to note that this method of application of the right to self-determination tends to exclude the idea of independence, and in practice this means, or can mean, the annexation of a small Territory to the territory of the administering Power.

101. Furthermore, attempts are being made to discontinue the co-operation between the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. That would eventually result in the exclusion of the colonial Territory concerned from the list of Territories qualified for decolonization and from the programme of work of the Special Committee. The

representative of the Soviet Union has dealt in detail with that question [83rd meeting], and our delegation fully shares his views. We think that the need for the decolonization of all Territories, regardless of the number of their inhabitants or of their size, is self-evident.

102. At the same time, my delegation would like to state that we view the question of decolonization not only as a criterion of the humanitarian character of our Organization, but also as a prerequisite for the safeguarding of peace in all parts of the world.

103. The position of the Czechoslovak delegation is traditionally in favour of the colonial peoples fighting for their independence, freedom and right to self-determination. We have never changed that position, because it follows from both the history and the contemporary socialist reality of our State.

104. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call upon representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply. Before doing so, I would remind them that by decision of the Assembly taken at its 4th meeting rights of reply are limited to 10 minutes.

105. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): My delegation has taken note of the statement made by the Ambassador of Somalia on so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) after the adoption of resolution 31/59 at the 85th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 1 December 1976. In contrast to the clear understanding of the sponsors and supporters of that resolution, in his statement the Ambassador of Somalia asserted that the resolution concerned itself solely with the decolonization aspect of the issue to the exclusion of all other issues which are explicitly dealt with in the resolution.

106. Before I proceed to correct the record, however, let me express the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing that the resolution was able to command the overwhelming support of the Members of the United Nations. We are satisfied with its adoption because we believe it includes elements necessary for the genuine independence and future security of Djibouti and therefore positively contributes to peace and stability in the region.

107. The Ethiopian delegation is not surprised that the Ambassador of Somalia should attempt to circumscribe the scope and objective of resolution 31/59. We are nevertheless rather saddened by the fact that the Permanent Representative of Somalia should so soon attempt to deliver a mortal blow to the high hopes the international community places in the resolution as the minimum required for resolving the Djibouti question.

108. If the resolution enjoyed the broad support it did, it was because it addressed itself to the special problems of Djibouti in a realistic and responsible manner. It provided for the speedy decolonization of the Territory, while at the same time making certain that its future existence as a sovereign and independent State would not be jeopardized. Thus the consensus achieved on the resolution was an outcome of the painstaking efforts of the African group of States, particularly those of the members of the fact-finding mission sent by the Organization of African Unity [OAU]

to Djibouti, who spared no effort to reflect in the resolution all the essential aspects of the Djibouti problem after delicate, difficult and time-consuming negotiation with the parties concerned and interested. Consequently, pronouncements contrary to these basic facts, reservations or disavowals of the resolutions and declarations of the United Nations, OAU and the non-aligned movement which this resolution clearly endorses are unacceptable to my delegation, as, I am sure, they are to many other delegations.

109. The assertion that Somalia does not subscribe to any interpretation other than that unilaterally given by the Ambassador on 1 December 1976 is even more malicious, for two reasons. First, it clearly negates the solemn declarations made by the leaders of the Ethiopian and Somali delegations on behalf of their respective Governments at the twenty-seventh ordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers, held in Mauritius and reaffirmed in the Fourth Committee, affirming that their respective Governments would "recognize, respect and honour the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) after its accession to independence". Second, it endeavours to lay the groundwork, albeit in an ingenious manner, for the achievement of Somalia's designs on the Territory. A brief quotation from a memorandum submitted by Somalia to the Special Committee in 1965 will make my point clear:

"The Somali Republic's intentions are the reintegration of all territory inhabited by the Somali peoples into one nation-State, the Somali Republic, on the basis of the right of self-determination of the people of the Territory."¹¹

110. This is the option Somalia would like to avail itself of now by asserting that the resolution addresses itself solely to the decolonization aspect of the issue.

111. What are the main provisions of resolution 31/59?

112. First, the resolution calls upon France to implement equitably and democratically its announced plans, to co-operate with OAU in the convening of the round-table conference of all political parties and liberation movements and facilitate the return of all refugees who are *bona fide* citizens of Djibouti, in accordance with the conventions of OAU and the United Nations on the subject.

113. Secondly, the resolution reaffirms General Assembly resolution 3480 (XXX), which, *inter alia*, "Calls upon all States to renounce forthwith any and all claims to the Territory and to declare null and void any and all acts asserting such claims".

114. Thirdly, the resolution endorses all resolutions adopted by OAU on Djibouti, in particular CM/Res.431/Rev.1 (XXV) and CM/Res.480 (XXVII), as well as the significant Declaration adopted at the twenty-seventh ordinary session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa at Dar es Salaam.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes*, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XII, annex II, para. 37.

115. OAU resolution CM/Res.431 (Rev.1) (XXV) contains the following paragraph:

“*Congratulating* the two countries contiguous to the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) for their respective declarations made in respect of the total independence and their avowed non-involvement in the internal affairs of the territory and calls upon them to renounce any claims they might have to the territory”.

116. Resolution CM/Res.480 (XXVII) approves the OAU recommendations and declarations which affirm that the OAU Member States, in particular Ethiopia and Somalia, have committed themselves to guarantee and respect the independence and territorial integrity of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti). These are the resolutions that have now been endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 31/59.

117. If, through the restrictive interpretation it has given to this resolution, Somalia is allowed to assume that the international community condones, acquiesces in, or, indeed, sanctions its territorial ambitions concerning Djibouti, a great injustice will have been done to the people of the Territory on the eve of their independence. For the peace and stability of the region the consequences of such an assumption may well prove tragic. And if, as a result of Somalia's latest manoeuvres and equivocation, any undue delay should occur or adverse consequences should develop concerning the programme and time-table already indicated in the resolution for the independence process of Djibouti, no one, least of all the people of the Territory, should have any difficulty in identifying the particular motive or the State concerned.

118. In this connexion there is some information which I should like to bring to the attention of the General Assembly. On Sunday, 5 December, Radio Mogadiscio announced the imprisonment of three leaders of the Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis [FLCS] by Somali authorities. Those imprisoned have been identified as Abdulahi Wabri Halif, President of the FLCS, Oman Osman Rabeh and Dahir Ibrahim Issa. The last two officials actually participated in the deliberations of the Fourth Committee on the question of Djibouti as observers from FLCS only a few weeks ago. This is the third wave of imprisonment of FLCS leaders who have refused to be used as Somalia's instrument for subversion of the independence process of Djibouti. Three successive presidents and their associates have either been imprisoned or forced to flee Somalia within a year because they have been suspected of showing signs of nationalism.

119. The statement of the representative of Somalia on 1 December 1976 and the information I have just brought to the attention of the General Assembly should not be brushed aside as mere coincidence. They are co-ordinated moves and follow a well-prepared strategy for the annexation of Djibouti.

120. In the face of Somalia's challenge to the clear provisions of resolution 31/59 and the danger that poses to the independence and future security of Djibouti, as well as to the peace and stability of the region

121. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The speaker has now spoken for more than 10 minutes, and I would request him to complete his statement.

122. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): —the General Assembly will have to draw the only possible conclusion: that Somalia is setting the stage for the eventual absorption of the Territory.

123. For our part, we should like to have it clearly on the record that resolution 31/59 has addressed itself to all aspects of the Djibouti question—to the sovereign existence and territorial integrity of Djibouti no less than to its immediate decolonization. Any contrary or restrictive interpretation of resolution 31/59 is, therefore, categorically rejected by Ethiopia.

124. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation did not wish to intervene in the major debate that took place last week on the situation in the Middle East. However, we should like to state today that it was with great surprise that we heard the explanation of vote given on 1 December by the representative of Somalia on the question of the French Territory of the Afars and Issas. If my delegation understood correctly what was said by Mr. Hussen—whose country, I would recall, is one of the sponsors of the draft submitted in the Fourth Committee—he said that the resolution adopted by the General Assembly has “a sole objective, namely, the decolonization of that Territory” [85th meeting, para. 116] and that his delegation would not subscribe to any interpretation of that resolution other than that which [he had] just explained” [*ibid.*, para. 117].

125. Does this mean that the solemn declarations of the heads of the delegations of Ethiopia and Somalia which are recalled in that text, according to which their respective Governments would recognize, respect and honour the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Territory after the achievement of independence, are devoid of any value—are null and void and without foundation?

126. My delegation—and I am sure the delegations of all countries in the General Assembly would agree with me—cannot imagine this to be so, because the essential aim of this debate and of the resolution was precisely to obtain from the two neighbouring States unequivocal assurances regarding the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of that future State.

127. Naturally there is the question of the accession of the Territory to independence. As the Assembly knows, my country will do what it is called upon by duty to do to lead the Territory to that state of sovereignty, if such is the will of the population; but let us not forget that there is the post-independence period as well. It is also and, in our opinion, particularly in connexion with that period that the resolution was adopted.

128. I hope that the statement that we heard on 1 December does not reflect the real position of Somalia and that that country, as it solemnly stated on 17 November in response to the request of the President of the Government Council of Djibouti, Mr. Kamil, “gave an undertaking to respect and honour the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the new State when it achieved independence, and to

refrain from any form of interference in its internal affairs.”¹²

¹² *Ibid.*, Thirty-first Session, Fourth Committee, 27th meeting, para. 44.

129. If that is not the case, the international community must be so warned.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.