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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly (*concluded*)*

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

SECOND REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (A/8142/Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: I request members to turn to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 6 of its report [A/8142/Add.1].

2. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts that draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 2636 B (XXV)).

AGENDA ITEM 46

Creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/8231)

3. Mr. GUNAWARDANA (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): The Third Committee, which devoted

more time than it had contemplated doing to the first three items on its agenda, was able to devote only five meetings to the examination of the question of the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, which is the subject of agenda item 46.

4. The debate to which this question gave rise made it possible to highlight the positions of some delegations on the problem under discussion. The report of the Committee [A/8231] gives an account of the elements which were contributed by the Third Committee to the examination of this problem which has been going on for several years.

5. However, many speakers whose names were on the list to speak in the general debate were not able to speak, for lack of time, and the consideration of this item, which had raised keen interest, was not concluded. On 7 December, following a motion for closure of the debate made by the delegation of Canada, the Third Committee adopted a motion for adjournment made by the delegation of Ceylon. As a result no decision was taken either on the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 1237 (XLII), for adoption by the General Assembly or on the amendments presented to that text.

6. Consequently, the Third Committee recommends, as is indicated in paragraph 24 of its report, that the General Assembly defer consideration of this item to its twenty-sixth session. In conclusion I would like to ask you, Mr. President, to be good enough to submit this proposal to the Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Third Committee.

7. The PRESIDENT: Since no delegation wishes to explain its vote, the General Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation by the Third Committee contained in paragraph 24 of its report [A/8231]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Lux-

* Resumed from the 1905th meeting.

embourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Italy.¹

Abstaining: Argentina, Brazil, Cameroon, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Israel, Malawi, Mexico, Pakistan, Poland.

*The recommendation was adopted by 80 votes to 1, with 11 abstentions.*¹

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)

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

9. Mr. SOYLEMEZ (Turkey): My delegation wishes to speak on draft resolution A/L.621 and Add.1 and 2.

10. Ten years have passed since this Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on decolonization which has become the most widely referred to and extensively quoted resolution in this Organization, resolution 1514 (XV). Indeed that Declaration is exactly 10 years old today. We pay a fitting birthday tribute to its promoters and take special pleasure from the fact that Turkey was among its original sponsors. No resolution has enjoyed greater popularity nor occupied a more important place and commanding voice than has this one since its adoption on 14 December 1960 by 89 votes in favour and none against, with 9 abstentions.

11. It has rightly become the yardstick of all our endeavours and the touchstone of all our initiatives in matters relating to decolonization ever since. The Declaration spoke of the passionate yearning for freedom of all dependent peoples and of the conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of those peoples. The Declaration spoke of the ardent desire of the peoples of the world to

end colonialism in all its manifestations and expressed the conviction that the existence of colonialism prevents the development of international co-operation and economic development and militates against universal peace. The Declaration spoke of the fact that peoples may freely dispose of their natural wealth and pointed to the irreversible process of liberation, and, therefore, an end must be put to colonialism, segregation and discrimination.

12. It is unfortunate that after 10 years of constant efforts on the part of this Organization this document still has to apply to the remaining problems of colonialism. The existence of this item bears witness to the limited measure of success of the positive attempts and achievements of our Organization in this field. It is disheartening to note that 28 million people in about 40 dependent Territories still live under colonial administration and do not yet enjoy the right to self-determination when one part of the world has already reached the nuclear age.

13. The most complex and complicated problems of decolonization are the remaining ones which concentrate in southern Africa and are considered in a special category.

14. The draft resolution now before the Assembly on the implementation of the Declaration once again emphasizes the anachronistic nature of these problems in its preambular paragraphs. It is underlined once again that the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The vestiges of the era of colonialism are unfortunately far from being settled soon. The winds of change cannot penetrate into the political atmosphere of southern Africa.

15. Ten years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples we are now face to face with the hard-core problems of colonialism. Although the complete elimination of colonialism could not be realized, it is to the credit of our Organization that some progress has been achieved in this direction: In 1960 the total membership of the United Nations was only 97 but in the course of these 10 years 30 new Members have joined. This proud record bears witness to our achievement.

16. This year my delegation had occasion to salute the newest Member, Fiji, from this rostrum.

17. The celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization was marred by the existing perennial problems of decolonization: the shadow of the deplorable, inhuman practice of *apartheid* still looms large over southern Africa; the economic and military co-operation of these repressive régimes has led to the creation of a white minority military bloc in southern Africa, with the aim of repressing the struggle for liberation. South Africa has extended its policy of *apartheid* to Namibia, has persistently defied the decisions of the General Assembly and has prevented the Council for Namibia from discharging its functions.

¹ The delegations of Dahomey, Kuwait and the People's Republic of the Congo subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution and the delegation of Italy that it wished to be recorded as having abstained.

18. The basic condition of the fulfilment of the special responsibilities of the United Nations in respect of Namibia is the removal of South Africa from the Territory or a sudden change of heart by the illegal occupants of the international Territory. Despite the fact that the United Nations Council for Namibia has had little freedom of action, it has constantly sought to identify areas in which it could further the Namibian cause rather than to confine itself merely to condemnations of the extension of *apartheid* to Namibia and of the establishment of homelands—Bantustans.

19. The conclusion of two international agreements, relating to travel and identity documents, with the Governments of Zambia and Uganda demonstrates, on the one hand, the determination of the Council and, on the other, the support the Council receives from among the membership when similar initiatives can be taken by it.

20. The Security Council action in this respect is worth noting and is the sign of its appropriate attention to this oldest colonial issue on the agenda of the United Nations.

21. In Southern Rhodesia a racist minority rebel régime continues to defy the will of the international community of nations and challenges the most elementary norms of international law and human rights. The illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia has embarked also on racism and racial discrimination on a constitutional basis which should be a disgrace to humanity, in law as well as in practice. Following the mandatory economic sanctions of the Security Council in 1968 [*resolution 253 (1968)*], the Turkish Government took vigorous and extensive action to comply with these sanctions. Even after the extension of these economic mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime little positive progress could be seen in the desired direction.

22. My Minister for Foreign Affairs, on 24 September 1970, from this same rostrum [*1849th meeting*] suggested that the Security Council had to find new ways and means to make these sanctions more effective.

23. The situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to the peace of Africa. When the people of Zimbabwe are already up in arms against the Smith régime, when we all unanimously condemn it to isolation, there is no doubt that there is more to be done—more than mere condemnation.

24. On the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration my delegation made its position clear when it supported the relevant draft resolutions in the Fourth Committee [*1899th and 1900th meetings*] and, finally, in the General Assembly this morning [*1928th meeting*]. We have long hoped that Portugal would reconsider its colonial policy and comply with the relevant provisions of the Charter and the General Assembly resolutions. It is unfortunate that there has been no change of policy in this respect.

25. Paragraph 7 of the draft resolution now before the Assembly

“*Requests* all States, as well as the specialized agencies and international institutions, to withhold assistance of any kind from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and from the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia . . . ”.

26. Inasmuch as we do not condemn the policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination, it is our considered opinion that such a provision surpasses the Charter responsibilities of the General Assembly when the imposition of sanctions clearly falls in the domain of the Security Council. In the specific case of Southern Rhodesia the comprehensive, mandatory economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the illegal régime have the full support of my Government, as I stated above.

27. The Turkish Government has already taken legal and practical measures for the implementation of these economic sanctions as far as Turkey is concerned. However, in the absence of a similar situation in the case of Portugal and South Africa, my Government will have serious reservations on the recommendation contained in this operative paragraph at this time.

28. My delegation has supported the relevant resolution on the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations [*resolution 2704 (XXV)*]. It was within the spirit of the Declaration on decolonization that we did so. The Turkish Government is of the view that specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations should try to do their best within their respective constitutions in this difficult yet challenging process of decolonization. Therefore, paragraph 14 of the draft resolution appropriately takes up this point and urges the specialized agencies to give effect to the relevant resolutions of this Organization.

29. The policies pursued by certain colonial Powers of imposing non-representative régimes and constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign economic and other interests, misleading world public opinion, displacing and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas, and so on, are condemned in paragraph 10. Such policies and practices wherever they exist are in contravention of the Charter and should certainly cease.

30. My delegation shares the satisfaction expressed for the valuable work done by the Committee of Twenty-Four and for all its efforts in the direction of the full implementation of the Declaration. I must add, however, that my delegation, with all due respect, would have preferred a more general endorsement of the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1970 in view of certain paragraphs and conclusions in its report. The Committee of Twenty-Four has done some excellent work under its able and distinguished Chairman, Ambassador Nicol of Sierra Leone, in the best tradition of that Committee, following the good examples of Ambassador Mestiri of Tunisia and Ambassador Malecela of Tanzania, to

name but two. This Committee has the unique responsibility of making specific suggestions and proposals which could be translated into concrete and practical terms if endorsed by the General Assembly. That is the main idea of paragraph 11 of the draft which we support whole-heartedly.

31. The problems of southern Africa are as complicated as they are manifold. The problem of mercenaries, their recruitment, financing and training, is sometimes at the root of the matter. In this connexion I should like to refer briefly to the communiqué which my Government issued on 5 December 1970 in Ankara following the report of the Special Mission of the Security Council on the question of the external armed attack launched against the Republic of Guinea, constituting a violation of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations. My Government deplored the action undertaken on 22 November 1970 which also involved the mercenaries.

32. My delegation is not, however, in full agreement with the drafting of paragraph 8 of the draft resolution and similarly, as far as paragraph 9 is concerned, I should like again to reserve the position of my delegation as a matter of principle.

33. The draft resolution refers to the delicate and difficult question of the small Territories, mostly scattered in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans and concentrated in the Caribbean, which pose fundamental questions of principle as against other possible solutions acceptable to the United Nations and those directly concerned.

34. It was our Secretary-General, U Thant, who drew the attention of the Organization for the first time to this question in the introduction to his report in 1968² which has occupied our minds since then. Although no ready-made solutions are available to this important problem, the Committee of Twenty-Four is required to pay particular attention to it. As to the use of the visiting missions to colonial Territories, the draft resolution makes appropriate provisions and calls upon the administrative Powers to co-operate with the United Nations—which my delegation has always supported as one of the most appropriate methods of first-hand information.

35. Finally, this draft resolution gives priority to the importance—and indeed the vital necessity—of providing widespread and continuous publicity in the field of decolonization. Dissemination of information, needless to say, should be our prime responsibility to enlighten world public opinion concerning the issues at hand. In the field of decolonization, out of frustration and anger, our resolutions—especially in the last few years—have shown a growing tendency to become harsh in tone and bitter in language, which may be understandable for many reasons.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Supplement No. 1A*, para. 153.

36. I should like to paraphrase the words of Ambassador Airoglu of Turkey who, in his statement earlier in the Fourth Committee [*1884th meeting*], reflected that the experience of the last 25 years shows that the effectiveness of the resolutions adopted by this Assembly depends more on the support given to them by the Member States than on the vigour of their wording. It is, moreover, in the interests of all of us to display a spirit of moderation so that our resolutions command a greater majority, if not unanimity.

37. To conclude, I should like to state that my delegation will support the draft resolution in the light of these considerations and with the relevant reservations I have submitted for the record.

38. Mr. von HIRSCHBERG (South Africa): I have asked for the floor in order to express the concern of my delegation at the appearance of yet another draft resolution in the course of this session of the General Assembly urging assistance, without any qualification, to bodies committed to the use of force and violence.

39. The so-called liberation movements referred to in draft resolution A/L.621 and Add.1 and 2 admit of no method other than that involving violence and subversion for the attainment of their political objectives.

40. This Organization, on the other hand, is bound by its Charter to employ only peaceful methods for solving disputes. Peace is its constant preoccupation.

41. It follows, therefore, that the General Assembly by adopting this draft resolution will simply be prostituting this Organization, its ideals and its principles. Nothing in its Charter authorizes or entitles it to become an accessory to acts of violence and subversion and that is what it will be doing if it urges Member States, the specialized agencies and other international institutions to render unqualified assistance to the movements in question.

42. As in the case of the programme of action for implementation of the Declaration of decolonization [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], adopted by a majority vote in the course of the commemorative session in October, nowhere in this draft resolution is there any stipulation that the assistance to be given to the movements must be in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Charter. Nor is it stipulated that the United Nations insists that the recipients of the aid should act in accordance with the terms of the Charter. Nor is recognition by the United Nations of these movements in any way conditional on their adopting methods for the attainment of their objectives which are reconcilable with the Charter. These essential safeguards have been excluded from this draft resolution. They have also been excluded from other draft resolutions emanating from the Fourth Committee and the Committee of Twenty-Four in which pleas for aid for the movements occur.

43. In this respect the Fourth Committee and the Committee of Twenty-Four—and I include the present draft resolution in the category of a Fourth Committee

draft—are completely out of step with other, but unfortunately not all, General Assembly Committees and groups, which have at least attempted to incorporate some or all of these safeguards in draft resolutions referring to these movements for which they are responsible. Because the Fourth Committee and the Committee of Twenty-Four are thus out of step, an element of inconsistency has been introduced in the various resolutions in which references to these movements occur, adopted or to be adopted during this session of the General Assembly. This inconsistency is certainly not calculated to enhance the reputation of this Organization, in particular the Fourth Committee and the Committee of Twenty-Four, or to encourage any feeling of confidence in its ability to deal effectively with issues of peace and security. And it is worth recalling in this regard that all this has taken place against the background of an earnest plea by the Secretary-General, prior to the commencement of this session, for a halt to all subversive activities.

44. There are other objectionable features in the draft resolution. However, I shall not refer to them in the context of this statement since they relate to issues which have been dealt with in other statements by the South African delegation in the course of this and previous sessions. I shall simply reaffirm that my Government is fully committed to the principle of self-determination and independence of peoples, and anything in this draft resolution which seeks to assert the contrary is devoid of any truth.

45. For those reasons we shall vote against the draft resolution.

46. Mr. PHILON (Greece): The Greek delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution, in conformity with our long-standing anti-colonial policy, to which we gave expression this year by supporting resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October, as well as a number of other resolutions aiming at the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and calling for the application of the right of self-determination.

47. In explaining our vote, however, we wish to put on record certain reservations which we have, particularly concerning paragraphs 7 and 9. We do not consider it necessary at this juncture to explain these reservations as this has been done on previous occasions when we have dealt in detail with these questions.

48. The PRESIDENT: I am obliged to consult the General Assembly on the following matter. An amendment has been proposed at the last minute. In view of the fact that the Assembly decided last week that the time-limit for handing in proposals and amendments would be 5 o'clock on Friday, 11 December, and since we are very behind in our work, I feel that it would be dangerous to accept the submission of this amendment at this time and would create a dangerous precedent for this last part of the session. For that reason I believe that I am not entitled to put this amendment to the vote without special permission from the Assembly.

49. It appears that this amendment proposed by the delegation of Afghanistan is a small one, and it is now being circulated.

50. In the meantime I wish to state that it has not been possible as yet to conclude the consultations 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. I intend to announce the nominations at the closing meeting of the session when the consultations have been concluded.

51. I shall now read out the amendment proposed by the delegation of Afghanistan. It concerns paragraph 5, and would insert after the words "colonial peoples" the words "and peoples under alien domination". Is there any objection on the part of the General Assembly to voting on this small amendment which has been submitted at the last moment? I am in the hands of the Assembly, and if it has no objection a vote will be taken.

52. There appears to be no objection.

53. A request has been made for recorded votes on all proposals and amendments except the draft resolution as a whole, for which a roll-call vote is desired. I shall now put to the vote the amendment proposed by the delegation of Afghanistan [A/L.622].

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel³, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, People's Republic of the Congo, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Ghana, Haiti, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The amendment was adopted by 65 votes to 2, with 39 abstentions.

³ The delegation of Israel subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having abstained.

54. The PRESIDENT: We will now take a vote on draft resolution A/L.621 and Add.1 and 2 as a whole, as amended. The financial implications of this draft resolution are set forth in the Fifth Committee's report [A/8247].

A vote taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Thailand, Togó, Trinidad and Tobago.

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

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Israel⁴, Italy, Japan, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 93 votes to 5, with 22 abstentions (resolution 2708 (XXV)).

55. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-Four has asked to be allowed to make a statement. In view of his special position in these matters, I think the Assembly will agree to accede to his request.

56. As I hear no objection, I call on Ambassador Nicol.

57. Mr. NICOL (Sierra Leone): It is a happy coincidence that the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and draft resolution A/L.621

⁴ The delegation of Israel subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

and Add.1 and 2 have been approved and adopted today by such a large majority. It was on this date 10 years ago that the Declaration was adopted, and it was this Declaration which gave birth to our Committee. The contribution of the delegation of the Soviet Union in providing the initiative for this Declaration will always remain outstanding and unchallenged.

58. Your graciousness, Mr. President, allowed us to celebrate our tenth anniversary during the twenty-fifth anniversary commemorative session of the Assembly in the presence of Heads of State, Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers. The Committee for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and the Secretary-General were kind enough to provide suitable facilities for our celebration. Mr. President, both you and the Secretary-General, U Thant, delivered inspiring messages on that occasion. It is most appropriate and felicitous that I have been given the opportunity today, thanks to you and the will of the Assembly, to express our profound appreciation and gratitude both for your respective messages and for your assistance and strong support in making our tenth anniversary celebration such a memorable occasion.

59. The resolution which has just been adopted represents another milestone in our progress towards complete decolonization. But as I remarked on the day of our celebration in October much still remains to be done. We have struck a dialogue with those administering Powers which have achieved decolonization, partly or completely, and which have shown that they are willing to listen. I have felt this to be more constructive and in the long run more productive than showering abuse and opprobrium on them. They are more sensitive to world opinion than they are sometimes thought to be or than their votes sometimes show in the Assembly, and they know in their heart of hearts that colonialism, racism, compulsory military bases and overweighted commercial interests are all lost causes. Sometimes the whole matter of decolonization for them now devolves simply on a question of timing and arrangements.

60. Colonial Powers which have in the past 10 years done so much in decolonization should be congratulated on their achievements, and we say this with sincerity. Those of us in the third world would urge them to continue steadfastly and with speed towards the further liberation of colonial peoples. Administering Powers now have the benefit of the advice of those who were administered and who are aware subjectively of the evils of colonization over a period sometimes of hundreds of years. This is a major source of strength in the Committee of Twenty-Four, and we should set as our goal the freedom of those Territories on our agenda, and not any personal or national rivalries and animosities.

61. Mr. President, as was announced a while ago by you, there will be certain changes in the membership of the Special Committee. While it is regrettable that the vacancy created early in 1969 by the withdrawal of Australia from its membership has not been filled, as the Assembly will have noted, many members of

the Special Committee have expressed their satisfaction at the assurance given by the Government of Australia regarding its continued adherence to its obligations under the relevant provisions of the Charter, and its active participation in the Committee's discussions on the Territories under its administration. I am confident that the same spirit of co-operation and sense of dedication to the cause of decolonization will prevail during the forthcoming year.

62. The delegation of Italy, another founding member of the Committee, will not be present amongst us in the Special Committee next year. The wise counselling which the Committee became so accustomed to receive from that delegation, especially in the work of the Working Group, will be greatly missed.

63. The delegation of Honduras, during its three-year membership in the Committee, singularly exemplified the tradition of the Latin American nations on matters of decolonization, with its unyielding and unflinching stand against the colonial policies of certain Powers.

64. Again, I do not need to elaborate on the active contribution made by the delegation of Norway to the work of the Special Committee during the past two years. Thanks to the unfaltering tact and uncompromising determination of the delegation, the Special Committee was able to find solutions to often difficult and complex situations which it faced. I am sure that I am reflecting the sentiments of all the members of the Special Committee in expressing our heartfelt gratitude and appreciation for the valuable contributions made by those delegations to the work of the Special Committee.

65. I wish to pay a tribute also to the Commonwealth Caribbean Governments, particularly to the co-operation of the Government of the Republic of Guyana, for the outstanding part they are playing, in conjunction with the United Kingdom in the consultations connected with the associated States of the Caribbean.

66. The report of the Special Committee could not, for the sake of propriety, mention the outstanding work done by its officers and secretariat, but I hope as Chairman I may properly do so. Our Vice-Chairmen, the Ambassador of Ecuador, Professor Benites, and the deputy permanent representative of Iran, Mr. Sadry, have ably led the work of the Committee. Members themselves witnessed last week the ability of our Rapporteur, Mr. Chadha of India, to whom we are much obliged. We thank their Governments for allowing them to spend so much time with the Committee.

67. The Working Group of the Committee has cheerfully and without complaint borne the brunt of the preparation of our analytical study, and every delegation in the Committee has contributed to whatever success we may have achieved this year. Among these have been the adoption of resolution 2621 (XXV) on the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration; the emergence of Fiji as an independent nation within the Commonwealth; the recognition

accorded to the liberation movements by many Governments, religious organizations and voluntary organizations; and the further unmasking of the vicious and aggressive nature of racism and colonialism in Africa.

68. Decolonization is like love; it must be complete to be acceptable and satisfactory. One cannot partially love, just as one cannot partially decolonize or partially integrate racially. For if one does so, the residual vacuum will not remain empty but may become filled with the hatred and mistrust of rejection made more evident. Administering Powers must realize this.

69. South Africa, Portugal and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, which are in a different category from all the other colonial Powers, must ask themselves: "what will our children think of us in 25 years' time when they are surrounded with hatred and guerrilla warfare in greater intensity than now? Will they not curse us and say that for our personal pride and for a few extra pieces of silver we left them with a legacy of bloodshed and racial strife?"

70. The peoples of the third world are tired of expressions of racial superiority over them and of the constant exploitation of their resources by some developed nations. In this generation they have appealed to those like you, Mr. President, and your delegation and to other friendly Powers that have seen the darkness and destruction inherent in these evil philosophies, for help in defeating them crushingly and resoundingly. On this day of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we should all rededicate ourselves to the coming victory of freedom and progress.

71. The PRESIDENT: As President of the General Assembly I should like to express our admiration and gratitude to the Chairman of the Special Committee for the work he has done during his term of office. His devotion and his fearless determination have been tempered—but never deflected—by kindness, courtesy and personal charm. Our thanks go to you, Mr. Ambassador.

72. I shall now call on those delegations have expressed the desire to explain their votes after the voting.

73. Mr. BLANC (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would have preferred a vote by division on draft resolution A/L.621 and Add.1 and 2 but in order to avoid prolonging the meeting we refrained from making a proposal to that effect.

74. However, if the fifth preambular paragraph and paragraphs 5 and 6 had been put to a separate vote we would have voted against them. The fifth preambular paragraph, in particular, referring to a threat to international peace and security is not, in our view, in accordance with the terms of the Charter on the distribution of competence amongst the organs of the United Nations. Paragraph 5 appears to recommend, in ambiguous wording, recourse to the very means which the Charter denounces, whereas on the occasion

of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, two months ago, there was unanimity on a text on the same subject [see resolution 2627 (XXV), para. 6]. Paragraph 6 does not take account as it should of the autonomy of the specialized agencies. It invites them to embark upon a path which is properly not theirs.

75. If, notwithstanding the insertion in the draft of terms which we reject, we abstained, it was in order to demonstrate once more our active sympathy for the movement of the emancipation of peoples.

76. Mr. CASTILLO-ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala took great pleasure in voting in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.621 and Add.1 and 2. But if a separate vote had been taken on several of its paragraphs perhaps we would have abstained, because we did not agree with the way in which some of them—particularly paragraph 7—could be interpreted. We wish to express our reservation on the implications of paragraph 7 of the resolution.

TERRITORIES NOT CONSIDERED SEPARATELY REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/8248)

77. The PRESIDENT: Since no other delegation wishes to explain its vote we shall now turn to the report of the Fourth Committee [A/8248] under agenda item 23 relating to chapters of the report of the Special Committee relating to specific Territories not covered by other agenda items. I invite the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee to present the report.

78. Mr. SEVILLA BORJA (Ecuador), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to present for the consideration of the General Assembly the report of the Fourth Committee on that part of agenda item 23 [A/8248] which the General Assembly has entrusted to the Fourth Committee, that is, the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to specific Territories. This report concerns those Territories not covered by other agenda items.

79. The Fourth Committee recommends for adoption by the Assembly three draft resolutions in paragraph 19 of its report and one draft decision contained in paragraph 20.

80. Draft resolution I refers to 25 Territories, virtually all of them islands. In the debate in the Fourth Committee, a large majority of the members stressed the fundamental importance of visiting missions as the most suitable means of obtaining first-hand information, not only on the political, economic and social situation in the colonial Territories but also on the points of view, desires and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories. Many delegations expressed their disappointment at the attitude of certain administering Powers which, ignoring resolutions of the General Assembly, continue to deny access to visiting

missions to the Territories which they administer precisely in the name of this Organization. A large majority of the Members regarded as inconsistent the arguments used by certain Powers to justify their refusal to allow in visiting missions. The administering Powers are, therefore, strongly urged in the draft resolution to reconsider their attitudes towards the receiving of visiting missions and to permit access by such missions to the Territories which they administer.

81. Preoccupation was also expressed in the Fourth Committee at the existence of military bases and installations in certain of those Territories; it was declared once more to be inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter. As a fundamental aspect of the question of these small Territories, most members reiterated their deep conviction that territorial size, isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration to those Territories.

82. Those basic considerations are reflected in the draft resolution adopted in the Fourth Committee by 72 votes to 1, with 17 abstentions.

83. Draft resolution II deals with six Caribbean Territories administered by the United Kingdom: Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. It was stated in the debate that it was necessary to continue efforts to find a solution acceptable to the parties. It was felt that the independent States of the region could make a significant contribution to this end. In accordance with the draft resolution adopted without an opposing vote in the Fourth Committee, the General Assembly would request the Special Committee to give urgent consideration to this question and report on it to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session.

84. Draft resolution III refers to the question of Spanish Sahara. It was adopted with broad support in the Fourth Committee and with no opposing votes. It has been pointed out that even today, and notwithstanding repeated General Assembly resolutions, the purposes and aims of the Organization with respect to this Territory have not been implemented.

85. The inalienable right of the people of Spanish Sahara to self-determination is expressed once more in this text. In the Fourth Committee regret was expressed that the consultations which Spain, as the administering Power, was to hold with the various Governments concerned have not yet been held on the organization of a referendum in the Territory under the auspices of the United Nations.

86. Various delegations said that the continuance of colonial status in Spanish Sahara would greatly delay the desired goal of stability in that part of Africa, as the bloody events in the area last June showed.

87. In the draft resolution the General Assembly once more calls upon the Spanish Government to determine the procedure for the holding of a referendum as soon as possible. For this purpose it should permit the return of all exiles to the Territory, and receive a United

Nations mission to participate actively in the organization and conduct of the referendum.

88. A considerable number of delegations in the Fourth Committee expressed disagreement with the Administering Authority's refusal to accept the visiting mission from the United Nations, which is felt to be indispensable. Therefore in the draft resolution the Secretary-General is asked to proceed immediately, in consultation with the Special Committee of Twenty-Four and the administering Power, to appoint the special mission referred to in General Assembly resolution 2229 (XXI) and to accelerate its prompt dispatch to the Sahara.

89. In paragraph 20 of its report the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a decision to postpone consideration of the questions of Gibraltar, French Somaliland and the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) to its twenty-sixth session. In taking this position, the Fourth Committee took note of the fact that the Special Committee intends to consider these colonial Territories at its session in 1971.

90. I would now commend to the General Assembly the adoption of the three draft resolutions and the decision contained in this report.

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

91. The PRESIDENT: Since no delegation wishes to explain its vote before the vote, the General Assembly will now take decisions on the three draft resolutions before it, contained in paragraph 19 of the report [A/8248]. Recorded votes have been requested on all those draft resolutions.

92. Before we proceed to vote on draft resolution I, I should like to state that the United Kingdom delegation has requested a separate vote on the words "Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent" in the title of that draft resolution and in its first preambular paragraph. Is there any objection to that request?

93. Since I hear no objection we shall first take a separate vote on the above-mentioned words in the title and in the first preambular paragraph.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay,

People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Austria, Barbados, Brazil, Burma, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Madagascar, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey.

The words were adopted by 82 votes to 15, with 18 abstentions.

94. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution I as a whole.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados,⁵ Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago,⁵ Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Guyana, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, United States of America.

Draft resolution I as a whole was adopted by 94 votes to 1, with 20 abstentions (resolution 2709 (XXV)).

⁵ The delegations of Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to be recorded as having abstained.

95. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution II.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Barbados⁵, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago⁵, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

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

Draft resolution II was adopted by 107 votes to none, with 6 abstentions (resolution 2710 (XXV)).

96. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution III. The report of the Fifth Committee on the financial implications of that draft resolution is to be found in document A/8249.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados⁵, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mon-

golia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago,⁵ Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

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

Draft resolution III was adopted by 103 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 2711 (XXV)).

97. The PRESIDENT: I now ask representatives to turn their attention to paragraph 20 of the report [A/8248]. The Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a decision with regard to consideration of the questions of Gibraltar, French Somaliland and the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

98. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Assembly adopts this recommendation of the Fourth Committee.

The recommendation was adopted.

99. I call on the representative of the United Kingdom for an explanation of vote after the voting.

100. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): My delegation voted against draft resolution I, not because it deals with 13 Non-Self-Governing Territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible, but because it also deals with the six associated States of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. These States—as is in fact widely recognized among Members of our Organization—do have a full measure of self-government, which they have freely chosen, and they are able to proceed to independence by unilateral act at any time they like. My delegation considered it inappropriate that they should be dealt with in a draft resolution which is specifically concerned with Non-Self-Governing Territories.

101. It follows also from what I have said that my delegation was unable to participate in the vote on draft resolution II.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.