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REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/7425)

1. Mr. AGGREY-ORLEANS (Ghana), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: The Fourth Committee has been able to dispose of a rather crowded agenda which included a

number of highly complex problems. Some of these questions were given rather protracted consideration by reason of the peculiar problems they posed. Two of these agenda items figure in the reports which I have the honor to introduce to the Assembly this afternoon. I refer particularly to two reports [A/7423 and A/7424] relating to agenda item 68 and items 69 and 12. Both questions have this in common: that in considering them, the Committee intended to identify and isolate the formidable problems which face the United Nations in securing the implementation of the objectives and provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

2. In the case of one, we realize that the disillusionment and frustration which have characterized the fulfilment of the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV) were the direct result of the activities of certain foreign economic and financial interests operating in Territories under colonial domination, and especially those in southern Africa. This problem must be viewed against the background of colonialism as an economic enterprise, whereby colonial Powers, acting in concert with certain economic interests, evolved colonial policies which exploited the subject Territories, subordinated the needs, interests and rights of the subject peoples to those of foreign interests. In other words, colonial and subject peoples saw their lands and resources exploited and were deprived of even the most fundamental of human rights.

3. The drafters of the draft resolution relating to agenda item 68 [A/7423, para. 8], which the Fourth Committee recommends to the Assembly had those appalling conditions of colonial peoples in mind. For these reasons attention must be drawn to the intent of some of the salient paragraphs of the draft resolution which recalls the obligation of administering Powers, within the meaning of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, to ensure the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Territories under their administration and to protect these peoples and their natural resources against abuse. Failure to abide by the terms of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter is considered a violation of the Charter and a repudiation of the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV).

4. The draft resolution therefore calls on administering Powers to put an end to any practices in the Territories under their administration which tend to exploit the peoples of the Territories and violate their political, economic and social rights. All States are further called upon to take practical measures to ensure that their nationals involved in economic and other concerns in dependent Territories do not act in such a way as to obstruct the application of resolution 1514 (XV) to these dependent Territories. The draft resolution relating to agenda item 68 by its very terms should be considered as transcending the interests of any one group of States in this Organization. Its objective is to secure speedy implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and by its adoption the Assembly will only be recognizing the imperative of self-determination and freedom as the basis for forging international co-operation.

5. As regards the report [A/7424] relating to items 69 and 12 there is general agreement that, as indicated in the Charter of the United Nations, the family of organizations in the United Nations and other international institutions

affiliated to them should co-ordinate their activities and harmonize their policies. That is the overriding consideration which motivated the adoption by the Fourth Committee of the draft resolution [A/7424, para. 13].

6. An appeal is made to all specialized agencies and international institutions to assist the United Nations in attaining the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV). There is an appeal that the two most recalcitrant Member States, namely, South Africa and Portugal, should not receive any assistance from any organization until the Governments of those States have renounced their inhuman policies of colonial domination, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. It is recognized that in harmonizing the policies of all the various organizations concerned there may be some difficulties. But those difficulties may be smoothed over if the specialized agencies and the international institutions concerned transmit to the Special Committee of Twenty-four concrete suggestions with a view to finding the best ways and means of achieving the full and speedy implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and other pertinent resolutions. These considerations which I have briefly outlined should commend the draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly.

*Mr. Lopez (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

7. I wish to submit for the Assembly's consideration six other reports [A/7420, A/7421, A/7422, A/7418, A/7419 and A/7425 and Corr.1] relating respectively to items 63 and 71, 66, 67, 13, 23 and 70.

8. By the organization of its work for this session the Fourth Committee decided at its 1766th meeting to hold a general debate governing all the items contained in the reports which I submit to the Assembly today. By this unprecedented procedure the Fourth Committee succeeded in curtailing unnecessary debates, thus allowing time for useful consultations over the drafting of relevant resolutions which could command the support of a large and representative majority of Member States. More than anything else it was considered important that a spirit of mutual accommodation should pervade our consideration of those questions in order to make recommendations which stood a good chance of being adopted and effectively implemented.

9. In its report [A/7420] concerning agenda items 63 and 71, the Fourth Committee recommends for adoption two draft resolutions, set out in paragraph 10. Draft resolution I, on "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations", reaffirms the right of the international community to receive from administering Powers information on the Territories they administer in order to facilitate the Assembly's work in discussing, investigating and assessing the colonial situation in dependent Territories. Failure or refusal on the part of any administering Power to transmit such information is, therefore, a matter of deep regret. By that draft resolution the Assembly will remind the administering Powers of their obligations under Article 73 e.

10. Draft resolution II, relating to "Offers by Member States of Study and Training Facilities for Inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories", was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. I would recommend

that the Assembly act with the same unanimity on this draft resolution in order to encourage the efforts of Member States which are rendering such invaluable assistance to the subject peoples who are preparing themselves for the day when they will be free to assume the reins of Government in their own countries.

11. I wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to paragraph 6 of the report [A/7421] under agenda item 66 in which the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly that it decide to postpone consideration of the question of Fiji to its twenty-fourth session. It is hoped that in the course of its work during the coming year the Special Committee of twenty-four nations will examine the question and thus enable the Assembly to consider the question at its next regular session.

12. In its report [A/7422] on agenda item 67, the Fourth Committee recommends for adoption a draft resolution which appears in paragraph 9. If that draft resolution does not essentially contain anything new, it is because there is a stalemate on this question. The majority of the members of the Committee who supported the draft resolution have rightly expressed the hope that the administering Power will co-operate with the United Nations in finding a way out of this impasse.

13. In its report [A/7418] on agenda item 13, the Fourth Committee recommends for adoption two draft resolutions, which appear in paragraph 14. Whatever decision the Assembly takes should be governed by the need to safeguard the rights of the people, whose interests must be paramount in our minds.

14. In its report [A/7419] concerning agenda item 23, the Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt three draft resolutions, which are set out in paragraph 21. The first of these draft resolutions concerns Ifni and Spanish Sahara and was adopted after very intensive consultations with the parties interested in the question. The second concerns Gibraltar. The third concerns the following twenty-four Territories: American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands.

15. I should also like to draw attention to paragraph 22 of this report, in which the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly that it postpone consideration of the question of French Somaliland to its twenty-fourth session. It must also be noted that the twenty-four nation Special Committee proposes to consider the question in the course of its deliberations in 1969.

16. The last report [A/7425 and Corr.1] concerns agenda item 70. In this report, the Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution, set out in paragraph 7, which the Committee itself adopted unanimously.

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

17. The PRESIDENT: As members are aware, the items before the Assembly have been debated at length in Committee. Therefore I would take the opportunity to seek the co-operation of members of the General Assembly by asking them to make their statements as brief as possible and to confine themselves to explanations of vote as has been decided. Representatives who may wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply will be given an opportunity to do so after all the explanations of vote have been heard and after a vote has been taken on each item. It has been requested that the votes to be taken this afternoon be recorded votes.

18. The General Assembly will first consider the report [A/7420] of the Fourth Committee relating to agenda items 63 and 71. No delegations have asked for the right to explain their votes. Accordingly we shall proceed to vote on the recommendations of the Fourth Committee contained in paragraph 10 of the report.

19. I put draft resolution I to the vote.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

*Against:* Brazil, Canada,\* Portugal, South Africa.

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

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 87 votes to 4, with 16 abstentions [resolution 2422 (XXIII)].*

20. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to draft resolution II, which has been adopted without objection in the Committee. May I take it that the Assembly also adopts this draft resolution without objection?

*Draft resolution II was adopted without objection [resolution 2423 (XXIII)].*

\* The representative of Canada subsequently informed the Secretariat that he wished to be recorded as having abstained on the draft resolution.

21. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has thus concluded consideration of agenda items 63 and 71.

22. The Assembly will now take up the report [A/7421] of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 66. In paragraph 6 of the report, the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly that it decide to postpone consideration of the question of Fiji to its twenty-fourth session.

23. As no delegation wishes to explain its vote, and if I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the recommendation of the Fourth Committee.

*It was so decided.*

24. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 66.

25. The General Assembly will now consider the report [A/7422] of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 67.

26. As there are no requests for explanations of vote on this item, the Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee, which appears in paragraph 9 of the report. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll call.*

*South Africa, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Somalia.

*Against:* South Africa, Sweden, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal.

*Abstaining:* Swaziland, Thailand, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, France, India, Iran, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Paraguay, Senegal, Sierra Leone.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 66 votes to 18, with 26 abstentions [resolution 2424 (XXIII)].*

27. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 67.

28. The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Fourth Committee [A/7423] on agenda item 68.

29. As there are no requests for explanations of votes, the Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 8 of the report.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

*Against:* Portugal, South Africa.

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

*The draft resolution was adopted by 87 votes to 2, with 19 abstentions [resolution 2425 (XXIII)].*

30. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 68.

31. The General Assembly will now take up consideration of the report [A/7424] of the Fourth Committee on agenda items 69 and 12. The draft resolution recommended by the Committee appears in paragraph 13 of the report.

32. I shall call upon those representatives who have asked to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

33. Mr. SANTAMARIA (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): When the draft resolution [A/7424, para. 13] was considered in the Fourth Committee, the Colombian delegation abstained from voting on the sixth preambular paragraph and on operative paragraphs 4 and 5, because of constitutional difficulties, which we explained at the time.

34. The Colombian delegation therefore requests a separate vote on the sixth preambular paragraph and on operative paragraphs 4 and 5 of the draft resolution.

\* The representative of Ireland subsequently informed the Secretariat that he wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

35. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to explain the reasons for its vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Fourth Committee on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations [A/7424, para. 13]. The Soviet delegation will vote in favour of this draft resolution. We will do so because we regard it as the duty of these agencies and institutions, under the Charter of the United Nations, not only to follow United Nations policy in the matter of decolonization, but also to render increased assistance to the national liberation movements in southern Africa. It should be noted that, in the discussion of this item by the Fourth Committee, it was precisely the practical provisions of the draft resolution, namely operative paragraphs 4 and 5, which were especially attacked.

36. It is recommended in those paragraphs that the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, should take practical steps to withhold assistance from South Africa and Portugal, which are mercilessly oppressing the African peoples of southern Africa.

37. This recommendation, in the view of the Soviet delegation, would have great political significance, since it would constitute an expression of the policy of our Organization on this question. All delegations which are sincerely interested in assisting the national liberation movement must vote in favour of the draft resolution approved by the Fourth Committee and thereby demonstrate their solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, who are fighting for their freedom.

38. No claims about the special status of the International Bank should be allowed to obscure from the General Assembly the obvious fact that this institution, which is under the control of financial magnates from the United States and some other Western countries, is following a policy at cross purposes with that of the United Nations on the question of decolonization. It is therefore the duty of the General Assembly to require the Bank to put an end to its policy of support for the racist régimes of South Africa and Portugal.

39. It must not be forgotten that the dollars and pounds going into the safes of these racist Governments are being used to oppress the African peoples who are fighting for their freedom.

40. That is why we say that the adoption of the draft resolution as a whole will be the best way to express our solidarity with the freedom fighters of southern Africa.

41. The PRESIDENT: Separate votes have been requested on the sixth preambular paragraph and on operative paragraphs 4 and 5.

42. The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on the sixth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution in paragraph 13 of the report [A/7424].

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Algeria, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

*Against:* Brazil, Malawi, Portugal, South Africa.

*Abstaining:* Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Maldives Islands, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

*The sixth preambular paragraph was adopted by 58 votes to 4, with 48 abstentions.*

43. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Algeria, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

*Against:* Brazil, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Malawi, Portugal, South Africa, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Laos, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Venezuela.

*Operative paragraph 4 was adopted by 58 votes to 10, with 42 abstentions.*

44. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

*Against:* Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

*Abstaining:* Afghanistan, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Burma, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia.

*Operative paragraph 5 was adopted by 36 votes to 31, with 43 abstentions.*

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

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Barbados, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Brazil, Costa Rica, Honduras, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland,

Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Maldive Islands, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Paraguay, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Turkey.

*The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 82 votes in favour, 7 against, with 25 abstentions [resolution 2426 (XXIII)].*

46. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Bulgaria in explanation of his vote.

47. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (*translated from French*): The General Assembly has just adopted by a large majority the draft resolution relating to agenda item 69 (Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations). We wish to thank all the delegations which have participated in the work undertaken to deal with this question and are very glad that the General Assembly has been able to adopt this draft resolution.

48. The moral and practical importance of this question was again emphasized during the discussion in the Fourth Committee. It is also reflected both in the resolution which has just been adopted and in the support given to that resolution by the great majority of States Members of our Organization.

49. Like resolution 2311 (XXII), adopted during the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, the purpose of the resolution that we have just adopted is to ensure that the activities of the United Nations in the field of decolonization are fully harmonized with those of the specialized agencies and international institutions which form an integral part of the United Nations family.

50. The resolution takes into account the provisions of the Charter—which is most important—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other pertinent decisions relating to this problem and to the activities of the United Nations with regard to decolonization. It reaffirms the General Assembly's position on the role of the specialized agencies and of the international institutions associated with the United Nations in this field.

51. As has already been stressed, the essence of the resolution is the urgent need for the specialized agencies and the international institutions concerned to adopt—each within its own sphere of activities—effective measures to implement the Declaration on decolonization and to give humanitarian assistance to colonized peoples and, above all, to the national liberation movements in southern Africa.

52. The resolution—particularly in its operative paragraphs 3, 4 and 5—contains clear recommendations intended to achieve effective participation in this endeavour by the specialized agencies and international institutions.

53. Another cause for satisfaction is the conviction that there is active participation in the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization by almost all the specialized agencies and the international institutions themselves—with

some well-known exceptions—as can be seen from some of their responses to the appeals of the General Assembly as well as from the statements made by the representatives of a number of institutions in various United Nations organs.

54. The most appropriate means must be devised for co-ordinating the programmes and activities of the specialized agencies so that the provisions of this resolution can be implemented as speedily as possible.

55. Everything done so far in this direction merely marks the beginning of an activity that must become increasingly specific and intensified in order to achieve concerted and effective action by the specialized agencies and the international institutions in conformity with the provisions of the resolution we have just adopted.

56. Until colonialism has been finally liquidated and the struggle of peoples for their national liberation has been crowned with success, the United Nations and the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with it will have to play an important and active part in the attainment of those objectives. There can be no doubt that the implementation of this resolution—and, like the vast majority of Members of Organization, we hope that it will be implemented as soon as possible—will serve the just cause of the peoples subjected to colonial domination and will contribute to the triumph of their struggle for national independence.

57. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 69 and chapter XVI, section C, of the report of the Economic and Social Council [A/7203], which relates to this item.

58. I now invite the General Assembly to take up the report of the Fourth Committee [A/7418] on agenda item 13. Representatives who wish to do so may explain their votes on draft resolutions I and II, appearing in paragraph 14, in a single statement.

59. I shall now call on the representatives who wish to speak in explanation of their votes.

60. Mr. ABDULGANI (Indonesia): The Indonesian delegation has asked for the floor to explain its position before the vote on a question regarding the territory which is geographically adjacent to my country. It concerns the territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, mentioned in document A/7418.

61. We have followed with particular interest the discussions in the Fourth Committee on the report of the Trusteeship Council dealing with this Territory. As a country which has paid such a high price for its own independence, we welcome every step which brings a neighbouring Territory closer to independence in the shortest possible time.

62. The report<sup>1</sup> of the Visiting Mission of the Trusteeship Council provides us with a valuable source of information on which to base our judgement. We should like to stress that part of the conclusions and recommendations of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 2*, document T/1690.

United Nations Visiting Mission which indicated that a sense of nationhood should be tutored and nurtured through a more vigorous programme of political education; for it is only through a political education, coupled with economic emancipation, that the necessary prerequisites can be achieved for genuine independence of the Territory.

63. Similarly, we are appreciative of the explanatory statements made in the Fourth Committee [1799th and 1813th meetings] by Australia, as the Administering Authority. We feel that the efforts of the Administering Authority to fulfil its responsibilities have shortcomings in some respects, which we regret; but its accomplishments as a whole should not be overlooked. While in many parts of the world decolonization has had to undergo a harsh process of bitterness and conflict, the Australian authorities should be recognized for their more enlightened attitude towards meeting the requirements of the times.

64. We now have before us in document A/7418, paragraph 14, draft resolutions I and II, introduced by twenty-seven African and Asian Powers and by Liberia respectively. The Indonesian delegation sees no inconsistency in favouring the Liberian draft while at the same time supporting the twenty-seven Power draft, since the two complement rather than contradict each other. While they are not similar in the wording of their content or approach, both have the same starting point: that is, the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Being ourselves so acutely conscious of the problems of achieving independence and sovereignty based on national unity and territorial integrity, we fully recognize the principle in resolution 1514 (XV) that inadequacy of political, economic, social and educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. We therefore prefer that a fixed date be set, and feel that this should not be offensive to the Administering Authority, which has demonstrated its willingness in carrying out its mandate.

65. At the same time, we are also very well aware of the problems involved in an attempt to hold elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage. In some areas of Indonesia, where large numbers of the population are inaccessible either for reasons of geography, education or culture to modern standards of voting, such elections present particular difficulties. We have experienced difficulties of this nature in our own general and local elections in the past. Therefore we wish to advise caution on the practicability of such a method.

66. In the light of that, we express our reservations as to the wording of paragraph 3 (b) of draft resolution I since we feel that the method of voting should be left flexible and practicable, so as to allow a degree of discretion to the people themselves, with the assistance and advice of the Administering Authority, in accordance with the existing situation and condition of that area. This does not, however, detract from our support of the substance of draft resolution I.

67. Thus, while we are in complete agreement with the rapid evolution of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea to full nationhood, we do have reservations as to paragraph 3 (b) of that draft resolution, and if a separate

vote were taken on that sub-paragraph, we would have to abstain.

68. Mr. SHAW (Australia): I wish to explain the vote of the delegation of Australia on the two draft resolutions before us, appearing in paragraph 14 of the report of the Fourth Committee [A/7418]. Both those resolutions concern the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. They are thus of considerable importance to Australia, which is the Administering Authority. They are of even more importance to the people of Papua and New Guinea, and I trust that all delegations will bear this in mind when determining their votes. The overriding issue is, as it always should be, the best interests of the people of the Territory.

69. I wish to recall briefly the major achievements of the past year on which the Australian delegation reported in detail in the Fourth Committee. These were: the holding of general elections; the increased participation of elected indigenous members of the House of Assembly in the executive branch of government; the continued expansion and strengthening of elected local government councils; a big increase in the Territory's budget for the present financial year and a big increase in the grant to this budget made by the Australian Government; further progress in public health and education, and the introduction of a five-year programme for the economic development of the Territory which will require the expenditure by the Administration of nearly 1,000 million dollars during the next five years.

70. In the Fourth Committee, the Australian delegation voted against the first of the two draft resolutions now before us and voted in favour of the second. The first resolution contains provisions which my delegation finds objectionable and one particular provision which it finds offensive and harmful. In the first place the resolution regrets the fact that the administering Power, which is the Australian Government, has not fully implemented resolutions of the Assembly relating to Papua and New Guinea. My delegation has explained many times that considerable and rapid economic, social and political progress has been achieved in the Territory in recent years, and it has also stated its objections to the resolutions which were adopted at the last two sessions of the Assembly. To put it briefly, those resolutions were seriously wrong in their allegations about conditions in the Territory and they called in an unrealistic manner on the administering Power to put a stop to practices or conditions which did not in fact exist.

71. The most serious objection to draft resolution I concerns its operative paragraph 3. This does two things. It calls on the administering Power to fix an early date for self-determination and independence in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the people, and to hold free elections under United Nations supervision on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

72. My delegation has stated many times in the Fourth Committee and in the General Assembly that the fixing of a date for self-determination, that is the final formal act of self-determination whereby the Territory determines the course of its own future, is something for the people of the Territory and for them alone to decide. It is not for either of the two parties to the Trusteeship Agreement, the



General Assembly or the Australian Government, to decide; it is for the people of the Territory themselves to do so.

73. In the Fourth Committee [1799<sup>th</sup> meeting] my delegation reported in detail about the general elections which were held in the Territory in February and March of this year. We drew the Committee's attention to the fact that the members of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory themselves observed some of the polling processes of the Territory and watched the counting of votes, a process which was open to all members of the public. The members of the Visiting Mission were quite satisfied with the conduct of those elections.

74. Draft resolution I now before us ignores the fact that those elections were held and calls for new elections under United Nations supervision. This can only imply that there was something wrong with the conduct of the elections held this year, and this implication is something which we reject most strenuously. In the discussions in the Fourth Committee there was nothing said by any delegation which could justify the imputation which is made in this draft resolution.

75. I have said that this particular provision of the draft resolution before us is harmful. In saying this I mean that it does active harm for this General Assembly to say something in a formal resolution which casts doubts on the conduct of a scrupulously fair election in a dependent Territory, and therefore reflects on the standing, prestige and authority of the legislature of Papua and New Guinea.

76. The Territory of Papua and New Guinea elected members to its first national legislature, the House of Assembly, in 1964. This year a second general election was held. It should surely be a cause of satisfaction to the Members of this Assembly that a Territory-wide legislature exists, and that through it the people of the Territory are expressing their opinions and attitudes on questions of vital importance for their present lives and for their future.

77. On the question of a target date, may I remind the plenary that two days ago in the Fourth Committee my delegation quoted from a statement made only six days ago by the Australian Minister for External Territories, Mr. C. E. Barnes. Mr. Barnes was talking about this very point and he said:

"The basic policy objective for Papua and New Guinea is self-determination. The Government seeks the economic, social and political advancement of the people of the Territory to the stage at which they are ready to choose their own form of government.

"Some people have argued that the Government should set target dates and other precise goals for political advancement, just as targets have been set for economic and social advancement. I believe that such an approach would not be in harmony with our basic policy for self-determination.

"If a timetable for constitutional changes in the Territory was set now it would have to be based on today's circumstances. But this timetable could be proved by events to be unacceptable to the people. In a very short time they may see things differently. Their wants may be different. They may want to shape the future of the Territory in ways not thought of today. A timetable

imposed now could deprive the people of choices of their own future which they might otherwise wish to exercise.

"Changes may take place in attitudes which are just not foreseeable.

"Rapid changes are in fact taking place in the Territory. There are changes occurring in people's attitudes, in their approaches to problems, in their daily lives, as more people move from subsistence farming to cash production, go through the education system and come into a modern sophisticated cash economy.

"These changes are taking place as part of the process of economic development. The policy objective is to reduce the Territory's economic dependence on outside aid. True responsible government, or real independence of thought or action, is inconsistent with continued heavy dependence on outside assistance.

"The Australian Government is not holding back political progress on this account. It will move in accordance with the wishes of the bulk of the people. But it is trying to follow policies in the Territory that will lead to accelerated economic development and that will hasten progress towards self-reliance".<sup>2</sup>

78. For the reasons which I have given, my delegation will vote against draft resolution I now before us.

79. We will vote in favour of draft resolution II, as we did in the Fourth Committee. My delegation has been happy to see a draft resolution introduced and adopted in the Fourth Committee which, in our opinion, gives a much more realistic picture of conditions as they are in the Territory, which takes due and proper account of present policies, and which makes constructive recommendations to the administering Power.

80. In the Fourth Committee a move was made to prevent draft resolution II from coming to a vote. My delegation, in the company of the majority of those present, voted against that move, because we wished to see and record an affirmative vote on the draft resolution itself. This remains our position.

81. We wish draft resolution II to be put to the vote here so that we may record an affirmative vote for it by Australia.

82. Mr. BENJAMIN (Guinea) (*translated from French*): It is not strictly in explanation of vote that I have asked to speak—the position of my delegation is known to all—but rather to submit a motion which, with your permission, Mr. President, I should like to explain.

83. It is necessary to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that it has before it two draft resolutions [A/7418, para. 14], both dealing with the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

84. However, it is no longer a matter of reaffirming resolution 1514 (XV), but rather of inducing the colonial Power—in this case Australia—to determine the conditions under which the people of the Territory will exercise their

<sup>2</sup> This statement was made at the 1813th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

right to self-determination with a view to their accession to independence at the earliest possible date.

85. It is this concern which is emphasized in draft resolution I, as opposed to draft resolution II, which simply enunciates a general principle in the vaguest terms.

86. For this reason, my delegation formally moves that, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, a two-thirds majority should be required for the adoption of these two draft resolutions.

87. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Syria to speak on a point of order.

88. Mr. ALLOUNI (Syrian Arab Republic): Mr. President, the understanding of my delegation was, as you yourself suggested, that we should have the explanations of vote after the voting had taken place. Are we now departing from that procedure?

89. It also seems to my delegation that the statement of the representative of Australia was hardly an explanation of vote: it was a full statement, which we had heard in the Fourth Committee several times. May I again ask you, Sir, to postpone the explanations of vote until after the voting on the draft resolution?

90. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with accepted practice and the rules of procedure delegations have the right to explain their votes either before or after the vote and the three delegations on whom I called for an explanation of vote had indicated their desire to do so before the vote. Accordingly I had to grant their request. There are no more explanations of vote before the vote and therefore we shall proceed to the vote.

91. I call on the representative of Upper Volta on a point of order.

92. Mr. DIALLO (Upper Volta) (*translated from French*): I apologize for speaking at this stage, but my colleague from Guinea has moved that a two-thirds majority should be required for the adoption of the two draft resolutions submitted to the General Assembly [A/7418, para. 14], and as far as I know the President has made no ruling on that motion. My delegation, for its part, supports the motion because it believes that, as is laid down in Article 18 of the Charter:

“Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include . . . questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, . . .”.

93. I therefore support the proposal made by the representative of Guinea and should like to know what the President's ruling is on the subject or what decision the General Assembly wishes to take in this connexion.

94. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with Article 18 of the Charter and rule 85 of the rules of procedure, both of which require that resolutions concerning the operation of the trusteeship system require a two-thirds majority, the Chair rules that both draft resolutions before the Assembly

will require a two-thirds majority for approval. If there are no objections to that ruling, I take it that this is agreed.

*It was so decided.*

95. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to pronounce itself on draft resolution I. The Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7449] on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

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

*Abstaining:* Barbados, Bolivia, Botswana, Central African Republic, Ceylon, China, Dahomey, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia, Mexico, Panama, Singapore, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 72 votes to 19, with 24 abstentions [resolution 2427 (XXIII)].*

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

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Greece, Haiti, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

*Against:* Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Congo (Democratic Republic

of), Czechoslovakia, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Zambia.

*Abstaining:* Afghanistan, Ceylon, Dahomey, France, Ghana, Guatemala, Honduras, Laos, Nigeria, Paraguay, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Togo, Tunisia, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

*The result of the vote was 61 in favour, 37 against and 17 abstentions.*

*Having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority, the draft resolution was not adopted.*

97. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 13.

98. The next item before the Assembly is agenda item 23. The General Assembly is seized of the draft resolutions of the Fourth Committee in regard to territories which have not been considered separately. I shall call first on representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote on the three draft resolutions contained in paragraph 21 of the report of the Fourth Committee [A/7419]. After that I shall put the draft resolutions to the vote in the order in which they have been submitted to us by the Fourth Committee.

99. I will first call on those delegations which have indicated a desire to explain their votes before the vote.

100. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I wish to speak on draft resolution II. Much has been said in the debates in previous years and in this about Gibraltar. I have no wish to go over the ground again nor do I wish to withdraw or change what has been consistently maintained by my delegation. But even in the haste of these closing days of this session it is necessary for me to speak again to explain why I shall vote against this draft resolution. I shall give that explanation as shortly and as clearly as I can.

101. We believe in the principle stated in Chapter XI of the Charter that the interests of the inhabitants should be paramount. We believe moreover that the requirement in the Charter

“to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions . . .”

meant what it said.

102. That is what we have endeavoured to fulfil in vast and varied territories for which we have had responsibility. We see no cause to exclude the people of Gibraltar—a small but proud and brave people—from the protection of the fundamental provisions of the Charter.

103. We believe that the policy adopted by Spain, directed against the people of Gibraltar, the policy of attempting by

restriction and harassment to intimidate and coerce and harm the people has been misconceived and misdirected. Indeed by alienating instead of attracting the people that policy has militated against any positive progress. It has united the people in their resistance. I am sure that no progress will be possible until this attempt to put into force a punitive policy is reversed, until an effort is made to establish relations not of intimidation but of conciliation. I look forward to that day.

104. It is well known that in recent weeks a number of delegations came forward with proposals to seek a course not of confrontation but of co-operation. They hoped to avoid the negative repetition of past prescriptions for deadlock which this draft resolution represents. We respected their motives. We welcomed their efforts. We greatly regretted that their endeavours achieved no change of course on the part of the Spanish Government. There was no readiness to abandon the Spanish insistence that the inhabitants should be handed over against their will to a régime which has been at such pains to offend and alienate them.

105. Nevertheless I trust that the search of these well-disposed delegations for a way forward in co-operation and harmony will not be wasted. I am convinced that the road of conciliation to which they pointed is the only road which can lead to the peace and friendship we wish to see.

106. The proposition that the people should be handed over against their will is happily so far removed from possibility as to be incredible. Certainly such a clumsy attempt at coercion is wholly unacceptable to them and to us. It is a matter to be deplored that, often for reasons entirely irrelevant to the question at issue, a number of delegations should have supported a proposition which they know will not and cannot be put into effect, which can only bar the way to practical progress and which has, I greatly regret to say, brought wide discredit to the United Nations. On the other hand, I express admiration for those who in spite of intense pressure have declined to associate themselves with a resolution so barren and so hopeless but have instead advocated a return to conciliation and co-operation.

107. It is constantly our duty here at the United Nations to seek for agreement. However deep divisions may be and however intensely feelings may run, we must always be ready to look for common ground, for conciliation and for co-operation. We on our side would warmly welcome a new endeavour to proceed in such a search in good faith and good will.

108. It is my hope that, not because of but in spite of this draft resolution, there will very soon be a start in the right direction. I trust that we shall see a readiness by the Spanish Government to abandon the endeavour to achieve its purpose by ill will and ill treatment directed against the people concerned. Such an endeavour cannot succeed; it can only make matters worse. The draft resolution before us marks the end, the dead-end, of one road. I trust that it will not be too long before we start out on another.

109. Mr. HASAN (Pakistan): In regard to the question of Gibraltar the position of my delegation has been con-

sistently determined by our sincere desire to support any United Nations action which would promote a pacific settlement on the basis of bilateral talks between the two Governments concerned. Last year we voted in favour of resolution 2353 (XXII) for the following reasons.

110. First, we have clearly recognized that the situation in Gibraltar is a colonial one and that the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), are fully applicable to Gibraltar. Accordingly we supported the fifth preambular paragraph of that resolution.

111. Second, it has been our consistent stand that the wishes of the people of a disputed Territory regarding its future disposition should be ascertained under the auspices of the United Nations. We cannot support any referendum held by a party on its own terms and without the impartial supervision of the United Nations. It follows that we cannot recognize the result of such an action as disposing of the issue. It is primarily for that reason that we supported operative paragraph 2 of resolution 2353 (XXII), which declared that the holding of the referendum of 10 September 1967 by the administering Power was in contravention of earlier Assembly recommendations.

112. Third, Pakistan throughout had supported the view that the Governments of the United Kingdom and Spain should enter into bilateral talks to find a negotiated settlement. In the light of this we supported operative paragraph 3 of the resolution.

113. In considering draft resolution II, on Gibraltar, now before the Assembly, we are appreciative of the many elements in it which are in the main reflective of the Assembly's previous resolution. At the same time, we find in it some features which are unacceptable to my delegation. Therefore, while voting for the draft resolution, we should like to place on record our serious reservations on some of its provisions.

114. In the first place, we feel that operative paragraphs 1 and 4 lack balance in approach. We are of the view that the wording of paragraph 1 could be modified without specifically censuring one of the parties concerned, namely, the United Kingdom. The same argument applies to paragraph 4. In our view, the Assembly should call upon both parties to enter into negotiations. In this regard we should have preferred a formulation similar to that contained in operative paragraph 3 of resolution 2353 (XXII).

115. However, our basic misgiving about the deficiencies of this draft resolution arises from one substantial matter. I refer to the desirability of retaining operative paragraph 3. We are of the view that the setting of a time limit for the termination of the colonial situation seems to be neither practical nor realistic, especially in the light of the previous experience of the United Nations with such recommendations. We believe that this paragraph will not bear any fruitful result and we should have preferred to see it deleted. Our affirmative vote on the draft resolution should be considered as being subject to those reservations.

116. Mr. COLE (Sierra Leone): My delegation has found it necessary to speak again, in explanation of its vote on the

question of Gibraltar. Two years ago my delegation sponsored an amendment to General Assembly resolution 2231 (XXI), which *inter alia* called upon the two parties to continue their negotiations and highlighted the interest of the people as paramount in the decolonization of the Territory. That resolution was adopted almost unanimously. Last year we witnessed in resolution 2353 (XXII) a complete break with that paramount principle of self-determination, the interest and the wishes of the people of Gibraltar, and the subjection of it to another principle, that of territorial integrity in national unity.

117. My delegation, which had supported the previous resolution, did not vote in favour of resolution 2353 (XXII). In the explanation of our vote before the vote, in the Fourth Committee [1814th meeting] on 16 December of this year, my delegation reiterated its firm belief and adherence to the principle of self-determination entrenched in the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) and in Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations.

118. We do now state again that we cannot flinch from these principles. We maintain that the interests of the people should be paramount. My delegation will vote against draft resolution II because, apparently, innocent as the draft resolution is, it is very much tied up with resolution 2353 (XXII). It intensifies the impractical aspects of resolution 2353 (XXII) and its provisions seriously stifle decolonization and the principle of self-determination.

119. Finally, my delegation would like to recall the bilateral talks between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Spain and invite them to resume them in order to find a peaceful and workable solution to the problems in Gibraltar.

120. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): In the desire to remove any misunderstanding that may have arisen in the Assembly as a result of statements made by previous speakers, my delegation wishes to recall that, on 16 October 1968, here in plenary [1698th meeting] I had occasion to give a clear and, I believe, conclusive explanation concerning the matter raised by my friend, the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom, for whom I have always had the greatest respect. I then reiterated that, in our opinion, the position of the United Kingdom delegation with regard to Article 73 of the Charter appears to overlook the fact that the interests of the inhabitants, which that Article states must be paramount, are those of the indigenous inhabitants who have their roots in a territory.

121. Those who drafted the Charter could hardly have thought that the inhabitants of a military base in Gibraltar, occupied by force and by methods that have been condemned throughout history—and even by United Kingdom historians themselves—could ever constitute an indigenous population in the true sense of the term. Those inhabitants do not constitute a people within the meaning of the Charter for the purpose of exercising the right in question. Gibraltar, as I have stated, is a military base, whose needs have determined the number of people employed there. It is this fact that has accounted for the

fluctuations in the population, which at times has been larger and at other times smaller. It has not been the rate of increase of the original settlers which has determined the normal development of the population, but purely and simply the needs of the military base.

122. I also wish to remind you that the Spanish Government itself has repeatedly declared, and continues to do so, that it does not have the slightest desire either to destroy or to absorb that population. As far as we are concerned, it can continue to be British if it so wishes.

123. We have offered to sign a treaty which would embody all the safe-guards and rights that those individuals might wish and which would be registered with the United Nations and jointly guaranteed by the United Kingdom and Spanish Governments.

124. Some days ago, in the Fourth Committee, my delegation raised the question whether the rulers of the United Kingdom have explained to the population of Gibraltar what the effect would be of a treaty registered with the United Nations and guaranteed by the present administering Power and by Spain.

125. I also wish to remind those who might have any doubts regarding the force and significance of the date set by the sponsors in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee [1814th meeting] that, so far as my delegation is concerned, and I quote from the brief statement I made in the Fourth Committee: "The target date set in operative paragraph 3 of resolution A/C.4/L.911 does not, objectively speaking, constitute a barrier to the solution of the problem. If the United Kingdom really wishes to negotiate and if during the negotiations both parties—that is to say, Spain and the United Kingdom—consider that the date set by the General Assembly should be changed, I feel sure that the Assembly will not object to such a change being made, as happened in the case of Equatorial Guinea."<sup>3</sup>

126. In making this statement, my delegation feels it must express its special satisfaction at the statement just made by Lord Caradon, that he regrets the failure to reach an agreement which would have set us on the road to the decolonization of Gibraltar. My delegation regrets this too. We had thought it would be easy to find common ground, but the case of Gibraltar is not unique. Gibraltar has constituted a precedent. The General Assembly in its wisdom has decided to adopt a series of decisions which represent a consensus: resolution 2070 (XX), resolution 2231 (XXI), and resolution 2353 (XXII). A doctrine has emerged, that doctrine is not ours; it is that of the United Nations. As we understand it, this doctrine has to be observed.

127. Regardless of any differences of opinion we may have with the United Kingdom, I have one source of gratification: the tone of Lord Caradon's statement. I believe that after this draft resolution has been adopted, we will find a way to persuade the United Kingdom to see reason. And reason lies not on our side, nor on theirs, but

only in the decolonization of a colonial territory, and the General Assembly has indicated the course which decolonization should follow.

128. I do not wish to delay the work of the Assembly any further. I simply wish to thank you, Mr. President, for having given me an opportunity to speak once more.

129. Mr. CAINE (Liberia): My explanation of vote before the vote relates to draft resolution II, on the question of Gibraltar. The Liberian delegation voted in favour of the resolution [2353 (XXII)] on Gibraltar adopted by the General Assembly on 19 December 1967. However, a new situation has arisen in Gibraltar as a result of the refusal of its people to agree to the change of sovereignty over the Territory from the United Kingdom to Spain.

130. Moreover, my Government has received a series of appeals from elected members of the House of Assembly of Gibraltar expressing their objections and opposition to the draft resolution now before the Assembly.

131. For those reasons, when the draft resolution on Gibraltar is put to the vote my delegation will vote against it.

132. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on the various draft resolutions before it [A/7419, para. 21].

133. The Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7440] on the administrative and financial implications of draft resolution I. I put that draft resolution to the vote.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* France, Mexico, South Africa.

<sup>3</sup> This statement was made at the 1814th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 114 votes to none, with 3 abstentions [resolution 2428 (XXIII)].\**

134. The PRESIDENT: A roll-call vote has been requested on draft resolution II. I put that draft resolution to the vote.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

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

*Against:* New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Barbados, Botswana, Canada, Denmark, Guyana, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mauritius.

*Abstaining:* Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Senegal, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United States of America, Upper Volta, Austria, Belgium, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Laos, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico.

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 67 votes to 18, with 34 abstentions [resolution 2429 (XXIII)].*

135. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Chile in explanation of his vote.

136. Mr. PIÑERA (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of Chile voted in favour of draft resolution II both in the Fourth Committee and here in plenary. By way of a reservation, however, we wish to place it on record that we should have preferred a more carefully drafted and realistic text for operative paragraphs 1, 2 and 3.

137. The PRESIDENT: A separate vote has been requested on operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution III. Accordingly I shall now put that paragraph to the vote.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Algeria, Argentina, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia,

Cameroon, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Afghanistan, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Finland, France, Iran, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Laos, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mexico, Nigeria, Paraguay, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Swaziland, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela.

*Operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution III was adopted by 68 votes to 16, with 29 abstentions.*

138. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution III as a whole.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Barbados,\* South Africa.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Maldives Islands, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago,

\* The representative of Jordan subsequently informed the Secretariat that he wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

\* The representative of Barbados subsequently informed the Secretariat that he wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

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

*Draft resolution III as a whole was adopted by 89 votes to 2, with 22 abstentions [resolution 2430 (XXIII)].*

139. The PRESIDENT: I request the Members of the Assembly to turn their attention to paragraph 22 of the report [A/7419] in which the Fourth Committee recommends the following:

“The General Assembly decides to postpone consideration of the question of French Somaliland to its twenty-fourth session”.

140. As there is no objection, I take it that the General Assembly adopts this recommendation.

*It was so decided.*

141. The PRESIDENT: We shall now turn to the last report [A/7425 and Corr.1] of the Fourth Committee, which relates to agenda item 70. The Assembly will vote on the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the Committee in paragraph 7 of the report. The Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/7439] on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland,

Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Portugal, South Africa.

*Abstaining:* France.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 115 votes to 2, with 1 abstention [resolution 2431 (XXIII)].*

142. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Niger for an explanation of vote.

143. Mr. SALIFOU (Niger) (*translated from French*): For reasons entirely beyond my control, I had to leave the Assembly hall for a short while and was therefore unable to participate in the voting on the draft resolutions relating to agenda items 63 and 71, 67, 68, and 69 and 12.

144. My delegation, which took an active part in the preparation of these draft resolutions and in their adoption in Committee, cannot fail in its duty. I therefore wish to state explicitly that my delegation would have voted in favour of the draft resolutions relating to items 63 and 71, 67 and 68 but that, although it favoured the draft resolution relating to items 69 and 12 as a whole, it would have abstained on paragraph 5 of that proposal.

145. My delegation therefore requests you, Mr. President, to consider it as having voted in favour of all these draft resolutions, and asks that this statement should appear in the verbatim record of this meeting.

146. The PRESIDENT: The remarks of the representative of Niger will appear in the verbatim record.

*The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.*