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REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/31/434)

1. Mr. BADAWI (Egypt), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly the following reports of the Third Committee.

2. First, the report in document A/31/395 concerns agenda item 12. The Third Committee debated extensively

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

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council (*continued*)*

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/31/395)

* Resumed from the 84th meeting.

the human rights questions included in the report as well as the other parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council which had been referred to it by the General Assembly. Paragraph 40 of document A/31/395 contains five draft resolutions and paragraph 41 contains one draft decision recommended for adoption by the General Assembly.

3. Draft resolution I, entitled “International Year for Disabled Persons”, *inter alia*,

“Proclaims the year 1981 International Year for Disabled Persons, with the theme ‘full participation’;

“....

“Requests the Secretary-General to elaborate, in consultation with Member States, specialized agencies and concerned organizations, and to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session, a draft programme for the International Year for Disabled Persons”.

This draft resolution was adopted in the Third Committee without a vote.

4. Draft resolution II, entitled “Protection of human rights in Chile”, *inter alia*,

“Expresses its profound indignation that constant and flagrant violations of human rights have taken place and continue to take place in Chile . . .;

“Calls once more upon the Chilean authorities to restore and safeguard, without delay, basic human rights and fundamental freedoms and fully to respect provisions of the international instruments to which Chile is a party . . .”.

This draft resolution was adopted in the Third Committee by 98 votes to 14, with 18 abstentions.

5. Draft resolution III, entitled “Accession to and implementation of the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances”, *inter alia*, reads in part:

“Reiterates [the Assembly’s] appeal to all countries not yet parties to the 1971 Convention . . . promptly to take the necessary steps to accede to it . . .”.

This draft resolution was adopted in the Third Committee without a vote.

6. Draft resolution IV, entitled “Emergency assistance for South African refugee students”, *inter alia*,

“Recognizes the urgent need to organize an effective programme of international assistance to help in dealing with the recent South African student refugee problem in countries bordering South Africa;

“Requests the Secretary-General, as a matter of urgency, to consult with the Governments of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland with a view to taking immediate steps to organize and provide appropriate emergency financial and other appropriate forms of assistance for the

care, subsistence, and education of these refugee students . . .”.

This draft resolution was adopted without a vote.

7. Draft resolution V, entitled “Measures to improve the situation and ensure the human rights and dignity of all migrant workers”, *inter alia*,

“Calls upon all States, taking into account the provisions of the relevant instruments adopted by the International Labour Organisation and of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, to take measures to prevent and put an end to all discrimination against migrant workers . . .”.

The Third Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote.

8. With regard to the draft decision before the Assembly, I should like to indicate that, while the Third Committee was debating the report of the Economic and Social Council, the delegation of Sweden submitted a draft resolution, contained in Third Committee document A/C.3/31/L.34, entitled “Protection of persons detained on account of their political opinions or convictions”. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR submitted a draft resolution, contained in Third Committee document A/C.3/31/L.37, entitled “Protection of persons detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle for self-determination, independence and social progress and against colonialism, aggression and foreign occupation, racism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination”. After several consultations and debate in the Committee, the Committee decided, without a vote, to recommend the draft decision in paragraph 41 of document A/31/395 for adoption by the General Assembly.

9. The second report, contained in document A/31/420, concerns agenda item 71. Paragraph 9 of this document contains the draft resolution that the Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption. This draft, *inter alia*, calls upon Member States, in their programmes and plans, to take account of the provisions and principles contained in the Declaration on the Use of Scientific and Technological Progress in the Interests of Peace and for the Benefit of Mankind proclaimed by the General Assembly in its resolution 3384 (XXX) of 10 November 1975. The Third Committee adopted this draft by 102 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

10. Thirdly, the report in document A/31/406 concerns agenda item 73. Paragraph 15 of the report contains four draft resolutions recommended for adoption by the General Assembly.

11. Draft resolution I, entitled “Policies and programmes relating to youth”, *inter alia* requests Member States, the United Nations organs and the specialized agencies concerned to give greater attention to the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples, especially when establishing their policy and programmes regarding youth.

12. Draft resolution II, entitled "Role of youth", *inter alia* considers that the development process as well as the promotion of international peace and security would benefit greatly by the integration and involvement of youth in all related activities.

13. Draft resolution III, entitled "United Nations Volunteers programme", *inter alia* appeals to Governments and all other potential sources of contributions to the Special Voluntary Fund for United Nations Volunteers to help finance such youth programmes.

14. Draft resolution IV, entitled "Channels of communication with youth and youth organizations", *inter alia* expresses the conviction of the General Assembly that the pre-conditions of effective channels of communication are the promotion of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the existence of practical opportunities for youth and youth organizations to participate in the work of the United Nations at the national, regional, interregional and international levels.

15. All the draft resolutions in document A/31/406 were adopted by the Third Committee without a vote.

16. Fourthly, the report in document A/31/407 concerns agenda item 75. While discussing the item on the United Nations Decade for Women, the Third Committee confirmed the importance of following-up the activities of the Decade to ensure its goals concerning the full integration of women in society and their contribution on an equal footing with men to development and peace. Paragraph 21 of the report contains the five draft resolutions the Third Committee recommends for adoption by the General Assembly.

17. Draft resolution I, entitled "Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women", by which the General Assembly would adopt criteria and proposals for the management of the Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women, was adopted without a vote.

18. Draft resolution II, entitled "Improvement of the status and role of women in education", *inter alia* calls upon States to undertake, whenever necessary, in their economic, social and cultural programmes, specific short-term and long-term measures aimed at improving the status and role of women in education. It also calls upon States, whenever necessary, to undertake all possible measures to eliminate illiteracy among women, especially during the United Nations Decade for Women, 1976-1985. This draft was adopted without a vote.

19. Draft resolution III, entitled "International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women", *inter alia* endorses the decision of the Economic and Social Council to create such an Institute. It also accepts with appreciation the offer of the Government of Iran to act as host for the Institute. This draft was adopted by consensus.

20. Draft resolution IV, entitled "United Nations Decade for Women" *inter alia* urges Governments and United Nations bodies to take all necessary steps to give effect to the Programme for the Decade and to give it priority in

view of the real need to realize the goals of the Decade. This draft was adopted without a vote.

21. Draft resolution V, entitled "Pledging Conference for the United Nations Decade for Women", requests the Secretary-General to convene during the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, in 1977, a pledging conference for voluntary contributions to be made to the Voluntary Fund for the purpose of financing programmes under the World Plan of Action and the Programme for the United Nations Decade for Women and the International Research and Training Institute. This draft also was adopted without a vote.

22. Fifthly, for lack of time, the Third Committee could not consider the following agenda items: item 80 on freedom of information and item 82, entitled "United Nations Conference for an international convention on adoption law". Without a vote, the Committee decided to recommend that the Assembly include these items in the provisional agenda of the thirty-second session and consider them with appropriate priority. The reports contained in documents A/31/432 and A/31/433, respectively reflect the decisions of the Third Committee in this respect.

23. Sixthly, and finally, the report contained in document A/31/434 concerns agenda item 120. Before I introduce this report formally, I should like to suggest that, in the first paragraph of the preamble to the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee, which appears in paragraph 7 of the report, the last four words should begin with capital letters—in other words, "New International Economic Order". The Third Committee adopted the draft resolution appearing in paragraph 7 of this report without a vote.

24. As this is the last time I shall have the honour and pleasure of appearing before the General Assembly as the Rapporteur of the Third Committee, I should like to express my gratitude to the delegations which participated in the work of the Third Committee for their affection, trust and co-operation. I should like also sincerely and whole-heartedly to thank Mr. İlhan Lütem and Mrs. Pilar Santander Downing of the Secretariat for helping me to discharge my responsibilities as Rapporteur of the Third Committee.

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

25. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Nigeria, who wishes to submit an oral amendment to one of the draft resolutions now before the General Assembly.

26. Miss BALOGUN (Nigeria): The oral amendment I wish to submit concerns the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 12 /A/31/395/.

27. In operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution IV, we propose the insertion of the words "including the liberation movements concerned" between the word "Swaziland" and the words "with a view to". With our amendment, the first part of the paragraph would read as follows:

"Requests the Secretary-General, as a matter of urgency, to consult with the Governments of Botswana,

Lesotho and Swaziland, including the liberation movements concerned, with a view to taking immediate steps . . .”.

28. That is a minor amendment. Its purpose is to take note of the interest of the liberation movements in this matter. They feel that they must be consulted in questions relating to assistance for their refugee students.

29. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take decisions on the draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee.

30. We shall take up first the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 12, “Report of the Economic and Social Council”. The Committee’s report is contained in document A/31/395. The positions of delegations have already been expressed in the Third Committee with regard to the various draft resolutions and draft decisions recommended by the Committee, and those positions are reflected in the relevant summary records of the Third Committee. We shall now proceed to take a decision on each of the five draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 40 of its report.

31. We shall start with draft resolution I, entitled “International Year for Disabled Persons”. The Third Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 31/123).

32. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution II, entitled “Protection of human rights in Chile”. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People’s Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, 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, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay.

Abstaining: El Salvador, Fiji, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Indonesia, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Oman, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Surinam, Thailand, Uganda, United States of America.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 95 votes to 12, with 25 abstentions (resolution 31/124).¹

33. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution III, entitled “Accession to and implementation of the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances”. The Third Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 31/125).

34. The PRESIDENT: We now come to draft resolution IV, entitled “Emergency assistance for South African refugee students”.

35. I call on the representative of Morocco on a point of order.

36. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco): Mr. President, it is not a point of order. I just wanted to ask the Governments of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland whether they have liberation movements.

37. The PRESIDENT: I should like to point out to the representative of Morocco that the oral amendment should not appear in the form proposed by the representative of Nigeria. Instead of the word “including” it should read “and”. In other words, operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution IV, with the amendment, will read:

“Requests the Secretary-General, as a matter of urgency, to consult with the Governments of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland and the liberation movements concerned with a view to taking immediate steps to organize . . .”.

Therefore, I take it that the question as to whether or not those Governments have liberation movements does not arise.

38. I take it that all delegations have taken note of the amendment.

39. A vote has been requested on the amendment proposed by the representative of Nigeria. Let me make it clear that the amendment is that after the word “Swaziland” in operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution IV the following words should be inserted: “and the liberation movements concerned”.

The amendment was adopted by 98 votes to none, with 29 abstentions.

¹ The delegation of Grenada subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution. The delegation of Haiti subsequently stated (see below, para. 64) that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

40. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on draft resolution IV as amended. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt the draft resolution without a vote.

Draft resolution IV, as amended, was adopted (resolution 31/126).

41. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution V, entitled "Measures to improve the situation and ensure the human rights and dignity of all migrant workers", was adopted by the Third Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to do likewise?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 31/127).

42. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the draft decision recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 41 of its report, which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly, considering that the Third Committee has taken note of draft resolutions A/C.3/31/L.34 and A/C.3/31/L.37 submitted in connexion with the consideration of item 12 of the agenda, but has been unable, for lack of time, to consider them in detail, decides to postpone further consideration of those draft resolutions to its thirty-second session, at which time it will consider them under the item entitled 'Report of the Economic and Social Council'."

The Third Committee adopted this draft decision without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to do likewise?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 31/414).

43. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

Mr. Türkmen (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

44. Mr. HUERTA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly has just adopted another resolution on agenda item 12, concerning the Economic and Social Council and entitled "Protection of human rights in Chile".

45. What events have taken place in Chile in this past year to justify the adoption of this resolution? What information has been considered that can rationally support such a decision?

46. The fact is that Chile has been continuing to normalize its internal situation following the most serious crisis in its history, which removed a government alien to its traditions as a democratic, sovereign country. Chile has created institutions such as the Council of State and the legislative commissions; it had promulgated four constitutional acts, one of which was on human rights; it has completed the process of freeing all those who had been detained as a result of the state of siege; it has pardoned more than 1,000 prisoners who had been condemned for crimes defined by pre-1973 laws; it has allowed the return to the country of Chileans who had fled Chile as *émigrés* or who had been

expelled pursuant to the law as constituting a threat to national security.

47. The resolution just adopted, however, says nothing of all that. Because it fails to take into account the progress of human rights in my country in consonance with our recognized civic tradition and genuinely democratic spirit, the resolution has no rational justification.

48. The resolution is the result of concerted action on the part of many countries, some of which would never dare reveal their own internal situations as Chile has done or which hide behind manipulated majorities to avoid having attention focused on them.

49. For some of those countries, the aim is not the promotion of human rights but the overthrow of the Chilean Government. That is clear from the records of the past two sessions of the Commission on Human Rights, from the debates in the Third Committee, and especially from the documents that have been distributed, in which that aim is so clear as even to have been avowed. To those countries, we calmly but firmly declare that their endeavours are in vain. They have lost Chile for ever because we Chileans have recovered our country.

50. As for those countries which voted in favour of the draft resolution for political reasons or out of solidarity with other States that are prompted by political motives, we hope that they will not find themselves in a situation like that which Chile has experienced in the United Nations, because in many of those countries the internal situation is quite different from our own--which we can air even in periods of emergency--while in other countries, where the situation is claimed to be normal by virtue of the fact that their Governments have remained in power for years or even decades, the status of human rights remains unacceptable, even in periods of extreme emergency.

51. Only votes that reflect respect for the human being have moral value and weight. The votes cast in favour of this resolution by countries having a long tradition of humanity but which have had to bow to internal requirements, and thus to pay a political price for necessary support or to avoid embarrassing situations for their Governments do not have the same weight. Hence we wish to state publicly that there were abstentions that honour us because they were a recognition of the immense progress we are making on the permanent road towards the improvement of our institutions.

52. We also wish to voice our appreciation to the countries of our region which did not support the resolution, as well as to those delegations which introduced a draft resolution couched in terms similar to the one which was adopted in Santiago last June during the session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States. Although that draft was not put to the vote, it did show that there was fraternal solidarity, which is very significant because it comes from those who know us and who share our values.

53. My delegation has listened with great interest to the statements made by authorities from a number of States Members in this and previous sessions of the General

Assembly; they are all anxious to ensure respect of human rights in all continents, regions and countries. At the same time, it is with regret we note that words are often not matched by deeds. Some have taken no steps whatsoever to promote a procedure leading to a proper discussion of the item.

54. At the last session of the General Assembly, my delegation made a proposal for the establishment of a universal, objective method that would respect regional organizations and the sovereignty of States and that would promote the search for a system for investigating allegations of violations of human rights,² but that proposal was postponed as a result of procedural manoeuvres. Furthermore, the very item under which the proposal was submitted—“Alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms” was withdrawn from the agenda of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, by a decision of the General Assembly.

55. I think only one conclusion can be drawn from all this: in the highest organ of the United Nations there is no desire to take up the whole question of the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in a business-like fashion. The matter is approached politically and, in this way, the humanitarian aims being pursued are distorted.

56. The whole question is focused on one country; procedural manoeuvres are used which lead to the shelving without analysis of denunciations of serious violations occurring in other Member States; some States guilty of more serious violations of fundamental freedoms accepted as accusers and sponsors; there is a deliberate failure to recognize certain palpable truths, and a report whose whole approach is superficial and distorted is accepted without due consideration; what is being done by regional bodies and what various countries are trying to do are completely disregarded. All that shows that there is a lack of responsibility and that there is hypocrisy. The result is that the United Nations has become ineffective in protecting human rights in a global sense and in promoting genuine universally accepted values.

57. Consequently, in voting against the draft resolution, my delegation is in effect voting against the whole approach and policy of discrimination adopted by the General Assembly; and we wish to say that we disagree entirely with the irresponsible manner in which this exceedingly important item has been taken up. It is an item that should be taken up with sensitivity, a balanced approach and, especially, a love of truth.

58. Mrs. SALZLER (German Democratic Republic): The delegation of the German Democratic Republic has voted in favour of draft resolution II because facts have proved a thousandfold that, with its systematic and massive violation of human rights, the Fascist régime in Chile is constantly violating the principles of the United Nations. As a result of continued flagrant violations of the basic human rights

and fundamental freedoms in Chile, that régime has created a situation which justly causes international concern because fascism, wherever it spreads, endangers friendly relations among nations.

59. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic underlines that the reports of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group on the Situation of Human Rights in Chile³ and the discussion about the protection of human rights in Chile have brought additional evidence of the continuation of terror, including the institutionalized practice of torture; cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; and arbitrary arrest, detention and exile, which have taken place and continue to take place in Chile.

60. The world public has not allowed itself to be misled by demagogic and hypocritical manoeuvres, and by this resolution it has again condemned the Fascist régime in Chile and urged it, *inter alia*, to put an end to the practice of torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, to clarify forthwith the status of the individuals who have disappeared, and to release immediately those who have been arrested or detained without charge.

61. Therefore, for the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, it is the immediate and unconditional release of Luis Corvalán and all the other patriots and democrats detained or imprisoned which will be the decisive criterion for judging the attitude of the junta towards resolutions of the General Assembly, and not the deceitful manoeuvres staged by the Chilean Fascists to divert attention from their criminal deeds.

62. The fact that Luis Corvalán and other Chilean democrats, though innocent, have been detained in concentration camps for more than three years reminds one of the methods of the Hitlerite Fascists who held Communists like Ernst Thaelmann, social democrats like Rudolf Breitscheid, and upright democrats like Carl von Ossietzky, a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, for many years behind prison walls and murdered them in cowardly fashion on seeing that their own defeat was imminent.

63. That is why the delegation of the German Democratic Republic supports the renewed demand of the General Assembly to the Fascist junta to take without delay all measures necessary to restore and safeguard basic human rights and fundamental freedoms and fully to respect the provisions of the international instruments to which Chile is a party, and that is why my delegation has voted in favour of draft resolution II.

64. Mr. VERRET (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The Haitian delegation was not present during the vote on draft resolution II, which called for the condemnation of Chile for its internal activities. It is not the custom of the Government of Haiti to call for the condemnation of States Members of this Organization. For reasons of American fraternity, Haiti voted against that draft in the Third Committee. My delegation would have voted in the same way at this meeting.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 73, document A/10404, para. 9.

³ See documents A/10285, annex, and A/31/253, annex.

65. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take up the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 71 [A/31/420], and we shall take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Human rights and scientific and technological developments" recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 9 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, 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, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

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

The draft resolution was adopted by 126 votes to none, with 8 abstentions (resolution 31/128).

66. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 73 [A/31/406], and we shall take a decision on the four draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 15 of its report.

67. Draft resolution I is entitled "Policies and programmes relating to youth". It was adopted by the Third Committee without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 31/129).

68. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Role of youth". It was adopted by the Third Committee without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 31/130).

69. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled "United Nations Volunteers programme". It was adopted

by the Third Committee without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 31/131).

70. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "Channels of communication with youth and youth organizations". It was adopted by the Third Committee without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 31/132).

71. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 75 [A/31/407], and we shall take a decision on the five draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 21 of its report.

72. Draft resolution I is entitled "Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women". It was adopted by the Third Committee without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 31/133).

73. The PRESIDENT: Under paragraph 3 of the resolution just adopted, the General Assembly requests the President of the General Assembly to select, with due regard to regional distribution, in the first instance for a period of three years, five Member States, each of which should appoint a representative to serve on a Consultative Committee on the Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women. I shall report to the Assembly on this matter at a later date.

74. Draft resolution II is entitled "Improvement of the status and role of women in education". It was adopted by the Third Committee without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 31/134).

75. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled "International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women". It was adopted by the Third Committee by consensus. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 31/135).

76. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "United Nations Decade for Women". The Third Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 31/136).

77. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution V deals with the pledging conference for the United Nations Decade for Women. The Third Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 31/137).

78. The PRESIDENT: We have thus concluded our consideration of agenda item 75, with the exception of the appointment of the members of the Consultative Committee on the Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women.

79. We shall now take up the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 77 [A/31/408]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance based on religion or belief" recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 9 of its report. The Third Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/138).

80. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 80 on freedom of information. The report is contained in document A/31/432. The draft decision recommended by the Third Committee is contained in paragraph 7 of its report. The Third Committee adopted that draft decision without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly decides to do likewise?

It was so decided (decision 31/415).

81. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 82, entitled "United Nations conference for an international convention on adoption law". The report is contained in document A/31/433. The draft decision recommended by the Third Committee is contained in paragraph 7 of its report. The Third Committee adopted that draft decision without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly decides to do likewise?

It was so decided (decision 31/416).

82. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 120 [A/31/434]. We shall take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Co-operation and assistance in the application and improvement of mass communications for social progress and development" recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. The Third Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/139).

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)*

83. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, who will introduce the three draft resolutions on this item.

84. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago): In his statement at the commencement of the debate on this item [82nd meeting] the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples briefly reviewed some of the principal developments in the field of decolonization and outlined the major problems facing the Assembly in the year ahead. He has therefore made my task of introducing the three draft resolutions in documents A/31/L.29 and Add.1 and 2, A/31/L.30 and Add.1 and 2 and A/31/L.31 and Add.1 and 2 an easy one, for those draft resolutions reflect the points he has highlighted in his statement.

85. In the year which has elapsed since the General Assembly last considered this item developments have occurred in the field of decolonization. Some of these have been positive and encouraging, while others have reminded us of the need for a further intensification of efforts aimed at achieving a speedy fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter as well as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

86. Events surrounding the transition to majority rule in southern Africa continue to preoccupy the attention of the world community as the situation there slips ominously in the direction of national wars of liberation, with racial overtones. The utter rejection by the international community of the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference on Namibia as at present constituted and the halting progress of the Geneva Conference on Southern Rhodesia bring sharply into focus the need for concerted international action to remove those last vestiges of colonialism in that part of Africa.

87. In this regard draft resolution A/31/L.29 and Add.1 and 2, sponsored by 48 States is unequivocal in its condemnation of the repressive measures being carried out by the racist *apartheid* régime of South Africa and by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia against millions of Africans in Namibia and Zimbabwe. It is, especially, highly critical of those States which continue to collaborate with those régimes, particularly the racist *apartheid* régime in the development of its nuclear and military potential, and denounces those international business concerns which either directly or indirectly participate in the rapacious exploitation of the human and natural resources of those dependent territories. Furthermore, in recognizing the fundamental clash of interests between the peoples of those territories and the desire of the racist régimes to maintain the *status quo* the draft resolution notes with satisfaction the decisive blows already struck by the national liberation struggle and reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal.

88. The draft resolution, while recognizing the dangerous situation inherent in the decolonization process in southern Africa, also addresses itself to the duty of administering Powers to bring about constitutional developments in their remaining dependent Territories and to continue to co-operate with the Special Committee, particularly on the question of visiting missions. It urges them to give effect to

the recommendations of the Committee and to undertake in particular concrete measures of assistance with a view to strengthening the sometimes extremely fragile economies of those Territories.

89. Moreover, the draft resolution requests all States through their participation in the specialized agencies to take action to have those bodies withhold assistance to the racist régimes until they restore to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

90. Finally, in operative paragraph 12 the General Assembly would reaffirm the mandate of the Special Committee for the coming year.

91. Draft resolution A/31/L.30 and Add.1 and 2, which is sponsored by 52 States, really needs no introduction, since it reaffirms the importance of an informed public opinion if the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is to achieve its object of removing the last vestiges of colonialism from the face of the earth. This draft once more requests the Secretary-General, having regard to the suggestions of the Special Committee, to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to publicize the highly commendable efforts of the United Nations in this sphere of activity.

92. On behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution I should like to take this opportunity to express to the Secretariat and to the Office of Public Information in particular, our appreciation of the efforts they have made in the past year to make public opinion aware of events in the colonial Territories and thus enhance support for the just cause of decolonization.

93. The year ahead will be a testing time for the United Nations in its determination to bring about the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We are confident, however, that the Office of Public Information will not falter in its efforts in the field of the dissemination of information on decolonization.

94. The third draft resolution, contained in document A/31/L.31 and Add.1 and 2, relates to the holding of an International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. It will be recalled that the *Ad Hoc* Group established by the Special Committee at its 1029th meeting, on 1 April 1976, endorsed in its report [A/31/23/Rev.1, chap. VII, annex I] the suggestion made to it that the United Nations should organize during 1977 an international conference to mobilize world public opinion in support of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Special Committee at its 1040th meeting, on 17 June 1976, approved the report of its *Ad Hoc* Group and recommended that a concrete proposal on a conference should be submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session [ibid., chap. VII, para. 16]. That recommendation was later endorsed by the United Nations Council for Namibia, which decided to join with the Special Committee in sponsoring this International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

95. Following discussions with the Government of Mozambique, it is proposed that the Conference should be held at Maputo, Mozambique, during the period April-May 1977. It is envisaged that, in addition to the members of the two sponsoring bodies, participants in the Conference will include members of the Security Council, representatives of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, representatives of States having a special interest in the question, leaders of national liberation movements of the Territories, and international organizations and non-governmental organizations concerned, as well as experts and individuals closely associated with the efforts of colonial peoples to secure freedom and independence.

96. Bearing in mind the constructive results of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, held in Oslo in April 1973, the Special Committee and the United Nations Council for Namibia are convinced that this Conference will be an effective instrument in arousing world public opinion in support of the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia for self-determination, freedom and independence against the repressive, colonialist and racist domination of their countries by minority régimes. It is therefore the hope of the sponsors that the Assembly will give its unanimous support to this and the other two draft resolutions.

97. The PRESIDENT: We shall now continue the debate on this item.

98. Mr. NICÍNSKI (Poland): Among the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations so far, there are very few whose significance and influence could be compared with that of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV). This truly historic document adopted by the General Assembly 16 years ago, on the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist States, has greatly accelerated the pace of decolonization and indeed has contributed to changing profoundly the map of the world.

99. Out of the 74 Territories listed as non-self-governing in General Assembly resolution 66 (I), only eight became independent during the period 1946 to 1959. Since the adoption of the Declaration the process of decolonization has achieved a new impetus and brought independence to dozens of new countries. The struggle conducted by the national liberation movements against the colonial yoke has gained important additional moral and political support. For the first time in the history of humanity, the world community has recognized its direct responsibility towards those who are still deprived of their freedom and self-government.

100. This highly positive trend in international relations has been encouraged by the socialist countries, which were the first, most consistent and most determined initiators and supporters of decolonization. Today these countries continue to lend their unreserved, active support to the just struggle for eradication of all the remnants of colonialism and new forms of neo-colonialism.

101. The adoption of this historic Declaration has greatly strengthened the role of the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

102. First, the United Nations has implemented the concept of the inalienable rights of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence and has expanded that concept to include for the first time ever the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle waged by the colonial people to achieve the effective exercise and enjoyment of these rights.

103. Secondly, the United Nations has exposed the role played by foreign economic and other interests in impeding the decolonization process. It has shown that these interests not only have been giving active support to régimes in control of colonial countries, but have been instrumental in denying to the colonial people the enjoyment of their political, economic and social rights.

104. Thirdly, the United Nations has made world public opinion aware of the implications of military bases maintained by the administering Powers in Territories under their administration, seeing in the existence of those bases yet another instrument of interference with the liberation of the colonial peoples.

105. In the last few years further progress has been made in the field of decolonization as a result of the struggle waged by the national liberation movements. Several new African States have acceded to independence since the downfall of the Portuguese colonial system.

106. Therefore, thanks to the struggle of the African people, supported by the socialist countries and all the progressive forces of the world, new and more favourable conditions have been created for the final eradication of colonialism and racism from southern Africa, for the full, speedy and most effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

107. In this regard my delegation would like to welcome as a full Member of the United Nations the People's Republic of Angola, which, after a long struggle against the imperialist forces, has finally taken its well-deserved place in our Organization.

108. We welcome also the Republic of Seychelles, as well as Samoa, as new Members of the United Nations.

109. While stressing the progress already achieved in the field of decolonization, we cannot forget that much still remains to be done and that at least 12 million people still suffer under the colonial yoke. In particular the situation in southern Africa is a subject of growing concern to the international community. The continued and mounting oppression of the African people in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa by the racist régimes is a striking anachronism, against the background of the current international situation.

110. The already grave situation in Namibia has been further aggravated by the illegal South African régime, which is intensifying its repression of the indigenous population, and in particular of the Namibian patriots fighting under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. The purpose of the

so-called constitutional conference organized by South Africa in Windhoek was to deceive world public opinion and impose a neo-colonialist solution on the Namibian people. At the same time, in order to perpetuate the illegal domination over that Territory, the racist régime of Pretoria has built up its military forces in Namibia on an unprecedented scale. The South African policy in Namibia constitutes a direct threat to the peace and security of the independent African countries, as was clearly manifested by the open aggression committed by South Africa against Angola and Zambia.

111. In Southern Rhodesia the fundamental problem still remains to be solved, as the Smith régime continues its illegal and repressive rule, in defiance of the many United Nations resolutions designed to bring freedom and independence to that country. The people of Southern Rhodesia are still deprived of their rights and are subjected to a system of repression established by the racist régime.

112. In other parts of the world about 30 Territories still are awaiting the possibility of achieving their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

113. In this situation, we have to stress again that there are still important factors which impede the full implementation of the Declaration. In particular the continued economic and military collaboration of certain Western countries members of NATO with the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia helps them to go on defying the provisions of numerous United Nations resolutions.

114. The position of Poland as regards the process of decolonization is well known. Solidarity with the colonial peoples still fighting for their freedom and with the newly liberated nations lies at the basis of my country's foreign policy. This position of ours stems both from the ideological and political foundations of socialism and from the tradition of struggle "for our freedom and yours", which is very much a part of Polish history. It is in the same spirit that Poland has long served on the Special Committee for decolonization and is at present a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia. From the very inception of the United Nations, Poland has consistently pursued a policy of assisting all actions aimed at the national liberation of colonial countries and peoples.

115. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland stated in the general debate at the beginning of the current session of the General Assembly:

"The time has come, in keeping with United Nations resolutions, finally to put an end to the racist régimes in Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa. The struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia for independence, the question of the liquidation of all the remnants of colonialism and the elimination of *apartheid* require the resolute support of the entire international community. The rationale of historical justice makes it compelling that the inalienable rights of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe to their sovereign statehood be secured unconditionally and without delay." [5th meeting, para. 59.]

116. It is the duty of the international community to assist the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and other colonial

territories in every possible way to succeed in achieving the goals of their legitimate struggle as soon as possible. The present situation calls for further and intensified international pressure to be brought to bear on the racist régimes. For instance, the Smith régime should not be allowed to exploit the Geneva Conference to prolong its illegal rule. Pressure must continue as long as that régime persists in not surrendering all its power to the people of Zimbabwe.

117. It is my delegation's earnest hope that the Security Council, in particular, will soon institute effective measures against the régimes of 'retoria and Salisbury along the lines of the latest recommendations contained in the draft resolutions adopted this year by the Fourth Committee.

118. My delegation is convinced that progress in the relaxation of international tensions opens up new prospects for the United Nations to accelerate the implementation of its decisions and resolutions concerning the final elimination of colonialism. Progress in the field of decolonization, on the other hand, contributes to the elimination of tensions endangering international peace and security, and therefore is an important part of an over-all struggle to consolidate the process of détente and to broaden its scope.

119. With these objectives in mind, the Polish delegation will vote for the draft resolutions which have just been introduced by the representative of Trinidad and Tobago.

120. Mr. NARU (Pakistan): My delegation listened with close attention to the statements made in the General Assembly [82nd meeting] by Mr. Salim, Chairman of the Special Committee, as well as by Mr. Glayel, the Rapporteur, in introducing the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1976 [A/31/23/Rev.1]. On behalf of my country, I should like to express my deep appreciation to the Special Committee for the task it has performed so efficiently.

121. The United Nations has been playing an extremely important role in combating racial discrimination and in accelerating the process of decolonization. This significant achievement of the global community is highly commendable. However, despite many successes, the last bastions of colonialism and racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa are yet to be demolished. It is therefore incumbent upon States Members of the United Nations to assist the oppressed peoples of southern Africa in their struggle against *apartheid* and to achieve independence.

122. Pakistan, having been under foreign domination for about 200 years, not only fully shares the belief in the urgent need for the decolonization of all colonial territories but also, ever since its independence, has been working towards the goal of the decolonization of all colonial territories and peoples and their attainment of full freedom and independence.

123. Ever since the adoption of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514(XV)], remarkable progress has been achieved in implementing that Declaration. However, there are still more than 12 million people whose aspirations for independence have not yet been fulfilled. Of these, a

majority live in southern Africa under the most inhuman system of *apartheid* and repression at the hands of racist minority régimes.

124. The views of my country on Namibia and Zimbabwe have been expressed in various bodies of the United Nations at all levels. My delegation, during the debate in the Fourth Committee this year, expressed its complete solidarity with the peoples struggling against colonialism and for independence. The struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia has entered a crucial stage and there must be no relaxation of the pressure generated to bring about independence to those territories.

125. The international community must not, under any circumstances, shirk its duties and must act decisively in support of the peoples of Namibia and of Zimbabwe to bring about their liberation.

126. The current negotiations in Geneva between the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia and black nationalists are of paramount importance for world peace and security. There is every possibility that the racist minority régime will try everything in its power to delay the process of the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe. The world must therefore remain on the alert to take immediate steps to defeat such an attempt.

127. My delegation endorses the proposals of the Special Committee that the United Nations should organize an international conference in 1977 to mobilize opinion in support of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. We also endorse the various recommendations contained in the report and the proposals dealing with the future work of the Committee.

128. We are convinced of the success of the people of southern Africa. The people are waging an armed struggle for their liberation which will very soon lead to their complete independence.

129. Finally, I should like to emphasize at this crucial moment in the history of southern Africa that, when the latent energy of the oppressed masses is eventually released, no power on earth can suppress their will to fight and to wage a struggle to liberate themselves from the shackles of colonialism, racism and imperialism. These are the lessons of contemporary history. It is a clear warning to the exploiters and oppressors. They must pay heed to present-day realities and transfer power to the black majority, thus averting a conflagration in the region, which is inevitable should they refuse to do so.

130. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Over the past 16 years since the adoption, on 14 December 1960, of the historic resolution 1514(XV), the peoples have won important and decisive victories in their struggle to free themselves from the colonial yoke.

131. More than 70 million human beings have already achieved independence and have, thereby, gained the opportunity to exercise the right to forge their own destiny. That has been the outcome of a long struggle, of countless sacrifices, and of the unswerving determination of oppressed peoples to exercise their rights.

132. The heroic combatants who fought for decades in this last stage of the struggle against colonialism in Africa, and who won decisive victories last year when they proclaimed the liberation of the former Portuguese colonies, were fighting not only for the dignity and honour of that continent, but also for the dignity and honour of all mankind, which had been so demeaned by the colonial situation. To them, first and foremost, we extend our gratitude and appreciation.

133. It is only just to recognize the modest, complementary yet important role played by the United Nations, particularly the Special Committee. Although it is true that the colonial and imperialist forces have not been prevailed upon either by the condemnatory resolutions of the international community or by appeals to their conscience to alter their designs—which is why the armed struggle is still necessary, to wrest from them once and for all the rights which they deny the peoples of the world and to compel them to sit down and seriously negotiate on their withdrawal—it is equally true that the sustained and growing pressure of world public opinion has also been a key factor and, upon occasion, has even served to trigger certain events.

134. The report submitted to the Assembly this year by the Special Committee, contained in document A/31/23/Rev.1, bespeaks the seriousness and enthusiasm that went into its work. The Committee's many meetings, the many invitations received to participate in other forums and activities, the substantial nature of its reports, and the many draft resolutions prepared by it on the various complex situations under consideration, all reliably attest to its responsible approach to its task and to the efforts it devoted to it. It is only just to say that, to a large extent, those results are due to the wise and commendable leadership of its Chairman, the Permanent Representative of Tanzania, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim.

135. However, there are those who speak of the end of colonialism and who suggest that the role of the Special Committee will rapidly diminish in the coming years. My delegation rejects that claim, not only because there remain millions of human beings who are subjected to colonial domination but also because newly independent former colonies face the danger of a further assault on the part of the very forces which, to the bitter end, had supported the colonial authorities and which, even then, tried to thwart the efforts of some of those colonies to declare independence. Furthermore, it is precisely the continuation of colonial situations at the present time which constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. The existing situations in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, as well as the growing aggressiveness of the racists vis-à-vis the patriotic forces and vis-à-vis the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique, serve to confirm this view.

136. The imperialist plan is quite clear: to strengthen the industrial and war-making potential of South Africa, even to the point of supplying it with nuclear capacity; to support its allied counter-revolutionary forces and to prepare for large-scale aggression, when the time comes, against the newly liberated States; to confound world public opinion, especially African opinion, by pretending to be willing to

negotiate a transition towards independence, when in reality they are preparing transition formulas that are absolutely unacceptable to African combatants, since, clearly, they would be tantamount to a consolidation of white domination and an end to mass resistance. The imperialist plan is, in essence, to strengthen its positions, divide and confuse the patriots, and, above all, to gain time in which to plot new aggression.

137. We read in the newspapers almost daily that the racists have crossed the borders of Mozambique, that they have penetrated scores of kilometres into its territory and have swept through towns and villages in a supposed anti-guerrilla "mopping-up operation", or that one of their aircraft has flown over those same borders in order to drop its cargo of death on our African brothers. If the shoe were on the other foot, one can imagine the outcry and the consequences if it were the borders and territory of one of the Powers that support the racist minority that were being violated. If regular African troops and aircraft were deployed to settle accounts once and for all with the racists, what would be the reaction of the very ones who today, when it is Africans that are dying, preach moderation and patience and remind us every day that our demands should not be too extreme and that everything takes time?

138. The Patriotic Front has proved that it can be level-headed as well as patient, but no one should confuse level-headedness with weakness. Those who to this day have been making countless sacrifices for the freedom of their people are seated at the negotiating table, not because they are weak, but precisely because they are strong, and if the Salisbury racists have gone to Geneva it is precisely because Africa forced them to go there. Hence it is illusory to believe that this latest proof on the part of the nationalist forces of their intention to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, at a time when the other side can already see that its stubbornness is not going to impede the right of a people to be free, will in any way lead them to accept a governmental structure that would perpetuate white domination in Zimbabwe in exchange for an end to the struggle—in other words, to accept a formula whereby they would yield everything in exchange for nothing.

139. The United Kingdom Government has an historic opportunity to compensate for past errors by making a decisive contribution to the cause of majority government in Africa. To do so, it should assume its proper responsibility arising from its status as administering Power and share with the Patriotic Front responsibility for the transitional period, which by no means must last beyond the date set for independence.

140. The Pretoria régime continues to be a permanent threat to freedom and peace in Africa. It is high time that the General Assembly demanded the adoption of strict sanctions against the *apartheid* régime and, above all, that it prohibited the sale of weapons to any form of military collaboration with that régime. If the veto of South Africa's allies should once again prevent the Security Council from adopting so elementary a measure, then States Members, through this Assembly, should reply by giving the liberation movements of southern Africa all the necessary political and material assistance for them to pursue the armed struggle to final victory.

141. The policy of bantustanization, aimed at creating artificial States such as the so-called Republic of Transkei, is bankrupt and should be rejected. That policy cannot be applicable to Namibia either, where Pretoria has been unable, and will continue to be unable, to continue the forward thrust of the patriotic forces of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

142. It is not only in Africa, however, that the colonial problem remains. The Special Committee's report reminds us of the long list of Territories subject to that scourge, and the document reports on some specific situations that continue to be a threat to world peace. In certain cases the Special Committee has refrained from making any specific proposals and has confined itself to submitting all available information to the General Assembly, in the hope that certain meetings and negotiations will take place that might lead to a formula for the solution of the problems existing in those Territories. As far as my delegation is concerned, however, I should like to reaffirm Cuba's position in favour of self-determination for the Saharan people and for East Timor, free from any foreign interference. We think it is necessary to end the occupation of so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti); and to decolonize that Territory. We also reaffirm the right of the Argentine Republic to recover the Islas Malvinas. The struggle of the people of Belize for independence has our support and sympathy. We shall continue to show our solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence. In connexion with the last-mentioned case, my country takes a favourable view of the consensus reached in the Special Committee recalling the resolutions of 28 August 1972 and 30 August 1973, as well as the Rapporteur's report of 1974, taking note of the decisions adopted on Puerto Rico at the conferences of non-aligned countries in Lima and Colombo, and reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations [see A/31/23/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 69]. Although the press in the service of imperialism has tried to "interpret" that decision in its own way, it none the less represents defeat for those who would continue colonial domination on that island.

143. A problem which requires priority attention is the question of the Trust Territories in the Pacific and the situation of Guam. In that part of the world, specifically in the Marianas Islands, the United States has decided to reproduce the colonial structure that it has tried to set up in Puerto Rico. That has been made quite clear by certain segments of the press, such as *U.S. News & World Report* and *The New York Times*, which have commented on that situation along those lines. However, in spite of the arbitrary procedures used and the amazement of the international community, as expressed in the Special Committee's report:

"On 21 July 1975, the United States House of Representatives approved by voice vote a commonwealth status for the Northern Marianas Islands and United States citizenship for its 14,335 inhabitants. On 24 February 1976, the United States Senate approved the Covenant and, on 24 March, the President of the United States of America signed the Covenant." [Ibid., chap. V, annex IV, para. 3.]

144. The attitude of the United States to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is typical of a colonial policy. United States imperialism has violated its commitments under the Charter, has imposed colonial domination on the people of the Territory, has plundered their natural resources and has exploited them and kept them in a state of poverty.

145. The Government in Washington has never concerned itself with the well-being of the people of those islands. From the very beginning it planned to absorb the Territory, plunder its wealth and use it for its aggressive designs in the Pacific.

146. The conduct of the Trusteeship Council in this matter is unacceptable. The international community must condemn American plans relating to the Marianas Islands and the rest of the Territory. The Special Committee, as the organ of this Assembly responsible for examining the matter, should do so in depth and recommend appropriate measures to ensure that the people of that Territory are able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, with strict respect for the unity and integrity of the Territory in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV).

147. The time is long past when two or three imperialist Powers could determine the future of a people.

148. If we think that the signature of the President of a country—merely because that country is powerful—can seal the doom of any people, it is because we have not learned the lessons of history. That might have happened with kings of the past but I think history has shown how erroneous their calculations were. In 1976 the world cannot be surprised by arbitrary plans imposed on it. The United States has no right to predetermine the fate of a Trust Territory, still less the right to turn it into a gigantic military base and use it for its aggressive designs.

149. That is one of the problems which has been called with increasing force to the Special Committee's attention: the installation of military bases in those Territories and others under colonial domination, as well as the problem of foreign investments in them. These problems are not only a source of serious present concern and a threat to peace in general but also—and this is one of the aims pursued—they are part of those procedures which, after independence, make it possible for exploitation to continue. The international community must not be passive when these conflicting situations arise affecting international relations and attempts are made to mortgage the effective sovereignty and independence of future States.

150. For all these reasons, we believe that the Special Committee is not only far from having concluded all its tasks but also that its work is in fact growing in volume and scope with every day that passes.

151. We should like to use this opportunity to congratulate the Special Committee on what it has done to disseminate information about the problems of decolonization, as reflected in the annex to chapter II of document A/31/23/Rev.1.

152. With the passage of time and with the new victories that have been won by the peoples of the world, colonialism will become no more than a shameful chapter in the history of mankind. However, although political and military victory will finally be achieved over colonialism, many decades will have to pass before the evil legacy of poverty and backwardness is wiped out--and even then it is probable that that Special Committee will still have an important role to play in the final struggle against colonialism.

153. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who have asked to be allowed to exercise the right of reply. Before doing so, I wish to remind members that the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting, decided that statements in the exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

154. Mr. HUSSEN (Somalia): I have taken note of the statement made by the representative of France on Monday, 13 December 1976 [97th meeting], in connexion with the explanation of vote given on 1 December 1976 by my delegation on the question of so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) [85th meeting]. It is true that Somalia was a sponsor of the draft resolution that became resolution 31/59. The reason for that sponsorship was clearly stated in the aforementioned explanation of vote contained in the verbatim record of that meeting. We stated that the resolution which was adopted by the General Assembly had a single objective, namely, the decolonization of that Territory in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as provided for by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960. The fact that the question of French Somaliland was included under agenda item 25, on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, is clear substantiation of my statement.

155. I therefore disagree that the remarks made by the representative of France when he said:

"...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." [97th meeting, para. 126.]

156. The Somali delegation maintains that the real thrust of the debate and of the resolution was instead addressed to France in its capacity as the administering Power. Of the 15 operative paragraphs of that resolution, 13 were directly or indirectly addressed to France. Two other paragraphs are addressed to all Member States, which of course include France. The resolution called upon France to grant immediately and unconditionally independence to the people of the Territory. The resolution called upon France to implement scrupulously and equitably, under democratic conditions, the programme for independence outlined by the representative of France before the Fourth Committee. It demanded that France withdraw its military base from the Territory without delay. It requested France to consider the result of the referendum in its totality, thus respecting the territorial integrity of the future State. It called upon France to allow and facilitate the return to the

Territory of all refugees who are *bona fide* citizens of the Territory. It requested France, in order to ensure the implementation of the request contained in paragraph 8 of the resolution, to set up an *ad hoc* committee in accordance with the recommendation of the fact-finding mission of the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

157. Having said that, I wish to reiterate here and now that the Somali Government will recognize, respect and honour the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of French Somaliland, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter. However, like any other independent State, old or comparatively new, the future independent French Somaliland will be capable of looking after its national interests, and no one else can convince us that he has the mandated right to be a guarantor of its existence and welfare.

158. We maintain that any attempt to limit or set prior conditions for the sovereignty and freedom of action of an independent French Somaliland cannot and should not have a place in the provisions of the resolution, and such an attempt is contrary to all the accepted norms of international law.

159. Somalia will not subscribe to the manoeuvres and intrigues which certain quarters are engineering against the interests of the people of the Territory. We have always believed, and continue to believe, that the question of French Somaliland is purely and plainly one of decolonization. We reject outright any idea which suggests that the question of French Somaliland is an issue between two neighbouring countries.

160. On the same day [97th meeting], the Ethiopian delegation, in exercise of its right of reply, made reference to my statement in explanation of vote on the same draft resolution. In his statement, the representative of Ethiopia accused Somalia of, among other things, attempting to circumscribe the scope and objective of resolution 31/59 and of delivering a mortal blow to the high hopes which the international community places in the resolution.

161. It is not our intention, nor do we believe that it is in the interests of the issue involved, to allow ourselves to indulge in replying to such irresponsible allegations with the same harshness with which the representative of Ethiopia directed his remarks at my country. It was not the intention of Somalia to circumscribe the scope and objective of the resolution. It was rather Ethiopia that intended to give that resolution a colour that it cannot reasonably have. In fact, the representative of Ethiopia is determined to inject into this purely decolonization problem of French Somaliland matters which are extraneous to it.

162. As I said earlier, we have no intention of entering into unnecessary polemics, since we believe that the exchange of acrimonies will do more harm than good to the true interests of the people of the Territory involved. It is for this reason that I shall limit myself to rejecting categorically the accusations which the Ethiopian representative saw fit to direct against my country, and to reaffirm our opinion that resolution 31/59 has only one objective and I underline this, one objective--namely, the decolonization of French Somaliland.

163. As we have repeatedly stated in the past, we should like it to be very clearly understood that the issue of French Somaliland must not be viewed as a dispute between Somalia and Ethiopia. The issue is purely and plainly that of the decolonization and self-determination of French Somaliland.

164. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): The statement which the representative of Somalia has just made does not address itself to the central problem I raised at the 97th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, namely, Somalia's territorial claim to Djibouti. As such, it must be dismissed as irrelevant and superfluous.

165. Let me indicate briefly why this is so. It will be recalled, in the first instance, that the procedure to which the representative of Somalia resorted in explaining his vote on the draft resolution of which his country was a sponsor at the Committee level, a draft resolution which was recommended to the Assembly by the Fourth Committee without changing a comma, is a departure from the usual practice of the United Nations, even if it may not be said that such a procedure contravenes the rules of procedure of the General Assembly *stricto sensu*.

166. The procedure is even more unusual because what the Somali representative did was not to explain his vote but, rather, to make a formal reservation on his Government's acceptance of the resolution. The 1 December statement of the representative of Somalia /85th meeting/ does not only seek to attach his own interpretation to the resolution—although it should be noted that his interpretation is self-serving, inasmuch as it seeks to justify his Government's territorial claim to Djibouti—but, what is more serious, reaffirms two former reservations that the Somali Government had made on the particular demands which the United Nations and OAU have made in the past year.

167. These are, first, the formal reservation that the same representative of Somalia made at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly when resolution 3480 (XXX) was adopted. It should be noted that this Assembly has reaffirmed resolution 3480 (XXX) in paragraph 10 of the resolution it has adopted this year. The records show that the representative of Somalia reserved his Government's position on operative paragraph 6 of resolution 3480 (XXX). That particular paragraph contains a call by the Assembly on 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". Out of the entire membership of the United Nations, only the representative of Somalia felt compelled to say that the call for withdrawal of claims did not apply to his country, suggesting that, since Somalia considers Djibouti to be already part of its national territory, such a call would be superfluous and inapplicable as far as Somalia was concerned.

168. Secondly, at the twenty-seventh ordinary session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, Somalia made a formal reservation when that important organ of the OAU declared:

"... 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) . . .".

This particular declaration has been endorsed by paragraph 11 of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 1 December.

169. It is thus clear that, in his so-called explanation of vote on the draft resolution which the Assembly approved without change, the representative of Somalia reaffirmed the reservations that his Government had made with regard to specific calls for the withdrawal of territorial claims to Djibouti. The pertinent question to ask here and this is a question which Somalia must answer clearly and without equivocation—is whether or not it has territorial claims on Djibouti. If it does not, then why make a reservation? If it has claims, then it is not qualified to become a sponsor of a draft resolution which contains a specific call for renunciation of claims. The representative of Somalia, however adroit he may be in verbal gymnastics, cannot mean one thing and expect people to believe him to be saying quite the opposite. This is the crux of the matter.

170. This unusual behaviour of Somalia raises a fundamental matter, that is, the question of negotiating in good faith. All of us who sponsored the draft resolution did so with the full understanding that all the words appearing in that draft resolution meant what the sponsors intended them to convey. It is normal practice in the United Nations, unless controversies of interpretation arise regarding any word or phraseology, for the literal interpretation to prevail. No one can seriously suggest that this resolution adopted by the United Nations leaves itself open to any other interpretation except that of the words contained in the resolution and, even more, arrogate to himself the right to interpret the intentions of the other sponsors by saying that all that the sponsors intended in that resolution was to deal with the issue of decolonization, to the total exclusion of all other considerations. Could it not have occurred to the representative of Somalia that, if the other sponsors had had any difficulty interpreting their own resolution, they would have said so? But none did, except the delegation of Somalia.

171. This reminds me of the story of a mother watching her son in a parade and saying that all the others were out of step except her son.

172. In view of the reservations which the representative of Somalia made on 1 December on the resolution on Djibouti, what value can one attach to the pious declarations, which were made at the Committee level and here in the Assembly and which were repeated today, that Somalia welcomes the independence of Djibouti and to all other utterances of the same nature? After everything is said and done, the question we raised at the beginning of the debate on the Djibouti question remains unanswered. That question is, does Somalia have a territorial claim or not? The representative of Somalia owes the General Assembly an unequivocal reply no "ifs" or "buts".

173. As long as Somalia does not provide this unequivocal answer, the only conclusion we are left with is that Somalia continues to maintain its territorial claim, which is enshrined in successive constitutions and legal charters of the

Somali State since its inception, a claim which has continuously been reasserted by successive leaders of Somalia, a claim which has been vigorously pursued. I need not dwell at length on this matter, as my delegation has demonstrated it at the Committee level in a statement buttressed by documentary evidence as well as by official maps of the Government of Somalia.

174. The Assembly should recognize that the question involved is not a matter of semantics or one of honest differences of opinion. It is a serious matter. It relates to a policy of expansionism, in contrast to a policy of genuine search for the independence of Djibouti and the conditions that would ensure the peace and security of this region. The Assembly should be aware that the continued pursuit by Somalia of a policy of territorial claims would create conditions which would be susceptible of adversely affecting the peace and security of our region.

175. Mr. HUSSEIN (Somalia): I apologize, but I am compelled to speak again.

176. I listened with great interest to the statement of the representative of Ethiopia, who preceded me. To the best of my understanding he said nothing new, nothing he did not say in his earlier statement of 13 December. Nor do I

think I can say anything new, except that Somalia recognizes, respects and honours the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the future State of French Somaliland.

177. We strongly believe that, according to existing international law, such pledges and assurances are more than sufficient to show that a country has no intention of jeopardizing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State.

178. I think I can understand the concern and the words of the representative of Ethiopia. As I said earlier, his problem is not that of French Somaliland; his is another problem, one well known to this Assembly. Ethiopia and Somalia know it very well. That is why in my statement I said that Ethiopia is always trying to inject into the discussion on the decolonization of French Somaliland matters which have nothing to do with that specific problem.

179. I am not ready to discuss the problem of Ethiopia at this stage and in this place.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.