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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Waldron-Ramsey (Barbados), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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AGENDA ITEM 120**Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone
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types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems
of such weapons****REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/10448)**

1. Mr. ARTEAGA ACOSTA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly the reports of the First Committee on disarmament and on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The First Committee had entrusted to it the unprecedented number of 19 items related to disarmament and at the conclusion of its deliberations the Committee adopted a total of 25 draft resolutions, the texts of which appear in the reports which I shall now indicate.

2. The report on agenda item 31 appears in document A/10430, paragraph 7 of which contains the recommendation to the General Assembly adopted by the First Committee.

3. In document A/10431 is the report of the First Committee on agenda item 34. The relevant recommendation of the First Committee appears in paragraph 7 of that document.

4. The report on agenda item 35 is reproduced in document A/10432. The First Committee adopted the relevant draft resolution which appears in paragraph 7 of the document.

5. In document A/10433 is the report on agenda item 36. The relevant recommendation of the Committee appears in paragraph 7 of that document.

6. The report on agenda item 37 appears in document A/10434. In paragraph 7 is the draft resolution adopted by the Committee.

7. The report on agenda item 38 has been published in document A/10435. In paragraph 6 is the relevant draft resolution which was adopted by the Committee.

8. In document A/10436 is the report of the First Committee on agenda item 39. In paragraph 8 of that document is the relevant recommendation of the First Committee.

9. The report on agenda item 40 is in document A/10437. In paragraph 7 of the report is the recommendation on the subject.

10. The report on agenda item 41 is in document A/10438. In paragraph 15 of that document under A,

B, C, D and E are the texts of the relevant five draft resolutions, which were adopted by the First Committee.

11. In document A/10439 is the report of the First Committee on agenda item 42. In paragraph 8 the First Committee makes a recommendation to the General Assembly concerning the item.

12. The report on agenda item 43 has been published in document A/10440, paragraph 6 of which contains the recommendation to the General Assembly.

13. In document A/10441 is the report on agenda item 44. In paragraph 9 of that document, under A and B, are the two draft resolutions which the First Committee adopted.

14. The report on agenda item 45 is in document A/10442. The relevant recommendation appears in paragraph 7.

15. In document A/10443 is the report on agenda item 46. The First Committee adopted a draft resolution on the item which appears in paragraph 8 of the document.

16. The report on agenda item 47 appears in document A/10444. The relevant recommendation of the First Committee to the General Assembly is formulated in paragraph 7 of that document.

17. Document A/10445 contains the report on agenda item 48. In paragraph 7 of that document, under A and B, are the two draft resolutions which the First Committee adopted.

18. The report on agenda item 120 is in document A/10446. The draft resolution adopted by the First Committee is to be found in paragraph 6.

19. The report on agenda item 122 is in document A/10447. The draft resolution which the First Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption is in paragraph 8.

20. Finally, the report on agenda item 126 is in document A/10448. The relevant recommendation of the First Committee to the General Assembly appears in paragraph 7 of that document.

21. On behalf of the First Committee, it is my pleasure to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolutions to which I have just referred.

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

22. The PRESIDENT: We shall first take up the report of the First Committee on agenda item 31 [A/10430]. I call on the representative of Brazil who wishes to explain his vote.

23. Mr. LINDENBERG SETTE (Brazil): I should like to explain the vote of my delegation on several items of the agenda in order to save your time, Sir, and the time of the Assembly, thus avoiding a series of short statements. Allow me to explain our vote on some of the draft resolutions whose adoption is recommended by the First Committee today.

24. I should like first to refer to the draft resolutions relating to item 37 [A/10434], item 46 [A/10443] and item 120 [A/10446].

25. My delegation will cast a positive vote on those draft resolutions when they are put to the vote as a whole, as it did in the First Committee, since it wholly concurs with their aims. We feel obliged, nevertheless, to put on record our strong reservations concerning several of the preambular and operative paragraphs of those draft resolutions which make reference to or borrow from the spirit and the terminology of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, an instrument to which Brazil is not a party.

26. Let me stress here that my Government is firmly committed to the principle of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, as was demonstrated by its signature and ratification of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco).¹ If Brazil has not adhered to the Non-Proliferation Treaty it is because, in its view, that instrument contains clauses and creates mechanisms of a discriminatory nature prejudicial to non-nuclear countries. The position of my Government on this issue is known and need not be repeated here.

Mr. Thorn (Luxembourg) took the Chair.

27. Accordingly, my delegation will abstain in the vote on the fourth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution in document A/10434; on the seventh preambular paragraph, operative paragraph 2 and the phrase "and nuclear explosive devices" contained in operative paragraph 3 (a) of the draft resolution in document A/10443; and on the third, fourth and fifth preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution in document A/10446, if these passages are put to the vote separately.

28. The observations I have just made also apply particularly to draft resolution A recommended in the report of the First Committee [A/10438] on agenda item 41.

29. A few points in this text merit specific comment. The confusion of the concept of peaceful nuclear explosions with the question of the elimination of nuclear-weapons testing and proliferation, which is brought about by the third and fourth preambular paragraphs, is, in the understanding of my Government, unwarranted. While these paragraphs reflect an opinion which was put forward by some delegations in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, I must recall that there was not in that organ, or in any other forum, a consensus on the issue.

30. As we have repeatedly stated, we deem totally uncalled for the introduction of the question of peaceful nuclear explosions in the context of the pursuit of a comprehensive test ban, as it fallaciously makes the conclusion of this important disarmament step primarily dependent on the negotiation of an issue extraneous to it.

31. Draft resolution A in fact borrows, in almost every one of its paragraphs, from the spirit and terminology of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, focusing in a particularly negative way on the technological development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Accordingly my delegation is not in a position to vote in favour of it, and will abstain.

32. Allow me, finally, to refer to the draft resolution relating to item 122 of the agenda [A/10447].

33. My delegation holds the same reservations to the fourth preambular paragraph of this text as those we have just expressed and will abstain in the vote on it when it is put to a separate vote.

34. We regret not being able to cast a positive vote on this particular draft resolution as a whole, since we feel, as we stated in the First Committee, that negotiations towards the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests should primarily be conducted in the appropriate specific forum for disarmament issues, that is to say, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report on agenda item 31 [A/10430]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/10484.

36. The First Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3462 (XXX)).

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 34 [A/10431], and the General Assembly will vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/10487. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Albania, China.

Abstaining: Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Mauritania, Mongolia, Netherlands, Poland, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet

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

The draft resolution was adopted by 108 votes to 1, with 21 abstentions (resolution 3463 (XXX)).

38. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 35 [A/10432]. I propose that we now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/10483.

39. The First Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3464 (XXX)).

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 36 [A/10433]. The General Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report.

41. The First Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3465 (XXX)).

42. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 37 [A/10434]. We shall proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. A separate vote has been requested on the fourth preambular paragraph as well as on operative paragraph 5.

43. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): I would ask that a separate vote be taken on operative paragraph 1 as well.

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): There are now requests for separate votes on the fourth preambular paragraph and on operative paragraphs 1 and 5. We shall first take a recorded vote on the fourth preambular paragraph.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Burundi, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Algeria, Argentina, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Comoros, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, India, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Poland, Spain, Sri Lanka, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

The fourth paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 96 votes to none, with 32 abstentions.

45. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now put to the vote operative paragraph 1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Albania, China, France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Algeria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guyana, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Netherlands, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Operative paragraph 1 was adopted by 88 votes to 5, with 37 abstentions.

46. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on operative paragraph 5. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic,

Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, India, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

Paragraph 5 was adopted by 108 votes to none, with 21 abstentions.²

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Albania, China.

Abstaining: Algeria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist

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

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 106 votes to 2, with 24 abstentions (resolution 3466 (XXX)).

48. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Turkey for an explanation of vote.

49. Mr. AKIMAN (Turkey): I wish to explain the Turkish delegation's vote on paragraph 1 of the resolution which was just adopted.

50. We abstained from voting on that paragraph, with regret. It was not that we were against the thrust of the resolution itself, but that we found the wording of that particular operative paragraph not compatible with the spirit of the resolution.

51. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 38 [A/10435]. I now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended to the General Assembly by the First Committee in paragraph 6 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Senegal, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft resolution was adopted by 115 votes to none, with 12 abstentions (resolution 3467 (XXX)).

52. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 39 [A/10436].

53. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolu-

tion recommended by the First Committee is contained in document A/10470.

54. I call on the representative of Somalia for an explanation of vote.

55. Mr. MALINGUR (Somalia): My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee.

56. My delegation notes that the importance of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace is becoming increasingly clear. It is a Declaration essential to the peace and security of that area. We have on many other occasions explained the great importance we attach to the Declaration. My delegation will continue to support it in the future.

57. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 106 votes to none, with 25 abstentions (resolution 3468 (XXX)).

58. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 40 [A/10437]. The draft resolution recommended by the First Committee is in paragraph 7 of its report.

59. The First Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3469 (XXX)).

60. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now proceed to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 42 [A/10439]. The draft resolution recommended by the First Committee is in paragraph 8 of its report.

61. The First Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3470 (XXX)).

62. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 43 [A/10440]. The draft resolution recommended by the First Committee is in paragraph 6 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: None.

Abstaining: None.

The draft resolution was adopted by 131 votes to none (resolution 3471 (XXX)).

63. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 44 [A/10441]. I shall now put to the vote draft resolutions A and B recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 9 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of draft resolution A is contained in document A/10485. The General Assembly will first vote on draft resolution A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Against: None.

Abstaining: Greece,³ Uganda.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 126 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 3472 A (XXX)).

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Chad, Chile, China, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Australia, Bhutan, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, German Democratic

Republic, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Malawi, Mongolia, Mozambique, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 82 votes to 10, with 36 abstentions (resolution 3472 B (XXX)).

65. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 45 [A/10442]. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstentions: Argentina, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, France, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 113 votes to none, with 16 abstentions (resolution 3473 (XXX)).

66. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 46 [A/10443].

67. A separate vote has been requested on the seventh paragraph of the preamble and operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of the draft resolution contained in that report. Since I hear no objection, we shall now proceed to take a separate recorded vote on those paragraphs.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Chile,

Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bhutan, Brazil, Cuba, France, India, Indonesia, Israel, Portugal, Spain, Sri Lanka, Uganda, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia.

The seventh paragraph of the preamble and operative paragraphs 2 and 3 were adopted by 109 votes to none, with 15 abstentions.

68. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Israel, United Republic of Cameroon

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 125 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 3474 (XXX)).

69. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 47 [A/10444].

70. Since no delegation has asked to explain its vote, we shall take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report.

71. The First Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3475 (XXX)).

72. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 48 [A/10445].

73. No requests have been made to speak in explanation of votes before the vote. Therefore we shall now take a decision on draft resolutions A and B recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report.

74. The First Committee adopted the draft resolutions without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolutions A and B were adopted (resolutions 3476 A and B (XXX)).

75. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on representatives who wish to speak in explanation of their vote after the vote.

76. Mr. MISHRA (India): In regard to resolution B, my delegation wishes to reiterate in their entirety the views it expressed in the First Committee at its 2105th meeting. I should like to take this opportunity to say that the views expressed by the Indian delegation in the First Committee on various draft resolutions should be considered to be reiterated here in this plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

77. Mr. TSHERING (Bhutan): I want to explain briefly the position of my delegation on the two resolutions just adopted.

78. The comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects prepared by the *Ad Hoc* Group of Qualified Governmental Experts under the auspices of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament states that "the initiative for the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone should come from States within the region concerned and such participation must be voluntary" [see A/10027/Add.1, annex I, para. 90 (c)].

79. This principle has not been disputed in the Committee. Besides, we believe that agreement among the States in the region is one of the prerequisites for the zone coming into being. This is for a practical reason: only when all the States in the region, after consultation, agree that the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone will enhance their national and regional security can a common action be possible. In this spirit, my delegation supported the establishment of similar zones in other parts of the globe because we

believe that all the member States of their respective regions agreed on a common cause before it was endorsed by the General Assembly. Without agreement among member States of the region, it would be a futile exercise to establish such a zone.

80. In view of this, had draft resolutions A and B which were just adopted been put to the vote, my delegation would have supported draft resolution A and opposed draft resolution B.

81. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We now turn to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 120 [A/10446].

82. We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 6 of its report. A single separate vote has been requested on the third, fourth and fifth paragraphs of the preamble. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bhutan, Brazil, Burma, Congo, Cuba, France, Gabon, India, Kuwait, Spain, Sri Lanka, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Zambia.

The third, fourth and fifth paragraphs of the preamble were adopted by 108 votes to none, with 16 abstentions.

83. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada,

Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 110 votes to none, with 20 abstentions (resolution 3477 (XXX)).

84. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 122 [A/10447].

85. Since no delegation has asked to explain its vote before the voting, we shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and budgetary implications of this draft resolution is contained in document A/10486.

86. A separate recorded vote has been requested on the fourth paragraph of the preamble.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

Against: Albania, China.

Abstaining: Algeria, Argentina, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Burma, Chile, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, India, Israel, Kenya, Mauritania, Morocco, Paraguay, Portugal, Spain, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Zambia.

The fourth paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 103 votes to 2, with 25 abstentions.

87. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now take a recorded vote on the draft resolution as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland,⁴ India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Albania, China.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritania, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 94 votes to 2, with 34 abstentions (resolution 3478 (XXX)).

88. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In compliance with paragraph 2 of the resolution just adopted, I shall hold those consultations as soon as possible and announce in due course the names of those States which were appointed to participate in the negotiations.

89. We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 126 [A/10448].

90. We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. A recorded vote has been recorded.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Albania.

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

The draft resolution was adopted by 112 votes to 1, with 15 abstentions (resolution 3479 (XXX)).

91. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Fiji for an explanation of vote.

92. Mr. SIKIVOU (Fiji): I wish to take the opportunity at this stage, to explain that Fiji's vote on draft resolution B recommended by the First Committee in document A/10441 was incorrectly cast. I am afraid there was some confusion in the documents in our part of the Hall and the vote was cast in favour when it should have been an abstention. We explained the reason for our abstention in the First Committee [see A/C.1/PV.2108].

93. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Normally, we should now go on to item 41 of the agenda. However, the General Assembly does not yet have before it all the necessary reports. The Fifth Committee will be considering this item this afternoon, and consequently the Assembly's consideration of this item will be postponed to tomorrow afternoon.

94. The Assembly should now take up the reports of the Fourth Committee, which has informed me that it will be able to come to the Assembly in half an hour's time. I shall therefore suspend the meeting for that period.

The meeting was suspended at 5.25 p.m. and resumed at 6.15 p.m.

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)*

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES NOT CONSIDERED SEPARATELY

95. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): On behalf of the delegations of Algeria, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea and the United Republic of Tanzania, I have the honour to introduce amendment A/L.790 to draft resolution XII which was recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 72 of its report [A/10427].

96. After consultations with these brother delegations, consultations undertaken within the context of African unity and African commitment for the decolonization of so-called French Somaliland, Djibouti, I am happy to announce on behalf of the co-sponsors referred to that we are now able to produce a draft amendment which takes into account the main problem with which operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution is concerned—the problem of ensuring that this paragraph and the resolution as a whole is adopted with the active and full support of the African States in this Organization.

97. Similarly, I should like to say that with the consent of the representative of Somalia and the representative of Ethiopia, on the basis of the appeals that we have launched to them, I have the authority to state that they are no longer pressing the amendment to draft resolution XII [A/L.785] or the amendments to document L.785. Therefore, the only amendment before this Assembly now is the amendment which I have just pointed out is contained in document A/L.790.

98. In view of the fact that I believe this draft amendment is not controversial and that it would improve operative paragraph 3 and make it generally acceptable, it is the hope of the sponsors of the draft amendment that the amendment itself will be adopted by a consensus.

99. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania has just told us that the amendment contained in document A/L.790 has been accepted by the sponsor of the amendment contained in document A/L.785 and by the sponsor of the amendments in document A/L.789 who have consequently withdrawn their own proposals and do not press for a vote on them. The General Assembly, therefore, now has before it draft resolution XII and the amendment contained in document A/L.790.

100. I shall now call on those delegations who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

101. Mr. DENIAU (France) (*interpretation from French*): In its statement made in the Fourth Com-

mittee before the vote on draft resolution XII on French Somaliland, the delegation of France explained why it did not participate in the vote [*see A/C.4/SR.2183, paras. 7-10*]. It goes without saying that its position remains the same now that it is the Assembly's turn to take a decision on this text.

102. The delegation of France once again emphasizes that the debate on this Territory as well as the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly contradict the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, as laid down in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations. We have already had an opportunity to state our position in regard to certain unfounded allegations made in the debate in the Committee and we shall not repeat what we said there.

103. As regards the future of the Territory, the Government of France has indicated that it would be in favour of its accession to independence as soon as the population of the Territory expresses a wish for that. The population, through its representatives, has clearly made known quite recently that it wished the Territory to evolve towards independence. It is against that new background that the Government intends to receive the representatives of the Territory and to consider with them the future of the Territory.

104. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with our rules of procedure we shall first proceed to vote on the amendment to draft resolution XII, which is contained in document A/L.790, and then on the draft resolution. A recorded vote has been requested on the amendment.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Bahamas, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Paraguay,

* Resumed from the 2435th meeting.

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

The amendment was adopted by 109 votes to none, with 20 abstentions.

105. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now proceed to vote on draft resolution XII, as amended. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Bahamas, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark, El Salvador, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution XII, as amended, was adopted by 109 votes to none, with 20 abstentions (resolution 3480 (XXX)).

106. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes at this stage.

107. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): My delegation has asked to speak at this time in order to explain its vote on the resolution which has just been adopted.

108. Even though my delegation is still not entirely satisfied with the formulation of some of the paragraphs of the draft resolution, as a gesture of goodwill on the eve of the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in a spirit of harmony and reconciliation and also in accordance with our abiding interest in preserving African solidarity, my delegation supported the amendment to draft resolution XII and the draft resolution as a whole.

109. Having said this, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to explain its interpretation of two

operative paragraphs. Paragraph 3 calls upon the administering Power to allow the return to the Territory of the following categories of persons, so that they may be able to participate in the political process of the Territory, especially at this crucial time when the people are called upon to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. These are, first, the representatives of liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and, secondly, all refugees in accordance with the Convention of the Organization of African Unity Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. The Convention, in its article I, paragraphs 1 and 2, clearly defines the term "refugee" and I should like to quote those paragraphs:

"1. For the purpose of this Convention, the term 'refugee' shall mean any person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence and as a result of such event, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

"2. The term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality."

110. These articles, which define the term "refugee" for the purpose of the OAU Convention, should be read against the ninth paragraph of the preamble to the same Convention, which recognizes the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees,⁵ as modified by the 1967 Protocol,⁶ as constituting the basic and universal instrument relating to the status of refugees, and reflects the deep concern of States for refugees and their desire to establish a common standard for their treatment.

111. The standards which the United Nations expects the administering Power to apply in the determination of who is a refugee are the well-known and universally recognized standards which the OAU Convention, which I have just quoted, has incorporated as jurisprudence.

112. Finally, my delegation would like to make it clear—and I know I reflect the unanimous view of the General Assembly and especially of those who have supported this resolution—that the call in paragraph 6 for the renunciation of any and all claims to the Territory applies to all States, near and far, and covers all possible grounds on which such a claim may be asserted. To give any other interpretation to this paragraph would certainly be inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations and with resolution 1514 (XV), which ensures the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence, without any further qualifications.

113. My Government's desire is that the people of the Territory will be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination, without interference from any quarter. We also know this to be the wish of the United Nations. We wish, however, to emphasize that vigilance is required on the part of the United Nations to ensure that this resolution is respected and that the people are allowed to obtain independence without interference from outside.

114. Mr. HUSSEIN (Somalia): With regard to paragraph 6 of the resolution just adopted, I want to reaffirm my delegation's explanation of vote in the Fourth Committee [*ibid.*, para. 52] and I should like that explanation to be reflected also in the record of the General Assembly.

115. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have thus concluded consideration of the report of the Fourth Committee on Territories not considered separately. We will now consider two draft resolutions contained in documents A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and A/L.780 and Add.1 and 2. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolutions is in document A/10416.

116. I shall now call on the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania.

117. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Before I proceed to the purpose of my statement, permit me to make a slight digression and pay a tribute to our brothers, the representatives of Ethiopia and Somalia, for the co-operation and consideration they showed to their colleagues the African Members of this Organization, which led to the adoption of the resolution on the question of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) [*resolution 3480 (XXX)*] with the support of both their delegations.

118. On behalf of the sponsors of the revised draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1, permit me to make a very few remarks on some of the elements which have now been incorporated in the revised text, so that Members of the Assembly will be clearer about the position of the sponsors, particularly the decision which led the sponsors to introduce a revised draft of this resolution.

119. As Members will recall, at the Assembly's 2419th plenary meeting, on 26 November, in introducing the original draft resolution on behalf of the sponsors I addressed a special appeal to those Members that theretofore had abstained from supporting the draft resolutions on this item to join in the united efforts of the Organization to expedite the process of decolonization. Both as the representative of Tanzania and as a sponsor of the draft resolution, and as the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I then expressed my earnest hope that the Assembly would be able to adopt a unanimous decision on this item this year, in particular in order to demonstrate the dedication of the United Nations to the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, in connexion with the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on decolonization.

120. As Members are aware, in order to achieve that unanimity the drafters of the original text took extraordinary precautions to prune the draft down to its

essentials, eliminating therefrom all the elements which, despite the expected support of the overwhelming majority of Member States, might stand in the way of securing a unanimous decision. However, notwithstanding the appeal I made and the intensive subsequent consultations, the sponsors learned with regret that of the 144 Member States, at least one—an administering Power at that—was insisting on the Assembly's voting on the draft resolution as submitted. I might add that the position of that Member State appeared to indicate that there were no meaningful grounds for accommodation in a spirit of co-operation, with a view to achieving a consensus on the draft resolution.

121. In the circumstances, the sponsors of the draft resolution agreed that since their efforts for unanimity and their pragmatic approach had been abortive, it would now be appropriate to render the draft resolution more comprehensive and specific, and at the same time to broaden its scope to include those provisions that would enable the draft to present a broad overview of the efforts of the Organization in the field of decolonization.

122. The revised draft resolution before the Assembly, therefore, in the seventh paragraph of the preamble and the corresponding paragraphs 6 to 8 of the operative part, now refers to the critical situation obtaining in the Territories in southern Africa. Similarly, the tenth paragraph of the preamble would have the Assembly deeply deplore the negative attitude of those administering Powers which persistently refuse to co-operate with the Special Committee in matters relating to the Territories under their administration. In the very first operative paragraph the sponsors restored the reference to the programme of action contained in resolution 2621 (XXV). Operative paragraph 2 includes a detailed description of the remaining vestiges of colonialism. In operative paragraph 5 prominence is given to the action required to give effect to the various recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee. In operative paragraph 9 the colonial Powers in general are called upon to take certain action in regard to their military bases and installations in colonial Territories.

123. Those are, in a nutshell, the revisions now embodied in the revised draft resolution. I should like to make another brief comment. The additions incorporated in the revised text are in fact the elements appearing in resolutions adopted by this Assembly in previous years, and more specifically last year.

124. I should now like to announce that the delegations of the following countries have decided to join in sponsoring the revised draft resolution: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Mongolia [*see A/L.779/Rev.1/Add.2*].

125. On behalf of the old and the new sponsors of the draft resolution, I commend the revised text to the serious attention of members of the Assembly, in the hope that it will receive their full and unreserved support, as have previous draft resolutions on this item.

126. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): My country is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2.

Hence, I am not speaking in explanation of my vote. I wish simply to make clear the spirit in which we have become a sponsor of this draft resolution and A/L.780 and Add.1 and 2.

127. Tunisia is a member of the Special Committee and has for many years now been participating in all its activities relating to decolonization. We believe that the process of decolonization must be accelerated, particularly in Africa. Operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2 states that the General Assembly "approves 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". In that connexion, I should like to state that Tunisia's approval of the Special Committee's report should not be taken to mean that we approve of every word or every paragraph in it. That report, which was adopted by consensus, contains many elements, and some of them are open to discussion.

128. I should like to appeal to the Members of the Assembly to approve the report in that same spirit. Now I wish to express some reservations in respect of the report, and particularly chapters IX, XI and XIII of document A/10023. I do not wish to reopen the debate. Tunisia will have an opportunity in the Special Committee to explain its position and make it clear. But I should like to say now that we approach the problem of decolonization in a spirit of faith, perseverance and, as always, moderation. To those who would reproach the Special Committee for using certain language or taking certain positions I would say this: come to the Special Committee and defend yourselves. I would appeal again to the Western countries that have left the Committee to return to it. We believe that that Committee should continue its work in a spirit of co-operation.

129. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

130. Mr. MOYNIHAN (United States of America): My delegation will vote against the draft resolutions A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.780 and Add.1 and 2. The first suffers, in our view, from the fatal defect of endorsing in its totality the report of the Special Committee; the second from the scarcely less deplorable defect of endorsing the recommendation of the Committee which calls for dissemination of information contained in chapters V and VI of the report.

131. The conclusions and recommendations of chapter VI warrant special attention. Let me examine only two. The first is recommendation (11) in paragraph 7, which calls upon the General Assembly to "Strongly condemn the military and naval activities of the United States on Guam as they are detrimental to the inherent rights of the peoples of this Territory to self-determination . . .". [A/10023, chap. VI.]

132. While I have already commented on the case of Guam in my explanation of vote on the draft resolution on American Samoa, Guam and the United States Virgin Islands [2431st meeting], let me nevertheless acknowledge the ingenuity of the authors of chapter VI. This most recent formulation, which condemns the United States for policies wholly consistent with

the Charter of the United Nations, is even more imaginative and an even more thoroughgoing perversion of the Charter than was the draft resolution on Guam itself.

133. Secondly—and I would ask members of the Assembly to listen to me on this—paragraph (8) of the conclusions in chapter VI discusses the United States Virgin Islands, as well as some non-United States Territories in the Caribbean. I draw the attention of the Assembly to the purpose to which this General Assembly is being put by quoting the conclusion of that paragraph:

"The military installations in the Caribbean Territories were part of the machinery for enforcing the policies of the United States . . . throughout the entire Latin American region. Such bases are a threat to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States in the region." [A/10023, chap. VI.]

I have deleted a reference to another nation mentioned in that citation, as it is quite capable of speaking for itself.

134. This fearless conclusion demonstrates a breathtaking grasp of geo-political realities and strategic doctrine, as well as a thorough familiarity with the situation on the ground—or shall I say, on the beach.

135. Let me discuss one United States Territory.

136. The United States maintains the following installations on the Virgin Islands.

137. First, a three-man coastguard navigational light station; weapons system, one shot-gun. The United States Coast Guard, I might add, has a long and brave history, two centuries of history, but only in war-time has it ever served military purposes. Today, as throughout most of its history, its sole mission is to aid navigation and save lives. It is in fact now a branch of the Department of Transportation. That first installation has three men and a navigational light.

138. Secondly, there is a coastguard administrative office which at full strength has a total of three men also; weapons system, one pistol.

139. Thirdly, there is an 82-foot search and rescue vessel, manned by eight coastguardsmen; special weaponry, one line-throwing device.

140. Then there is a naval calibration range and two laboratories, all manned by unarmed civilians.

141. Wishing in no way to disparage the determination and valour of the men of the United States Coast Guard, I must nevertheless admit that I am unable to grasp fully the nature of the threat they pose.

142. Caribbean and Latin American friends have told us that they, at least, do not feel that the "sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity" of their nations are threatened by those installations or by the 14 Coast Guard personnel who maintain them.

143. Of course, one Caribbean island at present has so many troops in Africa that it may have so denuded itself of defensive forces as in truth to feel intimidated by the presence, miles away, of 14 American coastguardsmen; but we do not feel it is for us to speak on that point.

144. The point of my example is simple. Chapter VI, on military activities, and Chapter V, on foreign economic interests, of the report of the Special Committee are so replete with examples of indifference to fact and distortions of the Charter as to contaminate and discredit the whole report. It is unfortunate that this is the fate of the more serious chapters, but it is a fate which the Committee has brought upon itself.

145. The United States feels no compulsion to respond to ridiculous charges with any more seriousness than they merit, but we do feel obligated to make a categorical denial of allegations against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] made in the Fourth Committee and in chapters V and VI of the report. Chapter V concludes that NATO countries are strengthening the minority Governments of southern Africa through financial and technological co-operation within the framework of NATO. Chapter VI alleges that NATO has provided "massive assistance" to the Smith Government by supplying it with "aircraft, tanks and light weapons".

146. These are lies; lies. Although these allegations are totally unfounded, and all know that, they must none the less be challenged. As the General Assembly is aware, the United States maintains a total embargo on the sale of all arms and military equipment to South Africa. For the record, the United States wishes to deny any military and economic collaboration by NATO with Pretoria or Salisbury. We do not believe that the false allegations made on this subject imperil the integrity and the good name of NATO but, without any doubt, such false allegations do reflect directly and adversely on the integrity and the good name of those nations and individuals who make them, and in the end they reflect on the integrity and the good name of this General Assembly, on whose behalf and in whose name those nations and individuals act.

147. It is no pleasure to have to pursue this matter further, but the managers of the report have left no choice. Over the week-end—and I want particularly to draw the Assembly's attention to this fact—over the week-end the draft resolution A/L.779 and Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2, which was already quite unacceptable enough, was altered by the addition of even more intemperate and unrealistic language. Some have described this as return to the language of 1974.

148. I should like to inform the General Assembly, in this open and public forum, of the sequence in which this occurred. It says a lot about the elevated state of this Assembly at this time. Throughout last week there was great interest on the part of the sponsors of the draft resolutions A/L.779 and Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.780 and Add.1 and 2 as to whether the United States would go along with a consensus. Even so, the chief sponsor of the first draft resolution and the chief operative in this manoeuvre never found it possible to approach my delegation, at any level, to ascertain our views on the draft resolution or to learn whether we had problems with it. While the United States would have had no difficulty in dealing directly on this matter, it was left to well-meaning intermediaries to sound us out and to offer "friendly counsel".

149. We were specifically warned: either the United States goes along with the consensus—which, I remind

you, approves a report strongly condemning the United States and its allies—or the United States will face a toughening of the language of the draft resolution; a return, as we were told, to the language of 1974.

150. I dare to protest, here and now, this kind of behaviour in the General Assembly. I protest not because the world might get the wrong impression as to just what kind of place the General Assembly has become; to the contrary, I begin to feel that the world's increasing contempt is increasingly deserved. Rather, I protest because this kind of thuggery suggests that there are members of this Assembly who have been misled as to just what kind of nation the United States is. We are a nation of free men and free women. We have not maintained that freedom for two centuries because we frighten easily.

151. Now, there is a larger point. The United Nations has got to the point where responsible and truthful representatives are prepared to accept a report, on matters of serious concern to all of us, which is riddled with untruth. Not one word in this vast report on decolonization so much as alludes to the giant reality of a European imperial Power which has boldly commenced the recolonization of Africa—to name but one continent so threatened—and has already established its hegemony in parts of Africa. Instead, the Committee busies itself with fantasies about American coast guard stations and falsehoods about NATO.

152. George Orwell died too soon. He deserved to live to see the Special Committee commence to transform itself into the committee on recolonization. The General Assembly is becoming the theatre of the absurd. We pretend seriousness to an audience that by now understands that it is all pretense. It is now time, however, for a bit more candour with one another.

153. In that spirit, the United States wishes to announce that after this vote is taken we do not, I repeat, we do not desire any Member to come up to us—as has been the practice in the past—to explain that their name had been listed among the sponsors without their knowledge or that they had not read the report and so did not know what they were voting for. So far as the United States is concerned, that game is over.

154. Mr. MORENO MARTÍNEZ (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of the Dominican Republic would like to place on record clearly its reservations on two operative paragraphs 4 and 6 of draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2. We believe that these paragraphs are contrary to the principles and norms of the United Nations. For the United Nations, not all means are good.

155. The United Nations has played the part of a midwife which has peacefully, in an important way, and often decisively helped in the start to independent life of a great many Member States. Although it is well known that there is no painless birth, the United Nations has in many cases avoided and in other cases cut short the long and painful wars of independence which some peoples—among them my own—had to wage, before the United Nations came into existence.

156. At a time when the United Nations is clearly undergoing change and transition and is being viewed with pessimism and scepticism by many, it is well to

recall the valuable work of decolonization that it has done. I do not have the exact figures and therefore cannot say exactly how many Member States are indebted to the United Nations for their peaceful transition to independence. It is fair to say, however, that had it not been for the peaceful but effective action of the United Nations a number of peoples represented here today would be shedding their blood in an armed struggle for independence.

157. In calling attention to the positive role played by the United Nations in the enormous task of decolonization and to the fact that, thanks to this Organization, there remain few peoples still under the yoke of colonialism, the Dominican delegation does not wish to ignore the essential and decisive role of those peoples that have, in all cases, won their independence through struggle.

158. But that struggle does not always have to be a bloody one; it does not always have to be a war of independence. Thanks to the United Nations, the fight for the independence of many peoples today represented here has been achieved through peaceful means. We are fully aware of how much blood the independence of many countries has cost, but at the same time we must also be aware of how much suffering and bloodshed has been avoided through implementation of the principles and norms of the United Nations.

159. These are two facts that we must face with objectivity: the painful state of affairs created by disregard of the principles and norms of the United Nations, and the stimulating situation that the implementation of those principles and norms produces.

160. We believe that what the peoples of the world want, especially those still suffering under the yoke of colonialism, is the peaceful conquest of their independence through the implementation of the principles and norms of the United Nations. To choose this alternative is to strengthen the United Nations and make it more effective; to choose the other is to weaken it.

161. The Dominican delegation, which will vote in favour of the draft resolutions A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.780 and Add.1 and 2 wishes to place on record its reservations with regard to the two paragraphs previously mentioned.

162. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan,

Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel, Nicaragua, United States of America.

Abstaining: Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Costa Rica, El Salvador, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Paraguay, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay.

The draft resolution was adopted by 108 votes to 3, with 15 abstentions (resolution 3481 (XXX)).

163. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): With regard to the resolution just adopted, I should like to recall to the Assembly that in paragraph 4, the General Assembly adopted the report of the Special Committee on its work for 1975. In paragraph 8 of chapter III of its report, the Special Committee recommended that our General Assembly should hold a special meeting during this session to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On the understanding that the ways and means and the procedures applicable to that occasion would be the subject of consultations between the President of the General Assembly and the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I take pleasure in announcing that the special meeting will take place tomorrow, Friday, 12 December, at 10.30 a.m.

164. We shall hear statements by the Secretary-General, the Chairmen of the Special Committee on decolonization and the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Chairmen and representatives of the regional groups, as well as representatives of OAU.

165. The Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/L.780 and Add.1 and 2. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mau-

ritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Bahamas, Costa Rica, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, Uruguay.

The draft resolution was adopted by 117 votes to 2, with 6 abstentions (resolution 3482 (XXX)).⁷

166. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of their votes.

Mr. Driss (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

167. Mr. KENNEDY (Ireland): The delegation of Ireland voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2. I have come here to explain our positive vote.

168. On the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of its adoption, Ireland wishes once more to reaffirm its support for the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), of 14 December 1960, by which the Assembly affirmed that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation, constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights and is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. We voted for that resolution in 1960 and we continue to support it now.

169. May I also say that we recognize the important role which the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has to play within the United Nations system, and we accordingly wish to express our thanks to the Special Committee for its work over the past year and for the detailed and exhaustive report which it has drawn up in document A/10023. We also recognize the many important and meritorious elements in the report. However, we feel it necessary to say from this podium that there are certain passages in the report which we cannot endorse without reservation. In particular, we have in mind some of the language of chapters V and VI, which have already been referred to. This, of course, I quite agree, is only a small part of what is a very detailed document. Nevertheless, in voting for the draft resolution which approves the report in its paragraph 4, the delegation of Ireland does think it necessary clearly to mention our views on this aspect of the matter.

170. On the draft resolution which has just been adopted by the Assembly, my delegation also has some specific reservations to express. In the first place, with regard to paragraph 2, which declares that

the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations poses a serious threat to international peace and security, we feel that the definition of such a threat is essentially a matter to be decided by the Security Council.

171. In paragraph 6, the Assembly re-affirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal. We interpret this to mean by all peaceful means in accordance with the principles and the purposes of the Charter.

172. With regard to paragraph 8, which refers to withholding assistance of any kind from the Government of South Africa, we also have a reservation here as a matter of principle, but also in the context of our long-standing attitude that recommendations such as this properly fall within the competence of the Security Council.

173. We would wish these reservations to be borne in mind in connexion with the positive vote which Ireland has been able to cast on the resolution that was adopted.

174. Mr. BAUDOUIN (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): The Canadian delegation at the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth sessions supported the general resolution on decolonization as a reflection of my Government's broad general support for the principles which the United Nations has established with regard to decolonization. It did so despite what we considered to be certain excesses in the language of those resolutions, and despite our expressed views on points of substance and on particular phraseology with which we did not agree.

175. At the twenty-ninth session [2321st meeting], the Canadian delegation urged that a concerted effort be made at the thirtieth session to develop a draft general decolonization text which could be supported by all delegations as a reflection of their transcendent support for the decolonization process. We were, therefore, satisfied with the moderate text which was embodied in draft resolution A/L.779 and would have supported its terms. We regret that the amended text in document A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2 has reintroduced certain issues which we had hoped would be permanently eliminated from the omnibus resolution. Our reservations on each of these elements have often been stated and need not be repeated here in detail.

176. Notwithstanding the reservations we have on these elements, we voted for the amended draft resolution as an indication of our fundamental support for the principle of decolonization. We wish, however, to register an important reservation with respect to paragraphs 4 and 5 by which the Assembly approves the report of the Special Committee and commends its conclusions and recommendations to all States. While we support the majority of the conclusions and recommendations of the report taken as a whole, certain portions of chapters V and VI, comprising reports of Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee, are unacceptable to us, as they include tendentious, excessive and largely unsubstantiated statements. In particular, chapter VI draws conclusions—as was pointed out before the vote—and makes recommenda-

tions which are based on allegations only, and are unfounded and unsubstantiated by any facts presented to the Committee. Moreover, we strongly object to the repeated insertion in the reports of the Special Committee of references to the involvement of NATO in South Africa, or to the organization having any relationship to the colonial situation. We totally reject these references as gratuitous, untrue and unsubstantiated. They have no valid place in decolonization texts.

177. Mr. NAGAI (Japan): The delegation of Japan voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2, which has just been adopted.

178. We support the basic objective of the resolution, namely, to reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination and independence, and to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We approve most of the action programmes recommended in the resolution in order to ensure the free exercise of the right to self-determination. My delegation, therefore, cast its vote for the proposal. However, my delegation wishes to register its reservations regarding, in particular, the seventh paragraph of the preamble and paragraphs 2, 4, 8, 9 and 11 (b).

179. As regards paragraph 4, our affirmative vote should not be construed as approval of all the reports of the Special Committee, particularly those in which erroneous references and allegations about my country are made, including Chapter I, paragraph 168 and Chapter V, paragraph 6 (4), of document A/10023.

180. We wish also to place on record that our affirmative vote does not alter our consistent understanding of the meaning of certain wording in the sixth paragraph of the preamble and in paragraphs 3, 6 and 10.

181. To our regret, what we had considered the final text of the draft resolution has been revised and some substantial changes have been made. These changes have compelled my delegation to express additional reservations on some provisions of the draft resolution.

182. My delegation had wished to see the General Assembly, in celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration, adopt a draft resolution on such an important question as decolonization with better wording and with wider support from Member States, including all the administering Powers.

183. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): I am speaking on behalf of the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and that of my own country, Norway.

184. The Nordic delegations voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2. We support what we regard as its main principle, which is that the peoples in colonial Territories must be given the opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. This is in full accord with the policy pursued by our countries in questions of decolonization.

185. However, the Nordic delegations have noted with regret that it was not possible to arrive at a consensus decision on the draft resolution which, in our opinion, was a commendable attempt to bring together different points of view and to produce a result

that would serve as a fitting tribute to the fifteenth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization.

186. The positive vote of the Nordic countries does not mean that our delegations are able to accept all the provisions of the resolution. We have reservations on certain paragraphs which run counter to principles which we have consistently upheld or which raise constitutional difficulties. We have spelt them out on many occasions in the past and do not intend to go into any details now. We would, however, record our view that paragraph 6 contains elements which do not accord with the policy of peaceful solutions that Nordic countries have always followed. As regards the question of paragraph 8, it is our understanding that that does not entail a breach of the principle of universality or a call for sanctions.

187. We would also like to put on record that we do not agree with every part of the report of the Special Committee.

188. Finally, we would like to reiterate our hope that the ultimate goal of self-determination and independence will be achieved through co-operation and peaceful negotiations.

189. Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): My delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2. It did so with great regret. As many delegations will know, we would have been ready to take part in a consensus on document A/L.779, which has now been withdrawn. We would have done so not only because the wording of that document represented, in our view, a considerable advance on last year's resolution 3323 (XXIX), but also because we regarded it as a more accurate reflection of the discussions which took place this year within the Special Committee on questions of decolonization and of the recommendations and conclusions which flowed from those discussions. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to Mr. Salim of Tanzania for the efforts which he made to bring about a meeting of minds on the broad approach to questions of decolonization. Even if, to our regret, it has not proved possible to achieve a consensus this year, we hope and believe that the attitudes of delegations to decolonization are not now so far apart as to exclude a consensus in the future.

190. We know that on the questions of Namibia and Rhodesia there are differences of approach on the best means of bringing about changes in those Territories and of securing for their inhabitants the full enjoyment of their rights to self-determination and independence. But we also note—and indeed this year's meetings of the Fourth Committee have amply demonstrated—that the problems of the smaller dependent Territories are now receiving increasing attention. My delegation played a full part in discussions of those problems in Sub-Committee II of the Special Committee, and the recommendations which Sub-Committee II made on individual United Kingdom Territories had our broad agreement. I should like to thank Sub-Committee II, and in particular its Vice-Chairman, Mr. Koffi Kouame of the Ivory Coast, for the courtesy and understanding which they have always shown to my delegation.

191. I wish I could say the same of the activities of Sub-Committee I. My delegation had occasion to

criticize its report on foreign economic interests during the Fourth Committee's discussion [see A/C.4/SR.2166, paras. 7 and 8] of this item. I wish only to repeat that the reports of Sub-Committee I on foreign economic interests and military activities contain such a hotchpotch of wild and unfounded allegations that my delegation has no alternative but to treat them with contempt.

192. After all that has been said on Belize this year, for instance, and indeed after all the support which the Belize Government's position received in the Fourth Committee, it is amusing to read in the conclusions of the Special Committee based on the report of the Sub-Committee I on military activities that our garrison in Belize is part of the machinery "for enforcing the policies of the . . . United Kingdom throughout the entire Latin American region" [see A/10023, chap. VI, para. 6 (8)]. It can be taken for granted that the Prime Minister of Belize would not agree with those remarks, as indeed he made very clear in the course of his own statement to the Fourth Committee [see A/C.4/SR.2162]. This sort of arrant nonsense—and I could cite many other examples—means that we cannot take these particular sections of the report seriously nor, in our view, should anyone else. It is indeed the main reason why a consensus was sadly not possible this year.

193. It will be clear that my delegation regards much of the language of the resolution which we have just adopted as outmoded, unrealistic and unacceptable. We shall, however, continue to take part in the relevant discussions of the Special Committee, and we look forward to another fruitful and co-operative session in 1976. As the representative of the United Kingdom indicated in the course of the Fourth Committee's debate [*ibid.*], we are also prepared to invite another visiting mission from the Special Committee to one of our remaining dependent Territories, and we shall of course consult the Chairman of the Special Committee next year on the precise modalities.

194. Mr. BENUZZI (Italy): The Italian delegation has voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2. Italy fully subscribes to the basic principles enshrined in that resolution and intends to facilitate the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Nevertheless, we cannot but express our reservations on several of the remarks and references made in that resolution which we do not find relevant to the issue. As a matter of fact, we would have much preferred a different wording for paragraphs 2, 6, 8 and others. If there had been a separate vote on those paragraphs, we would not have lent them our support. Furthermore, we reserve our right in due time to focus more sharply our opinion on specific passages of the report of the Special Committee which we cannot accept.

195. Mr. von UTHMANN (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation regrets that it was unable to vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2. We appreciate the attempt of the sponsors of the original draft resolution to moderate its language compared with the corresponding resolution of last year and to make it acceptable to all delegations.

196. Now, unfortunately, all the objectionable formulations of the past have reappeared in the revised draft. In paragraph 2, for instance, we find the incorrect equation between colonialism and *apartheid*; in paragraph 6, the implicit support for the use of arms in the decolonization process; and in paragraph 7, the insufficiently defined condemnation of foreign economic activities in dependent Territories. My delegation cannot agree with any of these provisions.

197. As to paragraph 9, my delegation feels that the demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of military installations from colonial Territories is out of place in the context of decolonization.

198. The main reason for our abstention in the vote on the resolution, however, was paragraph 4. The report of the Special Committee which is approved by this provision contains distortions which are unacceptable to my delegation. In my explanation of vote before the Fourth Committee on agenda item 90 [2171st meeting] I already stated our reservations with respect to chapter V of the report that deals with foreign economic interests in dependent Territories.

199. These strong reservations also apply to chapter VI of the report that purports to describe the military activities in colonial countries. The recommendation in this chapter, namely, the condemnation of "the imperialist countries, principally those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), for their continued military collaboration and alliance with the colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa . . ." [see A/10023/chap. VI, para. 7(9)] is taken from the propaganda armoury of the cold war. If one really takes détente seriously, as some delegations here untiringly claim to do, one should desist from such assertions in the future.

200. As to draft resolution A/L.780 and Add.1 and 2 on the dissemination of information on decolonization, my delegation voted in favour of it. We did so in spite of some misgivings concerning paragraph 1 of the resolution which approves the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the question of publicity. This chapter again contains some language which my Government cannot accept. I particularly refer to the decision of the Special Committee recommending to the General Assembly that it "request the Department of Public Information to undertake an intensified campaign of publicity with a view to informing world public opinion of the facts concerning the pillaging of natural resources and the exploitation of the indigenous population by foreign monopolies and the support they give to the colonialist and racist régimes". [*Ibid.*, chap. III, para. 11 (b).]

201. My Government does not believe that formulations of this kind which, as I said before, have a strong resemblance to the propaganda clichés of the cold war are helpful for obtaining objective information on decolonization. In the opinion of my Government, the Special Committee should refrain from any language that only antagonizes certain countries and poisons the atmosphere, without really helping the peoples in the colonial Territories whose future, after all, is at stake.

202. Mr. STRASSER (Austria): The Austrian delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2 on the implementation of the

Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Austria has never failed to lend its support to the rights of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence, and this year's General Assembly was no exception. We were pleased to note that the process of decolonization goes unabated and has led to the admission of six new Member States to the United Nations during this session.

203. As far as the resolution that has just been adopted is concerned, my delegation would like to state that we would have been ready and indeed very pleased to join a consensus on the first draft contained in document A/L.779. We regret that such a consensus has not been possible and that the revised text contains a few points with respect to which my delegation has to voice its reservations. These reservations concern in particular the seventh and tenth preambular paragraphs and operative paragraphs 2, 4, 6, 8 and 9. As the Austrian delegation has already pointed out within the framework of the Fourth Committee [2177th meeting] as well as other Committees, Austria cannot advocate the use of force even in the pursuit of just causes, and does not believe that this Organization should do so. We therefore interpret paragraph 6 to imply the use of all peaceful means in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

204. In conclusion, let me add that by casting a positive vote my delegation wished once more to give unequivocal expression to its position in matters relating to the noble aim of the world body as enshrined in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

205. Mr. de LATAILLADE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation was compelled to abstain on the draft resolution in document A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2 because of the references in it to resolutions we have not accepted and which are not in keeping with our interpretation of the Charter, particularly its Article 2 (7), on non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States. These reservations also cover paragraph 4 approving the report of the Special Committee, particularly chapters V and VI, as well as paragraphs 9 and 11.

206. Having abstained in the vote on the resolution, the French delegation was bound to do the same on the resolution in document A/L.780 and Add.1 and 2 which also approved the report of the Special Committee.

207. Our reservations do not prevent us from reaffirming our unshakable adherence to the principles of self-determination which for us remain fundamental. We have proved this in the past and we intend to remain faithful to this approach.

208. Mr. PISHVA (Iran): In keeping with our consistent policy on decolonization, the delegation of Iran voted in favour of the resolution on Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which has just been adopted by the General Assembly. However, for the sake of the record, I should like to add that my delegation has some reservations on some of its provisions, which in our opinion do not relate to the question of decolonization.

209. Mr. RETALIS (Greece): In accordance with our consistent line of supporting all efforts of the United Nations towards decolonization, the Greek delegation has voted in favour of the resolutions that were just adopted.

210. Greece is a traditional as well as persistent supporter of the urge of all colonial peoples to achieve self-determination and independence. It is therefore with profound satisfaction that we saw the two resolutions on decolonization adopted by the General Assembly.

211. However, my delegation feels it a duty to express its reservations as concerns operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution A/L.779/Rev.1 and Add.1 and 2, by which the Assembly approves the report of the Special Committee. We fully agree in principle with the report of the Special Committee. We wish though, to emphasize our reservation in connexion with certain of its passages which in our view are not fully consonant with the spirit of decolonization, the purposes of which we are faithfully serving.

212. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Tanzania who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

213. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): I am speaking more as the Chairman of the Special Committee than as the representative of Tanzania, but in the event that some of my remarks should be taken exception to by any of my colleagues in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee, they can be taken to be the remarks of the representative of Tanzania.

214. At a meeting of the General Assembly on 8 December 1975, after the usual statements which we are now used to hearing from Mr. Moynihan, I had the following to say which I think still holds good and is still relevant. I said:

“Using strong adjectives to describe the position of others does not enforce the arguments of those who do it. Calling names is the easiest, though undoubtedly the least productive, exercise, and that is why I shall refrain from [commenting on] his vituperous attacks against the Committee . . .”
[2431st meeting, para. 231.]

I said this on 8 December. My comments and observations hold good today. But I do believe it is necessary to make a few observations.

215. I listened with interest, attention and respect to the statement made by the representative of the United States. In fact, I did not have to hear him plead with members of the Assembly to listen to him, for me to listen to what he had to say, because my delegation has respect for all delegations here. I was surprised, though, as I have been surprised in the past, that immediately after Mr. Moynihan made his statement—a statement which reminds me of a saying of our people in our part of the world that when you have the weakest argument you must shout the loudest—he found it convenient, of course, to go out of the Assembly. If it was the first time that I had noticed this tendency, perhaps I would have kept quiet, but I do note that while Mr. Moynihan expects all of us to listen to him with attention, and in fact he commands us

to listen to him, he always finds it convenient to go out after he has given his sermon to the Assembly.

216. We are, of course, used now to what I may consider the hit-and-run tactics of the representative of the United States. We do, of course, understand that, more often than not, Mr. Moynihan's remarks are not addressed to the Assembly but are addressed elsewhere, at least, judging from the way in which he stated his case in this Assembly, I do not believe that he was talking to the United Nations; he was talking at the United Nations and talking to the press. But for the benefit of the members of this Assembly it is important to keep the record straight.

217. Mr. Moynihan is a new man in the United Nations, and we respect him for that. He may be forgiven if in the process he falsifies the efforts made by others in an attempt to get a negotiated settlement of resolutions of the General Assembly. In this connexion, I am grateful to the representative of the United Kingdom, who cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered an opponent of the United States, for the remarks he has made concerning the efforts which were made.

218. I should like, for the purpose of the records of the Assembly to say that the Assembly, and more particularly the Special Committee where this draft resolution originates, has its own methods of work and it operates on the basis of the methods of work. For the benefit of the United States representative, I will say that consultations were extensive. His delegation was consulted; I have it on authoritative sources that his delegation was consulted. If it is necessary for me to mention who was consulted I will do so. Certainly his delegation was not consulted by me; it was not consulted by sponsors of the resolution, but, as his colleague from the United Kingdom and his other Western colleagues will tell him, the consultations were held on the basis of how we conduct these negotiations.

219. In my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee, I asked the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Committee to undertake the necessary consultations with the various regional groups. And I, myself, as Chairman of the Committee have, as an African, undertaken consultations with my own regional group. I am assured by the Vice-Chairman of a country which can be characterized as a member of the Group of Western European and other States that he did undertake these consultations. Therefore, if the United States representative says that he was not consulted or that the sponsors of the draft did not find it necessary to undertake consultations directly with him, I can assure him that it was only because our methods of consultations are different. I hope and I trust that his statement was not made in a deliberate intention to distort facts but rather in ignorance of the methods of operation.

220. The second point I should like to make is that it was not the intention of the sponsors of the draft resolution to threaten or blackmail anybody. It would be ridiculous to expect a country like Tanzania to try to blackmail or threaten the United States. We simply stated the obvious, that when trying to find a consensus on a draft resolution one makes a number of concessions and proposes a number of amendments for the purpose of accommodating the different viewpoints

of the different regional groups and the different ideological orientations. We did so, and I want to assure the representative of the United States that for me personally, as Chairman of the Committee, it was not an easy exercise. If it is any consolation, I was at times subjected not to the same type of abuse but to a number of criticisms from my own colleagues for having been responsible for initiating a draft which diverged from the draft which had been agreed upon and passed by the General Assembly in 1974.

221. Therefore, when the negotiators—those who were actually undertaking the necessary consultations, the officers of the Special Committee—informed different delegations that, if that consensus was not accepted, the sponsors would go back to the draft resolution, they were not threatening anybody, they were simply stating the obvious. No one in his right senses, would introduce in 1975 a draft resolution containing a number of important points which had already been adopted in 1974. We tried to make these concessions out of consideration for a number of delegations and I want here publicly to thank all the other Western delegations which in the process of private consultations expressed their appreciation for the efforts we have made.

222. I should also like to say that I have tremendous respect for Mr. Moynihan's intellectual capacity and, as I said, his ability to say things the way he wants to say them, in the manner he wants to say them—even to indulge more often than not in empty rhetoric. But I must say I was also moved by some of the explanations he has given as to the contents of the report of the Special Committee, particularly when I take into account how inconsistent the delegation of the United States seems to have been.

223. For the reasons which have been articulated and in view of the nature of the resolution, the United States voted against the resolution. Of course, a resolution, which was not very different from the resolution, was adopted last year by the General Assembly, and, for the benefit of the members of the Assembly—particularly those whom Mr. Moynihan thinks do not read the records—it was with a vote of abstention by the United States.

224. I do not want to comment on the other statements made by Mr. Moynihan, but there are two other observations which I have to make. First, he said that the Committee on decolonization has become the "Committee on recolonization". I should have been grateful if he had explained to us whom the Special Committee wished to recolonize. I do not know whether this signals the intention of the United States delegation, as represented specifically by Mr. Moynihan, to show more interest in the Committee on decolonization only when that Committee becomes a committee on recolonization.

225. In any case, the Committee on decolonization is a committee on decolonization and to the best of our ability we have tried to support the struggle of the colonial peoples and we shall continue to do so. We remain gratified by the overwhelming support that the General Assembly has given us by endorsing the work of the Committee, despite the intimidatory nature of the statement made earlier by the representative of the United States.

226. The representative of the United States again wanted to bring in Angola. The only comment I wish to make on this topic is that the Special Committee does not deal with Angola. It deals with Non-Self-Governing Territories, including one which he had commented on earlier. But there was a time when the Committee was dealing with Angola and the records of the Committee are full of substantiated information on the callous disregard of the United States for the struggle of the people under Portuguese domination, and on the type of conspiracy that was going on in support of Portuguese colonialism. Even then the Special Committee never failed in its responsibilities publicly to appeal to the United States, publicly to appeal to those who were actively supporting Portuguese fascism because they were doing so to the detriment of the people of Portugal and to the detriment of the people struggling under colonial domination. Unfortunately those appeals were not heeded. It is therefore interesting—to say the least—that Mr. Moynihan has now become a convert to the cause of African freedom and a spokesman for African decolonization.

227. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the United States in exercise of her right of reply.

228. Ms. WHITE (United States of America): The facts in the statement made by the representative of the United States stand and will bear scrutiny. In calling attention to the sections of the report which are flagrant violations of the truth, the United States is very conscious of what should be the good name of the United Nations. This Assembly can only lose in authority and stature in the eyes of the world if it does not show greater regard for the facts.

229. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Assembly of another matter relating to agenda item 23.

230. Document A/10457 contains a letter addressed to the President of the General Assembly regarding the decision taken by the Danish Government to withdraw as of 31 December 1975 from the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

231. I should like to propose Norway as a member of the Special Committee as of 1 January 1976 to fill the vacancy created by the withdrawal of Denmark.

May I take it that the General Assembly confirms that appointment? If I hear no objection it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council

232. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In regard to agenda item 13 regarding the report of the Trusteeship Council, the Assembly has before it a letter from the Chairman of the Fourth Committee to the President of the General Assembly [A/10425] in which it was suggested that the General Assembly might conclude the consideration of agenda item 13 by taking note of the report of the Trusteeship Council for the period from 24 October 1974 to 29 August 1975, as well as the related chapter 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.

233. May I take it that the Assembly accepts this proposal, and decides to take note of the report of the Trusteeship Council and the chapter relating to the report of the Committee?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

² The delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

³ The delegation of Greece subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

⁴ The delegation of Iceland subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

⁵ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 189 (1954), No. 2545.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly. Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 11 A*, part I, para. 2.

⁷ The delegation of Nicaragua subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote against the draft resolution.