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REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/9423)

1. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration nine reports of the Fourth Committee. These reports relate to agenda items 13 and 23, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74 and 12, 75, and 76 and are introduced in that numerical order.

2. The first report, contained in document A/9416, relates to the report of the Trusteeship Council under agenda item 13 and to the 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 concerning Papua New Guinea under agenda item 23. The draft resolution which the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption is set out in paragraph 11 of the report. As members are aware, that draft resolution received the unanimous support of the members of the Fourth Committee and was adopted without a vote. The Committee reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Papua New Guinea to self-determination and independence, and welcomed the recent attainment of self-government by the Territory as an important step in its progress towards independence. Members also agreed that the administering Power and the Government of Papua New Guinea should consult on the timing of independence, noting in this regard the views of both Governments that the House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea is regarded as representing the wishes of the people of Papua New Guinea. In addition, members emphasized the imperative need to preserve the unity of Papua New Guinea and endorsed the policies of the administering Power and of the Government of Papua New Guinea aimed at discouraging separatist movements and at promoting national unity. The Committee also took note of the continued willingness of the administering Power and the Government of Papua New Guinea to receive a United Nations visiting mission.

3. The second report, contained in document A/9418, relates to agenda item 69. The draft resolution contained in paragraph 9 of that report shows that the Fourth Committee strongly deplored the fact that, despite repeated recommendations, some administering Powers had ceased or failed to transmit the required information, or had transmitted such information too late. The Fourth Committee strongly condemned the Government of Portugal for its continued refusal to recognize the colonial status of the Territories under its domination, in complete disregard of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee. The Committee recommends to the

General Assembly that it reaffirm that, in the absence of a decision by the Assembly itself that a Non-Self-Governing Territory has attained a full measure of self-government, the administering Power concerned should continue to transmit information with respect to that Territory.

4. The third report, contained in document A/9419, relates to the question of Namibia, which the Fourth Committee took up under agenda item 70. As members are aware, the Committee had the benefit in its consideration of the question of receiving first-hand information on the situation in Namibia from the representative of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] whom it invited to participate in its relevant proceedings, in accordance with the related decision of the General Assembly. Bearing in mind the information thus received, and in the light of the related recommendations of the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee adopted two draft resolutions which are set out in paragraph 16 of the report.

5. Draft resolution I deals with the question of Namibia as a whole. During the Committee's consideration of the item, the majority of members strongly deplored the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa in defiance of the relevant decisions of the United Nations and South Africa's efforts to destroy the national unity and the integrity of the Territory. Of no less concern to members was the fact that, despite United Nations decisions and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, certain States continue to have relations with South Africa on behalf of or concerning Namibia, which has the effect of supporting South Africa in its defiance of the United Nations. The Fourth Committee reaffirmed that the Territory and the people of Namibia are the direct responsibility of the United Nations and that the Namibian people must be enabled to attain self-determination and independence within a united Namibia. At the same time, the majority of members noted with satisfaction the opposition of the Namibian people to South Africa's illegal presence in the Territory and, in particular, the progress of their struggle for national liberation.

6. In the light of these considerations, the overwhelming majority of members maintained that the General Assembly should reaffirm the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means against the illegal occupation of their country by South Africa. The General Assembly should also recognize that the national liberation movement of Namibia, SWAPO, is the authentic representative of the Namibian people and should support its efforts to strengthen national unity. The General Assembly should strongly condemn South Africa for its persistent refusal to comply with the relevant United Nations decisions, for its imposition upon the Territory of its policies of *apartheid*, and for endeavouring to destroy the unity of the people and the territorial integrity of their land. The General Assembly should demand the immediate withdrawal of South Africa and its military and police forces, as well as its administration, from Namibia, so as to enable the Namibian people to achieve freedom and independence.

7. In addition, in view of South Africa's refusal to negotiate in good faith for the transfer of power in Namibia, the majority of members held the view that the General Assembly should pronounce itself in favour of the termination of

the contacts between the Secretary-General and the Government of South Africa as they are detrimental to the interests of the Namibian people. The General Assembly should also invite the Security Council to consider taking effective measures, in accordance with the relevant Chapters of the United Nations Charter, to put an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

8. In view of the support received by the Government of South Africa from certain States, which enables it to pursue its repressive policies in the Territory, many delegations felt that the General Assembly should, *inter alia*, call upon all States to respect strictly all United Nations decisions concerning Namibia and the opinion of the International Court of Justice. Members also considered that all States and organizations concerned should be requested to extend to the Namibian people all the moral and material assistance they require to continue their struggle for freedom and independence, and to work out concrete programmes of assistance to Namibia in consultation with the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. As regards the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the draft resolution proposed by the Fourth Committee would have the General Assembly approve the Council's report, including its proposed programme of work for 1974, and would make adequate financial provisions for the implementation of that programme.

9. Draft resolution II relates to the United Nations Fund for Namibia. By adopting this resolution the General Assembly would, in order to ensure the operation of the Fund, authorize an allocation of \$100,000 from the regular budget, and would further authorize the Secretary-General and the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to appeal to Governments for voluntary contributions to the Fund. Further, the General Assembly would appoint the Council for Namibia trustee of the Fund and authorize the Council to prepare guide-lines for its orientation, in consultation with the Secretary-General.

10. The fourth report [A/9338] relates to the question of Territories under Portuguese administration, which the Committee took up under agenda item 71. Members will be aware that the Committee, during its consideration of the item, invited the representatives of the national liberation movements concerned to participate in an observer capacity, in its proceedings relating to their respective Territories. On the basis of their testimony, and in the light of the relevant recommendations of the Special Committee, two draft resolutions are being submitted, in paragraph 17 of the Committee's report, for the attention of the General Assembly.

11. Draft resolution I deals mainly with the basic principles and objectives which require full and unconditional implementation if the deplorable situation currently prevailing in the Territories under Portuguese colonial domination is to be brought to an end. It was the Committee's considered opinion that the General Assembly should reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other Territories under Portuguese domination to self-determination and independence, and the legitimacy of their struggle by all ways and means at their disposal to achieve that right. In this connexion the Assembly should reaffirm that the national liberation movements of the Territories

concerned are authentic representatives of the aspirations of the peoples of those Territories, and should recommend, pending the accession of those Territories to independence, that all Governments, organizations and United Nations bodies concerned should, when dealing with matters pertaining to the Territories, ensure their representation by the national liberation movements concerned in an appropriate capacity and in consultation with the OAU.

12. As is reflected in the draft resolution, the majority of the members also considered that the General Assembly should condemn, in the strongest possible terms, Portugal's persistent refusal to comply with the relevant United Nations decisions, and in particular its intensified armed repression of the peoples under its domination, including the brutal massacre of villagers, mass destruction of villages and property, and so on. The General Assembly should demand from the Government of Portugal that it cease forthwith its colonial wars and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique and that it withdraw its military and other forces from those Territories. In that connexion, many members considered that all Governments, particularly those members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which continue to assist Portugal, should withdraw all such assistance and should put an end to all activities which help Portugal exploit the peoples under its colonial domination.

13. Members also considered that all Governments and organizations concerned should render to the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination—and in particular to the populations in the liberated areas of those Territories—all the assistance they require to continue their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights to freedom and independence.

14. Finally, bearing in mind the explosive situation resulting from the policies pursued by Portugal in the Territories under its domination and from its constant acts of provocation against neighbouring independent African States, the General Assembly, by adopting this draft resolution, would draw the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need for taking effective steps to ensure the full and speedy implementation by Portugal of all the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

15. Draft resolution II relates to the massacres which were recently reported to have taken place in Mozambique. Under this draft resolution, the General Assembly would establish a five-member commission of inquiry to investigate the reported atrocities and to report its findings to this Assembly as soon as possible.

16. The fifth report [A/9339] relates to the question of Southern Rhodesia, which the Committee took up under agenda item 72. Here again the Committee had the benefit of receiving valuable information from the representatives of the national liberation movements of the Territory, whom it invited to participate in an observer capacity in its relevant proceedings, and it is on the basis of that information, as well as in the light of the related recommendations of the Special Committee, that the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the two draft resolutions set out in paragraph 15 of its report.

17. By adopting draft resolution I, which relates to the general question of Southern Rhodesia, the General Assembly would first and foremost reaffirm the basic principle that there should be no independence before majority rule in Zimbabwe and that any settlement concerning the future of the Territory must be worked out with the full participation of the genuine political leaders and representatives of the national liberation movements who are the sole and authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe and must be endorsed freely and fully by the people. During the Committee's consideration of the question, the overwhelming majority of members felt that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, should take all effective measures to terminate the illegal racist minority régime and should never transfer or accord to the illegal régime any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty.

18. The General Assembly should request the administering Power to ensure the Territory's attainment of independence by a democratic system of government in accordance with the true aspirations of the majority of the population. To that end, the majority of members considered that the General Assembly should request the United Kingdom to convene as soon as possible a national constitutional conference where the genuine political representatives of the Zimbabwe people, including the national liberation movements, would be able to work out a settlement relating to the future of the Territory for subsequent endorsement by the people and should bring about the conditions necessary to enable them to exercise freely and fully their right to self-determination and independence.

19. The draft resolution also contains requests to the Government of the administering Power to secure the full enjoyment by the African people of Zimbabwe, both within and outside the Territory, of their fundamental rights and to co-operate with the Special Committee in the discharge of the latter's mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. Other important considerations are also duly reflected in the draft resolution.

20. Draft resolution II deals specifically with the question of sanctions against the illegal minority régime. In this context, the Fourth Committee condemned the failure of the United Kingdom Government to take effective measures, in accordance with the relevant decisions of the United Nations, to put an end to the illegal régime and called upon that Government to do so without further delay. In the same context, the majority of members strongly condemned the policies of the Governments, particularly those of Portugal and South Africa, which continue to collaborate with the racist minority régime in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and contrary to their obligations under the Charter. The majority of members therefore felt that the General Assembly should condemn all violations of, as well as the failure of certain States to enforce strictly, the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council. The Assembly should condemn the continued importation by the Government of the United States of chrome and nickel from Zimbabwe and should call upon that Government to observe faithfully and without exception the provisions of the said resolutions. Further, in view of the continued deterioration of the situation in the Territory, the General Assembly should draw attention of the Security Council to the urgent need to widen the scope of sanctions

against the illegal régime to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter and to consider imposing sanctions against Portugal and South Africa. The draft resolution contains a number of concrete recommendations which the Fourth Committee deems it necessary to formulate and present to the attention of the Assembly.

21. The sixth report, contained in document A/9424, concerns the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in all colonial Territories, which the Fourth Committee took up under item 73 of the agenda. During the Committee's consideration of the item, many members again expressed their conviction that any economic and other activity which impedes the implementation of the Declaration and obstructs efforts aimed at the elimination of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa and other colonial Territories violates the political, economic and social rights and interests of the peoples concerned and is therefore incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Those members also reaffirmed that the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in the colonial Territories—particularly in southern Africa—constitute a major obstacle to political independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of those Territories by the indigenous inhabitants. Consequently, they declared that any administering Power, by depriving the colonial peoples of the exercise of their rights or by subordinating them to foreign economic and financial interests, violates the obligations it has assumed under the United Nations Charter. Accordingly, the Fourth Committee condemned the policies of the colonial Powers and other States which continue to support those foreign economic and other interests engaged in exploiting the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories. The Committee stressed the need for all States to take effective measures to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance, including military supplies and equipment, to the colonial régimes which use such assistance to repress the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements. These and other considerations are duly reflected in the draft resolution set out in paragraph 8 of the report.

22. The seventh report, contained in document A/9421, relates to the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations—item 74 of the agenda. During the Committee's consideration of this question members noted that some of the organizations concerned had made serious efforts to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration and other relevant General Assembly resolutions. In particular, they noted with satisfaction the recent decision of certain organizations to grant observer status to the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in Africa. On the other hand, many members expressed deep concern that several organizations had not extended their full co-operation to the United Nations, especially as regards the provision of assistance to the national liberation movements and the discontinuance of all support to the racist and minority régimes in southern Africa.

23. Taking these considerations into account, those members considered that the General Assembly should again reaffirm that the recognition by the United Nations of

the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence entails, as a corollary, the extension by the United Nations system of organizations of all the necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories, including especially the populations in the liberated areas of those Territories and their national liberation movements. It was also considered necessary that the General Assembly should once again urge the specialized agencies to withhold all assistance from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, to discontinue all forms of support to them until they renounce their policies of racial discrimination and colonial oppression and to refrain from taking any action which might imply recognition of the legitimacy of these régimes' colonial and alien domination of the Territories concerned.

24. In that connexion a number of members considered that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system should be requested to ensure, in consultation with the OAU and the Special Committee, that the peoples of the colonial Territories in Africa are represented by their national liberation movements, in an appropriate capacity, when dealing with matters pertaining to those Territories. These and other important considerations are reflected in the draft resolution set out in paragraph 13 of the report.

25. The eighth report [A/9422] relates to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for southern Africa, which the Fourth Committee took up under agenda item 75. By adopting the draft resolution set out in paragraph 9 of the report, the General Assembly would *inter alia* express its appreciation to all those who have made voluntary contributions to the Programme, while recognizing that additional funds are required if the latter is to continue in operation and be expanded. Accordingly, the Assembly would again appeal to all States, organizations and individuals to make generous contributions to the Programme. As a further transitional measure, the Assembly would also make provision, under the regular budget, for an amount of \$100,000 to ensure the continuity of the Programme pending the receipt of adequate voluntary contributions.

26. The ninth and last report [A/9423] relates to offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of non-self-governing territories, which the Committee took up under item 76 of the agenda. As members are aware, the draft resolution set out in paragraph 8 of the report was adopted without objection. By adopting this resolution the General Assembly would *inter alia* express its appreciation to those Member States which have made scholarships available to inhabitants of non-self-governing territories and would invite all States to make or continue to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of those territories. In addition, the Assembly would request the administering Powers concerned to intensify widespread and continuous dissemination, in the territories under their administration, of information on offers made by States, and to provide all the necessary facilities to enable students to avail themselves of such offers.

27. On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I commend these nine reports to the serious attention of the General Assembly.

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

28. The PRESIDENT: As members are aware, the items before the General Assembly have been debated at length in Committee. May I therefore take the liberty of seeking the co-operation of members of the General Assembly by asking them to make their statements as brief as possible and to confine them as has just been decided, to explanations of vote.

29. The General Assembly will first consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 13 and 23 [A/9416].

30. I call on the representative of Cuba on a point of order.

31. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I regret to have to interrupt the discussions of the General Assembly at this stage. I would swear that my delegation came into this room at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and asked for the floor on a point of order before the Rapporteur submitted the reports of the Fourth Committee which are now before the Assembly.

32. I had asked for the floor at that time because the point of order that we want to submit refers to the organization of the work of the Assembly rather than to the specific recommendations made by the Fourth Committee, which are to be considered by the General Assembly at this plenary meeting.

33. Through you, Mr. President, we would like to seek clarification from the Secretariat about some of the aspects of the development of our work, which in our opinion are not conducive to the best way of working at this session.

34. If we are not mistaken, on 22 November [2176th meeting]—that is to say 20 days ago—the Assembly concluded consideration of a colonial question of the utmost importance under item 23: 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.

35. Since then we have not heard anything—anything official at any rate—as to what happened to this item and the various draft resolutions which were before the Assembly more than a month ago. Nevertheless, at various times the President and the Secretariat have made a number of announcements which seemed to indicate that this item would be discussed in plenary meeting, on occasions that have already passed.

36. Only yesterday afternoon the Secretariat circulated an addendum to issue No. 5827 of the *Journal* of the United Nations which indicated that this important item would be considered in plenary meeting today. This morning, when we came into the plenary meeting, we saw another *Journal* (No. 5828) and to our surprise that item, as well as agenda item 2 on yesterday's agenda (also concerning item 23), had disappeared from the *Journal*.

37. This rather surprising manner of organizing the work of the plenary meetings is, in our opinion, perhaps not the

most adequate way to ensure that the General Assembly earnestly and carefully considers the various items of its agenda. We would not be raising this point of order if it were not for item 23, to which the great majority of Member States have always attached the utmost importance.

38. It is well known that only a small number of delegations, those which represent the vestiges of colonialism in the world today, are the only ones which have opposed the resolutions on this question that we have considered year after year, and we are concerned about the fact that the Assembly may be influenced, unwittingly perhaps, by the interest of a small number of countries, whose number can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

39. That is why my delegation wanted, before the Rapporteur introduced the reports which we are now told are going to be considered this afternoon, to find out from the Secretariat what the situation in fact is regarding the other items on colonial questions; which we were told yesterday afternoon that we would be able to consider today.

40. Since we only have a few days left before the conclusion of this session of the General Assembly, it seems to us that we should not allow any official to run the procedure of this Assembly in an arbitrary way without making sure that the Member States of the Assembly and the sovereign General Assembly itself know what plans are being prepared outside this room.

41. The PRESIDENT: First, I should like to say that I regret the misunderstanding that has arisen with respect to the request of the representative of Cuba to speak on a point of order. In relation to the substantive questions that he has raised, I have been informed by the Secretariat that because of the size of the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 23 relating to specific Territories, it has not been possible to have it available in time for the meeting this afternoon. With regard to the draft resolutions on agenda item 23 relating to the question of decolonization in general, which is referred directly to plenary meetings, I have been informed that the delay is due to the financial implications involved, which require consideration by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and by the Fifth Committee. I understand that the report of the Fourth Committee will be available tomorrow so that the General Assembly may consider it on Friday. The same applies to the voting on the draft resolutions concerning decolonization as a whole. I hope that explanation satisfies the representative of Cuba.

42. The draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee appears in paragraph 11 of its report [A/9416]. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution without objection?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3109 (XXVIII)).

43. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Australia, who wishes to explain his vote.

44. Mr. A. D. CAMPBELL (Australia): As was the case in the Fourth Committee, the unanimity which has again been expressed by the United Nations in relation to Papua New

Guinea is extremely gratifying to my delegation and I wish to reiterate the thanks expressed in that Committee on behalf of the Governments and peoples of both Australia and Papua New Guinea by the Papua New Guinea Minister for Education, Mr. Olewale, who was a Special Adviser in the Australian delegation.

45. It is particularly encouraging that the attainment of self-government in Papua New Guinea should be marked in this way, and that such further encouragement should be provided towards taking the remaining step to independence. We have noted also, and would like to acknowledge, the very numerous statements which have been made by delegations from every geographical group commending both Australia and Papua New Guinea for what the two parties have so far achieved together. This is a reflection not only of co-operation between the administering Power and the colonial Territory, but an example of the co-operation which is possible and necessary between them and the United Nations if we are to derive full and further benefit from the great United Nations system of decolonization.

46. Speaking in the General Assembly on an earlier occasion, my delegation said that while we accepted that it would not yet be practicable to apply such an approach to all administering Powers, we believe nevertheless that those in the United Nations charged with a special responsibility for the work of decolonization should seek in every available way to encourage and induce the co-operation of the administering Powers.

47. As recently as yesterday in the Security Council the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia drew a clear distinction between the discharge of Australia's responsibility in Papua New Guinea and the lamentable irresponsibility shown by South Africa, on the other hand, in having failed to discharge its earlier responsibility in Namibia. But there are other areas and other administering Powers whose co-operation we should not forgo and whose past record and future intentions differ markedly. There is perhaps insufficient discrimination in the way in which we apply our strictures to the remaining administering Powers. For example, and because my delegation does not at this stage propose to seek the floor again this afternoon, and will of course maintain its affirmative votes on the draft resolution concerned, I wish to recall briefly that we stated in the Fourth Committee that our votes in respect of Southern Rhodesia were not directed against the approach of the United Kingdom, but against the Salisbury régime. I wish to reaffirm that our votes in this matter cannot be interpreted as condemnation of the United Kingdom Government, whose efforts to find a peaceful settlement have been considerable. But I also wish to reaffirm our strong and unequivocal condemnation of the Smith régime.

48. In short, in cases where there is a prospect of co-operation from an administering Power, we would wish to pursue it. And to that end we do not see that co-operation and condemnation sit easily together.

49. I should like to conclude on the note of co-operation and to reiterate our thanks for the reciprocal co-operation which Australia is receiving from the United Nations in the decolonization of Papua New Guinea.

50. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 69 [A/9418]. I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of that report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, 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 Tanzania, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Brazil, Costa Rica, France, Guatemala, Malawi, Paraguay, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

The draft resolution was adopted by 114 votes to 2, with 10 abstentions (resolution 3110 (XXVIII)).¹

51. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of Guatemala, who wishes to explain his vote.

52. Mr. ORANTES-LUNA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): A vote has just been taken in the General Assembly on the draft resolution contained in the report of the Fourth Committee [A/9418]. My delegation abstained in the vote because document A/9023/Add.7 and document A/9239 contain information presented by the United Kingdom on Belize, which is an integral part of our territory occupied by the United Kingdom.

53. In stating reservations on the Territory of Belize we express the confidence of our Government that a satisfactory solution to this controversy between the United Kingdom and Guatemala will be reached by peaceful means, in a manner which will be satisfactory to my country and without losing sight of the interests of the inhabitants of that Territory, which is an integral part of the territory of the Republic of Guatemala.

¹ The delegation of the Niger subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

54. The PRESIDENT: Before we proceed to the next item, I should like to announce that recorded votes have been requested on all subsequent draft resolutions to be considered this afternoon.

55. The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 70 [A/9419].

56. I call on the representative of Denmark for an explanation of vote before the vote.

57. Mr. THUNE ANDERSEN (Denmark): I am speaking on behalf of the delegations of Finland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The four delegations abstained in the vote in the Fourth Committee on draft resolution I contained in paragraph 16 of document A/9419. We did so first of all because we found that the question dealt with in operative paragraph 7 was a matter for the Security Council. After the adoption yesterday of Security Council resolution 342 (1973) this objection is no longer valid. Consequently, the four Nordic delegations are now able to vote for the draft resolution as a whole, although as mentioned in our explanation of vote in the Fourth Committee, the text also contains some other elements which we cannot support. In explaining our vote we would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the Secretary-General's personal efforts with a view to establishing the necessary conditions so as to enable the people of Namibia freely, and with strict regard to the principle of human equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

58. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote. The two draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee are contained in paragraph 16 of document A/9419.

59. Draft resolution I is entitled "Question of Namibia". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/9440. I now put to the vote draft resolution I.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, 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 Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, El Salvador, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Paraguay, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 107 votes to 2, with 17 abstentions (resolution 3111 (XXVIII)).

60. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "United Nations Fund for Namibia." The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/9440.

61. I call on the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, Mr. Garrido of the Philippines, to announce a correction to that report.

62. Mr. GARRIDO (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the report of the Fifth Committee [A/9440] on the administrative and financial implications of draft resolutions I and II which are recommended by the Fourth Committee and are contained in paragraph 16 of document A/9419.

63. I should like to indicate a correction to the paragraph of the Fifth Committee's report beginning with the words "One representative indicated". That paragraph should read:

"One representative indicated, and the Committee agreed, that the United Nations Council for Namibia would have some degree of flexibility in administering this appropriation among its different activities, set out in paragraph 3 of the statement by the Secretary-General [A/C.5/1582]."

64. The decisions of the Fifth Committee are found in paragraphs 11 and 12; they are that additional appropriations of \$65,000 for draft resolution I and \$100,000 for draft resolution II would be required.

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

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran,

Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, 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 Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 124 votes to 2 (resolution 3112 (XXVIII)).

66. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 71, [A/9338].

67. I call on the representative of Chile for an explanation of vote before the vote.

68. Mr. BAZÁN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Chile abstained in the voting in the Fourth Committee on what is now draft resolution I because operative paragraph 3 of that draft was in opposition to the text of what is now draft resolution II.

69. Operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution I now before us for consideration states as proven a matter which, in draft resolution II, is recognized as not yet proven. These two texts lack the consistency that should appear in resolutions of the General Assembly because one of the draft resolutions that we are now considering prejudices matters which the other suggests should be submitted to a commission of inquiry.

70. Our vote now will not be an abstention; this time we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. We have already expressed our formal reservations in the Fourth Committee. We were not, and will not be, able to have these reservations prevail. Therefore, we would wish only to refer to the matter of substance—that is to say, a judgement on the right of all peoples to self-determination, the crime of racism and the hateful nature of colonialism, and an appeal to world public opinion to help the peoples fighting for their independence against régimes that oppress them.

71. In the face of these fundamental statements, the position of my country is quite clear and unchanging. Our national awareness, which has existed in Chile for a long time and is in keeping with the tenets of the United Nations Charter—in whose drafting we played an active role—was reaffirmed in all the discussions and in all the committees of our organization, is reflected in a single position adopted by Chile vis-à-vis colonialism and racism; that is to say, assistance to subjugated peoples, condemnation of the oppressors and repudiation of the ills and evils of racism.

72. Chile is a member of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and has been for some time, and we hope to co-operate with that Committee in seeing to it that this process of colonialism comes to an end as soon as possible everywhere in the world.

73. Chile is also party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, whose provisions were statements of natural law as far as Chile is concerned even before they found positive expression in that Convention. We have ratified that Convention. We have implemented it in the past and will continue to do so faithfully.

74. For all these reasons, and having made our formal reservation with regard to operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution I, Chile fully agrees with the draft resolution before us and will vote in favour of it.

75. The PRESIDENT: Two draft resolutions have been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 17 of its report [A/9338].

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

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, 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 Tanzania, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Honduras, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 105 votes to 8, with 16 abstentions (resolution 3113 (XXVIII)).

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

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, 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, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United States of America.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Hungary, Mongolia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 109 votes to 4, with 12 abstentions (resolution 3114 (XXVIII)).

78. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 1 of the resolution just adopted the General Assembly decided "to establish a representative Commission of Inquiry on the Reported Massacres in Mozambique, consisting of five members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly after due consultations with Member States". Accordingly, the President of the General Assembly has appointed the following members to the Commission of Inquiry on the Reported Massacres in Mozambique: the German Democratic Republic, Honduras, Madagascar, Nepal and Norway.

79. The next report of the Fourth Committee is on agenda item 72 [A/9339]. We shall now vote on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 15 of its report. I first put to the vote draft resolution I.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus,

Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Uruguay.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 108 votes to 4, with 15 abstentions (resolution 3115 (XXVIII)).

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

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, 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, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg,

Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 101 votes to 5, with 22 abstentions (resolution 3116 (XXVIII)).

81. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 73 [A/9424].

82. For an explanation of vote before the vote, I call on the representative of Sierra Leone.

83. Mrs. JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone): My delegation has asked for the floor not for an explanation of vote but to make a clarification on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in paragraph 8 of document A/9424. We the sponsors appreciate all economic investments which are of benefit to the colonial peoples. The draft resolution before the General Assembly today deals specifically with only those economic activities which impede the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in all colonial territories or which impede efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

84. We believe that we made this point very clear when introducing the draft resolution in the Fourth Committee. We are laying stress on this point in the General Assembly now because we feel that it would be unfair of any delegation that votes against or abstains in the vote on this draft resolution to explain such an action by the fact that the sponsors are certain that all economic activities are harmful to colonial Territories or peoples.

85. Having made this clarification, it is the hope of the sponsors that those who take any negative or neutral stand on this draft resolution will do so for other reasons.

86. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report [A/9424].

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, 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, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United

Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay.

The draft resolution was adopted by 103 votes to 3, with 23 abstentions (resolution 3117 (XXVIII)).

87. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda items 74 and 12 [A/9421]. We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 13 of the report.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, 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 Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Belgium, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Spain, Uruguay.

The draft resolution was adopted by 108 votes to 4, with 17 abstentions (resolution 3118 (XXVIII)).

88. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 75 [A/9422]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the

administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is in document A/9441. I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, 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 Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

The draft resolution was adopted by 126 votes to 2 (resolution 3119 (XXVIII)).

89. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take up the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 76 [A/9423]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution without objection?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3120 (XXVIII)).

90. The PRESIDENT: Before calling upon those representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of their right of reply, I should like to recall that the General Assembly, at its 2123rd plenary meeting, decided that such statements should be limited to 10 minutes.

91. Mr. HINCHCLIFFE (United Kingdom): I have asked for the floor in order to reply to what the representative of Guatemala had to say earlier this afternoon concerning Belize. I am obliged to state that the United Kingdom Government does not accept the statement of the representative of Guatemala in so far as it disputes the sovereignty of my Government over Belize. My Government has no doubt as to its sovereignty over the Territory of Belize, and I wish formally to reserve the right of my Government on this question.

92. Members will be aware that my Government has in past years explored peaceful means, including direct negotiations, submission to the jurisdiction of the appropriate international bodies and international mediation, whereby its differences with Guatemala with regard to Belize might be resolved. My Government will continue its peaceful efforts to reach a just solution which will take full account of the rights of the people of Belize, in accordance with the universally acknowledged principle of self-determination. In this respect my delegation welcomes the remarks made by the representative of Guatemala about settling this problem by negotiation and about the necessity of taking into account the interests of the people of Belize.

93. Mr. BAZÁN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At this morning's meeting, we discussed and voted upon a draft resolution on basic principles of the legal status of the combatants struggling against colonial and alien domination and racist régimes [see A/9412, para. 15, draft resolution II]. In the explanation of his vote [2197th meeting, paras. 31-40], the representative of Cuba made references to my country, and in the exercise of my right of reply it is my duty to repudiate his statement.

94. It might appear at first sight impertinent for the representative of the Castro régime to have referred to the case of Chile in connexion with a draft resolution which deals with the legal status of the combatants who are fighting to eradicate colonial and alien domination. Nevertheless, it can be explained by the fact that this probably made him think of Chile because his compatriots, inside and outside the Cuban Embassy in Santiago, using arms which they clandestinely introduced into the country, until three months ago were a foreign, alien force promoting armed action designed to submit our people to the ideological and political domination of the Castro régime.

95. We can understand his obsession with Chile, because he cannot be satisfied with the fact that the Chileans have expelled their compatriots from our country, that foreign force which attempted to subjugate us.

96. In the past and today their intentions for revenge have been quite clear. We have heard their aggressive talk against Chile proclaimed under the pretext of waging a deadly war with no frontiers against any countries which the Government of Havana may itself judge to be influenced by imperialism or to be working with imperialism. This accusation does not concern us. However, this is the most audacious type of interventionism heard in the United Nations, not only against Chile but also against all free countries that try to act independently, outside of any foreign influence, be it of whatever trend or régime.

97. In referring to the case of Chile in the discussion of a text on the struggle to achieve independence, the representative of Cuba tries to conceal these interventionist intentions, which are socio-imperialist and neo-colonialist actions, and are thus incompatible with the very meaning of that document. He is trying to confuse these intentions with the struggle of peoples against colonial and alien régimes, a struggle which the text justifies.

98. As to the numbers of dead and of people arrested in Chile following the insurrection of 11 September, the alleged

figures given by the representative of the Castro régime are not in keeping with the truth. Of course, the larger the numbers, the more enticing they will be to him, since he is used to hundreds of thousands of deaths and detentions.

99. I can state that the insurrection of 11 September has not caused more than 1,000 deaths in Chile. There have been no more than 1,300 detainees in Chile, all of them accused of common crimes under our penal criminal code, the military justice code and the laws on domestic and foreign security.

100. I understand that if we compared figures here it might be a waste of time; but more than words, we have facts, and I refer you all to facts.

101. The truth of what has happened and is happening in Chile is clearly there for anyone to see, anyone who wishes to visit us. We open our doors to anyone because we have nothing to conceal and we have nothing to be ashamed of. The truth of what has happened and is happening in Cuba, on the other hand, is concealed behind a steel wall which no one has been able to cross.

102. In any event, this is an unquestionable fact. Whatever deaths might regrettably have occurred in Chile, they would have been fewer and could perhaps have been avoided altogether, had it not been for the incitement to violence and the secret introduction of weapons into the country, carried out by the régime of Castro.

103. *De facto*, the delegation of the Castro régime has come here to accuse us of its own deeds.

104. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The person who spoke just a few moments ago was not in the Assembly this morning and did not vote on any of the draft resolutions that the Assembly considered. Representatives may therefore excuse him for his ignorance with regard to the texts that were adopted at the meeting this morning. It will be recalled indeed that operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution I in paragraph 15 of document A/9412 called upon all participants in the Diplomatic Conference: "... to alleviate the suffering caused by armed conflicts and to protect non-combatants and civilian objects in such conflicts".

105. To make sure that there is no doubt as to what we said this morning, I should also like to recall the fact that it was not our delegation or Government which produced figures with regard to the suffering, the massacre and the repression that occurred in Chile from 11 September onwards. I confined myself to quoting verbatim a cable from Agence France-Presse, which reproduced a statement made in Stockholm, on 10 December last, by Mr. Harold Edelstam, former Ambassador of Sweden in Chile. It was that distinguished Ambassador who said "15,000 persons were killed in Chile after the coup d'état of 11 September". He said that "35,000 persons were arrested" in that country; he also said that "7,000 persons still remain in gaols to this day"; he—Mr. Edelstam—also said "30,000 students lost their right to continue their studies" and "10,000 persons were left without employment". I have no reason whatsoever to question the truthfulness and objectivity of that distinguished diplomatic representative, who fulfilled his

mission in Santiago, Chile, with the greatest distinction by defending the rights and lives of thousands of persons victims of the Fascist oppression. I do not believe that anyone could, for even an instant, imagine that those who yesterday were at the service of the People's Government and who today try to curry favour with the Fascist militarists could make us doubt the version given us by that distinguished Swedish diplomat.

106. I should like to call the Assembly's attention to the fact that there was one point which the previous speaker did not wish to mention. I had referred to the existing threat against Mr. Jaime Barrios, former General Manager of the Central Bank of Chile, accused by the Fascist military junta of having drafted the "Z Plan". They claim that he has disappeared. My delegation sounded a warning note today in the Assembly concerning the danger to the life of this distinguished Chilean economist, whose service not only in the cause of Chilean development but also on behalf of other Latin American countries has earned him the respect and concern of the international community. The fact that the spokesman of fascism has preferred to omit any reference to the case of Mr. Barrios justifies my delegation's preoccupation with regard to his present condition and the warning that we sounded this morning in the General Assembly.

107. Mr. BAZÁN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The statements made by a diplomat, quoted by the previous speaker and which he believes to be objective, to me lack objectivity; I do not believe them; in my opinion, they are false. Those statements were published in *The New York Times* yesterday, but that paper also believes them to be false. *The New York Times*—which has never distinguished itself for objectivity so far as news about Chile is concerned—in referring to those statements by the Ambassador in yesterday's edition said that, according to its information, the number of dead in Chile amounted to 2,000. Thus the denial came from the very newspaper which published the report, and in the line immediately following the information just read out to us.

108. I should like to comment on the last observation. No one's life is threatened in Chile. What some are threatened with is the possibility of being brought to trial, in accordance with the law, before the regular or military tribunals, depending on the nature of the offence committed, and for offences committed against previously existing laws—because the non-retroactive nature of the penal law in Chile is respected.

109. I shall not speak here about the personal case to which reference has been made. I did that once in the past and it resulted, in suspension of the General Assembly's deliberations. That personal case, as all representatives know, was based exclusively on a lie. It was said here that Mr. Corvalán would be shot that very afternoon. Mr. Corvalán is alive; he is being tried in Chile. And I imagine that the same situation will prevail in respect of the case mentioned by the representative who spoke before me and to which, he alleged, I did not wish to refer.

110. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have asked to be allowed to speak merely to thank the speaker who preceded me for the fact that, despite all the efforts he has made to perform his part as representative of

the Chilean Fascist junta as best he can, he was good enough to remind us that not only the Ambassador of Sweden referred to the murders and other violations perpetrated against anti-Fascists in that country but that there are other sources—such as *The New York Times*—that have referred to that matter.

111. Once again I should like to repeat that I would not for a moment think of challenging the opinion of an ambassador who himself had to risk his own personal safety, since, as we all know, to be an Ambassador in Chile is not as simple or serene a job as it is to represent Chile in the United Nations. That Ambassador, the representative of Sweden in that country, would in no way be challenged by my delegation or compared to the speaker who preceded me. No one in this hall, I believe, could for an instant believe that such a possibility might exist.

112. As for the concern regarding the situation of Jaime Barrios and so many others who, in Chile, are the subject of Fascist repression, Mr. Bazán's words can obviously not convince anyone. He has passed judgement on the Swedish Ambassador and on his denunciations; but the Assembly had already had an opportunity earlier to judge the value of the words and opinions of Chilean diplomats. It had that opportunity not so long ago when it was considering the situation of that very same Ambassador, Mr. Edelstam, who had been struck with fists and sticks and brutally assaulted by the Chilean authorities—not the refugees whom he was protecting but Sweden's former representative to the country concerned. Such a man and a diplomat who sought thus to defend the principles of international law does not deserve in any way to be contrasted with the views of the servant of a régime which has stooped to such despicable violations of international law.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.