

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



2028th
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 20 December 1971,
at 8.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

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REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/8622)

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REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE
(PART IV) (A/8518/ADD.3)

1. Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly, for its consideration, nine reports of the Fourth Committee.

2. The first report, contained in document A/8615, relates to the report of the Trusteeship Council, which the Fourth Committee took up under agenda item 13. In considering this item the Committee also took into account chapter XIX of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples¹ concerning Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, which the Fourth Committee took up under agenda item 23.

3. The draft resolution which the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption is set out in paragraph 10 of the report. As members are aware, this draft resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee without a vote, receiving the unanimous support of the members of the Committee. Members of the Committee noted, in particular, the desire of the people of Papua and New Guinea, as expressed by the elected majority of the House of Assembly, for national unity and independence as a single political and territorial entity, to be known as Papua New Guinea. Members welcomed the fact that the administering Power had invited a special mission of the Trusteeship Council, including two members of the Special Committee, to observe the elections to the Third Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in 1972. Members were unanimous in expressing their confidence that, as reflected in the report of the 1971 periodic Visiting Mission, the administering Power would be able in the near future and in accordance with the wishes of the peoples concerned to prescribe the time-table for the act of self-determination and independence during the period 1972-1976.

** Resumed from the 2012th meeting.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplements Nos. 23 and 23 A (A/8423/Rev.1/and Rev.1/Add.1).

4. The second report, contained in document A/8616, concerns the Territories which were not covered by other agenda items. The Fourth Committee recommends for adoption by the General Assembly a consensus, four draft resolutions and a decision which are set out in paragraphs 24-26 of the report.

5. The consensus, contained in paragraph 24, relates to the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection.

6. The first of the four draft resolutions set out in paragraph 25 of the report relates to the Seychelles. With respect to this Territory, many delegations felt it necessary that the General Assembly, should reaffirm the right of the people of the Seychelles to self-determination and independence in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and that it should request the administering Power to take the necessary measures to enable the people to exercise that right without further delay. Taking into account the statement made by the Chief Minister of the Territory in this context, the General Assembly would request the administering Power to receive a special United Nations mission and to make the necessary arrangements, in consultation with the mission, for the holding of a referendum on the future of the Territory.

7. The second draft resolution concerns Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. By that draft resolution, which was adopted without a single negative vote, the majority of the members of the Committee considered that the Special Committee should give full consideration to this question at its forthcoming meetings and should report its views thereon to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

8. The third draft resolution concerns Niue and the Tokelau Islands. By this draft resolution, which was also adopted without a single negative vote, the majority of the members of the Fourth Committee noted with appreciation the invitation extended to the Special Committee by the administering Power to send a visiting mission to the Territory in 1972. The draft resolution, accordingly, requested the Special Committee to instruct the mission to obtain information on conditions in the Territory and on the wishes and aspirations of the people therein, and to recommend practical steps for their advancement towards self-government and self-determination. It also called upon the administering Power concerned to take further measures to enable the people to exercise the right of self-determination as soon as possible.

9. The last draft resolution in this report concerns 17 Territories. As regards these Territories, many members deplored the attitude of those administering Powers which continued to refuse access thereto to United Nations visiting missions, and reaffirmed their conviction that the questions of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration with respect to those Territories. Many members considered that the administering Powers concerned should remove all military bases and installations from those Territories and refrain from establishing new ones, as they were detrimental to the speedy implementa-

tion of the Declaration in the Territories. They also called upon the administering Powers concerned to reconsider their attitude towards the receiving of visiting missions and requested the Special Committee to continue to give full consideration to this question.

10. Finally, by adopting the recommendation set out in paragraph 26 of the report, the General Assembly would postpone to the twenty-seventh session its consideration of the questions of Spanish Sahara, Gibraltar, French Somaliland and British Honduras. In making this recommendation the Fourth Committee noted that, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connexion, the Special Committee would continue to consider these questions at the forthcoming meetings and submit reports thereon at the twenty-seventh session.

11. The third report, contained in document A/8617, relates to agenda item 65. The draft resolution contained in paragraph 9 of that report would have the General Assembly deplore that, despite its repeated recommendations, some administering Powers had ceased to transmit the required information, had transmitted such information too late or had transmitted insufficient information. In particular, the General Assembly would strongly condemn the Government of Portugal for its continued refusal to comply with its obligations in this connexion, in complete disregard of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee. In addition, the General Assembly would reaffirm that, in the absence of a decision by the Assembly itself that a Non-Self-Governing Territory had attained a full measure of self-government in terms of Chapter XI of the Charter, the administering Power concerned should continue to transmit information with respect to that Territory.

12. The fourth report, contained in document A/8618, relates to agenda item 66. The report contains two draft resolutions, set out in paragraph 25.

13. Draft resolution I deals with the question of Namibia as a whole. During the Committee's consideration of the item, the majority of members, while welcoming the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice,² noted with deep concern that the Government of South Africa, in defiance of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and in flagrant violation of its obligations under the Charter, had continued its illegal occupation of the Territory. Of no less concern to members was the use of that Territory by South Africa as a base for taking actions which violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States. In view of these considerations, many members felt that the General Assembly should condemn the Government of South Africa for its continued refusal to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions on the Territory, for its continued extension to that Territory of the policies of *apartheid* and for endeavouring to destroy the unity of the people and the territorial integrity of Namibia. Further, in view of the support received by the Government of South Africa which enables

² *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.*

that Government to pursue its repressive policies in the Territory, many delegations felt that the General Assembly should call upon all States to respect strictly all United Nations resolutions concerning Namibia and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. Members also considered that the General Assembly should request all States and all specialized agencies within the United Nations system of organizations to extend to the Namibian people the moral and material assistance they require to continue their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights, and to work out concrete programmes of assistance to Namibia. As regards the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the draft resolution would recommend its report for appropriate action to all States, competent United Nations organs, specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, and would request that body to take a number of steps in the discharge of its responsibilities. Finally, members were of the opinion that the General Assembly should invite the Security Council to take effective measures to secure the withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory and the implementation of all United Nations resolutions designed to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. These and other considerations are duly reflected in draft resolution I, which I am confident will receive the full and unqualified support of Member States.

14. Draft resolution II relates to the United Nations Fund for Namibia. By adopting this draft resolution, the General Assembly would, as a first step towards the operation of the Fund, provide an allocation of \$50,000. In the meantime, the Secretary-General would be authorized to appeal to Governments for voluntary contributions in order to put the Fund into effective operation.

15. The fifth report, contained in document A/8619, relates to agenda item 70. During the Committee's consideration of the item, many members again expressed their conviction that any economic or other activity which impeded the implementation of the Declaration and which obstructed efforts aimed at the elimination of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in colonial Territories violated the political, economic and social rights and interests of the peoples and was therefore incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Many members also considered that the activities of foreign economic and other interests operating in colonial Territories—particularly in southern Africa—constituted a major obstacle to political independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of those Territories by the indigenous inhabitants. Accordingly, they condemned the activities and operating methods of those interests in colonial Territories which were designed to perpetuate the subjugation of dependent peoples, and stressed the need for all States to take effective measures to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance to those régimes which used such assistance to repress the national liberation movements. These views are duly reflected in the draft resolution in paragraph 9 of the report.

16. The sixth report, contained in document A/8620, relates to agenda items 71 and 12. During the Committee's consideration of this question, certain members recognized that some of the organizations concerned had made serious

efforts to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration and of other relevant General Assembly resolutions. In particular, they noted with satisfaction that some of the organizations had provided considerable assistance to refugees from the colonial Territories in Africa and had taken steps to formulate, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, concrete programmes of assistance to the peoples struggling to liberate themselves from colonial domination. On the other hand, many members expressed deep concern that several of the organizations concerned had not extended their full co-operation in this regard.

17. Taking these considerations into account, they reaffirmed that the recognition by the United Nations of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom and independence entailed, as a corollary, the extension by the United Nations system of organizations of all necessary moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements in those Territories, especially in the liberated areas thereof. Accordingly, they felt it necessary to urge again all the specialized agencies and other United Nations related organizations, in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, to discontinue all collaboration with the Governments of South Africa and Portugal as well as with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and to intensify their efforts aimed at facilitating the full and effective implementation of the Declaration. In that connexion, a number of members felt that the specialized agencies should be invited to continue to examine, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, procedures enabling representatives of the national liberation movements from colonial Territories in Africa to participate, whenever necessary and appropriate, in conferences and other regional meetings convened by the specialized agencies.

18. The considerations which I have just outlined are reflected in the draft resolution contained in paragraph 12 of the report.

19. The seventh report, contained in document A/8621, relates to agenda item 72. By adopting the draft resolution in paragraph 9 of the report, the General Assembly would, *inter alia*, express its conviction that the provision of assistance for the education and training of persons from colonial Territories was as essential as ever and should not only be continued but also expanded. Accordingly, the General Assembly would appeal to all States, organizations and individuals to make generous contributions to the trust fund for the Programme. In addition, the Assembly would express its appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa for the work they had accomplished in connexion with that Programme. Finally, as a further transitional measure, the Assembly would make provision for an amount of \$100,000 to ensure the continuity of the Programme pending the receipt of adequate voluntary contributions.

20. The eighth report, contained in document A/8622, relates to agenda item 73. The draft resolution set out in paragraph 8 of the report was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. By this draft resolution, the

General Assembly would, *inter alia*, invite all States to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories and request the administering Powers concerned to give widespread publicity to offers made by States and to provide the necessary facilities to enable students to avail themselves of such offers.

21. The last report, contained in document A/8518/Add.3, relates to agenda item 68. As will be recalled, the General Assembly has already adopted resolutions 2765 (XXVI), 2769 (XXVI) and 2796 (XXVI) on various aspects of this question. The draft resolution which the Fourth Committee recommends for adoption by the General Assembly in this, the fourth part of its report, relates to the "proposals for a settlement" which were recently agreed upon between the Government of the United Kingdom and the racist minority régime in Salisbury. During the Committee's consideration of the question, many members expressed grave concern at these proposals which, if implemented, would entrench the rule of the present illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and would perpetuate the enslavement of the African people in the Territory. Accordingly, it was the considered opinion of many members that the General Assembly should reject the proposals as constituting a flagrant violation of the inalienable right of the African people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence, as provided for in resolution 1514 (XV). In addition, they felt that the General Assembly should reaffirm that no settlement would be acceptable if it did not conform strictly to the principle of "no independence before majority rule" on the basis of one man, one vote. These considerations are duly reflected in the draft resolution in paragraph 6 of this report.

22. In view of the deep concern of the Organization about the welfare and interests of the inhabitants of the colonial Territories, and in order to ensure the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration with respect to these Territories, I commend these reports of the Fourth Committee to the serious attention of the General Assembly.

23. The PRESIDENT: I call on the President of the Trusteeship Council, Mr. David Lane of the United Kingdom, to make a statement on agenda item 13, relating to the report of the Trusteeship Council.

24. Mr. LANE (United Kingdom): Although the International Trusteeship System established by the Charter does not normally impinge at length any more on the business of the General Assembly, I welcome this opportunity to say a few words about a number of developments of some significance which have taken place during this year.

25. On the basis of General Assembly resolution 2590 (XXIV), the Trusteeship Council for the first time included members from States non-members of the Council in one of its visiting missions, when Mr. Adnan Raouf of Iraq and Mr. Charles Wyse of Sierra Leone took part in the Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of New Guinea between January and March 1971. They were also invited—and this, too, was an innovation for the Trusteeship Council—to take part in the discussion of the report of the Visiting Mission at the thirty-eighth session of the Council

in May and June of this year. Together with their colleagues, they made very valuable and thoughtful contributions both to the work of the Visiting Mission and to the Council's discussion, and this participation by non-members has gone—to use Mr. Raouf's words—"a long way to opening a new vista on the future work of both the General Assembly and the Council".

26. At its thirty-eighth session this year, the Trusteeship Council decided to send—as the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee has informed the Assembly—a special Visiting Mission to observe the elections to the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly, to be held in February and March 1972. That Mission also will be composed as recommended in General Assembly resolution 2590 (XXIV) and will include members from two other States non-members of the Council: Afghanistan and Yugoslavia.

27. The International Trusteeship System has over the years provided effective, flexible and successful means for the fulfilment of the objectives laid down in Article 76 of the Charter. Of the ten Trust Territories with which the General Assembly has been concerned, nine have already attained independence, and the tenth—New Guinea—is taking rapid strides in that direction. At its thirty-eighth session, the Trusteeship Council particularly welcomed the prospect of internal self-government for Papua and New Guinea during the lifetime of the House of Assembly to be elected two months from now.

28. It is not to denigrate the importance of the interests of the 700,000 people of Papua under Chapter XI of the Charter and the Declaration on decolonization if I observe that the United Nations has a special responsibility under Chapter XII of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement to their 2.8 million fellow-countrymen in the Trust Territory of New Guinea. This aspect is dealt with in a balanced manner in the draft resolution contained in document A/8615, that is, the first report just presented by the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee.

29. That draft resolution, as he observed, was itself adopted unanimously in the Fourth Committee last week, and this fact too reflects the close co-operation which exists between the General Assembly and its bodies, the Trusteeship Council, and the Government of Australia as Administering Authority. I am sure that the Trusteeship Council would be glad to commend the first of the draft resolutions before the Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fourth Committee.

30. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Upper Volta.

31. Mr. OUEDRAOGO (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): My intervention relates to operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution contained in document A/8615. I believe however that my comment applies only to the French text. We see in that paragraph that the Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee are requested to "bear in mind the need to consider Papua New Guinea as a single political and territorial entity and to take

account of this when determining the itineraries of future visiting missions . . .". There should be a minor change here—which affects only the French text—to take account of the fact that there are two subjects, the Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee. This remark was already made in the Committee and I would request that the French text be brought into line with the text approved in the Committee and with the Spanish and English versions, which I have had an opportunity to examine.

32. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will take up first the report of the Fourth Committee [A/8615] on agenda item 13 relating to the report of the Trusteeship Council.

33. I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 10 of that report, on which a recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: France.

The draft resolution was adopted by 119 votes to none, with 1 abstention (resolution 2865 (XXVI)).

34. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of France, who wishes to explain his vote.

35. Mr. BLANC (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation was forced to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution relating to Papua New Guinea, so as to register its reservation on a text which confuses a Non-Self-Governing Territory with a Trust Territory. We also wished to recall that we did not approve certain resolutions nor did we agree with the constitution of certain bodies mentioned in that text. We would, however, like to take this

opportunity to express our sympathy for the optimistic and enthusiastic actions of the administering Power and the freely elected representatives of the population and to express our best hopes for the future prosperity of Papua New Guinea, with which France intends, at the proper time, to establish and maintain very cordial relations.

36. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take up the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 23 [A/8616]. This refers to specific Territories which were not covered by other agenda items.

37. Representatives who wish to do so may explain their votes on draft resolutions I to IV in a single statement.

38. The Assembly will now take a decision on the various recommendations appearing in paragraphs 24, 25 and 26 of the report.

39. In paragraph 24 the Fourth Committee recommends for adoption the draft consensus relating to the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). If there is no objection I shall take it that the Assembly adopts that recommendation of the Fourth Committee.

It was so decided.

40. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to paragraph 25 of the report, containing the draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee for adoption. We shall vote first on draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 101 votes to 3, with 16 abstentions (resolution 2866 (XXVI)).

41. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution II.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, 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 Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Argentina, Barbados, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Malawi, United States of America.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 110 votes to none, with 7 abstentions (resolution 2867 (XXVI)).

42. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution III.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: France.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 117 votes to none, with 1 abstention (resolution 2868 (XXVI)).

43. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution IV.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Barbados, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, 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 Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Costa Rica.³

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 98 votes to 1, with 19 abstentions (resolution 2869 (XXVI)).

44. The PRESIDENT: Let us now turn to paragraph 26 of document A/8616. The Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a decision relating to four Territories. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts that recommendation.

It was so decided.

45. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take up the report of the Fourth Committee on item 65, [A/8617]. I put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report.

The draft resolution was adopted by 111 votes to 2, with 10 abstentions (resolution 2870 (XXVI)).

46. The PRESIDENT: The next report of the Fourth Committee is on item 66 [A/8618].

47. I shall call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote.

48. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho): My delegation wishes to record its reservation on operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution I. The phrase "by all means" at their disposal, the spirit of which justifies recourse to violence, is totally unacceptable to my delegation. As a matter of principle, Lesotho will always condemn violence and force, more especially when such force and violence are used to suppress the nationalist movements which clamour for their legitimate right to freedom. Lesotho also deplors the fact that, as a result of the intransigence of some colonialist Governments in southern Africa, the oppressed peoples in those territories have been forced to resort to violence. My delegation wishes to put on record its concern at the fact that it cannot predict the scale to which this violence will escalate.

49. However, my delegation will once more affirm its unwavering commitment to the principle of the right to self-determination and independence of all colonial countries and peoples by casting an affirmative vote on this draft resolution.

50. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): I have asked to speak at this stage to clear up a few rumours that have arisen in the

³ The delegation of Costa Rica subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

corridors and may give the wrong impression to delegations which may not be quite clear on what is happening on the question of Namibia.

51. In this regard I should like to state that I reserve the right of my delegation to intervene at a later stage. But permit me now to intervene in my capacity as the current President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

52. I should like to call the attention of representatives to the following facts. We have before us a note by the Secretary-General, contained in document A/8638 of 20 December 1971, which relates to the appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. I should like to state categorically here and now that so far as the Nigerian delegation is concerned there is no commitment—I emphasize that: no commitment—one way or the other on the appointment of Lord Caradon as Commissioner for Namibia.

53. Having said that, I should like to state that in paragraph 17 of draft resolution I, which is now properly before the Assembly and to which the Secretary-General has referred in the aforementioned note, the Fourth Committee

“Urges the Secretary-General, in view of the recommendation of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to undertake the necessary consultations to nominate as soon as possible a full-time United Nations Commissioner for Namibia”.

54. I want to assure the members of the General Assembly, first, that in my capacity as the current President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, I was consulted, and, secondly, that General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) set up the United Nations Council for South West Africa—now known as the United Nations Council for Namibia—and at one and the same time the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa. I was not here then, and perhaps many others now present were not here when that resolution was adopted. But, assuming action was taken promptly at that time to comply with resolution 2248 (S-V), it might have proved impossible at one and the same time to have consultations with the Council for Namibia before appointing the Commissioner for Namibia, since both actions were to have taken place simultaneously. Therefore, I hold that the Secretary-General has not acted inappropriately in not consulting all—I repeat, all—delegations. On the other hand, I will further confirm that the Secretary-General has been informed of consultations that have taken place within the Council for Namibia and of consultations that have taken place with representatives of Namibia in this regard specifically, and also with the President and some of the members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). They raised no objection to the person of Lord Caradon.

55. I wish to reiterate, as the representative of Nigeria, that we are not committed to Lord Caradon or to any other person for that matter. But I should like to dispel any mistaken notion that either Nigeria or myself in particular has become committed to Lord Caradon. Given the fact of the existence of consultations with the SWAPO repre-

sentatives—who, so many delegations here, are the recognized representatives of Namibia at the moment—there could, then, be no point in saying that somebody who has been acceptable or has been said to be acceptable to the Namibians would be less acceptable to non-Namibians whose sole intentions—I repeat, sole intentions—should be to help the Namibians achieve ultimate independence and self-government.

56. I often say there is no need for us who claim to help others to be more Catholic than the Pope. If the Namibians say such an individual is acceptable to them and that it is extremely important that the appointment be made at this session in the light of what has happened since 21 June, when the International Court of Justice gave its advisory opinion, and if we are anxious that progress be made towards the eventual goal of self-determination and independence for the Namibians, then I can see no reason why we non-Namibians—including Nigeria—should feel that what is good for the Namibians is not good enough for us.

57. I should like to confirm further that some members of the delegations here present were consulted by me personally and informally, since I had a mandate to do that neither from the Secretary-General nor from the Council of Namibia, but my action flowed from the fact that the Council for Namibia, in its annual report, which was adopted by the Fourth Committee, advocated and strongly stressed the urgent need for the appointment of a full-time Commissioner for Namibia.

58. I should also like to state from this rostrum that it is because a full-time Commissioner was not appointed in accordance with resolution 2248 (S-V) of 1967 that, in historical sequence, we have had the Under-Secretary-General now seated to the left in an acting capacity as Commissioner for Namibia and then, and at present, we now have, still in an acting capacity, the Director of the Office of Public Information, Mr. Hamid, serving as Acting Commissioner for Namibia.

59. Therefore, I should like to make it known that we have found that the two incumbents, Under-Secretary-General Stavropoulos and Mr. Hamid, who have full-time jobs, have not been able to discharge as satisfactorily as they themselves would wish, as the Namibians would wish, and as the Council for Namibia would wish, the duties and responsibilities of the Commissioner for Namibia.

60. I have heard that there may be need for a postponement of a decision on the Secretary-General's note. My delegation will not oppose such an appeal, if it is considered extremely important. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that this is a very important decision. Nevertheless, we would wish that, if possible, the General Assembly take a decision tonight, because the report of the Council for Namibia, which the Fourth Committee has approved and which is before the General Assembly in terms of draft resolution I, contains such vital issues that time is of the essence and we must make some progress.

61. I do not see anything controversial in this. If I had to speak about the person of Lord Caradon, that would be another issue altogether. I am sure that the United Kingdom delegation can do that better than I can—although

we in Nigeria remember Lord Caradon when he was not a Lord, but a lesser mortal: Sir Hugh Foot.

62. But I wish to stress once again that there have been consultations, including some with the people of Namibia. There have been some consultations with certain delegations present here. I confirm what the Secretary-General states in his note: there have been consultations in this regard, particularly with the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia—that means me. I would strongly affirm that this is an entirely non-controversial matter, particularly when we take into account that the Namibians themselves have no objection.

63. I beg that we should not try to be more Catholic than the Pope.

64. The PRESIDENT: We shall revert to the question of the appointment of the Commissioner for Namibia.

65. The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on the two draft resolutions in paragraph 25 of the report of the Fourth Committee [A/8618]. The administrative and financial implications of those draft resolutions appear in the report of the Fifth Committee contained in document A/8633.

66. First, I put to the vote draft resolution I.

A vote was taken by roll call.

The Syrian Arab Republic, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: 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 Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, New Zealand.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 111 votes to 2, with 10 abstentions (resolution 2871 (XXVI)).

67. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution II, on which a recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 113 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions (resolution 2872 (XXVI)).

68. The PRESIDENT: Before we complete our consideration of agenda item 66, I should like to invite members to turn their attention to the note by the Secretary-General in document A/8638, which deals with the appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. In this note the Secretary-General proposes that Lord Caradon be appointed as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia for an initial period of one year.

69. Mr. OUCIF (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): After the very detailed statement made by the Ambassador of Nigeria, we would just like to say that we have always had very great respect for liberation movements, particularly for SWAPO, which is the worthy representative of the Namibian people. Even so, considering that we received the note of the Secretary-General only this afternoon, we would prefer, in order to allow time for consultations, that the decision on this item be postponed until tomorrow.

70. Mr. ABDULLEH (Somalia): With regard to the note by the Secretary-General the representative of Nigeria has indicated that he would not press for a decision right away. The representative of Algeria has just put a motion that there be a postponement for 24 hours or thereabouts. I wish to support him.

71. As we all know, the question of appointing a United Nations Commissioner for Namibia has been under consid-

eration for quite some time. It appears to my delegation that a good number of delegations have not been able to get instructions on the proposal by the Secretary-General of Lord Caradon for this post. My delegation, or any other for that matter, should not be misunderstood. We do not in any way question Lord Caradon's integrity, honesty and ability, or the very well-defined principles which we all have heard him so candidly and openly defending many times in this Organization.

72. To some delegations an immediate decision means acting without instructions. This is a question very near to our hearts and vital to the people of Namibia, whose interests after all we are all here to defend. We have waited so long for this appointment that it should not be too much to wait another 24 hours for delegations to obtain their instructions. For that reason I want to support the proposal made by the representative of Algeria.

73. Mr. NEKLESSA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): At this afternoon's meeting of the Assembly, delegations received a note by the Secretary-General [A/8638] stating that he wishes to propose to the General Assembly for its approval the appointment of Lord Caradon, former Minister of State and Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia.

74. The Soviet delegation wishes to say straight away that it cannot support that proposal and is categorically opposed to the appointment of Lord Caradon to the post in question. Lord Caradon is a representative of a colonial Power which not only maintains a number of territories under colonial domination, but also provides aid in various forms, including military aid, to the racist and colonialist régimes in southern Africa. As the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations and, before that, as a highly placed official of the British colonial administration, Lord Caradon actively pursued British colonial policies aimed at maintaining colonialism and racism in southern Africa and elsewhere. The Soviet delegation feels therefore that such a representative could not contribute to the liberation of the Namibian people from the tyrannical domination of the South African racists.

75. So much for the substance of the matter. We cannot, however, let pass without comment the procedure that was employed to name a candidate for the post of United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. Up to now it has been the practice, for appointments of this kind, to hold consultations between delegations and groups of delegations. We note with regret that no consultations in this matter were held with our delegation or, as we have just learned, with many other delegations and groups of delegations. It is surely unusual that a large number of delegations should learn about the proposed appointment only during the meeting, that is to say, only a few hours before a vote is to be taken.

76. Paragraph 2 of document A/8638 states that the proposal is submitted to the General Assembly after the necessary consultations in this regard have been completed, particularly with the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

77. It is not quite clear to our delegation what is meant by "necessary consultations". We believe that consultations should be held not with certain selected delegations, but with all delegations or groups of delegations. That procedure has long been accepted in the United Nations and it should have been followed in this instance as well, but for some reason that was not done.

78. The Soviet delegation believes that in these circumstances the question of appointing a Commissioner for Namibia could be postponed and decided after the session and after consultations have been held between delegations. However, if this is unacceptable to the Assembly, we shall request that the proposal to approve the appointment of Lord Caradon be put to a vote. The Soviet delegation will vote against that proposal, against the appointment of Lord Caradon as Commissioner for Namibia.

79. The Soviet delegation would also not object, of course, to postponing a decision on this question for 24 hours.

80. The PRESIDENT: Rule 76 of the rules of procedure states: "During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion." The representative of Algeria has proposed the postponement of this item until tomorrow; if no one objects we will postpone this item until tomorrow afternoon.

It was so decided.

81. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take up the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 70 [A/8619].

82. The representative of Costa Rica has asked for the floor in order to explain his vote before the voting.

83. Mr. CALLEJA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Costa Rica will vote in favour of the draft, but wishes to record its reservations on the drafting of paragraphs 6 and 7 of the operative part.

84. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report in document A/8619. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

The Netherlands, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, 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 Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Barbados, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelo-

russian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal.

Against: Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg.

Abstaining: Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Swaziland,⁴ Sweden, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Malawi.

The draft resolution was adopted by 103 votes to 8, with 13 abstentions (resolution 2873 (XXVI)).

85. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda items 71 and 12 [A/8620]. The draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee is contained in paragraph 12 of the report.

86. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

87. Mr. TEMPLE (United Kingdom): Members of the Assembly will be aware of the attitude of my delegation to the annual resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations. In the light of this I shall make only a brief comment on the draft resolution.

88. However, before doing so I should like to associate my delegation with the expressions of appreciation to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for all the excellent work which he and his staff have accomplished during the past year.

89. My delegation is increasingly concerned by the tendency of the specialized agencies to become involved in political matters at the expense and to the detriment of their legitimate activities. This concern is, I believe, widely shared within the agencies themselves. My delegation is convinced that it is improper for the General Assembly to seek to exert pressure on the agencies in respect of issues both of principle and of policy which, clearly, should be decided in the light of their respective constitutions. It is for that reason that my delegation will vote against the draft resolution.

90. Mr. HAMBRO (Norway): Norway is very much in favour of closer co-operation between the specialized agencies and the peoples in Africa that are struggling for

their liberation from colonial rule. We believe that only through concerted action can these colonial problems be solved—action which should be concerted at all levels. Co-operation between the specialized agencies and the national liberation movements represents a practical step which, in our view, will contribute to the achievement of independence for the peoples in question.

91. For that reason my delegation listened with great interest to the statements made on 14 December 1971 in the Fourth Committee at the 1968th meeting by the representatives of FAO and UNESCO. We believe that those and other agencies show that practical action is possible. We are appreciative of the steps already taken to formulate concrete programmes for providing assistance to the peoples that are striving to liberate themselves from colonial domination. In our view it is important that the specialized agencies continue, within their spheres of competence, seriously to consider the question of how they can contribute to the process of decolonization. However, the co-operation between the agencies and the liberation movements must necessarily be in accordance with the statutes of the agencies.

92. Furthermore, as Norway adheres to the principle of universality we cannot support the request that all collaboration between the agencies and certain Governments and régimes should be discontinued, as stated in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution. In the case of a separate vote, we would have to dissociate ourselves from that paragraph.

93. We also have some reservations on operative paragraphs 1, 7, 10, 11 and 13 and on the eighth preambular paragraph.

94. We have regretfully reached the conclusion that we must abstain on the draft resolution as a whole. It follows that, in our opinion, the draft resolution would have been more useful and more constructive if it had dealt only with the practical possibilities of co-operation and assistance. We should have concentrated on measures that would give immediate as well as long-term advantages to the peoples that have a right to freedom and to our moral and material assistance.

95. May I end by saying that we hope by this time next year other agencies will have found it possible to formulate assistance programmes within the framework of their statutes.

96. Mr. ANDERSEN (Denmark): The Danish delegation is going to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution under consideration. We shall do so with much regret because Denmark, as is well known, actively supports increased humanitarian and educational assistance to oppressed peoples and groups. Consequently we attach great importance to the present and future role of the specialized agencies in this connexion.

97. It is, however, a matter of principle for the Danish Government that the statutes of the specialized agencies should be duly taken into account and that the specialized agencies should retain their universal character. In our view, some paragraphs in the draft resolution do not follow those principles.

⁴ The delegation of Swaziland subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

98. Mrs. COLMANT (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): From the report before us we see that the reservations we entered when this draft resolution was voted on in the Fourth Committee are not reflected in the report. Thus I feel duty bound to reaffirm our affirmative vote on the draft resolution and at the same time our reservations regarding paragraphs 5, 6 and 7, since we would not wish to be placed in an embarrassing position in respect to a situation in which our best of friends, the specialized agencies of the United Nations, might find themselves.

99. We should like this reservation to be clearly understood, despite the fact that our reservations made in the Fourth Committee have not been mentioned in the report.

100. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 12 of its report [A/8620]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Barbados, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, 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 Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay.

The draft resolution was adopted by 93 votes to 4, with 27 abstentions (resolution 2874 (XXVI)).

101. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 72 [A/8621]. The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report. The administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution appear in the

report of the Fifth Committee contained in document A/8634. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal and South Africa.

The draft resolution was adopted by 121 votes to 2 (resolution 2875 (XXVI)).

102. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take up the report of the Fourth Committee [A/8622] on agenda item 73.

103. The draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee is contained in paragraph 8 of the report. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 2876 (XXVI)).

104. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to part IV of the report of the Fourth Committee [A/8518/Add.3] on agenda item 68. The draft resolution recommended by the Committee appears in paragraph 6 of the report.

105. I call on the representative of Lesotho, who wishes to explain his vote before the voting.

106. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho): My delegation has made a very careful study of the draft resolution before us.

107. My delegation will cast an affirmative vote on the draft resolution as a whole. However, we wish to reserve our position on operative paragraph 1, on the following grounds. We find some contradiction in that paragraph when we come to relate its contents to the substance of operative paragraph 4. Operative paragraph 1 rejects the

“proposals for a settlement” even before the views of the nationalist leaders of Zimbabwe have been noted. On the other hand, operative paragraph 4

“*Welcomes* the decision by the Security Council . . . on 2 December 1971 to invite Mr. Joshua Nkomo and the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, the respective leaders of the [nationalist movements in Rhodesia] to appear before the Council to express their views concerning the future status of the Territory . . .”.

108. My delegation reserves its right to make its position known soon after it has had the views of the nationalist leaders, who are the only true representatives of the majority people of Zimbabwe.

109. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 6 of its report [A/8518/Add.3]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Jamaica, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, 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 Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Barbados, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast.

Against: Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, France.

Abstaining: Japan, Malawi, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Sweden, United States of America, Uruguay, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Italy.

The draft resolution was adopted by 94 votes to 8, with 22 abstentions (resolution 2877 (XXVI)).

110. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

111. Mr. SCHAUFLE (United States of America): My delegation abstained in the vote on this resolution because

it makes a judgement against the proposals for a settlement between the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesia before having heard from the people of Rhodesia. We think it inappropriate for the General Assembly to prejudge this issue and, before the test of acceptability has even begun, to tell the people of Rhodesia in effect what position they should take on these proposals.

112. Mrs. COLMANT (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We voted in favour of this resolution because we abide by the principles of the Charter and the principles of human dignity and independence for all peoples. However, had a separate vote been taken, we would have abstained on operative paragraph 1 inasmuch as my country, being peace-loving, is also very much in favour of a dialogue to lead to constructive, just and permanent solutions.

113. We cannot reject, but we deplore the proposals for a settlement agreed with the United Kingdom because in those proposals the Zimbabwe people are not taken into account and we are very much concerned at the fact that when a solution is reached, the rights of 5 million black persons, who, merely because they are black, do not cease to be citizens and worthy persons deserving respect, might be side-stepped or overlooked.

114. When the representative of the United Kingdom explained his vote in the Fourth Committee at the 1971st meeting, he told us that he would vote against the draft resolution because this paragraph appeared to be in contradiction to the aims and objectives of the United Kingdom since all that the United Kingdom seeks to do is to stem or delay the inexorable progress of *apartheid* which apparently will become entrenched in that area. We, for our part, would wish that such a situation would never arise in Southern Rhodesia. Perhaps the United Kingdom will be able to exert all its influence with the Government of Ian Smith so that the commission that is to negotiate these legislative arrangements will give the people of Zimbabwe not 16 representatives, but perhaps 50, as is the case with the white population. Then perhaps, when the people of Zimbabwe are able to participate, the Government will be more representative.

115. To us the policy of *apartheid* is abominable and reprehensible and offends all peoples, especially those of Latin America, that have always fought against racism and for the independence of peoples.

116. The PRESIDENT: We have concluded our consideration of agenda item 68 and of all the items allocated to the Fourth Committee.

AGENDA ITEM 23

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 (*concluded*)

117. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with this item, the Assembly has before it two draft resolutions, in documents A/L.622 and Add.1 and A/L.663 and Add.1. The adminis-

trative and financial implications of these draft resolutions appear in the report of the Fifth Committee contained in document A/8632.

118. We have concluded the debate on this item. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

119. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): During the course of the debate on this item, my delegation had occasion to state the importance it attaches to the consideration in plenary meetings of the report of the Special Committee on decolonization. In this connexion I am happy to state that we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.662 and Add.1, which in our view establishes a mandate for the Committee of Twenty-Four which is essentially in keeping with the views expressed by our delegation, and with what we regard as the present-day needs of the process of decolonization.

120. We wish to reaffirm our view that the General Assembly should decide to allocate to this item at its twenty-seventh session a place of high priority on its agenda. We believe that this is essential, having regard to the stalemate in which the decolonizing process finds itself at the moment as a consequence of the offensive against anti-colonialism embarked on by the racist colonialist Powers under the leadership of the Government of the United States of America. We have emphasized this fact, which is well known to all and is reflected in the boycott of the Special Committee by these Powers.

121. My delegation would have wished these ideas to be expressed more clearly in the draft resolution itself. Moreover, we shall vote in favour because we believe the draft resolution at present before the General Assembly confirms the validity and universal character of the right to self-determination, which should be extended to all peoples without exception, irrespective of the geographical area in which they are located.

122. In this connexion I should like to read out operative paragraph 10 of the draft resolution:

“Requests the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session”.

123. It is abundantly clear that this paragraph establishes a clear mandate for the Special Committee, so that without delay it will consider the immediate and full implementation of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained their independence. In connexion with this paragraph, my delegation wishes most especially to point out that because it includes all Territories which have not yet attained independence it refers directly to the colonial case of Puerto Rico, brought before the Special Committee by my country for six years.

124. Thus, we hope that the Special Committee, when it begins its new session next year, will consider the colonial

case of Puerto Rico, in accordance with the mandate given to it by the General Assembly; and, further, that it will consider that case taking into account other provisions of this draft resolution which directly relate to the Puerto Rican situation, among them those mentioned in operative paragraphs 4, 6 and 9.

125. Mr. CAKIR (Turkey): Eleven years after the adoption of the historic Declaration on decolonization contained in resolution 1514 (XV), of which Turkey was a sponsor, colonial domination is still a sad fact of international life. In nearly 44 Territories in southern Africa, in scattered island Territories in the Caribbean, and in the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, about 29 million persons still live under colonial administration of one form or another. This is no comfort to the international community; on the contrary, it is a reason for deep concern and a source of serious international friction.

126. The continued refusal of some colonial Powers, especially in southern Africa, to co-operate with the United Nations and to implement the Declaration on decolonization and other relevant resolutions, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese administration, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, constitute the root cause of the problem. All these and other relevant points are clearly made in draft resolution A/L.622 now before us.

127. My delegation would like to pay special tribute to the Special Committee on decolonization for the valuable effort it has made for the realization of the goals set forth in the Charter of the Organization and in the Declaration on decolonization. My delegation for one endorses in general the report of the Special Committee for 1971, although we have certain reservations relating to some chapters and paragraphs of that voluminous report.

128. With reference to operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution, which goes beyond the capacity and competence of the General Assembly by asking the specialized agencies to withhold assistance of any kind from a number of States Members of our Organization, in the opinion of my delegation that paragraph has little practical bearing in view of the constitutional problems of the specialized agencies.

129. As far as operative paragraph 9 of the draft resolution is concerned, my delegation would also like to reserve its position with regard to the military bases and installations in colonial territories which may be established purely for defence purposes and may not be detrimental to the interests of those colonial Territories, although we understand the reason behind the inclusion of such a paragraph in the draft resolution.

130. The small Territories, which suffer from remoteness, isolation, lack of natural resources and under-population, deserve special and careful attention by the Special Committee. It should search for appropriate ways and means which would serve the best interest of the political future of those island Territories.

131. Visiting Missions to colonial Territories to gain first-hand information serve a multiple purpose. There is no doubt that the administering Powers should co-operate with

the Special Committee in the discharge of its mandate. We also hope that the administering Powers which left the Special Committee will reconsider their decision and that a homecoming will be possible.

132. We hope that in the years ahead the Special Committee, together with the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and the United Nations Council for Namibia, will continue to seek appropriate and practical means for the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

133. With those considerations and reservations in mind the Turkish delegation will support the draft resolution under consideration.

134. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on draft resolution A/L.662 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, 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 Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: France, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden.

The draft resolution was adopted by 96 votes to 5, with 18 abstentions (resolution 2878 (XXVI)).

135. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia,

Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, 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 Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Belgium, Brazil, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 110 votes to 2, with 8 abstentions (resolution 2879 (XXVI)).⁵

136. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote.

137. Mr. MARQUES SERE (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which the Assembly has just adopted concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as an expression of our strong and continued support for the principles of self-determination and independence of the peoples, upheld by this resolution, and the purposes which it pursues. Our affirmative vote must be construed within the context of the position adopted by Uruguay on this question in the various United Nations bodies. On several of the paragraphs of the preamble and the operative part of this resolution, my delegation maintains the reservations that have already been explained and substantiated on repeated occasions.

138. Mr. CARASALES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina voted in favour of the draft resolution in document A/L.622 and Add.1. We did so because we are in favour of its aims and support its basic wording.

139. Having said that, my delegation wishes to place on record the fact that some of the operative paragraphs of the text call for reservations on our part. For example in paragraph 5, we believe that the provisions of the United Nations Charter should not be exceeded. In other instances we find some overly sweeping statements whose unduly comprehensive nature do not take into account particular

⁵ Subsequently the delegation of Costa Rica informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

distinctions of character and place which, in our opinion, would be called for. In any event, we agreed in general with the draft resolution and, therefore, voted in favour of it.

140. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to invite representatives to turn their attention to the letters [A/8206, A/8276 and A/8277] concerning the vacancies in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As a result of the withdrawal of Poland, the President has nominated, with immediate effect, Czechoslovakia as a member of the Special Committee to fill one of the vacancies. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees with this nomination?

It was so decided.

141. The PRESIDENT: In addition, I have appointed China and Indonesia to fill two other vacancies in the Special Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees with these nominations?

It was so decided.

142. The PRESIDENT: No candidacies have been advanced for the remaining vacancies.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*concluded*)*

143. The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that, at its 1937th meeting, the Assembly decided to adopt the proposal of the General Committee in paragraph 6 of its report [A/8500] that the closing date of the twenty-sixth session should be Tuesday, 21 December 1971. It has become apparent, however, that the Assembly will not be able to adhere to that plan and that it will have to meet on Wednesday. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to this unavoidable extension of the session by one day?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 11.25 p.m.

* Resumed from the 2010th meeting.