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*In the absence of the President, Mr. El Bouri (Libya),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/7009)

AGENDA ITEMS 65, 67 AND 68

Special educational and training programmes for
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REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/7011)

AGENDA ITEMS 63 AND 71

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories
transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the
United Nations:

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation
with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration
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Countries and Peoples

Offers by Member States of study and training
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REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/7012)

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 (*continued*)*

TERRITORIES NOT CONSIDERED SEPARATELY

*Resumed from the 1636th meeting.

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/7013)

Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

1. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: The first report [A/7009] of the Fourth Committee concerns the report of the Trusteeship Council [A/6704], which the Fourth Committee took up under agenda item 13. In its report, the Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt two draft resolutions: draft resolution I, concerning the Trust Territory of Nauru, and draft resolution II, concerning Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea [A/7009, para. 15].

2. With respect to the future composition of the Trusteeship Council, the Fourth Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman, decided to recommend to the General Assembly [*ibid.*, para. 14] that it should take note of paragraphs 10-15 of the special report of the Trusteeship Council on its thirteenth special session [A/6926].

3. The second report [A/7010] concerns the special training programmes and their consolidation, which the Fourth Committee took up under agenda items 65, 67 and 68. In this report, the Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt a draft resolution [*ibid.*, para. 8], by which it would decide:

"to integrate the special educational and training programmes for South West Africa, the special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration and the educational and training programme for South Africans".

4. The third report [A/7011], concerns the question of Fiji, which the Fourth Committee took up under agenda item 69. The Committee recommended to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution [*ibid.*, para. 8] whereby the Assembly would reaffirm "the necessity of sending a visiting mission to Fiji for the purpose of studying at first hand the situation in the Territory".

5. The fourth report [A/7012] related to agenda items 63 and 71, which the Fourth Committee took up together. In this report, the Committee recommends two draft resolutions for adoption by the Assembly: draft resolution I, entitled "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations" and draft resolution II, entitled "Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories" [*ibid.*, para. 9].

6. The fifth and final report [A/7013] concerns all the other Territories to which agenda item 23 relates which were not considered separately by the Fourth Committee. As the Territories coming under this item number as many as thirty-nine and include many of the Territories which are either the subject of conflicting claims of sovereignty or of special interest to Member States for geographical, historical, economic or other reasons, extensive debates took place in the Committee concerning those territories.

7. In its report the Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt five draft resolutions: draft resolution I, entitled "Question of Gibralt-

ar", draft resolution II, entitled "Question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara", draft resolution III, entitled "Question of Equatorial Guinea", draft resolution IV, entitled "Question of French Somaliland" and draft resolution V, entitled "Question of American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Mauritius, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Swaziland, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands" [A/7013, para. 39].

8. As will be noted from operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution V, the Assembly would approve the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee [A/6700/Rev.1, chaps. XI, XIV to XVIII, XX and XXIII]. In that connexion, I should like to draw attention to the chapter relating to the Territory of Swaziland, which contains a consensus adopted by the Special Committee on 23 October 1967 [*ibid.*, chap. XI, para. 144]. By approving that chapter of the report, the General Assembly would, as recommended in that consensus, decide, *inter alia*, that, subject to the consent of the donor Governments, the contributions so far made to the Fund established under its resolution 2063 (XX) should be transferred to the General Fund of the United Nations Development Programme in the light of the latter's expectation and desire to provide increased assistance to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

9. Finally, the Fourth Committee adopted, without objection, a draft consensus concerning the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) [A/7013, para. 40], which it recommends for adoption to the General Assembly.

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

10. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly first of all to consider the Fourth Committee's recommendations on agenda item 13 [A/7009, para. 15].

11. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote, on the understanding that they may refer to draft resolutions I and II in the same statement.

12. Mr. SHAW (Australia): We are now considering the report of the Trusteeship Council [A/6704] under agenda item 13, and I wish to explain briefly the votes which my delegation will cast on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee to this Assembly [A/7009, para. 15].

13. Draft resolution I relates to the Trust Territory of Nauru. Needless to say, my delegation will vote in favour of that draft resolution, which resolves, in agreement with the Administering Authority, that the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of Nauru, approved by the General Assembly on 1 November 1947, [resolution 140 (II)], shall cease to be in force upon the accession of Nauru to independence from 31 January 1968.

14. It was the happy duty of the Australian delegation to report, first to the thirteenth special session of the Trusteeship Council [1323rd meeting] and subsequently to the Fourth Committee of the Assembly [1739th meeting], that recent negotiations conducted between the representatives of the Nauruan people and the Administering Authority consisting of the Governments of the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australia, had led to agreement that Nauru should accede to full and unqualified independence in six weeks' time from now. Further agreements were reached whereby the people of Nauru would obtain complete control and ownership of the phosphate deposits on the island of Nauru. The mined phosphates will be sold at prices determined by estimates of world market prices, which will guarantee a secure economic future for coming generations of Nauruans.

15. In the course of the discussion in the Trusteeship Council, and in the Fourth Committee, the Australian delegation had the advantage of the participation of the outstanding leader of the Nauruan people, Head Chief Hammer de Roburt, who spoke about the future of his island people.

16. Already the 3,000 inhabitants of Nauru have one of the highest living standards in the world and very high educational, social and health standards. Although minute by world standards, Nauru can look forward to a prosperous, and peaceful future. It is a matter of gratification to my Government that, having fulfilled our obligations under the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, we should be at the stage of terminating the Trusteeship Agreement for Nauru in these harmonious circumstances. We commend the draft resolution and we trust that it will receive the unanimous support of this Assembly.

17. Draft resolution II contained in the report of the Fourth Committee concerns the question of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea. That draft resolution is unacceptable to the Government of Australia and we will vote against it.

18. Draft resolution II, in short, reaffirms earlier resolutions on Papua and New Guinea, including resolutions 2112 (XX) and 2227 (XXI), and calls upon the administering Power to take the necessary measures to implement without delay the provisions of those resolutions.

19. We have to recall, however, that those earlier resolutions, and in particular 2227 (XXI), adopted a year ago in this Assembly, are based on assumptions which do not accord with the facts. The administering Power was called upon to stop doing certain things which it was not doing. The facts of conditions in Papua and New Guinea are contained in the very full reports of the Administering Authority to the General Assembly, in the discussions in the Trusteeship Council, and in statements made to the Council and to the Fourth Committee of this Assembly by representatives of the Administering Authority. We have explained in those meetings, and we state again now, that certain provisions of last year's resolution could not be implemented simply because they were not based on an accurate description of conditions in the Territory as they actually are.

20. My delegation has been disappointed that the Fourth Committee was unable to take sufficient account of the unique conditions and problems of the Territory and people of eastern New Guinea, which make up the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea. This is disappointing because a great deal of factual and critical information has been built up in the reports of the Administering Authority and the reports of visiting missions of the Trusteeship Council, which have been submitted for many years past.

21. Resolution 2227 (XXI) which we are asked to reaffirm, calls, *inter alia*, on the Administering Authority to remove discriminatory electoral qualifications; to abolish discriminatory practices in the economic, social, health and educational fields; to hold elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage, to fix an early date for independence; and to refrain from utilizing the Territories for military activities incompatible with the Charter.

22. One general election has already been held in Papua and New Guinea and preparations are being made for a second general election in February-March 1968. In that election all persons, male or female over the age of twenty-one, will vote in accordance with the principle of "one man, one vote" and a free choice of candidates offering alternative programmes and with the certainty of further free elections in four years' time. All voters of all races are on one common roll. They will elect their House of Assembly according to a similar electoral system to that which applied in Australia, which is regarded as one of the most just and equitable in the world.

23. In the fields of education, public health and social and economic development, we claim that our achievements are such that they can be surpassed in few developing areas anywhere else in the world. We are creating the necessary economic infra-structure indispensable for sound development.

24. So far as concerns the political future of the Territory, the Australian Government is bound by the obligations it has assumed under the Charter and under the Trusteeship Agreement. The people of the Territory are free to terminate their present territory status when they wish to do so—I repeat: the people of the Territory are free to terminate their present territory status when they wish to do so.

25. In this respect, we should remind ourselves that the national society which is now emerging in New Guinea is something which had never previously existed. That society is now expressing itself politically through a range of institutions of representative government, the most important of which is the House of Assembly.

26. Finally, I would refer to the provision of resolution 2227 (XXI) which this Assembly is asked to reaffirm, which called upon the administering Power to refrain from utilizing the Territories for military activities incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations. The assumption on which this call is based is erroneous and unjust. In the Fourth Committee [1745th and 1750th meetings], we explained the very small nature of the military establishments in the Territory, it is the responsibility of the Adminis-

tering Authority to defend the people of the Territory for as long as the Trusteeship Agreement continues, and that obligation we will continue to honour; No reasonable person could describe our present efforts in that direction as anything other than defensive.

27. The Australian delegation will vote against this draft resolution not simply because it makes no acknowledgement of the record and efforts of the Administering Authority. More importantly, we shall vote against it because it fails to take sufficient heed of what is happening in Papua and New Guinea itself, where we are witnessing the creation of a new society and a new national consciousness among a people numbering over 2 million.

28. In view of the importance of this matter to my delegation, I would ask that the vote on draft resolution II concerning Papua and New Guinea should be a roll-call vote.

29. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): We have two draft resolutions before us [A/7009, para. 15]. The second, in regard to New Guinea, we must oppose; the first, in regard to Nauru, we are happy to support.

30. It is true that the draft resolution on New Guinea merely reaffirms previous resolutions, but those earlier resolutions were, in our view, unacceptable. They disregarded the special complications and peculiar difficulties of the situation in New Guinea. They made accusations unwarranted by the facts. They disregarded the important progress going forward in the Territory. They ignored the generosity and enterprise of the Australians, a pioneer people who rightly take pride in what they are giving and what they are achieving in the advance of New Guinea and Papua towards self-government and self-determination. For these reasons we regard the draft resolution on New Guinea as misconceived and misguided, and we shall vote against it as we have voted against it in the Fourth Committee.

31. We are glad to turn to the other draft resolution, the one on Nauru, which we wholeheartedly support. Together with Australia and New Zealand we welcome the advance of the people of Nauru to full independence. I myself, as Chairman of a United Nations Visiting Mission, had the privilege a few years ago to go to New Guinea and Nauru.

32. Our Visiting Mission had proposals to make on New Guinea which were promptly considered and accepted by the Australian Government. At the same time, we recorded our admiration of the energy and initiative and resource shown by Australia in carrying out its trust.

33. In Nauru we were impressed by the firm determination of a people who set themselves the highest aim and did not hesitate or waver in pursuing it. Now, happily, they have achieved their purpose. To their Head Chief, Hammer de Roburt, and to all those who have worked with him with such devotion and perseverance, we pay our tribute today. We confidently look forward to the maintenance of the friendly relations which have throughout existed between the people of Nauru and the three Governments which carried a triple responsibility on behalf of the United Nations. We wish the people of Nauru

well, and we undertake to give them our help and our support in the honourable status which they have now attained.

34. The independence of a small people in a distant island raises unusual problems for the future both for them and for the international community. But I am confident that with their vigour and self-reliance and resources these fine people will show that free government and proud independence are not the privilege of great nations. They will show that they can be equally exercised and enjoyed with honour and advantage by small peoples who have the means and the courage and the confidence to control their own destiny.

35. Mr. LIU CHIEH (China): The Chinese delegation wishes to state briefly its position on the draft resolutions submitted by the Fourth Committee on agenda item 13 [A/7009, para. 15]. My Government has always maintained that it is the inalienable right of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories freely to determine their own status and shape their own destiny. We have time and again voted in favour of resolutions which are calculated to accelerate the progress of colonial peoples towards self-determination and independence. For this reason, we shall wholeheartedly endorse draft resolution I.

36. We had occasion already to express our congratulations to the people of Nauru on their success in attaining independence, and also to commend the Administering Authorities on their contribution towards the economic, social and political achievement of the Nauruan people.

37. With regard to draft resolution II, we have some reservations. In so far as this draft resolution reaffirms the right of the people of Papua and New Guinea to self-determination and independence we are completely in accord with it. In this connexion we note with particular interest that the basic policy of the Administering Authority for New Guinea is self-determination. The annual report of the Administering Authority itself stated the following in unequivocal terms: "It is the prerogative of the Territory people to determine the present Territory status and take independent status if they wish."^{1/}

38. While we urge the Administering Authority further to stimulate and expedite the process of self-determination, we believe that the pace and direction of political advancement is ultimately a matter for the people of New Guinea to decide. It is also our belief that it is in the interest of our common objective that the United Nations should seek to promote political advancement of Non-Self-Governing peoples in co-operation with the Administering Authority, especially when that Authority is co-operating with the United Nations and is taking the necessary measures in the right direction.

39. As far as New Guinea is concerned, my delegation is mindful of the encouraging constitutional developments that have taken place in recent years.

^{1/} Commonwealth of Australia, Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, 1 July 1965-30 June 1966. Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1967), p. 44.

We have the further assurance now that a new House of Assembly will be elected in 1968 on a more broadly representative basis. We believe that an opportunity should be given to this representative body to determine the future status of the Trust Territory.

40. In the light of these new constitutional developments in the Territory of New Guinea, we are unable to support the present draft resolution.

41. Mr. KANNANGARA (Ceylon): My delegation has asked for the floor to make a brief comment in explanation of its vote as recorded in the report of the Fourth Committee concerning Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea [A/7009, para. 13]. In the Fourth Committee [1750th meeting], speaking in explanation of my vote before the vote, I stated the following:

"My delegation will vote for the draft resolution as a whole as it fully supports the inalienable right of the people of Papua and New Guinea to self-determination and the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

"My delegation, however, is compelled to abstain on operative paragraph 2. The phrase 'previous position' in that paragraph is far too vague and inconsequential to receive either our consideration or support. These words may imply insidious allegations against or condemnation of the Administering Authority.

"At the 1319th meeting of the Trusteeship Council held on 27 June 1967, the Council, by a vote of 6 to 1, with 1 abstention, rejected an operative clause of a draft resolution condemning the Administering Authority. My delegation fully accepts the findings of the Council."

42. In this connexion, I should add that my delegation also takes note of the findings of the World Bank on the Territory. ^{2/}

43. Due to an impression I had that the representative of Australia had called for a separate vote on paragraph 2, my vote has been recorded in the records of the Fourth Committee as an abstention on the draft resolution as a whole. I should like it recorded that my delegation's vote, there as here, is in the affirmative for the draft resolution as a whole.

44. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the Fourth Committee [A/7099, para. 15].

45. Draft resolution I was adopted unanimously by the Fourth Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

Draft resolution I was adopted unanimously [resolution 2347 (XXII)].

46. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now put to the vote draft resolution II. The representative of Australia has requested a roll-call vote.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, 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, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya.

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

Abstaining: Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Nicaragua, Singapore, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Austria, Barbados, Botswana, Costa Rica, France, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Laos.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 85 votes to 16, with 18 abstentions [resolution 2348 (XXII)].

47. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now invite the Assembly to consider paragraph 14 of the Fourth Committee's report [E/7009]. The Committee recommends that the General Assembly take note of paragraphs 10 to 15 of the special report of the Trusteeship Council on its thirteenth special session relating to the composition of the Trusteeship Council [A/6926]. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly decides to take note of these paragraphs.

It was so decided.

48. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has now concluded its consideration of agenda item 13.

49. We shall now examine the Fourth Committee's recommendations on agenda items 65, 67, and 68 [A/7010, para. 8].

50. I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who wishes to explain his vote.

51. Mr. SHAKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The USSR delegation in the Fourth Committee voted for draft resolution A/C.4/L.891 which is contained in paragraph 8 of the Fourth Committee's report to the General Assembly and is now before us [A/7010], on the question of the consolidation and integration of the special educational and training programmes for South West

^{2/} International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965).

Africa, the special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration and the educational and training programme for South Africans.

52. At the same time, my delegation expressed a number of reservations to the effect that, firstly, the existing programmes, whether they are United Nations programmes or programmes of other institutions or associations, public or private, should not be financed from the integrated United Nations programme to be created by this resolution; and secondly, that all resources to be earmarked for the trust fund for this United Nations Programme should be used exclusively to cover operational costs and not to swell the administrative apparatus for that programme now or in the future. We feel that the administration of the integrated programme to be established pursuant to this resolution should be carried out with the facilities which already exist in the United Nations Secretariat, and that no additional funds should be allocated from the United Nations budget for that purpose.

53. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the Fourth Committee [A/7010, para. 8]. The Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7026] on the administrative and financial implications of the adoption of this draft.

The draft resolution was adopted by 113 votes to 2, with 1 abstention [resolution 2349 (XXII)].

54. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the United States representative, who wishes to explain his vote.

55. Mr. GARCIA (United States of America): The United States delegation has, over the past several years, supported the various resolutions passed by the General Assembly regarding special educational and training programmes for people from South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese administration. Last year, the United States delegation was one of the co-sponsors of the resolution [2235 (XXI)] calling for the consolidation and integration of the special educational and training programmes for these two areas, as well as the educational programmes for South Africa. In so doing, my delegation believed, as it still does, that the people of those areas should be able to avail themselves as much as possible of the wide range of educational facilities offered them.

56. The consolidation of this programme, as provided for in the resolution we have just adopted, has the United States' support because of the broad objectives laid down in securing for the people of these areas as wide an educational opportunity as can be provided. In supporting the broad objectives of the programme, we do so with the understanding that it is of a non-political character and aimed solely at providing the widest possible educational benefits to all those who desire them.

57. We note that in operative paragraph 8 of the resolution, the Secretary-General is authorized to achieve a target of \$US3 million over a three-year period in order to finance the activities of the programme. It is our understanding that this paragraph establishes a target figure and that it in no way

implies a commitment by any Member as to a contribution.

58. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Under paragraph 6 of the resolution we have just adopted, the President of the General Assembly is requested "to nominate seven Member States, each of which should appoint a representative to serve on a committee which will advise the Secretary-General on the granting of such subventions". The Chair will announce the names of those States in due course.

59. We shall now consider the Fourth Committee's recommendations on agenda item 69. The Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/7011, para. 8], the administrative and financial implications of which are dealt with in a report of the Fifth Committee [A/7018].

60. I shall now put to the vote the Fourth Committee's draft resolution. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Botswana; Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libya, Madagascar, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, 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: Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Gambia, Guyana, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden.

The draft resolution was adopted by 91 votes to 5, with 20 abstentions [resolution 2350 (XXII)].

61. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now consider the Fourth Committee's recommendations on agenda items 63 and 71. The Committee has submitted two draft resolutions [A/7012, para. 9].

62. I shall now put to the vote draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 114 votes to 2, with 1 abstention [resolution 2351 (XXII)].

63. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolution II. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts this draft unanimously.

Draft resolution II was adopted unanimously [resolution 2352 (XXII)].

64. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has now concluded its consideration of agenda items 63 and 71.

65. The last matter for this afternoon concerns agenda item 23. The general debate on this item was concluded on 16 December 1967 with the adoption of resolution 2326 (XXII). The General Assembly must now vote on the draft resolutions of the Fourth Committee relating to territories which were not considered separately [A/7013, para. 39].

66. First, I shall call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes on the various draft resolutions before the voting takes place. Next I shall put these drafts to the vote in the order in which they were submitted by the Fourth Committee, and then I shall call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the voting.

67. Since this item has been examined in detail by the Committee, I would request representatives to make their statements as brief as possible.

68. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (translated from French): Before the General Assembly votes on draft resolution II on the territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara, my delegation would like to make a few remarks. In my statement I shall not overstep the traditional bounds of our work, which chiefly consists in seeking and finding solutions to all problems connected with colonialism on the basis of principles generally accepted by the international community.

69. Before explaining its vote, my delegation would like to mention some of the factors which have influenced its attitude. The very title of the item under discussion is misleading, since it gives the impression that the problems it covers are of the same type and that the principles governing the solution of one are automatically applicable to the other. Of course, the colonial aspect of these two situations is the common denominator, and the solution must accordingly be in strict conformity with resolution 1514 (XV). But these two problems—and this has recently been recognized—are essentially different.

70. In the first case, the situation is clear and needs no explanation. In the second, the situation is more complex and intricate, and involves many different phenomena occurring simultaneously.

71. Having said this, my delegation would like to give its views on the two problems the intrinsic difference between which it wished to emphasize before considering them in detail. We feel we are in a good position to do this since we have many affinities with the parties concerned.

72. First, the question of Ifni. We feel that the situation in that Territory is quite clear and readily lends itself to an equitable solution that would be acceptable to both parties. The geography and history of this territorial enclave have given it a character all its own. The Algerian Government has always regarded it as an anachronism that an islet of colonization, which is no longer justified in view

of the evolution of the contemporary world, should exist in Maghreb.

73. Certain indications—in particular the Spanish-Moroccan communiqué of 24 September 1967—lead us to believe that a solution is being worked out in accordance with resolution 2229 (XXI), in which the General Assembly requested Spain to recognize the Territory's right to self-determination and "to determine with the Government of Morocco, bearing in mind the aspirations of the indigenous population, procedures for the transfer of powers".

74. My delegation considers that the desire of the two parties to reach an agreement, despite many points of difference, is an important contribution to the cause of decolonization, and we hope that the declarations of intent on the part of the administering Power will speedily become a reality.

75. An equally realistic attitude ought to be adopted in seeking a solution to the problem of so-called Spanish Sahara. We are all aware that any solution to this problem must do more than take into account the interests which have so far been expressed regarding this region. Above all, the factor we must regard as decisive, because it is at the very basis of decolonization, is the freely expressed wish of the population itself. In operative paragraph 4 of resolution 2229 (XXI) the General Assembly invited the administering Power "to determine at the earliest possible date, in conformity with the aspirations of the indigenous people of Spanish Sahara and in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, the procedures for the holding of a referendum under United Nations auspices with a view to enabling the indigenous population of the Territory to exercise freely its right to self-determination".

76. The main points of that resolution are contained in the draft resolution now before us. In this connexion, the Algerian Government wishes to reiterate its full support for that resolution because, quite clearly, it contains all the elements needed to speed up the process of decolonization and to maintain peace and harmony in that region, of whose importance everyone is now aware.

77. There is no doubt that the administering Power and the parties concerned are being asked to perform a very delicate operation. We are, however, encouraged by the fact that what has been done so far should facilitate a strict application of this draft resolution and that no new element has arisen to jeopardize such application.

78. At this stage, my delegation would like very briefly to restate its position with regard to a Territory which borders on three distinct political entities, including Algeria, which has always had so many ethnic, economic and cultural ties with it.

79. The interest shown by Algeria in the problem of so-called Spanish Sahara has been dictated by considerations of equity, balance, peace and stability, and also by a desire to maintain good neighbourly relations in accordance with international ethics. The future peace of the region depends, to a large extent, on the success or failure of decolonization. That is why my country regards the draft resolu-

tion as the cornerstone of a policy of harmonious development among the States of that part of north west Africa.

80. In any case, the fact that we have reached agreement on the draft resolution should not cause us to lose sight of our Organization's responsibility to ensure that it is carried into effect.

81. As we said at the 560th meeting of the Special Committee on 14 September 1967:

"In view of the profound repercussions which the development of this question is likely to have on our country, no one will be surprised at our interest in the problem posed by the way this situation developed."

82. Consequently, Algeria wishes to express its satisfaction to the Assembly for having endorsed and acted on our interest in finding a solution to this problem and in the relevant procedures.

83. Furthermore, the constructive spirit shown by the parties concerned as well as the other interested parties—in this case Algeria, Spain, Morocco and Mauritania—has made possible the preparation and wide acceptance of a draft resolution which adequately emphasizes the specific and contingent nature of the two Territories.

84. That is why my delegation, as it said earlier, will be open to any suggestions which take into account the explicit and implicit conditions contained in this draft. While some difficulties still remain, they have no bearing on the heart of the problem, and we are convinced that they will be eliminated if the parties concerned desire to speed up the decolonization process, as they have often said they do.

85. My delegation hopes that such a solution, which is in accordance with the doctrine and ideology of decolonization as undertaken under the aegis of the United Nations, will bring to that region an era of understanding, brotherly co-operation and a strengthening of ties between countries dedicated to the task of building a balanced and prosperous region.

86. Mr. FARRELL (New Zealand): Draft resolution V contained in the Fourth Committee's report on item 23 [A/7013, para. 39] is what is commonly called the "small Territories" resolution. Since two of the Territories in the first preambular paragraph are Niue and the Tokelau Islands, I should like to comment briefly on the extent to which the draft resolution can be held to apply to those four tiny islands for which New Zealand retains some responsibility.

87. First, let us remove some erroneous preconceptions. There are no military bases or installations on those islands. There is no threat to their "territorial integrity". There are no "foreign economic interests". There are no expatriate planters on the islands, and no land has been alienated to expatriates. Indeed, such alienation is specifically prohibited by law. New Zealand has no economic interests in those islands of any significance whatsoever. The annual grants made to the islands by New Zealand amount to four or more times the total value of all the exports produced by the people. It follows from

these facts that many sections of the draft resolution before us and of the omnibus resolution [2288 (XXII)] on colonialism which the Assembly adopted on 7 December can clearly not apply to Niue and the Tokelaus.

88. Draft resolution V also recalls the historic Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV), and reaffirms the right of the peoples of those Territories to "self-determination and independence". We have no quarrel with that; that right is undenied in the New Zealand Territories. But there is no reason why it should not be reaffirmed. We would simply observe in passing that resolution 1514 (XV) does not itself equate "self-determination" with "independence" in quite the same way as this text does.

89. This is not the occasion to outline at length what New Zealand has done in endeavouring sincerely to give effect to the commitment entailed in voting for resolution 1514 (XV). Western Samoa and the Cook Islands have exercised the right to self-determination since 1960, and it is open to the 5,000 Niueans and the 1800 Tokelauans to choose their future status when they so wish. The fact that their homelands are tiny, poor, isolated and permanently dependent on outside assistance does not lessen their right to self-determination; but the people themselves have acknowledged that their physical environment must play a large part in determining their choice on their future. Who would deny their realism?

90. New Zealand has pledged to continue to help them, no matter what their final choice may be. We have had resolution 1514 (XV) translated into the Niuean and Tokelauan languages and widely distributed. New Zealand Ministers have made it clear to the islanders that we do not want to see an indefinite prolongation of the colonial relationship. The people have not yet made their final choice. Until they do so, we are pressing ahead, in full co-operation with the Niueans and the Tokelauans, with fostering those democratic institutions through which the people may give continuing and free expression to their aspirations.

91. My Government can scarcely be expected to agree when this situation is greeted by unthinking critical comment, or by the polite discounting of advances made. The facts are on the record. The significant move this year in Niue towards a full ministerial system—the islanders already control the entire budget, including the New Zealand subsidy—and the involvement of the Tokelauans in the process of budget formulation have been described as "slow progress". Since, as has been stressed by New Zealand Ministers—and as the islanders themselves know—the pace of development is up to the people to decide, we do not accept this rebuke to the islanders. They are a pragmatic and rational people, working out their destiny as they themselves see fit. Nor can we, or the islanders themselves, accept the description of the Niueans' freely-elected legislature as "not an organ of the people...but an instrument of the administering Power". Even less can we accept the contention from one delegation that the Niuean Assembly's judgement might not be "correct".

92. These latter views are minority views in the Special Committee, but they cannot be allowed to pass without comment. It is with comments like these in mind that we shall withhold our support from operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution V, which would have the General Assembly approve, *inter alia*, the chapter of the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four referring to Niue and the Tokelaus [A/6700/Rev.1, chap. XVI].

93. My country has always, in the past, co-operated with the United Nations in decolonizing the handful of tiny islands for which we have had responsibilities. We have always felt that this Organization has an important role to play in promoting and facilitating this epoch-making process—a process which has altered the entire spectrum of relationships in those areas of the world where self-determination is accepted as a hallowed right.

94. We would regard it as a departure from the provisions of the Declaration on Colonialism were we in the United Nations now to move towards substituting our own views for the freely-expressed views of the colonial peoples themselves. On a close re-reading of resolution 1514 (XV) we find no suggestion that all the known views of a people should be disregarded in the interest of pursuing some supposed doctrinal imperative. We find instead that the transfer of all powers to the people is to be responsive only to the "freely expressed will and desire" of the people. That is a principle to which we shall steadfastly adhere.

95. The draft resolution requests the Special Committee to pay special attention to the small Territories next year. We heartily endorse that request. We are aware that this hard-working Committee, faced with obduracy in southern Africa and with a heavy schedule of meetings, finds it difficult to arrange its timetable so as to debate the situation in the small Territories in any detail. We would hope that in 1968 this situation could be remedied. In taking into account not only the limitations imposed by environmental factors referred to in this draft resolution but also the freely-expressed views of the people themselves, the Committee will, we trust, come up with some helpful suggestions and advice which will add lustre to the role of the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

96. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): We have before us today five resolutions and a consensus [A/7013, paras. 39-40]. On all of them we have carefully and fully explained our views in the Fourth Committee, and there is no need to repeat them now. I wish, however, to restate in summary the position of my country on draft resolution I, regarding Gibraltar.

97. That is a matter of the greatest concern to my Government and to the people of my country, who are very much alive to our obligation to see justice done. Throughout the debates in the Fourth Committee, both this year and before, we have emphasized that there are two basic principles which we cannot betray: first, the principle that the interest of the people must be paramount and, second, that the people have the right freely to express their own wishes as to their future. Those principles have guided us and will continue to guide us in our task

of carrying out our responsibilities to the peoples of the dependent Territories for which we are responsible. In the whole process of decolonization we have adopted the methods of consultation and consent. We shall not abandon those principles in the few dependent Territories for which we are still responsible.

98. We have consequently maintained and consistently stated that to hand over this small, proud, united community of free men against their will, to be bound for ever to a régime which has done so much in an endeavour to harm them, would be an intolerable injustice. We believe that their interests must be taken into account in determining their future and not merely after their fate has been settled.

99. While we have been ready and anxious to continue negotiations with the Spanish Government, we have also claimed that a territorial dispute should be settled by judicial process and not by a vote of this Assembly. It is for that reason that we have stated our readiness to refer the dispute over sovereignty to the International Court.

100. We shall not be deterred, nor shall we be deflected, from carrying out our obligations. Again, therefore, I say that my Government could not accept a resolution which sought to take sides in a territorial dispute between two Member States and, at the same time, sought to ignore the freely expressed wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people concerned.

101. Mr. C. O. E. COLE (Sierra Leone): My delegation finds it necessary to speak in this Assembly, for the record, in explanation of our vote on the question of Gibraltar. That question aroused interest in the Fourth Committee to the extent of creating emotional exchanges over territorial claims on Gibraltar.

102. Last year my delegation sponsored an amendment to General Assembly resolution 2231 (XXI), which highlighted, among other things, the interests of the people as being of paramount importance. That resolution was adopted almost unanimously. This year, when the question of Gibraltar was discussed in the Fourth Committee, the principles of the interest and wishes of the people of Gibraltar and the Territory's decolonization became secondary to those of territorial integrity and unity, as can be seen from paragraph 17 of the report the Assembly is now considering [A/7013]. We now find repeated in the draft resolution relating to Gibraltar those very paragraphs which appear in paragraph 17 of the report. I am referring to the fifth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 2.

103. For those reasons my delegation will vote against the draft resolution [*ibid.*, para. 39]. We shall vote against it because we have always held that the interest of the people is a paramount consideration and also because we find in the draft resolution far-reaching proposals which would result in seriously stifling decolonization—a principle which my delegation has always believed in and stood by.

104. Regarding draft resolutions II to V [*ibid.*] my delegation will vote in favour of them.

105. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (translated from French): My delegation would gladly have refrained from speaking in the General Assembly on the question of Ifni and Sahara, since we felt that the explanations it gave in the Fourth Committee, particularly after the adoption by an overwhelming majority of draft resolution II, were sufficient. Unfortunately, the Algerian delegation saw fit today, in explaining its vote on the draft resolution, to go beyond the context of the problem and the facts of the case.

106. I am therefore forced to revert, as briefly as possible, to the arguments on which my delegation bases its rejection of Algeria's interpretation of both the wording and the spirit of certain paragraphs of this draft resolution, giving them a meaning which corresponds to its own view. I maintain that this interpretation reflects the views of Algeria alone, because during the debate no-one—not even one of the sponsors of the draft or any of those who abstained—saw fit to give the interpretation we have just heard for the benefit of the majority which accepted the text.

107. That interpretation contains two points: the first is a refutation of the idea that the question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara forms a single whole.

108. I am obliged to lengthen my statement somewhat by recalling that for a period of exactly six years, at the request of the Committee of Twenty-Four, the questions of Ifni and Spanish Sahara have been placed under one heading and have been discussed together. That discussion culminated in the adoption of a resolution [2229 (XXI)] in which the preambular paragraphs relating to Ifni were closely bound up with those relating to Spanish Sahara. Previous United Nations resolutions have all treated the two problems in exactly the same way.

109. So much for the form, which is not without significance in an Organization such as this.

110. As to the substance, the Moroccan claim to these two parts of its territory—Ifni and Spanish Sahara—has scarcely been changed in essence by the fact that Ifni forms an enclave encircled by land under the sovereignty of Morocco, and that the territories of Spanish Sahara lie to the far south of Morocco in a part of our territory which has already been the subject of an enquiry connected with the territorial dispute with Spain which gave us in 1958 part of Spanish Sahara to the twenty-seventh parallel, in other words, the southern Sahara.

111. Now, an attempt has been made, simply because of a presentation in which section I is entitled "Ifni" and section II, "Spanish Sahara", to draw a distinction to which I am most vehemently opposed. In our opinion, the problem is and remains one of claims on territories which are Moroccan. These claims are addressed to the same administering Power, which may have administered the two Territories in a different fashion, as is frequently the case with colonial Powers. But the historical nature of these two Territories, which have been the subject of bilateral treaties between Morocco and Spain as well as of international conventions in the International Court of Justice, remains valid from the point of view of international law to this very day.

112. Ever since our country became independent, the delegation of Morocco has fully explained its views in all the bodies that have been concerned with this problem, basing its arguments on international documents drawn up at the end of the last century and on the international diplomatic activity which preceded the Protectorate Treaty,^{3/} as well as on the spirit in which our relations with Spain have been conducted ever since independence.

113. Successive negotiations on the evacuation of Spanish troops and on the territorial dispute have given rise to exchanges of notes and discussions at Madrid and Rabat which have established the existence of a territorial dispute between ourselves and Spain.

114. I heard the claims of Mauritania in the Fourth Committee. I certainly do not intend to revive a quarrel, but I should like, just the same, to dispel any doubt which may remain as to the validity of such a claim.

115. For the last two or three years we have witnessed a tactical manoeuvre which consists in seizing on the presentation or phrasing of a resolution, in an attempt to alter the substance on the basis of the form. I am not aware that at any time in the history of colonization in this part of Africa there has ever been any relationship of colonized and colonizer between Mauritania and Spain. Supposing that a territorial entity were to be accorded to Mauritania, it would have to be a territory which had been specifically under French administration, for I fail to see when or how the administering Power which made Mauritania an independent State would have deliberately or lightly abandoned any part of Mauritanian territory to Spain, whether openly or by a secret arrangement. Theirs is perhaps the most simplistic argument, but it does not come very close to common sense.

116. The Algerian delegation has seen fit to show an interest in the solution of this problem. I do not deny that Algeria is energetically pursuing an anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist policy and I applaud its desire to take a special interest in the liberation of a territory which is on the continent of Africa. That is a legitimate interest for any country which has constantly pursued an anti-imperialist policy. But the argument which Algeria has put forward to prove that it has a special interest in this question is that it is a neighbour. That is a completely fallacious argument because the area in which Algeria and Spanish Sahara could be said to be neighbours in a sense involves the very territory over which there is a dispute between Morocco and Algeria, a territory sovereignty over which remains undecided since it has, since 1963, been the subject of an investigation by the Organization of African Unity an investigation which is continuing within a very specific framework.

117. I shall not repeat the substantive arguments for rejecting this claim. According to Algeria, the fact that it is in a sense a neighbour gives the neighbouring State a special right to concern itself closely with the destiny and future of a territory and its popula-

^{3/} Franco-Moroccan Treaty signed at Fez on 30 March 1912.

tion. At the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of African Unity in June 1965, the Moroccan delegation expounded in a solemn declaration, which was published by the Press and communicated to many Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the philosophy of Morocco on the future evolution of that territory and the destiny of its people. We also stated that policy here [1500th meeting] and in the Fourth Committee [1661st meeting] in December 1966. In the resolution [2229 (XXI)] which was adopted at that time Mauritania and Morocco were referred to as countries which Spain might invite to take part in consultations on the settlement of this problem. That resolution used the expression "and any other interested party". This phrase, whether in the singular or in the plural, does not mean that any particular country is meant, the phrase "any other interested party" does not give every neighbouring State the right to regard itself as the country referred to.

118. I have taken great pains to explain this point because the representative of Algeria just cited, on the basis of the words "any other interested party", the names of Spain, Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria as Powers having an interest in taking part in talks on this subject. I wish to make it clear that those who drafted resolution 2229 (XXI) of 16 December 1966 and those who formulated draft resolution II, which was originally submitted to the Fourth Committee on 15 December 1967, did not intend the reference to "any other interested party" to signify any specific country.

119. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Algeria, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

120. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (translated from French): My delegation and I myself had not expected a barely restrained diatribe on the part of the Moroccan representative. Our relations with Morocco are too close ever to permit this type of exchange, especially in a forum such as this.

121. I felt that my explanation could not possibly offend anyone. I tried to be as faithful as possible both to the text which has been submitted to us and to the steps which have made it possible to reach a unanimous agreement, an agreement which is due, as I have already said, both to the agreement reached between the delegations of Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria and to the vote which enabled the administering Power—in this case, Spain—to support the draft resolution when it was considered in the Fourth Committee.

122. Motives have been attributed to us of which we are innocent. It has been said that we concentrated in particular on two points in the text, namely, that the two questions form a single whole, and that Algeria has an interest in the liberation of the Spanish Sahara and its exercise of the right of self-determination.

123. As far as the single whole is concerned, I shall not follow the example of my distinguished friend and colleague the representative of Morocco by indulging in futile and certainly sterile polemics; I shall let the members of this Assembly judge for themselves. My delegation will have the opportunity

to return to this point and shed some light on the situation in more appropriate circumstances.

124. Where Morocco's claims are concerned, my delegation has not in any of its statements, either today or previously, either denied or challenged them in the slightest. Naturally Algeria wishes to remain faithful to a principle which enabled it to accede to independence—the well-known principle of the right to self-determination. That is why, perhaps, we felt it would be appropriate to stress the right of self-determination of the people of Spanish Sahara and the people of Ifni, and we may have given the impression that we attach secondary importance to claims. That should not be held against us. We merely wished to point out that this faithfulness to the right of self-determination which gave birth to an independent Algeria often compels us to give a priority to that right, perhaps to the detriment of certain claims.

125. Phrases such as "fallacious argument" and "undecided sovereignty" have been used. I do not wish this Assembly to become a forum for remarks of this kind which, in any event, can only be harmful both to those who make them and to their relations with those to whom they are addressed. Our debate is not about "undecided sovereignty" or about the claims just mentioned. We thought that the purpose of this discussion was to speed up the process of decolonization, and we approached this problem without any ulterior motive.

126. As to Algeria's own interests, the sponsors of the draft resolution, those who helped the delegations of Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria to reach an agreement, and those who voted for the draft were all perfectly well aware of the implications of voting for the paragraph which refers to talks between the Governments of Morocco, Mauritania and "any other interested party".

127. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Mauritania, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

128. Mr. OULD DADDAH (Mauritania) (translated from French): The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania asked to speak in explanation of its vote after the voting. We adhere to that request and we shall presently explain the vote that we shall cast on the draft resolution now before the General Assembly. Clearly, therefore, we had not intended to speak at this stage of the debate.

129. However, following the Algerian representative's statement and Mr. Benhima's reply to it, we feel obliged to comment on a number of points which have been raised.

130. My delegation stated its position on this question in the Committee of Twenty-Four, in the Fourth Committee, at various times in the General Assembly, and in the Organization of African Unity, which was mentioned a few moments ago.

131. The representative of Morocco was Minister for Foreign Affairs in his country before his return here. He was also the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations in 1960. At that time, an extremely important document was issued

by the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and circulated by Mr. Benhima with the skill which we have seen him display in this Organization. That document presented the Sahara as an integral part of Mauritania which was claimed by Morocco solely because the latter was claiming the whole of Mauritania. That argument and that testimony appear important to us, and they should raise no objections on the part of those who were kind enough to supply the material to Mauritania.

132. I must add that Morocco's claims to the Sahara go back only as far as the time of Morocco's claims to Mauritania, that is, to the time when, together with other States whose common destiny Morocco had shared as a French colony, Mauritania was preparing for autonomy and independence. It was then that Morocco made its claims to Sahara and Mauritania although, I repeat, it claimed the Sahara solely as an integral part of Mauritania.

133. In addition to the document we have just mentioned, which is of recent date but which carries considerable weight because of its source, there are other documents.

134. In the eighteenth century, in a well-known treaty which was signed at Marrakech in 1767 between the sovereigns of Morocco and Spain—there is a copy of this treaty in every foreign ministry; the Permanent Mission of Mauritania has one, and there is certainly one in the Moroccan archives—the then Sultan of Morocco recognized that his sovereignty did not extend to the south of the present enclave of Ifni and the Oued Noun, which is a river in the south of Morocco, and that he could not be held responsible for what might happen to anyone travelling beyond that boundary.

135. That was the position consistently held by Morocco until 1957-1958, when the claims to Mauritania were first made.

136. Mauritania's position on that question—as we have said on many occasions—is clear and firm enough to be maintained in the future. As we have heard this afternoon, Morocco's policy with regard to the Sahara, on the other hand, has undergone some significant changes. Everyone here knows that Morocco claimed it as an integral part of its territory, as did Mauritania also. Everyone also knows that after having played down its claims over Mauritania, which it regards as continuing, Morocco asked for independence for the Sahara which, I take pleasure in pointing out, has only 25,000 inhabitants. Morocco saw fit to request independence for that region while continuing to lay claim to a country of more than 1.5 million inhabitants which has been a Member of the United Nations for a number of years. This is a contradiction which, I feel, deserves attention.

137. Following Mauritania's accession to independence, following a change of ambassadors and the arrival of Mr. Benhima, a new interpretation emerged. An argument was put forward to the effect that what Morocco understood by independence would not alter what it regarded as its fundamental rights, or in other words, that it was requesting indepen-

dence for the Sahara while holding that the Sahara was an integral part of Morocco.

138. Every delegation can interpret an attitude or a text in any way it pleases; but I must admit that my own delegation has some difficulty in understanding this particular interpretation.

139. With regard to the Sahara—I do not wish to take up too much time, since I shall explain my delegation's vote on the draft resolution after the voting—we have said that Mauritania recognizes the right of these people to self-determination. We have said, on instructions from our Government, that Mauritania will accept the results of the proposed referendum, since it will be carried out under conditions which will not allow any doubt to be cast on its validity or authenticity.

140. That much we have already said before and we repeat it now. We have also intimated, however, that until those results have been obtained and in view of the fact that our conviction that this region belongs to Mauritania is important and fundamental to us, we shall maintain our position, namely, that the Sahara is an integral part of Mauritania.

141. We have also said that we understand and shall continue to understand, taking all relevant factors into account, that the neighbouring countries are also interested in finding a solution to the problem of a region which may prove important to them for security reasons because it closely affects areas for which they hope a solution will be found that will not prejudice their security. It is in this fashion and in this spirit that the delegation and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania have given sympathetic understanding to the attitude of the Algerian Government on this question.

142. Morocco, obviously, can continue to evolve its views as it sees fit and deems best, but we continue to believe that Morocco has nothing to do with the Sahara, whose Mauritania population—it would probably serve no purpose to go back into history—has never had any relationship of sovereignty with Morocco, and that it was these same people—we can say this with a smile but it is nevertheless so—who at one point in history invaded the Kingdom of Morocco. It was of these people that the sovereign ruler of Morocco spoke with fear and with a certain contempt, but a contempt worthy of notice chiefly because it was based on fear. These were the people who inhabited the Sahara, who still inhabit the Sahara, who inhabit Mauritania and who intend to continue with the same determination for which they have become known in history to preserve and defend their rights.

143. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now vote on the resolution recommended for adoption by the Fourth Committee [A/7013, para. 39].

144. I shall first put to the vote draft resolution I. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi-Arabia, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nicaragua.

Against: Norway, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Barbados, Botswana, Canada, Ceylon, Denmark, Gambia, Guyana, Jamaica, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Malta, New Zealand.

Abstaining: Nigeria, Senegal, Singapore, Thailand, Togo, Uganda, United States of America, Austria, Belgium, Central African Republic, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Iceland, India, Israel, Kenya, Laos, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 73 votes to 19 with 27 abstentions [resolution 2353 (XXII)].

145. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now put to the vote draft resolution II. The Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7019] on the administrative and financial implications of the adoption of this draft.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 113 votes to none, with 4 abstentions [resolution 2354 (XXII)].

146. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolution III. The Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7025] on the administrative and financial implications of the adoption of this draft.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 111 votes to none with 5 abstentions [resolution 2355 (XXII)].

147. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now put to the vote draft resolution IV. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco,

Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, 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, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi.

Against: Portugal.

Abstaining: Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Senegal, Sweden, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Belgium.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by 86 votes to 1, with 29 abstentions [resolution 2356 (XXII)].

148. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before putting to the vote the next draft resolution, I should like to remind the Assembly that the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee said that it had been understood that when the Assembly approved the relevant chapter of the Special Committee's report [A/6700/Rev.1, Chapter XI] in paragraph 1 of the draft resolution, it would decide, subject to the consent of the donating Governments, that the contributions which have so far been paid into the Fund set up under General Assembly resolution 2063 (XX) would be transferred to the general fund of the United Nations Development Programme, in view of that body's earnest desire to give more aid to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

149. I shall now invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolution V. There has been a request for a separate vote on paragraph 4, so I shall put this paragraph to the vote first. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, Portugal, Sweden,

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Bolivia, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Finland, France, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Norway, Panama, Turkey.

Paragraph 4 was adopted by 78 votes to 16, with 16 abstentions.

150. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now put to the vote draft resolution V as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, 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, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Guyana, Iceland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Maldives, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution V as a whole was adopted by 86 votes to none, with 27 abstentions [resolution 2357 (XXII)].^{4/}

151. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to examine paragraph 40 of the Fourth Committee's report [A/7013].

152. The Fourth Committee recommends that the Assembly adopt the text of the agreement on the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

153. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the text of the agreement contained in paragraph 40 of the report.

It was so decided.

154. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now call on those delegations which wish to explain their vote.

155. Mr. OULD DADDAH (Mauritania) (translated from French): The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania would not wish to let this opportunity pass without offering its warmest congratulations to Mr. George F. Tomeh, the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, for the wisdom, patience, tact, understanding and firmness with which he conducted the Committee's work. The unceasing efforts of the Committee of Twenty-Four, the Afro-Asian Group and the Fourth Committee under the impartial and efficient direction of its distinguished Chairman have made it possible for this session to take constructive action leading to the just and satisfying solutions which must be found to the still numerous and often complex problems arising from the process of decolonization. My delegation would like in particular to express once again its thanks to all those who have worked long and hard to find an acceptable solution to the question of so-called Spanish Sahara. That question, as everyone knows, is of the greatest importance to my country.

156. Last Saturday, when the Fourth Committee voted on the resolution concerning so-called Spanish Sahara [1755th meeting], the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania made some comments and expressed certain reservations which I should like to repeat in the General Assembly so that they may be included in the records of this meeting.

157. My delegation considers that the resolution we have just adopted on so-called Spanish Sahara contains certain positive elements which have made it possible for it to vote for the text. One of these positive elements is the clear distinction drawn in the operative part of the resolution between the enclave of Ifni and the territory of so-called Spanish Sahara. This view corresponds to the actual facts of the situation as repeatedly pointed out by my delegation. In fact, so-called Spanish Sahara and Ifni are two completely distinct areas. The problems of these two geographically separate regions are intrinsically different. For this reason, and also for the sake of clarity in discussing them, they should be dealt with in different ways.

158. That is why the delegation of Mauritania entertains reservations about the fact that so-called Spanish Sahara and Ifni are dealt with in the same resolution. My delegation notes, however, that Ifni and so-called Spanish Sahara are clearly separated in the body of the resolution we have just adopted. It also takes note of the fact that, at the end of the operative part dealing with each of the two regions, the Special Committee is requested to continue its consideration of the situation in these territories and to report thereon to the General Assembly. Thus, at the end of the operative part relating to Ifni, it is stated that the territory should be the target of a separate report by the Special Committee, and the same is said in connexion with so-called Spanish Sahara. We consider, however, that it would have been more logical, fairer and simpler—and hence clearer—to deal with Ifni and so-called Spanish Sahara in two separate and distinct resolutions.

159. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, trusting that all its comments and reser-

^{4/} The representative of Sierra Leone subsequently announced (see para. 168) that he wished the name of his country to be added to the list of those which had voted in favour of the draft resolution.

vations will be included in the record of this meeting of the General Assembly, would also like to point out that the resolution we have just adopted fails to make one of the essential aspects of the question of Spanish Sahara sufficiently clear. If the neighbouring countries of that region, as such, are interested, we can state quite categorically that, as regards the question to whom so-called Spanish Sahara belongs, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is the interested party. The resolution should have made this point with much greater clarity. The Mauritanian delegation had expected, with every justification, that it would be reflected in the resolution.

160. In this connexion, we should like to recall and confirm the statements on so-called Spanish Sahara made by Mauritanian leaders and by the Mauritanian delegation in the Committee of Twenty-Four, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly. The fact that Morocco is named alongside the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in connexion with so-called Spanish Sahara in this resolution in no way signifies that my Government recognizes that Morocco has any rights to the region. We regard Morocco simply as a neighbouring State of so-called Spanish Sahara which, for this reason only, has an interest in the future of the region along with other States.

161. Finally, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania considers that operative paragraph 3 (a) of part II of the resolution on so-called Spanish Sahara which was adopted during this meeting refers only to the few indigenous inhabitants of so-called Spanish Sahara who have no commitments towards any foreign country. Therefore, as far as our delegation is concerned, these are the indigenous inhabitants of so-called so-called Spanish Sahara who, for one reason or another, are at present away from their homes. Paragraph 3 (a) of part II of the resolution on so-called Spanish Sahara just adopted by the General Assembly should and can refer only to these people.

162. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (translated from Spanish): The resolution on Gibraltar just adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Members of the General Assembly brings to an end a stage in the colonial history of that Territory. Spain accepts the resolution, and my delegation has no desire to continue with the United Kingdom delegation a controversy which would go far beyond what the international community represented here has decided. I shall therefore refrain from refuting the arguments which

my friend the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom, Lord Caradon, has adduced to justify his country's opposition to the resolution.

163. On a day like this my delegation feels that explanations of any kind are superfluous. In the resolution just adopted, the logical sequel to General Assembly resolutions 2070 (XX) of 1965 and 2231 (XXI) of 1966, the United Nations has indicated the logical, proper and just course for the elimination of the colonial situation in Gibraltar.

164. The Territory severed from my country should be reunited to it and the interests of the United Kingdom subjects who have thus far benefited from the colonial situation should be respected.

165. Within a few weeks the negotiations between Spain and the United Kingdom suspended last April by the United Kingdom will resume in Madrid. As I stated in the Fourth Committee, my Government will attend those negotiations and will abide by the decision of the United Nations, prompted by a sincere desire to co-operate with the United Kingdom.

166. For 263 years the colonial situation in Gibraltar has been a serious obstacle to friendship between Spain and the United Kingdom. This has been detrimental not only to both countries, but to the international community as well. Today the United Nations has taken a step towards surmounting that obstacle; my delegation hopes that the United Kingdom and its subjects who settled on the Rock of Gibraltar will continue that process and will one day take a decision which will honour the Organization which drafted the resolution. Spain wishes to express its gratitude now, and hopes that in the coming year we shall be able to announce from this rostrum that the problem of the decolonization of Gibraltar has been settled.

167. My delegation voted in favour of the resolutions just adopted on Ifni, Spanish Sahara and Equatorial Guinea. As we have expressed our views in the Fourth Committee (1750th meeting), we did not feel it necessary to make a further statement here, since we remain consistent with what we have already said and with our vote here today.

168. Mr. C. O. E. COLE (Sierra Leone): My delegation would like to explain its vote on draft resolution V. We had intended to vote in favour of that draft resolution by pressing the green button, but it did not seem to register.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.