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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
 (Federal Republic of Germany).

AGENDA ITEM 18

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (concluded):

(a) 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;

(b) Report of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. MISHRA (India): The debate on decolonization in the General Assembly this year is particularly significant as it takes place on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The United Nations has reason to feel proud of its achievements over those 20 years, during which most peoples in Asia,

Africa and Latin America exercised their right to self-determination and independence.

2. Today we stand on the threshold of a new era free of colonial domination and oppression, free of exploitation of man by man on the basis of some totally discredited theories of racial superiority. The latest additions to this brave new world—Zimbabwe and Vanuatu—have also rid themselves of the colonial yoke after prolonged struggles.

3. The struggle for national liberation in different parts of the world succeeded largely because of the awakening of nationalism and the determination and heroism of the peoples concerned. But the contribution that the United Nations has made by way of providing an impetus to national aspirations was no less significant. The world body acted as a catalyst in the process of decolonization and provided sustenance to the young nations as they emerged, most of them with primitive economies and depleted resources. The new nations, in their turn, made contributions to the United Nations, transforming it into a universal body symbolizing the hopes and aspirations of the whole of humanity.

4. The impressive achievements of the United Nations in the field of decolonization should not, however, make us oblivious of the task that remains to be done. A few pockets of colonialism have survived the tide of history challenging the very precepts that have been acknowledged by the rest of the world. In Namibia an illegal South African régime continues its oppression of the indigenous people while pretending to prepare for the implementation of United Nations resolutions. In certain small Territories the administering Powers continue to delay the exercise of self-determination on one pretext or another. The United Nations, particularly the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples whose report [A/35/23/Rev.1] is adequate testimony to its support of the relentless struggle of the peoples under colonial domination, cannot rest on its laurels until the last vestiges of colonialism have been eradicated from the face of the earth.

5. In a message on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said:

“On the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization, it gives me great pleasure to reiterate India’s total support to the struggle for national liberation which is being waged by the peoples under alien and colonial domination. Having itself struggled for many long years against imperialist domination, it is only natural that India should consistently and steadfastly support the freedom movements of oppressed peoples everywhere.

“The United Nations’ adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was one of the most momentous decisions taken by the international community for the welfare of mankind. The Declaration is a beacon of hope and inspiration to millions

of dependent peoples throughout the world. It is significant that in the 20 years since the adoption of the Declaration, more than 50 countries representing over 70 million people from Africa, Asia and Latin America have won independence and have joined the community of free and sovereign nations. Recently we rejoiced in the victory of the heroic people of Zimbabwe.

“India has been privileged to play a crucial role in the process of decolonization through direct moral and material support to liberation movements and through its anti-colonial actions at the United Nations and in the Movement of Non-aligned Countries. We remember with pride that the then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, himself attended the United Nations General Assembly session in 1960, when the historic Declaration was adopted.

“I take this opportunity of expressing the hope that the United Nations will soon succeed in eliminating the remaining vestiges of colonialism and alien domination, particularly in southern Africa, which continue to plague the international community.” [See A/35/752.]

6. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): The General Assembly is considering agenda item 18 on the eve of a solemn meeting to be held tomorrow to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. I have asked to speak in this debate in order to read the following message from Mr. Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, addressed to the President of the General Assembly.

7. The message reads:

“The occasion of the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is a momentous one for all liberated people, in particular, and all other freedom-loving people everywhere. It was on 14 December, 20 years ago, that the United Nations General Assembly, in resolution 1514 (XV), adopted the historic and now famous Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which has led to the emergence of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific. My own country, Zambia, became independent within four years of the adoption of the Declaration. It was a source of joy and inspiration for us to have been freed. In addition, after protracted wars of liberation, our neighbours in southern Africa—namely, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, have also, at last, become free.

“That Declaration has brought freedom through independence to millions of people of former colonial Territories. That Declaration has led to the founding of a large number of independent States which are today deserving Members of this world community of nations. The Declaration has contributed most significantly to the destruction of colonial empires. Without that sincere commitment to freedom—which is enshrined in the Declaration as the anti-colonial voice of the international

community—millions of men and women would still be languishing under colonial domination, oppression and subjugation. People were held in bondage for reasons other than their inability to take charge of their destiny. Indeed, the attainment of independence is the fulfilment of the desire and right on the part of men of God to be free.

“This is not the time for recrimination. This twentieth anniversary should be a rededication to the noble and lofty ideals for independence and self-determination for which many have fought and several people have lost their lives. Independence must be preserved and guarded jealously or else we shall lose the noble ideals which were enshrined in the Declaration, including the inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Also, according to paragraph 2 of the Declaration, ‘All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development’.

“On this occasion, we should all remind ourselves that there are millions of people who have not yet benefited fully from the Declaration and, notwithstanding the ardent desire to end colonialism in all its manifestations, pockets of colonies and/or illegal occupation and racist domination under *apartheid* are still prevalent. Let us all remember our brothers and sisters in southern Africa who are yet to be free. Let us remember those in Belize, Western Sahara, a number of Caribbean Territories and those in the Pacific who are yet to attain their independence.

“The obstacles in the path to freedom are likely to be more intractable in the 1980s. New approaches are therefore required if freedom is to be achieved. The task will not be easy. But history has demonstrated that the process of liberation is, in the words of the Declaration, irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith. Man cannot be oppressed forever. His resilience to overcome all forms of colonial domination has been vindicated by history. Indeed, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples represented such a Magna Carta for freedom.

“I appeal to all members of the international community, irrespective of size, colour or social system, to rise to the occasion to help liquidate the remnants of colonialism and racist domination from our planet. I believe that there is growing consensus to that end. Together we can overcome if we all remain faithful to the objectives enunciated in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.” [See A/35/752/Add.1.]

8. I would add nothing to this message which is a reaffirmation of Zambia's commitment to the complete eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, in accordance with the historic Declaration to which this item relates.

9. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): This year the General Assembly, as well as commemorating the thirty-second anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is also commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

10. This is a most fortunate coincidence. Is not the fundamental right of man that of respect for his dignity and freedom? From that recognition flows the natural right of peoples, jointly and severally, to self-determination and independence, together with the need to recognize that the subjugation of peoples is not only an obstacle to peaceful relations among nations, but also a threat to international peace and security.

11. Thus, in deciding to hold a plenary meeting to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, the Assembly sought to demonstrate the particular importance it attaches to the elimination of colonialism in all its forms. Beyond the formal symbolic nature of the ceremony, it wished to invite all Members to examine their own conscience regarding their loyalty to the measures set forth by common agreement in resolution 1514 (XV). The adoption of that resolution, it should be remembered, gave further impetus to the struggle against colonialism and to the speeding up of the process of decolonization. For the United Nations itself, it was the beginning of an unequivocal commitment to the liberation movements.

12. We therefore note with justifiable satisfaction that over the last 20 years the international community has developed in a positive way, characterized by the accession to independence of almost two thirds of the Member States now constituting the United Nations. The Organization was right to encourage that development. In so doing, it endeavoured to remain faithful to the objectives assigned to it by its founders, as set forth in Article 1 and in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter.

13. There is really no need to list the countries which have gained independence since 1960. The fact that the Trusteeship Council has virtually lost its *raison d'être* and that nowadays the Fourth Committee can complete its work in just six weeks, is eloquent proof of the substantial progress made in decolonization since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV).

14. Although there are still enclaves of shame, there is every reason to hope that what was begun in 1960 will be completed in the years to come. The report of the Special Committee, which shows that developments in the few remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories ineluctably move towards the triumph of the ideals of independence and freedom, justifies this hope which is further nurtured by the repeatedly stated readiness of the administering Powers to continue to co-operate with the Organization in order to speed up the achievement of full sovereignty by those Territories.

15. Africa, long the favourite land for colonial invaders, is where the beneficial effects to resolution 1514 (XV) were most felt. The number of independent African States has almost doubled since 1960. The

latest victory is the highly significant and hard-fought liberation of Zimbabwe.

16. That constitutes remarkable progress, which we are justified in welcoming. Let us pay a tribute to the brave peoples of those territories who gave their all for freedom. Let us pay a tribute to the nations and to the peace-loving peoples who supported their liberation struggle. Let us pay a tribute, finally, to the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and to the United Nations which have echoed their aspirations and placed themselves at the forefront of that struggle at the international level.

17. Our joy would be unalloyed today were there not still in Africa those enclaves of shame that I mentioned just now, such as Namibia and the anachronistic situation imposed on the South African people by the Pretoria racist régime.

18. In order to achieve the progress we mentioned in its great work of décolonization, the international community has had to demonstrate great resolution. The opportunity offered us in the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) should enable us to demonstrate even greater determination in order definitively to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism and to proscribe forever that kind of exploitation of man by man which is the most odious that exists—I am speaking of *apartheid*.

19. Nowhere but in the southern part of the African continent is respect for the inalienable right of man to freedom so blatantly flouted. For 60 years in Namibia and for nearly two centuries in South Africa itself, several tens of millions of Africans, forcibly subjected by a minority of white racists, have been reduced to a subhuman state. Having become strangers in their own land, they are condemned to wander and to suffer the most barbarous repression.

20. It would be tedious to recall here the innumerable condemnations of that anti-humane policy by the international community or the numerous measures advocated by the United Nations to bring the Pretoria racist régime to emerge from its blindness.

21. Let it suffice to recall that the members of the Security Council decided to impose a complete embargo on shipments to South Africa of arms which can only serve as an instrument of repression against the innocent population, and thanks to which the Pretoria régime pursues a policy of aggression against the neighbouring African States. We are constrained to acknowledge the failure of all such measures, since *apartheid* subsists and indeed grows stronger, while the illegal South African presence in Namibia is being strengthened.

22. In the view of my delegation there is no doubt that this defiance of the universal conscience would not be possible without the support and complicity of a great many powerful foreign interests, even certain Governments, which, in continuing to make investments in South Africa, even in the nuclear field, are making light of their commitments to the United Nations and towards mankind as a whole.

23. It is the firm conviction of the United Republic of Cameroon that it is becoming more and more urgent to take effective measures which would enable

the United Nations to play the primary role that it should in the complete elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination. To that end it is of the greatest importance that Member States, without exception, should show complete loyalty to the Organization by respecting the recommendations and decisions adopted by common consent.

24. It is imperative that States understand that any form of collaboration with the backward advocates of colonialism and *apartheid* in contrary to the objectives of the Charter and to the ideal of solidarity and human brotherhood which unites the nations of the world here represented.

25. It is our common duty to apply stronger and stronger pressure, going as far as a strict oil embargo against the Pretoria régime, or even the implementation of economic sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to induce it to cooperate with the United Nations.

26. For its part, the United Republic of Cameroon will continue to associate itself by every means with the noble struggle of peoples for dignity and freedom. It will continue, together with the other members of the OAU and with all peace-loving people, to give assistance of various kinds to liberation movements in their heroic struggle against the last bastions of colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa.

27. It is appropriate once again to remind the great Powers that the special responsibilities to the international community assigned to them by the Charter oblige them to support more effectively the work of the United Nations in this area, which is of the highest priority in that it is there that international peace and security are threatened.

28. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): I wish, at the outset, to read out a message from Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The message is as follows:

“All mankind is observing the twentieth anniversary of that memorable day when the United Nations, following a proposal by the Soviet Union, adopted one of the most important and remarkable documents in its history—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

“This document has historic significance in the struggle of oppressed peoples for freedom and independence.

“The Declaration confirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of dependent territories to self-determination and independence, and has become an effective instrument in the struggle to overthrow colonial domination and to create new independent States. In the wake of the struggle of the national liberation movements, assisted and supported by the peace-loving forces of the world, the vast majority of the colonies of yesteryear have become

free and independent States playing an important role in contemporary international relations.

“It must be said, of course, that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has not been totally implemented. There are still territories that lie under colonial domination.

“It is therefore incumbent upon us to put an end to the machinations of those States which, in defiance of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, continue to provide assistance and support to the racist régime in Pretoria, and to maintain foreign territories under colonial domination. It has become imperative to uphold the rights of the people of Namibia and the peoples of other colonial Territories and to grant them total independence. Effective steps must be undertaken rapidly by all the States, specialized agencies and other international organizations within the United Nations to implement unconditionally and fully the Declaration and the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

“The total and final elimination of the colonialist system will improve the international climate, promote international co-operation by strengthening international peace and security, and represent an important step forward on mankind’s way to progress.

“The People’s Republic of Bulgaria was among the first States to declare their support for the Declaration, and in the course of the last 20 years it has given active aid to militant peoples. It makes its contribution to the cause of implementing the Declaration, in order to eliminate the last vestiges of the colonial system and create a new world founded on justice, without oppression, colonialism or racism. The People’s Republic of Bulgaria is lending its active support to recently liberated States in their nation-building efforts, and is giving them economic, scientific, technological and cultural assistance in their struggle for development. The People’s Republic of Bulgaria supports the efforts of recently liberated peoples to overcome the underdevelopment which they have inherited from the colonial period to combat neo-colonialism, and to restructure international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

“On this twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration, I would like to express my full confidence that the day is not far off when colonialism will have disappeared once and for all from the surface of the earth.” [See A/35/752/Add.1].

29. Now I should like to touch on certain aspects of the problems we are discussing today under agenda item 18.

30. As a result of the major successes of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle, the United Nations has now become a truly universal organization. The majority of its 154 Members are former colonies, and this fact illustrates the success of decolonization. However, it must not be forgotten that the struggle is not yet over. Colonialism is not eliminated and the forces which are endeavouring to pre-

serve it certainly have no intention of giving up their positions.

31. This year once again we are witnessing attempts by South Africa to perpetuate its colonial domination over Namibia. Ignoring all the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, Pretoria is continuing its illegal occupation of that Territory. Because of the isolation in which they find themselves, the racists of Pretoria are now trying to find ways of preserving their positions by the use of neo-colonialist methods. That process started with the attempts to put into effect the so-called internal solution. At the same time they have continued this year to carry out dangerous acts of aggression against independent African States. The pillaging of the natural resources of Namibia is still being carried on by South Africa, as well as by a large number of imperialist transnational corporations.

32. The continuance of the illegal occupation of Namibia and the aggressive and impudent acts of the racist régime have been possible only because the continued support and assistance given to it by certain Western States and by Israel. This year again the Special Committee on decolonization has considered the question of the economic, military and political collaboration of those countries with the *apartheid* régime and, by adopting an appropriate resolution, has condemned such collaboration [A/35/23/Rev.1, chap. V, para. 9]. The discussions in the Special Committee and those in the United Nations Council for Namibia and particularly the hearings of witnesses concerning Namibian uranium have very clearly shown that behind this collaboration can be seen the vast economic, military and strategic interests of the United States and some other Western countries. This is the real cause of the frustration of all initiatives aimed at imposing sanctions on South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. It is also the reason for the continued violations by the same countries of the embargo on arms shipments to South Africa. The degree of danger this collaboration represents for world security and peace is very clearly indicated by the fact that South Africa already has a nuclear capability.

33. The delegation of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria would like at this point to reiterate its position, which is that a real settlement of the Namibian question can be achieved only on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978). No solution without the participation of the South West Africa People’s Organization [SWAPO], the only authentic representative of the Namibian people, could be regarded as legitimate and realistic. One of the conditions *sine qua non* of the settlement of this problem is also the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Namibian territory.

34. While dealing with the need to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism, we cannot and should not forget the so-called small Territories. The delegation of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria has repeatedly indicated its position, namely, that peoples can exercise their right to self-determination only in conditions of complete freedom and of the transfer of political power to them in conformity with the prin-

ciples enunciated in the Declaration, in the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*] and in other resolutions of the United Nations.

35. In that regard, we cannot accept as valid considerations concerning the size of a Territory, its geographical isolation or its limited resources; these cannot be used as pretexts for delaying the implementation of the Declaration.

36. However, in many cases the administering Powers declare that the colonial peoples do not desire independence and that they prefer association or integration with the metropolitan country; but such statements are never submitted to verification in conditions of full freedom and under the auspices of the United Nations.

37. In that regard, the most striking example can be seen in the actions of the United States with regard to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Those actions, which are aimed at violating territorial integrity on the one hand, and achieving annexation of the territories on the other hand, in order to transform them into military and strategic bases permanently in the hands of the United States, represent a violation of the Declaration as well as of the Charter of the United Nations.

38. Another important aspect of the work of the Special Committee was the mobilization of world public opinion to support the national liberation struggle and to defend the inalienable right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence. That activity of the Committee during the current year, as well as the results of the preceding years, deserve our whole-hearted recognition.

39. The position of my country on the questions of decolonization has a solid and durable basis. Bulgaria has been and always will be in favour of the full implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It will continue, in future as well, to provide assistance to peoples in their struggle to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence until the total and definitive elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in all their forms and manifestations.

40. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): My delegation would naturally never contemplate standing aside from any plenary debate on decolonization. The twentieth anniversary of the most comprehensive United Nations resolution covering decolonization thus presents a fitting opportunity to restate the United Kingdom's role in furthering the process of self-determination throughout the world.

41. Almost one-and-a-half billion people across five continents come from countries with direct experience of British decolonisation policies. Forty-seven Members of the United Nations, that is just under one third of the total membership, were at one time in this century administered by Britain. It is a source of great pride and satisfaction for us that almost all of them have chosen to continue their bonds of friendship and co-operation through the Commonwealth.

42. Since the birth of the United Nations, British dependent Territories have been administered in

accordance with the Charter. They have been brought to independence, when that was the will of their people, in accordance with the principles of the Organization. This has of course been a continuous process. Specific United Nations resolutions, including resolution 1514 (XV), have not brought about any change in our policies towards British territories. The guidelines for the United Kingdom's approach to decolonization were laid down in the late 1940s and 1950s. Indeed, it is possible to trace them even further back in time. These guidelines have been followed faithfully by successive British Governments. In practice, the main decisions on British territories were made soon after the Second World War. The largest territories had been decolonized long before resolution 1514 (XV) was conceived. Fifteen dependent and Trust Territories, including modern India, Pakistan, Nigeria and Malaysia, with a combined population today of 933 million people, became independent before December 1960, when resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted. A further four territories, with populations now amounting to 4.5 million, were by that time irrevocably committed to constitutional advance to independence.

43. I recall that at that time the fundamental principle on the granting of independence to British colonial Territories and peoples was that this should be the desired constitutional status of the populations involved. It was our policy that their wishes must be freely expressed through their own political processes, and that constitutional change should be granted to the extent that they sought it and at the pace they preferred. The United Kingdom would promote and encourage progress towards independence, but it would not push colonial Territories towards independence if they felt they needed more time for social, political or economic development.

44. By this gradual process of bringing Territories towards taking full responsibility for their affairs if they so wished, the United Kingdom has fully discharged its colonial responsibilities. Many of the representatives here are of course familiar with the stages involved: usually a move to internal self-government, then the calling of a constitutional conference, and finally the full grant of independence together with a substantial measure of economic aid to help in the first years of independence.

45. Thus, the process has continued. During the 20 years following resolution 1514 (XV), a further 32 Territories with an approximate current population of 75 million, have attained independence. The trend was of course that the smaller, economically less powerful States were the last to seek independence, since their main priorities were for training, aid and economic development. Nevertheless, by the 1970s, small island colonies were laying their foundations as proud independent nations, and have proved repeatedly that such factors as size, lack of resources and geographical isolation need not constitute impediments to the process of self-determination.

46. Nevertheless, there remain a number of British Territories which do, for the present, prefer to retain their dependent status. Members are familiar with those territories from the debates in the Special Committee. Every year my Government provides com-

prehensive information on their political, social and economic development. Some of them might already have moved to independence were it not for particular problems in their relations with neighbouring States. But for the most part they are the smallest island Territories, whose limited resources dictate that special care must be taken in preparing them for the challenge of independence. Each Territory has its own political life and its own well-established democratic procedures; each one will make its own decisions about the best constitutional status for it at its current stage of development, and it is not for the United Kingdom or the United Nations to tell any dependent Territory what would be the most appropriate constitutional arrangement for its people.

47. The remaining British Territories are small. Most of their people live in islands with a combined population of about 600,000. The Special Committee has generally expressed in its annual reports its satisfaction with developments in those Territories. By way of submission of information under Article 73 *e* of the Charter, regular debates and visiting missions, the United Nations has been kept fully informed on the situation in all of them. Each of the Territories in the Caribbean, for instance, has now been visited by a mission of the Special Committee. The Committee's reports provide an exhaustive commentary on the difficult and complex challenges facing small island populations.

48. To put it mildly, it is therefore particularly disappointing to my delegation that the draft resolution submitted to mark the twentieth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV), with its proposed plan of action [A/35/413, *annex II*], should be so far removed from the realities of today. There is no mention of the tremendous strides in decolonization that have been made over the past 20 years. There is no recognition of the fact that the co-operation of administering Powers over that period has made possible in the vast majority of cases a good-tempered and graceful decolonization. Our independence celebrations with newly independent peoples have not been poisoned by the bitterness and intolerance evident in this document. The extravagantly rhetorical tone of so many of its provisions is far removed from the reasoned examination of remaining colonial questions which I am sure the people of the dependent Territories concerned would appreciate.

49. Of course, much of the language of this draft resolution refers to problems of *apartheid* and the situation in southern Africa. My Government has made clear on countless occasions its total abhorrence of the system of *apartheid* and it looks forward to the day when all the peoples of the South Africa can live in conditions of equality, justice and dignity for all. But *apartheid* is not a colonial question and it should not be used to distort a document purporting to deal with the broader subject of decolonization.

50. In 1960, my delegation was able to abstain on resolution 1514 (XV) because, although there was still language in the resolution that the United Kingdom could not accept, there had been an honest and diligent attempt to draft a text which would command broad support. An earlier text which was written purely for propaganda purposes by delegations with no direct experience of decolonization or, indeed, of

freedom as we understand the word, was rejected in favour of a text written by African and Asian nations which had experienced decolonization at first hand.

51. Unfortunately, the present text seems to have been drafted with the intention of securing endorsement for extreme formulations which go beyond the language of the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee. I shall not go through the document point by point, since delegations will be well aware of the numerous passages expressly designed to prevent the sort of consensus agreement which characterizes the treatment of individual Territories in the committees on decolonization.

52. My delegation regrets that it cannot join in a celebration which should be a happy one, since the advance of peoples throughout the globe towards the achievement of responsibility for their own affairs is a process we hail as a victory for all of us. For this document does not recognize any of the progress achieved. It implicitly pours contempt on the remaining colonial peoples by repeating outworn dogma and sterile jargon, in effect denigrating their right to self-determination where they decide that they do not wish to become independent in the immediate future. And it confuses any reasoned discussion of decolonization by peppering the text with tendentious propositions and the vocabulary of polemic.

53. The United Kingdom has over the past 35 years decolonized the largest empire that has been known to man and has taken a deep pride and pleasure in its replacement by a Commonwealth of strong and self-reliant nations. That decolonization took place in accordance with long-standing British government policies and in accordance with the wishes of the Territories involved. The United Nations has witnessed that continuing process and the United Kingdom has involved United Nations committees and agencies as much as possible to show the identity of interest among the administering Power, the dependent Territories themselves and the international community as represented by the United Nations. Indeed, where would the Special Committee be without the co-operation of the United Kingdom, since so many of the Territories it considers are British Territories?

54. Frankly, the proposed plan of action does not contribute in any way either to a genuine analysis of colonial problems or to a broader understanding of colonial Territories or to a way forward in planning their future development. My delegation will therefore unhesitatingly vote against the draft resolution with its recommended plan of action.

55. Mr. OULD HAMODY (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): In 1960, the General Assembly solemnly proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". It was thus that colonialism, which sought to claim before the world a "civilizing" mission of bringing to peoples which it considered "savage" and "barbaric" the benefits of its splendour, was sharply and clearly condemned by the General Assembly in the preamble of resolution 1514 (XV).

56. Twenty years ago, on 14 December 1960, by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to

Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations finally recognized the rights of those oppressed peoples, rights which they had already granted themselves by their passive resistance and violent struggle for freedom and equality. That long and arduous course has been strewn with hundreds of thousands of martyrs, hundreds of thousands of maimed, and with devastation of every imaginable kind.

57. The acts of brutal repression and aggression on the part of colonialists seeking to halt the course of history by perpetuating their political domination, economic exploitation and cultural emasculation of so-called backward peoples were constantly overcome thanks to the determination and courage of the patriotic forces of the dominated entities.

58. The Declaration went further, proclaiming to the world, in its paragraph 3, that "Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence". That truth, which eliminated any excuse for colonization, was more generally highlighted in paragraph 2, which stipulated that "All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." Thus resolution 1514 (XV) enshrined the equality of large and small nations in their right to self-determination, regardless of their cultural heritage.

59. But the major point of departure of the Declaration was its rejection of the collective enslavement of peoples till then almost tolerated by a world which sought truth in one single cultural family, disregarding all other values of human civilization.

60. Paragraph 1 of the Declaration re-established the balance by the following unambiguous proclamation: "The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

61. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mauritania stated during the general debate on 10 October last concerning the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples:

"That resolution was the first massive, consistent demonstration and the first genuine mobilization of the Organization's determination to accelerate the end of colonialism, which indeed was already on its last legs. The year 1960 also saw the emergence in the international arena of a large number of new nations, which had thirsted for freedom and had finally won it. The year 1960 saw the dawning of great hopes that with the end of political subjugation, there would be an era of prosperity in a world that had finally recognized that the struggle of the peoples was sacred, that their liberation was inevitable.

"The Declaration is, in fact, but a reflection in this forum of the admirable historical process that began in Bandung in 1955 and spelled the end of the old colonial empires. The spirit of Bandung and the struggle of the peoples of the world have made possible what had hitherto seemed unimaginable, have made commonplace certain ideas that

in the past had been regarded as heretical by the colonial Powers. And, what is more, the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) has made possible the rehabilitation—timidly, it is true, but effectively—of 'subversive' ideas that, thanks to the blood shed by martyrs, have become so natural, and so necessary to the equilibrium of the world." [33rd meeting, paras. 113 and 114.]

62. However, while declared colonialism is now indefensible and although the circle is closing around the last vestiges of an outrageously anachronistic world, some have apparently learnt nothing. Indeed, South Africa not only continues to be one of the last bastions of the colonial era, slavery and racism, but illegally perpetuates a mandate that it should never have been given and which the General Assembly, in any case, revoked, in circumstances known to all.

63. At the other end of the African continent, in the heart of the Arab nation, Israel, paradoxically, in the twilight of conventional colonialism, is trying to impose a new sort of colonialism on Palestine, the main characteristic of which is the brutal mass expulsion of the inhabitants of that country and the settlement of people alien to the region.

64. The new colonialists may not have learnt any lesson from the crumbling of colonial empires, but we, for our part, have not forgotten anything. In particular, we have not forgotten that no force on earth has been able to overcome a people's aspiration to freedom.

65. As declared in the ninth preambular paragraph of the Declaration, we believe "that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith".

66. We share the conviction of the peoples of the world that the sacrifices made on every front by freedom fighters and those who fight for the right of others to their national identity will no be in vain. Like others yesterday, the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and other places where there is still oppression in our continent will surely impose their national will.

67. On the sacred soil of Palestine its people, like others in the past, will exercise its inalienable national rights, despite the racist brutality and arrogance of the usurper.

68. Everywhere in the world, as a result of their struggles and immeasurable sacrifices, the last remaining colonial countries and peoples will ensure recognition of their inalienable right to self-determination.

69. On the day when colonialism has been totally eliminated, which we hope is near, it will be recalled that on 14 December 1960, nearly 20 years ago today, the United Nations resolutely began "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" by its firm, definitive condemnation of colonialism "in all its forms and manifestations".

70. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): At its fifteenth session, the General Assembly adopted, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, a very important document: the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Coun-

tries and Peoples. Since that time, the United Nations has year after year considered the problem of the implementation of that Declaration and has developed plans of action for its full implementation.

71. Consideration of this subject this year is particularly important because it coincides with the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of that historic Declaration, which was an inspiration to and laid down the guidelines for colonial and dependent peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence.

72. While in 1960, the year of the adoption of the Declaration, 17 African countries achieved independence, during the ensuing 20 years dozens of countries, more than 70 million people, have been freed from the colonial yoke.

73. Indeed, important political, social and economic developments have taken place in the liberated countries of Africa during the past quarter century. There has been continuing progress in the consolidation of those young States. Many African countries have adopted the course of a progressive social development, and in those countries important, far-reaching, progressive reforms are taking place. The role and influence of the countries of Africa in the world arena are becoming ever more important and their contributions ever more weighty in the struggle for détente, the strengthening of peace, the security of peoples, complete decolonization, development and the implementation of the new international economic order.

74. The beginning of the 1980s was marked by another important victory of the peoples of Africa in their struggle for national liberation and against colonialism and racism: the long-suffering people of Zimbabwe, as the result of many years of hard struggle and with the assistance of all progressive forces finally gained its freedom and independence, and in so doing made an important contribution to the struggle of all peoples for the complete and final liquidation of colonialism.

75. Following the victory of the people of Zimbabwe, the problem of Namibia has become the focus of the efforts aimed at the speedy and complete liquidation of the remnants of colonialism. By continuing the illegal occupation of that Territory the South African racists are openly defying the international community, which has repeatedly demanded that Pretoria withdraw immediately from that international Territory and grant independence to Namibia. The racist régime of South Africa, in its efforts to perpetuate its domination over that Territory, is increasing its acts of repression and terror, the main victim of which is SWAPO, the sole legal and authentic representative of the Namibian people. It is well known also that the racists in Pretoria are not only intensifying their shameful system of *apartheid* in their own country but also trying to extend it to Namibia. At the same time that racist régime in Pretoria, by means of various manœuvres, is striving to gain time so as to implement its evil designs.

76. Particularly serious concern is felt by our delegation regarding the nuclear ambition of South Africa, which certainly represents a definite threat to peace and security in that region of the world and to the whole of the African continent.

77. Our delegation also strongly condemns the repeated acts of aggression by South Africa against Angola, Mozambique and other independent African States and expresses its solidarity with those countries and their peoples.

78. As those who have spoken before me have already pointed out, the defiance of the racists and their disregard of the demands of the international community are due to the overt support and assistance which the imperialist Powers are giving to the racist régime. The open collaboration of the Western Powers cannot be assessed as anything but direct encouragement of Pretoria to continue its racist and colonialist policies against Namibia and inside South Africa itself. It is perfectly obvious that the enormous natural resources, the cheap labour and the very high profits derived from their exploitation are among the main reason for the particular interest of some Western Powers and their monopolies in supporting the racist régime of South Africa. That is clearly shown by the fact that at this session of the General Assembly some Western Powers voted against a resolution condemning the activities of international economic and other elements which impede the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in particular in respect of Namibia.

79. The Mongolian delegation, like many other delegations, believes that it is more than time that decisive measures were adopted against South Africa, including comprehensive mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, so as to force that country to put an end to its colonial and racist policies. Our delegation also believes that it is necessary for the General Assembly to demand again that the Western Powers discontinue the support and protection they extend to South Africa.

80. Our delegation believes that even though in the process of the elimination of the last remnants of colonialism the main task is the solution of the problem in the southern part of Africa, none the less we should not underestimate the importance of the problems in the other remaining dependent and colonial Territories, the so-called small Territories. In an effort to strengthen their position in the small Territories which they still govern, several administering Powers, under various pretexts, are delaying the exercise by those peoples of their right to independence and self-determination in accordance with the Declaration. The looting of the natural and human resources of the small Territories by the colonial Powers is a serious obstacle to the social and political development of those peoples and thus it impedes the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration in respect of the peoples of those Territories.

81. Some of those small Territories—mainly in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and the Caribbean—are being used by the administering Powers for military and strategic purposes. A classic example of this can be found in the situation on the island of Diego García, where an important United States military base has been established for the purpose of military actions against the coastal States of the Indian Ocean.

82. Another cause of concern is the deteriorating situation in Micronesia, the last Territory remaining

under the United Nations Trusteeship System. An effort is being made to annex that Territory and include it illegally as part of the United States. The world community should certainly ask the United States to abandon its expansionist designs and grant the people of that Territory the possibility of exercising their right to self-determination in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration.

83. Another important aspect of the question of decolonization is the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The best possible commemoration of that date would, in our view, be the adoption of really effective measures to deal with the last remnants of colonialism so as to ensure the full implementation of the Declaration.

84. Our delegation fully approves the provisions of the draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1 which asks the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session.

85. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The date 14 December 1960 marked one of the most auspicious events in the history of the United Nations. That was the day on which the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which is contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

86. Although the process of decolonization is the result of the struggle of peoples for their independence and sovereignty and is developing in the favourable circumstances created by the triumph over Nazism and fascism and the collapse of old empires, there can be no doubt that the United Nations and, in particular, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have played a considerable part in promoting and carrying out such an enormous task.

87. Since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) until now, dozens of peoples have freed themselves from colonial oppression and acceded to independence, and, year by year, they have become full-fledged Members of the Organization. Some 77 per cent of the States Members of the United Nations were, at a remote or recent stage in their history, countries subjected to the iron rule of colonialism; the majority of the African and Asian nations gained their independence after the Second World War, and a great number of them since 1960.

88. Without dwelling now on the problem of imperialism and neo-colonialism, which, of course, calls into question and, in many instances, even makes a mockery of the freedom acquired at the cost of great sacrifice, it is necessary to underscore the continued occupation and racist repression by the so-called Republic of South Africa in the Territory of Namibia,

which is still submerged by the terror of *apartheid* and the most evil exploitation.

89. South Africa's desperate attempts to perpetuate its illegal occupation of that Territory have caused unspeakable suffering to the Namibian people, which is resolutely and heroically struggling under the banner of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative.

90. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe, after a hard struggle and many political and diplomatic vicissitudes, has frightened the Pretoria racists, who has counted on the support of their Western partners to foil the victory of the Patriotic Front and set up a puppet régime in what was then Rhodesia. Wary and shaken by the lesson of Zimbabwe, they are now seeking to do in Namibia what they were prevented from doing in Zimbabwe by the people of that country.

91. We must therefore remain vigilant. The United Nations has the grave responsibility and the inescapable commitment to promote the advent of an independent and a sovereign Namibia. That cannot be attained if SWAPO is not recognized as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people; if the total and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from the Territory is not achieved; if its territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, is not defended to the death; if the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia is not brought to an end; and finally, if the United Nations Plan, which has been adopted by the international community and accepted by SWAPO, is not implemented.

92. The focus of the anti-colonialist struggle is today inevitably centred on Namibia, and we must dedicate our best efforts to ensuring the victory of this suffering people. However, as a world problem, colonialism will not be eradicated with the independence of Namibia; it is also necessary to overthrow the monstrous system of *apartheid* in South Africa and rid the black people of South Africa of the colonial oppression of the Pretoria racists and exploiters, just as it is necessary to see to it that the necessary measures are taken to eliminate any manifestation of colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

93. In this connexion it is not possible to disregard the situation of the Sahraoui people and the need to eliminate the colonial domination under which it is suffering; nor the just struggle of Belize for self-determination and independence; nor the claims of Madagascar over the French occupied islands, or those of the Comoros over Mayotte; nor also the right to self-determination of other peoples still under foreign domination.

94. In our own America, the case of Puerto Rico, which has since the turn of the century been occupied by American troops, requires measures to guarantee the effective exercise of the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of this Latin American people through the prior transfer of all powers now held by the United States of America. In practical terms, we must demand that the United States Government comply with the provisions of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on Decolonization on 20 August 1980, in which that Government is requested to present, as soon as possible, a plan for the decolonization of Puerto Rico, in accordance

with resolution 1514 (XV) [A/35/23/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 78].

95. To our knowledge, the Government of the United States has thus far made no move with regard to the justified requests of the Special Committee. However, the Puerto Rican people has, despite all the vile tricks and irregularities which characterized the still incomplete "elections", defeated at the polls the very idea of annexation to the United States, as the colonial Governor himself, Carlos Romero Barceló, has been obliged to recognize. Cuba has full confidence in the independent and Latin American future of Puerto Rico.

96. My delegation has joined the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/35/L.35 and Add.1 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples because we consider it just and appropriate.

97. Similarly, we wish to express our total agreement with the draft resolution recommended by the Special Committee relating to the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration and with the plan of action through which it will be fully implemented. The latter is a balanced document, the result of lengthy consultations and discussion among the members of the Special Committee and, in our opinion, deserves the unanimous support of the Assembly.

98. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly will end in a few days. Our eyes are already turning towards 1981, the first of the last 20 years of this century. We all know that those years will be different for the world and for the United Nations from the two preceding decades. Today's debate affords us a timely opportunity to take stock in one of the essential fields of the evolution of events and ideas since 1960.

99. It is a simple acknowledgement of fact to say that the decolonization movement acquired considerable impetus in the mid-1950s. Historians will probably record that it was between 1955, the year of the Bandung Conference, and 1980 that a large number of the countries which now constitute the United Nations acceded to international sovereignty.

100. The evolution of decolonization, however, has not been uniform. It was born at the end of the Second World War, gathered speed in the 1950s and the 1960s, and then continued through the 1970s in a clearly discernable "decrecendo".

101. Need I recall now, as far as my country is concerned, that France fully accepted of its own will an evolution whose justification it had recognized. This is what one of my predecessors said from this rostrum on 12 October 1970 during the debate on the tenth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV):

"We have of course in the last few years applauded the accession to sovereignty and independence of a number of once dependent Territories, and we have upheld all steps that might effectively lead to the achievement of the process of decolonization. We are still determined to follow that same line.

which is the only one compatible with our ideals and responsibilities".¹

102. I should like also to quote the testimony of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of General de Gaulle. As he wrote, the French Government has pursued in the field of decolonization "a deliberate policy which was specifically willed". That policy was conceived as an effort to place France "in tune with its times and in harmony with the universal movement".

103. It may be regretted that the resolution adopted at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly did not confine itself to recognizing that universal movement and that it had sought to set it in a polemic context if not a context of confrontation. Resolution 1514 (XV), whose inspiration was no doubt generous, went beyond certain provisions of the Charter, particularly Article 73.

104. Following that resolution others were to be adopted whose drafting was similarly inspired, in particular resolution 1541 (XV), which enunciates principles aimed at defining the notion of Non-Self-Governing Territory, and resolution 1654 (XVI), which created the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

105. My delegation abstained in the vote on the texts adopted as resolutions 1541 (XV) and 1654 (XVI) as it did on resolution 1514 (XV), as well as on resolutions of a general character deriving from them. Those texts, indeed, are aimed at imposing processes, a method and conclusions, and at designating Territories where they would be applicable. My country has repeatedly proclaimed its adherence to the principle of the free determination of peoples, a principle which is enshrined in the Constitution of the French Republic, and its condemnation of any form of subjugation and of any impairment of the integrity of nations. We are, therefore, the more justified in recalling equally fundamental principles of the Charter which are related to the sovereignty of States and to non-interference.

106. For the same reasons, my delegation was not in a position at the tenth anniversary of the Declaration to support resolution 2621 (XXV) or the programme of action it proposed.

107. Decolonization, at least decolonization affecting the empires constituted in the last century by the Western Powers—and incidentally were they the only ones that built empires?—is now practically complete. Of course, there remains South-West Africa. We all know here, since this is a United Nations project, that a solution is ready which could allow us before the end of the next year to welcome an independent Namibia here among us.

108. In these conditions, France understands that in 1980 one can welcome the work that has been accomplished. Because of that we regret all the more that some on this occasion are concentrating on the vestiges of a past which is long gone. It seems to us more important from now on for us to concern ourselves with respect for the right to self-determination

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1862nd meeting, para. 20.

of all peoples and not only of those in what some affect to consider as colonial territories. Why concentrate blindly on certain territories—and not very large ones at that—whose status has been freely accepted by their inhabitants while elsewhere so many people are denied the right to express themselves and freely to choose their destiny? Is it not rather to those peoples that we should turn?

109. Let us pay a tribute to what has been done and apply ourselves now to solving the key problems of our times: peace, stability and development. In so doing, our duty is to make sure that all peoples are in a position fully and freely to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. This objective need I repeat, can best be served only by the joint efforts of all the Member States of the United Nations, which must affirm a unanimous will in that sense.

110. Mr. SORENSEN MOSQUERA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Venezuela, on the occasion of the celebration this week of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which appears in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), adopted on 14 December 1960, cannot but avail itself of this opportunity to express its deep satisfaction at that highly significant event.

111. Although between the end of the Second World War and 1960 a large number of Territories gained independence, we the Members of the United Nations viewed with increasing concern the fact that progress towards independence for many countries and peoples subject to colonial régimes was too slow and had to be speeded up. That special concern resulted in the adoption of the Declaration.

112. Subsequently, the year after the Declaration was adopted, the Assembly invited all interested and concerned States to take without delay measures to implement and to check on the implementation of the Declaration, a task entrusted to the Special Committee which was made responsible for reviewing the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In the years after the adoption of the Declaration, resolution 1514 (XV), a growing number of independent States joined the Organization.

113. Venezuela took and will continue to take an active part in this fundamental task, as a member of the Special Committee, and in defence of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the sacred right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

114. Venezuela welcomes the progress achieved by the Organization over these 20 years in decolonization and in the fundamental work carried out by the Special Committee, which has watched over the interests of the peoples of the colonial Territories with a view to their independence; but we must admit that there is still much to do.

115. There is still a need to eliminate once and for all the colonial vestiges which remain despite the endeavours of the United Nations.

116. The situation in southern Africa and the repugnant policy of *apartheid* have to be confronted with courage by the United Nations. The illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa must be ended, as must the exploitation of the human and natural resources of that Territory through the complacent and stubborn association of transnational foreign interests with powerful countries and their complicity with the South African racist régime.

117. Venezuela will continue to make every effort to see to it that Namibia takes its proper place in the community of nations as an independent, free and sovereign country. We reiterate here our solidarity with the heroic people of Namibia.

118. The United Nations must be vigilant with regard to the meeting to be held in January next year between South Africa and SWAPO, so that the Security Council can take any necessary action should those talks prove to be none other than delaying tactics yet again on the part of South Africa in order to deny the rights of the people of Namibia, as was pointed out quite rightly by the representative of Mauritius yesterday afternoon [90th meeting, para. 30].

119. As for Latin America, we are pleased that other States are joining the United Nations family, as was recently the case of Saint Lucia, Dominica, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which joined not long ago. We also support the initiatives of the people of Belize in the quest for their right to self-determination and independence, just as we support other territories in the region in their further efforts, which Venezuela supports, in various colonial issues which are still pending in the region and whose adverse effects are still being felt.

120. As a member of the Special Committee on decolonization, Venezuela presided over the Visiting Mission to the Turks and Caicos Islands this year. We consider, moreover, that such visiting missions are invaluable in order to gain greater knowledge of the real situation in the colonial Territories and to ensure that the rights, desires and aspirations of those peoples are safeguarded for the future.

121. As for the case of Puerto Rico, which has been taken up in the Special Committee, Venezuela feels bound to say that that island is part of the Latin American community in the broadest sense, and it is our hope—as we have already said in the Special Committee—that it will not renounce an independent future as the culmination of its political and constitutional development. To protect that development, in accordance with the sovereign, free and genuinely expressed will of the people, is part of the responsibility incumbent upon us by conviction and national tradition, as well as in our capacity as a Member of the United Nations.

122. I wish to make a special reference to the colonial case of the Panama Canal Zone, to which cause our country gave total support, advocating the restoration of Panama's full sovereignty over its territory. We recognize that the good judgement of the States concerned and the principle of justice, to which we are committed, prevailed.

123. We wish to close by saying that we have joined the sponsors of draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and

Add.1 and A/35/L.36 and Add.1, and that the delegation of Venezuela will also support the text of the plan of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as draft resolution of the Special Committee submitted in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration.

124. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Decolonization is one of the most important matters dealt with by the United Nations and one of the most complex because it is related to freedom and the rights of colonized peoples, on the one hand, and to the selfish interests of the colonialist Powers, on the other.

125. The United Nations has become fully aware of this fact and has adopted the necessary measures to guarantee the freedom of peoples, measures which, if fully implemented, will restore their rights. Among these measures are the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in resolution 1514 (XV), and the establishment, by virtue of resolution 1654 (XVI), of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration.

126. Despite the strenuous and continuous efforts exerted in the past and still being exerted by the Special Committee, and in spite of the good results achieved in the field of decolonization, there are none the less many peoples still suffering under colonial rule, suffering from racism, persecution and the denial of their freedom. That fact is best exemplified by the sufferings of the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine.

127. There have been many factors impeding the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration, and which have contributed to postponing the exercise of the rights of those colonized peoples. The most important among these factors are the following.

128. First, there are the military installations and activities of the colonial Powers in colonial Territories. In that regard we should like to point out that in spite of repeated requests by the General Assembly to the Colonial Powers, particularly in resolution 34/94 of 13 December 1979, by which the Assembly called upon "the colonial Powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones", the colonial Powers have not responded thereto.

129. Secondly, as regards the activities of foreign economic interests, the colonial Powers, which hold on to economic interests in the colonial Territories—particularly in the form of monopolistic companies—are not happy with and do not accept the independence of those Territories or the setting up of national Governments that might threaten their interests. Those Powers therefore seek to maintain the colonial status of the Territories; at the same time other, non-colonial Powers, participate with the colonial Powers and encourage them to retain their hegemony over the Territories and to continue their looting of the resources of those Territories because of the mutual advantage to be gained therefrom. That undoubtedly forces colonial peoples to step up their efforts to confront the colonial Powers and the other

countries that participate in stealing the people's resources. That is why the implementation of the Declaration has been delayed.

130. Thirdly, there is the misuse of the veto. There is no doubt that there have been many cases of misuse of the veto by the colonial Powers, which has contributed to delaying the independence of many colonial Territories.

131. The role of the United Nations in eliminating colonialism is important, and we hope that the efforts of the Organization will be crowned with success and that in the near future we shall be able to eliminate colonialism in its traditional form, namely, the occupation of Territories; the domination of peoples, who are deprived of their freedom; and the plundering of resources. The United Nations will then be in a position to focus its activities on eliminating neo-colonialism, which is represented by political hegemonism and the imposition of economic and cultural dependence on countries and peoples. The United Nations could then take a course like the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, with a view to liberating the peoples of the world from neo-colonialism, which has begun to expand along with the growth in the number of countries that have achieved independence.

132. My delegation wishes, on this occasion, to draw attention to the fact that it is not sufficient to eliminate the traditional forms of colonialism. We must maintain the newly established independence and not make possible the return of colonialism in other forms, such as military bases and economic exploitation.

133. The victories achieved by struggling peoples in many parts of the world demonstrate the inevitability of the victory of the will of peoples and the end of colonialism, however long it may take and however stringent the repression and persecution of colonized peoples. On this twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples the international community should increase its support of and assistance to colonial peoples and their liberation movements so that they may finally eliminate colonialism.

134. My delegation especially welcomes the efforts undertaken by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples during the last 20 years and I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to pay a tribute to the members of the Special Committee and its various, successive Chairmen, for their efforts.

135. We should like to state that the United Nations should not be deceived by the methods of the colonial Powers which, as soon as they see a colonial Territory achieving independence, intensify their manoeuvres under the guise of peaceful settlements to take over the true liberation movements and to impose settlements that would result in governments subservient to the interests of the colonial Powers. My country considers its freedom incomplete as long as there are countries and peoples suffering under colonialism. It will continue its support of those peoples until independence has finally been achieved

for all the peoples of the world. It also considers armed struggle the appropriate means to the end of attaining the rights of peoples.

136. Finally, my delegation will support draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

137. Mr. SOUTHICHAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The adoption in 1960 by the General Assembly of resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was an important stage in the struggle of peoples of the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism, racism and racial discrimination. Indeed, since the proclamation of that Declaration, which constituted and continues to constitute an important contribution to the liberation struggle of peoples, colonial empires have crumbled; more than 70 million people in more than 40 countries have been freed from colonial domination and have thus recovered independence, freedom and dignity, which are the natural rights of all.

138. This year, as we commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, we cannot but express our feelings of deep gratitude to the Soviet Union, which in 1960 took the initiative, with the other socialist countries and various States of Africa, in submitting for adoption by the General Assembly a draft text which was to become the famous resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

139. Our deep gratitude is also extended to the Special Committee entrusted with monitoring the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration, which has worked tirelessly since 1962 for the full implementation of that Declaration. We want to praise the efforts of the Committee which, despite the obstacles and manœuvres devised by colonialists and imperialists in an attempt to prolong indefinitely the colonial domination and exploitation of peoples, has succeeded in honourably discharging its difficult and complex task, thus enabling mankind to come closer to the end of the colonial era and the United Nations to approach universality.

140. Today, as we commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, if we feel satisfaction at the results achieved in the past 20 years in the implementation of the Declaration, we must nevertheless recognize that, despite the continued efforts of the international community, some Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories continue to be subjected to colonial oppression. Such is the case with Namibia and certain small Territories scattered in the Caribbean and in the Pacific Ocean. Moreover, there are certain peoples that cannot yet exercise their rights to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV)—in particular the courageous peoples of South Africa, Western Sahara, Belize and Puerto Rico and other peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

141. As far as Namibia is concerned, even though the Mandate was withdrawn from South Africa 14 years ago, the international community has not been able to force the racist minority régime to withdraw

from that Territory. There the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) met with the obstinate refusal of South Africa, which has employed all kinds of machinations to delay deliberately the accession of Namibia to independence. In that context, we have witnessed in recent years and in recent months a series of acts of provocation, such as the convening of the Turnhalle Conference, the bantustanization of the Territory, the annexation of Walvis Bay, the establishment of tribal armies, the reinforcement of military bases and so forth, which all defy the spirit and the letter of resolution 1514 (XV). At the same time, South Africa further accentuated its policy of bloody repression against the Namibian people and the freedom fighters of SWAPO and has multiplied acts of savage aggression against the independent front-line States, such as Angola and Zambia.

142. All these actions, which were premeditated and carefully planned, endanger peace and security not only in southern Africa and throughout the African continent but also in the rest of the world.

143. The policy of *apartheid* followed inflexibly by the racist minority régime in Namibia and in South Africa is also a serious threat to world peace and security and an insult to the human conscience.

144. In the past 14 years South Africa has been repeatedly urged to withdraw from Namibia and thus put an end to its illegal occupation of that Territory. However, not only has South Africa refused to satisfy the wishes of the international community but it has in fact consolidated its hold over that Territory. Desperate efforts have been made for some time by the racist minority régime to develop a nuclear capability, and this constitutes a very clear and solemn warning that that sinister régime will take every step to achieve its evil ends. Therefore it is important that the international community rapidly put an end to that last bastion of colonialism in Africa. The only way to achieve that would be that the Security Council envisage the urgent application of all the measures set forth in Chapter VII of the Charter, including an embargo on oil and oil products. Any delay in such a decision will simply give South Africa the necessary time to organize and to improve its apparatus of repression of the Namibian people and its means of resisting the decisions of the international community.

145. In that regard, I should like to issue a warning to certain Western Powers which obstinately believe in the good-will of the leaders in Pretoria and thus nourish illusions of a possible negotiated settlement of the Namibian question that would serve their selfish and short-sighted interests.

146. As far as we are concerned, 14 years of patient yet vain efforts have led us to think that only energetic and strong action can bring the racist and colonialist minority in South Africa to its senses and allow the peoples of Namibia and South Africa to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly.

147. As regards the small Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories in the Caribbean and the Pacific Ocean, we welcome the adoption by the General Assembly at this session of resolutions which reaffirm, despite considerations of size, geographical isolation

and limited resources, the inalienable rights of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and independence in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV) and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. However, in respect of those Territories, we wish to express our deep concern at the machinations the administering Powers have repeatedly employed to create obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration and thus to establish a permanent hold over those territories. To that end, some administering Powers have refused and continue to refuse to communicate information which they are obliged to communicate under Article 73 *e* of the Charter in respect of certain Territories. Their refusal to fulfil that obligation, on whatever pretext, certainly casts doubt on their intentions with respect to the peoples of those Territories. Moreover, pressures of various kinds have been exerted on the inhabitants of those Territories so as to influence their decisions about their own future.

148. The methods most usually employed are the creation and the strengthening of military bases and installations in Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories or in the neighbourhood of such Territories. However, it is very clearly shown by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of other international bodies that the presence of military bases and the stationing of troops indeed constitute serious obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration and consequently they prevent the peoples of those Territories from exercising their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

149. My delegation also welcomes the adoption this year by the General Assembly of resolutions reaffirming the inalienable rights of the peoples of Western Sahara and Belize to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and the Charter. We hope that all the parties concerned, relying on the dynamics of peace, will eventually, by means of negotiations, find solutions which will guarantee the exercise by those peoples of their fundamental rights.

Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

150. It is very well known that, besides military activities, foreign economic and other interests also constitute powerful obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and impede efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination from southern Africa. In this connexion, examination of agenda item 86 by the Fourth Committee has shown that the colonial Powers and certain other States continue to scorn the decisions adopted by the United Nations on that subject and have not applied the pertinent provisions of the relevant resolutions, such as resolutions 2621 (XXV) and 34/41 in which the General Assembly called upon the colonial Powers and all Governments which have not yet done so to take legislative, administrative or other measures to put an end, in colonial Territories, and in Namibia in particular, to activities of enterprises belonging to their nationals and the bodies corporate under their jurisdiction which are detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories and

to prevent new investments which are contrary to their interests.

151. It is urgently necessary that the colonial Powers and Governments comply with the request by the international community that they put an end to the scandalous exploitation of the human and natural resources of the colonial Territories. Moreover, the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly must seriously consider the threat posed by the continuing collaboration in the nuclear field between South Africa and certain Western countries, which enables the minority racist colonialist régime of Pretoria to develop a nuclear capability, thus encouraging the continuance of the illegal occupation of Namibia and the multiplication of acts of intimidation and aggression directed against the neighbouring independent countries, particularly the front-line States, as well as the strengthening of the system of *apartheid* in southern Africa.

152. In presenting in 1960 the document concerning the struggle against colonialism, a document which became the historic resolution 1514 (XV), the representative of the Soviet Union very properly declared that colonialism was not yet dead.

153. Today, 20 years after the adoption of that basic document, even though the colonial empires have crumbled away bit by bit and the process of the national liberation of peoples is irreversible, colonialism, despite its mortal wounds has not yet breathed its last. In clinging desperately to life it reveals itself in the most brutal form in southern Africa and in the most subtle form in other parts of the world, particularly in the small Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories.

154. In order that the last blow may be dealt to dying colonialism and that it may be eliminated from the political map of the world, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is prepared to support any action aimed at achieving the total implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In so doing, it declares that it vigorously supports the draft resolution and the plan of action contained in document A/35/413 submitted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. My delegation will also support draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and Add.1 and A/35/L.36 and Add.1 which are now before the General Assembly and which were introduced with such lucidity by the delegation of friendly Ethiopia at the 90th meeting.

155. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): The debate on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is of particular importance at this moment as it takes place during the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of that Declaration.

156. As a matter of fact, the struggle for the elimination of colonialism and the eradication of all forms of colonial relations in the world represents the most significant political action and achievement of the international community in the period since the Second World War. The establishment of a large number of national States on the ruins of former colonial empires has not only increased the number of participants in

international relations but has radically altered the substance of these relations, projecting new priorities and opening new vistas. This gigantic revolutionary transformation was the result of the struggle of peoples against colonial domination and of the solidarity of the international community. The non-aligned countries have made their historic contribution to the overthrow of the colonial system, imparting to this process the character of the over-all emancipation of peoples and countries from all forms of foreign domination and transforming it into a struggle for a new system of international economic and political relations.

157. As early as the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in 1961, the struggle against colonialism was highlighted as the most urgent task of mankind and one of the indispensable conditions for the stabilization of international relations. Since then the non-aligned countries have become the mightiest bulwark of the anti-colonial revolution.

158. The adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the twentieth anniversary of which we are going to mark tomorrow, has accelerated the process of liberation of former colonial peoples and has enabled the Organization almost to attain universality—in fact, to become the first universal Organization in the history of the world.

159. Most of the newly emancipated countries have opted for the policy of non-alignment. They have joined the non-aligned movement, becoming its spearhead in the struggle for the definitive eradication of the remnants of colonialism and of the neo-colonial relations that have begun to appear as a new form of outdated relations based on subjugation and exploitation. Both in actions against colonialism in United Nations forums and in the political, diplomatic and even armed struggle waged by peoples under colonial rule, the non-aligned countries have always been in the forefront of the combat.

160. We see no reason to be dissatisfied with the results of the 20-year-old endeavour which is coming to a successful end. This very year yet another former colonial territory, Zimbabwe, has become independent. This has provided a strong incentive for the emancipation of remaining colonial territories. Now it is the turn of Namibia and no amount of manoeuvring by the South African racist régime can prevent Namibia's liberation. In the same way, it has never and nowhere been possible to prevent by force the final liberation of peoples from foreign occupation.

161. We hope that we shall soon be in a position to celebrate the liberation of peoples that are still under colonial domination and thus fulfil the task that the General Assembly set by adopting the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. For when freedom is in question there are no large or small territories, much less small peoples. Any lack of freedom constitutes a burden, while every freedom represents a great achievement on the path leading to a new world. We believe, therefore, that the action of the international community to ensure the implementation of the Declaration must be uninterrupted and dedicated to overcoming any

obstacle to the free development of peoples and countries.

162. Yugoslavia, as a socialist and non-aligned country, has constantly lent all-round support to every authentic struggle of peoples for their liberation from a foreign yoke, as it has itself emerged from such a struggle and is well aware of the value of freedom won at such a cost.

163. Our relations with the national liberation movements have always been firm, broadly based and substantive, while our relations with the liberated peoples have provided an example of co-operation and solidarity. Yugoslavia has always given political, moral, material and, when necessary, even military support and assistance to national liberation movements. We did so in the case of the national liberation struggles waged by the liberation movements of FLNA², FRELIMO³, MPLA⁴ and the Patriotic Front—struggles which are inscribed today in golden letters in the history of Algeria, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. We also have done so with respect to the 15-year struggle waged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO and the struggles of all the other Territories and peoples under colonial domination.

164. In connexion with tomorrow's special meeting of the General Assembly in observance of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Cvijetin Mijatovic, has sent a message which will be circulated in due course as an official document of the United Nations [see A/35/752/Add.1].

165. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): Tomorrow the General Assembly is celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. During this period, a number of colonies have gained independence and are now Members of the United Nations. It is fair to say, therefore, that the efforts of the United Nations in the field of decolonization have not been totally in vain.

166. The current year, the commemorative year of the Declaration, started on a positive note in the field of decolonization. The international community witnessed Zimbabwe's accession to independence after years of heroic struggle by the people of Zimbabwe against colonialism. Similarly, the attainment of independence by Vanuatu and the admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations give added meaning to the work of the Special Committee.

167. We should not, however, lose sight of the fact that the major battle has yet to be won. This debate is taking place because there are remnants of colonialism still in different parts of the world. The Declaration has yet to be of meaning for a number of countries and peoples still struggling for their right to self-determination and independence. The racist régime of South Africa continues to enforce the obnoxious policy of *apartheid* against the oppressed blacks in

² Front de liberation nationale algérien.

³ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

⁴ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions. And if South Africa treats the Organization with contempt, it is because of the economic assistance it continues to receive from some Western countries.

168. During the debate on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, which has just concluded, the General Assembly once again called on Member States to institute effective measures, including sanctions, to force South Africa to comply with the demands of the international community. This should continue to be our aim, bearing in mind that *apartheid* South Africa is the stumbling block in the total decolonization of southern Africa.

169. In Namibia, the implementation of the United Nations plan has yet to be realized. Again, we observe with discomfort that South Africa is the stumbling block. It is the hope of my delegation, therefore, that those with close relations with South Africa will do everything in their power to ensure that the United Nations plan on Namibia is implemented as scheduled. I need not emphasize the determination of the international community to call on the Security Council to take the necessary action to force South Africa to comply with the legitimate demands. At that stage, we shall be counting on the co-operation of the Western-permanent members of the Security Council.

170. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania continues to underscore the importance of the right of all people to self-determination and independence. This has also been repeatedly stressed in the Special Committee's report before us. Size, population, geographical position or any other factor should not be an excuse for denying that basic right, whether it be in Africa, the Middle East, Asia or Latin America. The people still under colonial domination are looking forward to increasing assistance from the international community. Therefore, the only course open to us is to reaffirm our support for them by pledging more material assistance to enable them effectively to prosecute their liberation struggles.

171. I wish to associate myself with the previous speakers in congratulating the Special Committee for its impressive and commendable work under the untiring and outstanding leadership of Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago. My delegation reiterates its support for the proposals and recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee. The adoption by the General Assembly of the plan of action will be an added assurance that the international community is still committed to the total eradication of colonialism, *apartheid* and racism in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

172. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): Our consideration of the question of decolonization at this thirty-fifth session coincides with the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Resolution 1514 (XV) and its companion resolution, 1541 (XV), which were adopted 20 years ago, have been an important reference point for the work on decolonization of the Fourth Committee and of its intersessional body, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to

the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

173. Australia has had a firm and long-standing commitment to the principle of decolonization. We have fully supported the right of all peoples in Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination, in accordance with the principles contained in resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions, as well as in the Charter of the United Nations. Our commitment has been demonstrated clearly by our record in discharging our trusteeship obligations when we were responsible for the administration of Nauru and of Papua New Guinea, in our present administration of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, and in our active engagement in the work of the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee.

174. The experience of colonialism has sometimes been difficult and painful, and the record of administering Powers has not always been unblemished. Since the end of the Second World War, however, there has been a largely successful drive towards independence in many former colonial Territories in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. The growing number of nations which have taken their seats in this Assembly testifies to that. We believe that the United Nations, and particularly the relevant committees on decolonization, have played a significant and, in some cases, a vital role in the achievement of decolonization.

175. In debates on colonialism, however, there is sometimes a tendency for emotions that are aroused to lead some countries into rhetorical positions which overstate the real situation—in particular, Non-Self-Governing Territories. Sweeping and untested generalizations are sometimes enunciated without looking to the actual facts of a particular case. In this regard, while we feel that the work this year of the Fourth Committee has been marked by a degree of co-operation and a useful exchange of ideas, we have, on occasion, been side-tracked by the injection of ideology and the use of strong and provocative language. We regret, for example, that for this reason Australia will not be able to support the draft resolution on the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration [A/35/413, annex II]. We consider also that draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1 on foreign economic interests failed to reflect accurately the facts of the situation, especially in the small Territories. What was ignored was the continuing willingness of administering Powers to extend full co-operation to the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee in their work during the year and to carry out their commitments according to relevant resolutions on decolonization. Australia takes its responsibilities seriously and we would reject any suggestion that we have not complied with relevant resolutions or that we have in any way abrogated our trusteeship obligations.

176. In a situation where the agenda of the Fourth Committee has been diminishing almost year by year, we believe it very important to keep a balanced perspective on the issue of decolonization. Increasingly, the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee are required to consider the situation of very small Territories with limited populations and resources. We would not accept that such Territories should be

denied the legitimate exercise of their right to self-determination. Nor would we accept that there is a single solution to all cases of decolonization. We would argue, however, that because of the distinctive situation of small Territories, the problems they face are quite different from those of Territories which are much larger and are economically well endowed. Accordingly, we would affirm that it is essential for each case of decolonization to be considered on its merits, in a spirit of objectivity and with full account taken of the wishes of the people themselves, for it is not up to us to determine what is the political status to be chosen by the people. The choice which they make in exercising their right to self-determination is theirs alone. The role of the United Nations is to assist them in exercising their own freely expressed wishes.

177. In essence, it is important that the distinctive elements of each case in decolonization be borne in mind when we are considering resolutions on colonial questions. Unless we do this, we fall into the trap of taking doctrinaire positions on problems of decolonization—positions in which there is no real dialogue and no real chance to reach a common understanding and agreement.

178. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): Twenty years ago New Zealand supported the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We welcomed the Declaration as an extension of the principle of universal independence embodied in the Charter of the United Nations itself.

179. The Declaration proclaims the right of all peoples to self-determination. It rejects alien domination and control as a denial of fundamental human rights. Those principles remain as relevant today as when the Declaration was first drafted. New Zealand remains totally committed to upholding those principles.

180. The Declaration has had a remarkable legacy. Since its adoption an impressive number of countries have become independent and have joined the United Nations. Their participation has brought the Organization closer to universal membership. Their contributions and influence have been profound.

181. In the South Pacific eight island countries have, during the same period, joined the community of independent nations and two have chosen to achieve full self-government in free association with New Zealand. My country is proud to have played some part in that process. We have tried, in very practical ways, to work with our neighbours, all of whom are our close friends, in efforts to make the South Pacific a stable and economically viable region.

182. New Zealand's commitment to the principles of the Declaration also lies at the heart of our actions as administering Power of Tokelau. As a small, isolated island group with very few resources, Tokelau faces exceptionally difficult developmental problems. In our efforts to help the people of Tokelau move towards greater self-government and self-sufficiency, New Zealand will continue to be guided by the wishes of the Tokelau people. The leaders and people of Tokelau are today, confidently and methodically, taking over the management of their own affairs. The people of Tokelau, and New Zealand are very happy

that the Special Committee has accepted our invitation to send a mission to visit Tokelau next year.

183. The world can take great satisfaction in the success of the Organization's efforts to promote decolonization in the Pacific and elsewhere. Its achievements are, in large measure, a reflection of the justice of its objectives and of a broad consensus on how self-determination for all peoples can best be achieved. The experience and lessons of the past enable us to face the continuing challenge of decolonization in the coming years with confidence and optimism.

184. New Zealand remains committed to the principles set out in the Declaration. It was our hope that we would be able this year, as we did 20 years ago, to give our unreserved support to action by the Assembly to reinforce the need for those principles to be implemented fully and soon. Indeed, there is much in the draft resolution in document A/35/413 which we can support. At the same time, it contains several elements which we are not able to endorse; and the plan of action, to our regret, does not build on the spirit of co-operation which has guided the process of decolonization over the past two decades.

185. We have difficulty with the endorsement of armed struggle and with the manner in which sanctions are called for in paragraph 16 of the plan of action. We also have reservations about paragraph 9, which goes beyond the consensus language adopted in many of the resolutions on small Territories agreed to this year and in the past. Again, we have reservations on paragraph 10, the practicability of which is uncertain.

186. For those and other reasons New Zealand will be obliged to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

187. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): The adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was a watershed in the world's history of decolonization. When on 14 December 1960 the General Assembly adopted that resolution, it was giving expression in a solemn Declaration to the desire for freedom that is rooted in the soul of every human being; the international community was articulating for the first time in such a comprehensive and solemn manner its rejection of a system of relations between peoples which had been imposed upon the weak and the many by the strong and the few more than three centuries before. The international community was declaring that an end to the undemocratic rule of a majority by a minority was not merely a requirement for harmonious relations between the rulers and the ruled; it was a requirement of human dignity and of the sacred character of the human person.

188. If the Charter enshrined the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and the duty of colonial Powers to prepare dependent Territories for nationhood, resolution 1514 (XV) addressed itself to the development and the various manifestations of the colonial relationship and declared the need to bring a speedy and unconditional end to that relationship. Resolution 1514 (XV) went even further in setting out a specific programme of action for achieving the objectives of the Declaration, giving a special role to the General Assembly itself.

189. In 1980 the debate on decolonization is necessarily quite different in character and intensity from that of 1960, the year of the adoption of the Declaration. In more than one sense we have come a long way since then. We have seen the demise of one colonial empire.

190. Of course we have not forgotten, nor can we forget, that some of the colonial Powers, in 1960, withheld their support from resolution 1514 (XV). But those attitudes were not surprising at that time—in fact, they have not even yet entirely disappeared. After all, the people, the mineral resources, the harbours, the rivers and the forests of colonial Territories were all used to build up the economic and political strength of the colonial Powers. Their colonial methods and policies might have varied, but their basic purpose was the same: to enrich themselves at the expense of their colonies.

191. It is certainly an indication of the way in which these historical attitudes have evolved over the years that those very Powers are now expressing support, however measured, for the objectives of the Declaration. Today, in 1980, there is a broader area of agreement on the question of decolonization, forged by the struggles and sacrifices of the peoples themselves of present and former colonial Territories.

192. In fact, looking back over the last 20 years the successes in the area of decolonization have altered the political configuration of our planet in a manner and at a pace that could hardly be imagined in 1960. The United Nations system, and the Special Committee in particular, can justly take credit for their own singular contribution to this historic achievement.

193. My delegation wishes to pay a special tribute to the Special Committee, formerly under the dynamic and committed chairmanship of Mr. Salim, and now under the progressive and enlightened chairmanship of Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago, for the forthright and consistent manner in which it has been pursuing its mandate. I should like to commend the Committee for the report presented to the Assembly. My delegation has taken careful note of its contents and expresses its continuing support for the work of the Committee.

194. In this twentieth anniversary year Guyana has had the privilege and the honour of providing the chairmanship of the Fourth Committee. The Committee concluded its work on 7 November, after an exhaustive consideration of the items allocated to us by the Assembly. The Committee, in the course of its deliberations, warmly welcomed the accession to independence by Vanuatu, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Zimbabwe's independence was of course greeted with particular enthusiasm.

195. It was only four weeks ago that the Assembly adopted the 16 recommendations of the Fourth Committee relating to Territories in Africa, Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean, to training opportunities for the inhabitants of dependent Territories and to co-operation with the specialized agencies and organizations within the United Nations system. Those decisions, covering 21 remaining colonial Territories, with 3 million inhabitants, reflect and reinforce the overwhelming concern felt for the full and speedy

implementation of the Declaration and the final eradication of all vestiges of racism and colonialism, whether in southern Africa or elsewhere.

196. Racism, colonialism and relationships of dependence and exploitation still exist, and as long as they continue to be with us the international community has an obligation to redouble its efforts to eradicate them, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and with the objectives of the Declaration. In this regard, Namibia continues as a unique challenge to the Organization, one whose uniqueness every day assumes increasingly disquieting dimensions.

197. The United Nations assumed direct responsibility for this Territory after terminating South Africa's Mandate on the ground of non-fulfilment of the obligations under that Mandate. By its resolution 276 (1970), the Security Council declared South Africa's presence in the Territory to be illegal and that all acts taken by the Government of South Africa concerning Namibia after the termination of that Mandate were illegal. Yet, South Africa's continuing presence in the Territory is buttressed, supported and encouraged by the collaboration which some of the permanent members of the Council themselves render to the Pretoria régime in Namibia. It is those members, of course, which have been staying the hand of the Council and preventing it from imposing against South Africa the sanctions which have been called for on so many occasions.

198. For the people of Namibia, the Assembly's deliberations under the present item must be of special interest. The Assembly has declared SWAPO to be the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. Yet, Turnhalle, the Pretoria régime and others as well are proceeding as if SWAPO never existed. But what is more, the United Nations is now being asked by the very régime whose Mandate it terminated to show proof that the Organization is worthy of trust and confidence in respect of Namibia. My delegation finds the arrogance and the insolence of this attitude to be offensive to an intolerable degree.

199. Humanity cannot live part free and part in chains. We are all diminished by the denial of freedom and fundamental rights in Namibia. Namibia must be free, and that within the framework of the United Nations plan.

200. The decolonization agenda also includes a number of Territories with peculiar characteristics of size, geographic location and population which will require innovative approaches by the Special Committee and by the administering Powers concerned. Be that as it may, there is a clear consensus that those factors could in no wise constitute justification for delaying the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration in respect of those Territories. A demonstration of this consensus can be seen in the dispatch of visiting missions to the Turks and Caicos and Cocos (Keeling) Islands and the invitations extended to the Special Committee by the Governments of New Zealand and the United States to send visiting missions to Tokelau and American Samoa. My delegation wishes to commend those Governments for their decisions in this regard.

201. Twenty years after the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), the process of decolonization is almost complete. The Organization has welcomed into the family of nations an array of former colonies and Trust Territories which has made the United Nations more representative, vibrant and capable of responding to the issues that confront the international community.

202. The near universality which the Organization now represents is a tribute to the vision and the courage of our predecessors who 20 years ago drafted the Declaration. We do not exaggerate when we say that that is the finest achievement of the Organization. The victories that followed the adoption of the Declaration did not come easily. Countless thousands have died and there has been incalculable loss of property. All along the way we have consistently faced varying degrees of opposition. Our victories have even been marred by distortions caused by the actions of some among us who have also been the beneficiaries of decolonization. Nevertheless, who can deny that the over-all picture is one of achievement and of promise. The momentum of decolonization is relentless. National liberation movements continue to be in the vanguard of this momentum. Firmly behind them stand the Special Committee in close alliance with the non-aligned movement, the OAU and other progressive forces lending valuable support and encouragement.

203. My delegation sincerely hopes that the observance of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration will move others to join the forward march of progressive forces in this area of activity and that from the achievements of the last 20 years we shall one and all take fresh resolve to continue to work with even greater steadfastness for the complete eradication of colonialism from the face of the earth. That is an imperative of human dignity and of human freedom.

204. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on the draft resolutions contained in annex II to document A/35/413, and in documents A/35/L.35 and Add.1 and A/35/L.36 and Add.1. Representatives will also be given an opportunity to explain their votes after all the votes have been taken.

205. May I once again remind the Assembly that, in accordance with its decision 34/401 of last year, which has been reconfirmed this year, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and are to be made by representatives from their seats.

206. Ms. NEWSOM (United States of America): The United States is strongly committed to the process of decolonization. For us the concepts of self-determination, freedom and democracy go hand in hand. We strongly support the principle contained in resolution 1514 (XV) that "All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

207. This year, the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), has witnessed significant developments in decolonization. The accession to independence of Zimbabwe under majority rule was a milestone in decolonization, removing one of the most unjust and politically difficult situa-

tions in southern Africa. We welcomed Zimbabwe's admission to the United Nations this year. We were pleased also by Vanuatu's independence. Discussions on the United Nations plan for Namibia have resulted in agreement of the parties to attend pre-implementation talks next month. We sincerely hope that those talks will be successful.

208. The United States co-operates with the Special Committee in its consideration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories under United States administration. This year we invited the Special Committee to visit American Samoa in 1981, which will mean that, since 1977, all three United States Territories will have received visiting missions.

209. Once again this year we must oppose the omnibus draft resolution on decolonization, contained in A/35/L.35 and Add.1. The draft resolution no longer accurately reflects the challenge of decolonization facing the international community in the coming years. Decolonization has progressed and yet the old rhetoric remains. For example, its fourth preambular paragraph continues to refer to the "colonialist and racist repression of millions of Africans", ignoring the monumental achievement of the independence of Zimbabwe.

210. For the first time in modern history, fewer than 1 million Africans can be said to continue under colonialism. We do not believe the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa, as abhorrent as they are, can properly or usefully be considered an issue of decolonization.

211. While the Special Committee has done useful work in the course of the year, we cannot participate in the approval of its report contained in operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1. That report deals with Puerto Rico and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, both of which are not properly within purview of the Special Committee. The Special Committee's consideration of Puerto Rico runs counter to General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII) and its discussion of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands ignores that the Security Council has delegated to the Trusteeship Council responsibility for reviewing developments in this Territory. We reject the self-serving statements made by the Soviet representative in the general debate yesterday on the Trust Territory and Guam [90th meeting, para. 53].

212. This draft resolution also contains numerous operative paragraphs to which we take objection.

213. We will abstain on draft resolution A/35/L.36 and Add.1 because, while we support the dissemination of information on decolonization, we cannot support propaganda and we are increasingly troubled by the propagandistic thrust of activities carried out by the Special Committee under the guise of "information". We would also find it highly objectionable if the Unit of Information on Decolonization were to be expanded as recommended by the Sub-Committee on Petitions, Information and Assistance. It would be intolerable if the staff for decolonization were to be expanded when each year the number of Territories and the work of the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee diminish.

214. Finally, we do not agree with the manner in which the Special Committee, without authorization by the General Assembly, initiated a series of activi-

ties to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV). It left it to its Sub-committee on Petitions, Information and Assistance to draft a plan of action on decolonization. As drafted, this plan is merely a propaganda piece designed to further self-serving political objectives—in no way an effort to arrive at meaningful consensus.

215. My delegation will vote against the draft resolution containing the plan of action contained in document A/35/413. We regret that we must do so because in our view it would have been possible to come to agreement on principles which could guide the work of the United Nations in decolonization in the 1980s. Instead we have been offered, without benefit of proper consultations, a draft resolution which repeats in exaggerated form the language of the past, ignoring the great strides made since the adoption of the Declaration 20 years ago, including the coming into independence of 46 nations which were formerly Trust or Non-Self-Governing Territories.

216. We recognize that the problem of Namibia continues to be a major concern of the United Nations. We hope that this problem will be resolved peacefully. However, we ask the Assembly to look beyond that problem to the challenges ahead in decolonization and question whether this plan with its extreme formulations is relevant to the remaining dependent Territories, particularly the small Territories.

217. For my delegation, the draft presents numerous difficulties. We cannot accept the seeming endorsement of armed struggle and calls for assistance to such struggles, the politicization of the specialized agencies, the unqualified condemnation of foreign investment and military facilities in Non-Self-Governing Territories and the calls for sanctions under Chapter VII which pervade the plan. We find it inappropriate to press a particular formulation on mercenaries when this complex problem is being reviewed in the General Assembly. The call for States to apply certain provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949⁵ and of Additional Protocol I⁶ ignores the provisions of that Protocol and disregards the very process by which States make treaties and legally bind themselves. We find, therefore, that while we support the objective of the plan to promote self-determination, excesses of language in almost every paragraph force us to oppose it.

218. My delegation believed that we could not merely criticize the draft plan of action before us. As many delegations are aware, we called earlier in the General Assembly for a review of the draft and asked that an effort be made to achieve consensus. In fact, an alternative draft was circulated informally which we believe might have served as a basis for consensus. The call for a dialogue on this question, however, was not answered.

219. This development will not inhibit our continued co-operation with the Special Committee in carrying out our obligations under Article 73 of the Charter. We would hope, however, that at some future time a

more co-operative effort will be made to formulate principles of decolonization which will enjoy the full support of the General Assembly, including those Members whose co-operation is most needed to assure the well-being of the peoples in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

220. Mr. DORR (Ireland): My delegation supported the historic resolution 1514 (XV), adopted on 14 December 1960. In particular, we hold firmly to the principle stated in paragraph 1 that:

“The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation”.

In consequence, Ireland has always voted, where possible, for resolutions which reaffirm the support of the Government of Ireland for the principle of decolonization and for the work of the United Nations in this area.

221. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and Add.1 and A/35/L.36 and Add.1. I should say, however, that my delegation has in the past expressed reservations on some of the language used in the first draft when it appeared in similar resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. While my delegation supports the basic thrust of draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1 we still maintain those reservations with regard to it.

222. My delegation had hoped that in this, the twentieth anniversary year of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), a draft resolution and plan of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which could have commanded very wide support among all Members of the United Nations would have been placed before the Assembly. This, we feel, would have been a valuable contribution and it would have strengthened the role of the United Nations in dealing with the remaining decolonization issues which are of a widely varying character. We believe that such a text should reflect the great progress which has been made in decolonization since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) and the role that the United Nations itself has played in this regard.

223. The draft resolution and plan of action contained in annex II of document A/35/413 do not in our view adequately distinguish between a limited number of colonial territories, such as Namibia, where a very serious situation exists, and a larger number of small territories, each of which has individual characteristics to which over-generalized formulations may not be relevant. In particular, many of the steps recommended in the plan of action which may indeed be appropriate in certain specific situations go far beyond what would be appropriate or desirable in the case of many of the remaining colonial territories. Furthermore, my delegation regrets that adequate consultation involving members of all regional groups was not held with a view to formulating a text which could have been adopted by consensus. Accordingly, my delegation will abstain on the draft resolution contained in annex II of document A/35/413.

⁵ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, Nos. 970-973.

⁶ A/32/144, annex I.

224. In giving this explanation of our votes, I want to reaffirm the full and continuing commitment of my Government to the historic Declaration on decolonization for which we voted in 1960 and which we commemorate this week. It is our belief that those peoples who have so far been denied it should be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination without delay. In particular, my Government remains convinced that the people of Namibia must be enabled to exercise its right to self-determination without further delay and to take its place among the nations of the world, in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations and as provided for in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

225. Since this year is the twentieth anniversary year of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), I conclude by recalling here the words with which the Irish Foreign Minister at that time, Mr. Frank Aiken, ended his speech in the historic debate on that resolution 20 years ago:

“We trust the good work of extending freedom will continue until all the peoples of the world are free and until, through peaceful and generous co-operation, the resources and skills at the disposal of mankind are fully developed to bring peace, prosperity and the chance of happiness to all corners of the globe.”⁷

That is still the hope of my delegation.

226. Mrs. ÜNAYDIN (Turkey): My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolutions contained in annex II of document A/35/413, and in documents A/35/L.35 and Add.1 and A/35/L.36 and Add.1 under agenda item 18, in keeping with our well-known position on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as the questions relating to southern Africa.

227. On the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) for which we voted at the time, I should like to seize this opportunity to reiterate the unswerving commitment of the Turkish Government to the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in Namibia and in all other colonial territories still under foreign domination, and our staunch support for all the efforts being made with a view to eliminating colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa and in other parts of the world.

228. In this connexion, we should like to welcome the great progress that has been achieved in the process of decolonization since the adoption of the Declaration, and we note with satisfaction that in the last 20 years 46 former Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories have attained independence and joined the Organization, bringing it closer to the goal of universality.

229. We should like to pay a special tribute to the members of the Special Committee for their tireless efforts in this regard, and we certainly hope that their endeavours for the attainment of the ultimate objective will soon be crowned with success.

230. Having said this, I should like to express the view that my delegation would very much have liked to see the plan of action contained in annex II of document A/35/413 approved by consensus in the General Assembly, not only in keeping with the spirit of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration, which we are pleased to commemorate tomorrow in a special plenary meeting, but also in keeping with the practice gradually gaining ground in the Organization.

231. As regards the plan of action, which we shall vote for, we should like the record to show that we accept its provisions to the extent that they comply with the general principles underlying our foreign policy and those of the Charter of the United Nations. As far as paragraph 11 of the plan of action is concerned, our understanding of the word “combatants” contained in that paragraph refers to the liberation movements recognized by the OAU.

232. Mr. THOMSON (Canada): Canada has a deep and abiding commitment to decolonization. It is with satisfaction that we recognize that decolonization is a process which has very nearly run its course. The large numbers of former colonies which have joined us in the Assembly in the past 35 years are a testament to the principle of self-determination. Some have expressed that principle through armed revolution but, to the satisfaction of a body such as this, dedicated to peace, the greatest number were able to do so through the conscious co-operation both of the then colonial Powers and of the people of the territories concerned.

233. The decolonization process which intensified after the Second World War has dramatically changed the political face on the world. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted 20 years ago, was and is an important expression of the will of the international community to see that process to a successful conclusion.

234. Given the present nature and scope of the decolonization question, we regret that the emotive cast of the draft resolution in document A/35/413 and the plan of action makes them seem outdated. It should have been possible to present a text on this item which would have been adopted by consensus and would have recognized the successes of the decolonization process.

235. My delegation therefore regrets that it is unable to support the draft resolution before us, which includes propositions and principles unacceptable to Canada. We shall therefore abstain on that draft resolution, and for similar reasons my delegation will abstain on draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1.

236. Mr. HUSSON (France) (*interpretation from French*): As we stated in the debate [90th meeting, paras. 186-191], my delegation recognizes the great progress that has been achieved in the area of decolonization during its past 20 years. We welcome the fact that we are near the end of this vast drive towards emancipation. While reaffirming its full support for the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, a principle enshrined in the Charter, my delegation nevertheless regrets that it is compelled to vote against the draft resolution in document A/35/413,

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 935th meeting, para. 114.

and against the plan of action contained in the annex thereto. These two documents contain many elements, both legal and political, which we find unacceptable. An enumeration of the reasons why we cannot vote for them would be an unduly lengthy and tedious exercise. Moreover, we have stated our position on this subject on more than one occasion. I must, however, express regret at the trend exposed in these two drafts. We would very much have wished to see our Assembly, at this twentieth anniversary, proceed calmly to an impartial review of the results achieved by our Organization. For that, it would have sufficed to give precedence to what brings us closer, rather than to what divides us.

237. There are many principles, approaches and goals on which we could have agreed, if we had wanted to. In that connexion some delegations took an initiative which went beyond well-trodden ground and was aimed at proposing a text which could have secured a consensus. While paying a tribute to those efforts, we deplore the fact that the text was not welcomed either with the desired breadth of vision or with the understanding to which it was entitled.

238. My delegation will vote against draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1 for the reasons we already stated on 13 December 1979 in connexion with the vote on resolución 34/94.⁸ In particular, we do not think it is for the General Assembly to decide on the status of any given Territory. In any case the French Republic does not include any community, district or subdivision to which resolution 1514 (XV) could apply. I would only add that the draft resolution contains ambiguous wording and elements which are not consonant with the real facts.

239. Finally we shall, as we did in the case of resolution 34/95 last year, abstain on draft resolution A/35/L.36 and Add.1. In doing so, we nevertheless remain faithful to our concept of the question of free and objective information. Naturally, if we take great pains to preclude any form of directed or selective information, we can only associate ourselves with the spirit of the draft resolution in question and the concerns which gave rise to it, to the extent that its aim is to facilitate awareness of real problems and the effective exercise by peoples of the right freely to choose their own destiny.

240. Mr. de ALBUQUERQUE (Portugal): As we have often stated in the past we are deeply committed to the implementation of the principles and objectives contained in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, in the case of the draft resolution and plan of action submitted to the General Assembly to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), we regret that it was not possible to reach agreement on a text which could command the broadest possible support and hence stand a chance of being implemented.

241. The draft resolution contained in annex II to document A/35/413, and draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1 include provisions which my Government cannot support and we therefore have no other choice than to abstain in the votes thereon.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 102nd meeting, paras. 20 and 21.

242. Mr. BELTRAMINO (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The celebration of the twentieth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), known as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, is auspicious because it signifies the rapid process of decolonization which the United Nations, in compliance with specific provisions of the Charter, has striven to achieve, and because this resolution is the symbol of and an impetus in the process.

243. It is therefore not surprising that we have repeatedly heard statements by representatives of States of various regions that have stressed the importance of the achievement of independence by countries which now make up almost half the membership of the Organization.

244. This relentless march towards decolonization, which began at the San Francisco Conference itself and which gave rise to the principles of the Charter, had its origin, we must recall, in the major impetus given by the countries of Latin America, which more than a century before had begun their independence movements in the region. That explains the support Argentina and other Latin American Countries have always given to the decolonization process, both in their own region and outside it.

245. The Declaration, based on the Charter, contains the elements essential for decolonization and has provided fundamental guidelines and principles to the Special Committee for the development of its work since it was established. The Declaration reaffirms and embodies principles of universal value for the purpose for which it was adopted. It is notable for its justice and equity, which can be even better assessed with the passing of time. We would point, *inter alia*, to paragraph 6 on the maintenance of territorial integrity, the disruption of which is said to be incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

246. At the same time it should be recalled that in 1965, 1973 and 1976 the General Assembly adopted resolutions 2065 (XX), 3160 (XXVIII) and 31/49 on the Malvinas Islands and the holding of negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom to arrive at a solution of the problem. A decision was taken by consensus at 57th meeting of the General Assembly, along the lines of those resolutions.

247. The Organization must continue to be active and vigilant to bring about the elimination of colonialism, in accordance with the principles I mentioned earlier and for the benefit of all peoples. My delegation hopes that before the conclusion of the present decade it will be possible to mention resolution 1514 (XV) in the context of the celebration of the conclusion of the decolonization process throughout the world.

248. The draft resolution in document A/35/413 appears to us appropriate at this time and we shall support it.

249. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): The Netherlands delegation joins in the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On 14 December 1960 my country voted in

favour of resolution 1514 (XV) and we remain firmly committed to the complete implementation of the Declaration. The right to self-determination of all peoples, free from outside interference, remains a fundamental precept of international law.

250. The history of decolonization over the last two decades points to the important and successful role played by the United Nations. Since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), one third of the present membership has joined the world body. As nations gained their freedom and independence, the accompaniment of the transition to statehood by human suffering and destruction often could not be avoided.

251. However, for peoples striving to acquire the right to determine their own future, the purposes and principles of the Charter and the commitment of the Organization to their cause provided a source of inspiration and hope.

252. Now, 20 years after the Declaration was adopted, the process of decolonization has nearly reached its culmination. It is hoped that one of the remaining Territories, Namibia, will become independent in 1981. The United Nations has a special responsibility for that Territory, which is illegally occupied by South Africa. The nationhood of Namibia and of the Non-Self-Governing Territories that wish to become independent will mark the end of the colonial period. It will bring nearer the ideal of a world order based on sovereign equality, respect for human dignity and international co-operation.

253. In the meantime, the Netherlands attaches the greatest importance to the work 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. We are confident that the administering Powers will continue to co-operate closely with the United Nations in discharging their responsibilities for their Territories.

254. My delegation considers this twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration an important event in the history of the United Nations. We had therefore hoped that the General Assembly would act by adopting a resolution expressing the unanimous view of Member States on decolonization. Unfortunately, the draft resolution contained in annex II to document A/35/413 contains elements to which my delegation cannot subscribe.

255. A number of provisions in both the draft resolution and the plan of action purport to depict the situation in South Africa and the policies of *apartheid* as a problem of decolonization. The Netherlands has repeatedly condemned *apartheid* as a grave and persistent violation of human rights. However, we consider that South Africa is not a colonial Power. The struggle in South Africa is not one for liberation from a colonial situation, but one for equal rights for all the inhabitants, whatever their race or the colour of their skin.

256. My Government believes that the necessary and fundamental changes in South Africa can be brought about by dialogue and, where necessary, outside pressure. Armed struggle and violence cannot be justified; we therefore have to dissociate ourselves from formulations, such as that in operative para-

graph 4 of the draft resolution, in which such a course of action is advocated as an inherent right. As far as the aim of peaceful change is concerned, we are ready to continue to apply pressure on the Government of South Africa in order to bring about an end to *apartheid*. At the same time, my Government intends to pursue dialogue with South Africa through existing channels of communication. We do not think that a policy aimed at total isolation of that country, as proposed in paragraph 4 of the programme of action, is acceptable, since it would run counter to our efforts, which I have just described. For that reason in particular, we cannot vote in favour of the draft resolution.

257. My delegation also has reservations on other paragraphs of the text. We do not agree with the categorical statements in paragraph 9 of the plan of action that military activities as such constitute an obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration; nor do we think that the question of mercenaries should be addressed in this context.

258. Some provisions of draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1, which is also submitted to the vote under this agenda item, meet with the same objections. I am referring to operative paragraphs 4, 7, 8 and 10. More specifically, we do not interpret paragraph 8 as a call for total isolation of South Africa. However, in view of my country's attachment to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, my delegation will vote in favour of this text.

259. Mr. CASTILLO ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala wishes to explain its position with regard to the draft resolutions under agenda item 18.

260. Guatemala is a Member of the United Nations that has firmly upheld the principles of freedom and independence for peoples subjected to colonial régimes since their supreme enshrinement in the San Francisco Charter and it has given its firm support in all cases of decolonization which have been resolved by the United Nations during the lengthy process of decolonization. Guatemala, by its votes and its actions, has also contributed to the admission of many countries which have become liberated from the yoke of colonialism. The United Nations has thus honourably carried out the noble task of achieving independence and freedom for all peoples throughout the world.

261. With equal firmness and conviction, Guatemala has participated in the restructuring and approval of the great institutional complement to decolonization, resolution 1514 (XV), the twentieth anniversary of which we are now celebrating enthusiastically, because we believe in its fundamental tenets. But that resolution also reaffirmed the undisputed basis included in the Charter for the defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Member States, as an inalienable right of existing States, which cannot be subjected to national or territorial dismemberment for any reason or motive that may be invoked to distort paragraph 6 of the resolution, which states:

“Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.”

It is for that reason that, although my delegation and my Government support with the most profound conviction the principles and genuine basis of decolonization, we cannot accept political declarations which distort the application of this instrument to the detriment of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States already constituted, and we regret that we shall have to abstain on both the draft resolution and the proposed plan of action, which seem to us to be neither adequate nor acceptable.

Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius), Vice-President, took the Chair.

262. Mr. KAWALEWALE (Malawi): My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1. However, we should like to register our reservations with regard to operative paragraphs 7 and 8.

263. In the same vein, we shall abstain on the draft resolution and the plan of action contained in document A/35/413.

264. Mr. GAYAMA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): A few days ago the General Assembly celebrated the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted 32 years ago. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, the twentieth anniversary of which we are now celebrating, constitutes in its objective and the historical perspective in which it is placed a necessary complement to both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter itself.

265. It appears clear that the right to independence, sovereignty and self-determination constitute a basic provision for the enjoyment of all other rights. Consequently 20 years ago it was necessary to close an important gap which otherwise might have rendered null and void principles affirmed in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but apparently accommodating a century-old colonial situation which was illegal. The explanation for that could be found in the fact that for the colonial Powers there was no exercise of the basic human rights or rights of peoples except as far as the peoples of part of Europe or North America were concerned; for the rest of the world there were only subhumans in place of humans, and there were only subcultures in place of cultures, and the other peoples and nations hardly counted any more than the raw materials that were extracted from their soil.

266. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples not only fulfils the wishes of great figures of history such as Lenin, who saw in the colonialist phenomenon an absolute negation of freedom and a factor of disorder in relations among peoples. It also has the merit of enshrining in written laws a right already recognized in conscience and in practice.

267. In paragraph 1 the Declaration states:

“The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.”

Thus it lays the foundation for everything else that the United Nations adopted subsequently in regard to political, economic and social rights, including the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] without which sovereignty and independence cannot be fully realized, as well as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*, *annex*].

268. The work done in the past 20 years is positive and the praise is largely due to the United Nations. It is nevertheless surprising that 20 years after the Declaration, and a few years before the sad centenary of the Berlin Act of 1885, there still exist not only colonial Powers which are proud of being such, but also theoreticians of the domination of peoples by other peoples. The idea of self-determination according to them could mean the choice of a people to remain non-self-governing, that is to say, under subjugation. There is nothing more cynical than such a definition. No people can in conditions of self-determination choose to remain the slave of another.

269. The unavowed forms of colonialism should be borne in mind, for they are no less dangerous; they are represented by neo-colonialism, whereby people are dominated while the appearance of liberty is maintained. Now, there is no common measure between a free association of States aware of their complementarity and an unnatural alliance, such as that between a horse and its rider. The situation presents itself in the latter light in many cases, and that is why the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was right to draft the resolution contained in annex II of document A/35/413, and particularly its plan of action for the full implementation of the Declaration.

270. In that respect, we are thinking in particular about the African continent which, with Namibia and of course South Africa, still holds the sad privilege of containing the world's largest colonial empires and which is, moreover, governed by the fascist and slave-holding system of *apartheid*, which is a crime against humanity. It is still true that all the colonial empires existing at the present time and which cover in particular the islands or territories of the Pacific, the Indian Ocean or the Caribbean, should benefit without exception or condition from the implementation of the principle of self-determination in order fully to realize their independence.

271. My delegation, which has never failed to uphold the cause of freedom, would like to reaffirm the unwavering support that it gives to each of the provisions of the draft resolution recommended by the Special Committee, as well as the plan of action. In particular, we should like to emphasize the great importance, in the present circumstances, of operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, according to which the General Assembly must, in order to remain faithful to the lofty mission of the Organization in relation to decolonization, categorically reject any agreement, arrangement or unilateral action by colonial and racist Powers which ignores, violates, denies

or conflicts with the inalienable rights of peoples under colonial domination to self-determination and independence.

272. It follows naturally that to remain faithful to the imperative norm of decolonization contained in the Declaration, all peoples who are refused the right to independence and sovereignty have the right to fight, by all means including armed struggle, to obtain the recognition of their rights.

273. Thus, having become subjects of international law, the national liberation movements such as SWAPO and the African National Congress of South Africa, have the right to any consideration deriving from their status. That recognition is the counterpart of the right which the colonialists have arrogated to themselves for as long as colonialism has existed.

274. My delegation wanted to express those fundamental considerations which from its point of view determine important decisions that the General Assembly is about to take on the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

275. Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): Because of the enormous sacrifices made to recover our national independence and our right to decide our own destiny, the people of Kampuchea fully understand the profound aspirations of other peoples still under foreign domination, in particular the African people of Namibia.

276. Kampuchea made an active contribution to the adoption and implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Thus, the twentieth anniversary of that Declaration is profoundly felt by the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea, now fighting against the most barbaric colonial war that it has known in its history. That feeling is reflected in the message that the President of the State Presidium and the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Mr. Khieu Samphan, addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General on 8 December last.

277. For all those reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the plan of action for the full implementation of the Declaration contained in annex II of document A/35/413. It will also vote in favour of draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and Add.1 and A/35/L.36 and Add.1.

278. Nevertheless, my delegation would like to enter explicit reservations regarding the presence among the sponsors of those two draft resolutions of the country which is the new colonialist country of Asia. That country, Viet Nam, is pursuing a war of colonial aggression and racial extermination against my country, is continuing to violate the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV) and is obstinately refusing to implement resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 which call for the people of Kampuchea to exercise their inalienable right to decide their own future without any foreign interference.

279. The presence of Viet Nam, a colonialist and expansionist country, among the sponsors is new proof of the cynicism and hypocrisy of the Hanoi

regional expansionists that everyone now knows. It shows the scorn with which that country treats the valiant struggles of national liberation of colonial peoples and countries, as well as the noble work of the General Assembly.

280. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): Since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples 20 years ago, many positive things have been accomplished and numerous formerly colonized States have acceded to independence in co-operation with the former metropolitan countries.

281. On this twentieth anniversary of the Declaration we have every reason to rejoice and to pay a tribute to the national liberation movements known for their courage and their sense of abnegation, to the administering Powers for having learned the practical lesson of the irreversibility of the struggle for emancipation and independence of peoples, to the United Nations and regional organizations such as the OAU and to all those who, from near or far, have worked for the realization of independence for a number of our States, for we must say that the decolonization thus arrived at assists in changing the mental attitudes, not only among the colonized but also among the colonizers, thus creating the conditions for co-operation based on equality, justice and mutual advantage.

282. At this stage, we hope that the administering Powers of former times will continue to show the same understanding towards us and will continue to support our struggle for economic decolonization so as to achieve a rational and equitable organization of the interdependence of States.

283. Our satisfaction would be complete if, today, all the Territories concerned had been decolonized, but, alas, there remain South Africa, Namibia and other Territories which suffer under colonial and racial domination.

284. We must therefore organize our common endeavours to wage the last, decisive battles of decolonization in this last part of the century, particularly in southern Africa. In this organization of our common endeavours we must raise our forces to the level of the obstacles which persist; and we feel that, quite apart from the criminal policy of *apartheid*, the situation prevailing in South Africa and in Namibia has all the characteristics of a typically colonial situation.

285. In view of these considerations and faithful to the spirit of resolution 1514 (XV) the delegation of Zaire will support the three draft resolutions before us as well as the plan of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, we also believe the relevant United Nations resolutions on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples must not be interpreted in a discriminatory fashion or in terms of considerations of ideological affinities or political self-interest, since this would undoubtedly hinder the very process of decolonization that we support.

286. Having explained these considerations, we shall vote in favour of the three draft resolutions before us.

287. Mr. TURINE (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like to explain its vote in favour of draft resolution A/35/L.36 and Add.1 regarding the dissemination of information on decolonization. That positive vote carries with it however, an important reservation with regard to paragraph 3(a). We deplore the lack of objectivity too frequently manifested in the publications cited in that paragraph. Accordingly, my delegation hopes that the Secretariat will devote careful attention to this problem.

288. Mr. JANI (ZIMBABWE): Twenty years have passed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is universally accepted that independence is an inalienable right of all peoples, which must be respected by all nations. It has been the pattern in most former colonial countries that independence has been achieved through strife, hardship and trouble and indeed that has been the pattern in Africa from the time when Ghana became independent under Kwame Nkrumah.

289. Thus, we feel that it is the duty of all forces genuinely concerned with the maintenance of international peace and security to work for the speedy granting of independence to all peoples still under colonial rule. As a special case in point, it is the duty of the international community to find a way to break the hold of *apartheid* South Africa has over Namibia and to work for an end to the evil system within South Africa itself. It is plain, indeed obvious, that independence will never be readily granted to any colonized people for the simple reason that the reason it was colonized is the very reason why its independence will be resisted.

290. In view of these considerations we shall support draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and Add.1 and A/35/L.36 and Add.1.

291. Mr. REMEDI (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Uruguay, consistent with its traditional support for the self-determination of peoples and convinced that their subjection to foreign or colonial domination is a denial of fundamental human rights, as established in paragraph 1 of resolution 1514 (XV), will vote in favour of draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and Add.1, and A/35/L.36 and Add.1, as well as the draft resolution contained in annex II of document A/35/413. Although we agree in general with the operative parts of those draft resolutions, particularly the objective of the plan of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we feel it necessary to reiterate that our country cannot accept any so-called solution which involves the use of violence to achieve certain ends.

292. Therefore, we cannot subscribe to those paragraphs which in a covert manner seek to have the Assembly legitimize armed struggle, in open violation of the principles of the Charter. We recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples subjected to foreign or colonial domination for the exercise of their self-determination, but this should in no way lead us to endorse the formula "by all the necessary means at their disposal" without simultaneously

safeguarding the purposes and principles of the Charter.

293. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote first on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in annex II to document A/35/413. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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 Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

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

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Malawi, Mauritius, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden.

The draft resolution was adopted by 120 votes to 6, with 20 abstentions (resolution 35/118).⁹

294. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1 and A/35/L.36 and Add.1. I have been informed that the financial implications of the activities envisaged by the Special Committee during 1981 have already been reflected in the programme budget for the biennium 1980-1981. As indicated in the report on the Fifth Committee [A/35/698], to the extent that the balance of appropriations will not suffice, additional requirements will be included in the pertinent report to be submitted by

⁹ The delegation of India subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

the Secretary-General to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session.

295. I now put to the vote draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

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

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Mauritius, Portugal.

The draft resolution was adopted by 134 votes to 3, with 9 abstentions (resolution 35/119).

296. The PRESIDENT: Finally, I put to the vote draft resolution A/35/L.36 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan,

Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: France, Guatemala, Mauritius,¹⁰ United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 142 votes to none, with 5 abstentions (resolution 35/120).

297. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those delegations wishing to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

298. Mr. HASLUND (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

299. First of all, I wish to emphasize the consistent and active support of the Nordic countries for the decolonization process and for the important role of the United Nations in that process. The votes of the Nordic countries in favour of draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and Add.1 and A/35/L.36 and Add.1 should be seen as an extension of this positive position. The Nordic countries, however, have reservations concerning some of the paragraphs contained in draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1, operative paragraph 4 of which contained formulations which are contrary to the principle upheld by the Nordic countries that the United Nations should seek peaceful solutions. We also have reservations concerning certain other paragraphs, some of which seem to run counter to the principle of universality, to which our delegations remain committed.

300. Finally, the Nordic countries regret that the draft plan of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was presented to the General Assembly in a way which excluded the possibility of adoption without a vote. A consensus text reflecting the commitment of the international community to the rights of all peoples to self-determination and independence would, in our opinion, have been the proper way to celebrate this anniversary.

301. Mrs. NOWOTNY (Austria): My delegation voted in favour of the two draft resolutions just adopted as a token of our country's traditional com-

¹⁰ The delegation of Mauritius subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

mitment to the process of decolonization and in appreciation of the key role which the United Nations is playing in this historic process—although we have a number of serious reservations concerning the wording of the draft resolutions.

302. Austria, however, had to abstain from voting on the commemorative draft resolution on the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), as well as on the plan of action. There is no doubt that the process of peaceful decolonization itself is one of the major achievements of the United Nations in the last 20 years, and a process to which a considerable part of the membership of the Organization owes its present participation in its work.

303. We would have wished that for the occasion of the commemoration of the anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV) efforts had been undertaken to establish the broadest basis of consensus in order to do justice to this historic achievement. From our point of view the resolution just adopted takes a very negative and critical approach to the process of decolonization in general and does not offer a meaningful contribution to the solution of problems which will have to be faced in the decolonization process in the coming years.

304. Austria, furthermore, wishes to point out that, from our point of view, the just struggle of colonial peoples and territories must be carried out in accordance with the principles of the Charter. And this, in our opinion, signifies peaceful means.

305. Mr. MIYAMOTO (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/35/L.35 and Add.1, which has just been adopted, because of our firm support for the basic objective set forth in it: namely, reaffirmation of the inalienable right of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination and independence. However, for reasons we have made clear many times before, my delegation wishes to record its reservations on some of its paragraphs.

306. Mr. JAMES (Australia): The Australian delegation abstained in the voting on the draft resolution contained in document A/35/413. We did so because of specific objections we had to the text. In fact, when the text was submitted in the Special Committee in August, we made quite clear what our objections were, and endeavoured to introduce amendments.

307. Our vote, however, does not diminish our commitment to pursuing, in the Committee the common cause of decolonization, in accordance with the Charter and the objectives of the Committee. We firmly believe that the resolution, including the plan of action, will add little, if anything, to the work already being done by the Committee. Indeed, the provocative formulations in some paragraphs will divide rather than unite delegations in what should be a common cause.

308. We regret that on so important an occasion as the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) a greater effort was not made to produce a consensus text. We are disappointed that this should have been the case. Decolonization is an important subject which should be considered seri-

ously and dispassionately without the injection of ideology and political point-scoring.

309. Mr. DLAMINI (Swaziland): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in document A/35/413, but because of our geographical location we should like to reserve our position with regard to paragraph 16 (a) of the plan of action.

310. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): Although my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on decolonization contained in document A/35/413, we are, for obvious reasons, compelled to reserve our position on paragraph 16 (a) of the plan of action.

311. Mr. WAYARABI (Indonesia): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/35/413, including the plan of action, on the understanding that its implementation should be consistent with the spirit and the letter of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV).

AGENDA ITEM 54

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/35/620)

AGENDA ITEM 57

Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/35/674)

AGENDA ITEM 58

Question of the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/35/678)

AGENDA ITEM 122

International co-operation to avert new flows of refugees

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/35/739)

312. Mr. PELÁEZ (Peru), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly four reports of the Special Political Committee on agenda items 54, 57, 58 and 122.

313. In the course of the consideration of agenda item 54, on the review of peace-keeping operations, the Committee heard 34 statements in the general debate, after which it adopted, without a vote, the draft resolution which was submitted by the Chairman after informal consultations among delegations. That draft resolution, which the Committee recom-

mends to the General Assembly for adoption, appears in paragraph 6 of the report [A/35/620] which is before the Assembly.

314. During the course of seven meetings, the Special Political Committee also considered agenda item 57, on the basis of the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. Forty-seven delegations took part in the general debate, during the course of which five draft resolutions were submitted. Those draft resolutions, all of which were adopted by recorded votes, appear in paragraph 24 of the report of the Special Political Committee [A/35/674], and are recommended to the General Assembly for adoption.

315. At this time, I should like to express to the delegation of Kuwait, on behalf of the officers of the Special Political Committee, our sincere condolences on the death yesterday of Mr. Fayez Sayegh. During this session, as well as in past years, Mr. Sayegh attended meetings of the Committee and participated in the debate on this item. His dedication to the cause, his eloquence and his profound knowledge earned him general respect and esteem. His passing is a great loss for his delegation as well as for the United Nations community. I should be grateful if the delegation of Kuwait would transmit to its Government and the bereaved family of Mr. Sayegh the expression of our most sincere condolences.

316. To return now to the reports, the Committee also considered agenda item 58, relating to the Malagasy islands, at two meetings. Seven delegations took part in the general debate and 27 delegations sponsored the draft resolution which the Committee adopted by a recorded vote on 25 November last. Paragraph 7 of the report [A/35/678] contains the draft resolution which the Committee recommends to the Assembly.

317. Lastly, the fourth report which I have the honour to present relates to item 122, which was included as an additional item in the agenda upon the request of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany on 24 September [A/35/242]; it concerns international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees. Seven meetings were devoted to this item, which aroused considerable interest and led to the expression of various points of view in 43 statements by delegations in the general debate. The revised draft resolution was considerably amended, taking into account the suggestions and amendments proposed in the course of the general debate.

318. I have been requested to place it on record that the delegation of Iceland, which sponsored the initial draft resolution, would have wished to be included among the sponsors of the revised draft resolution in document A/SPC/35/L.21/Rev.1, which is mentioned in paragraph 10 of the report [A/35/739]. The revised draft resolution was also the subject of several amendments and subamendments, and paragraph 25 of the report contains the roll-call vote by which the amended text was adopted. Paragraph 26 of the report contains the text of the draft resolution recommended to the Assembly.

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

319. The PRESIDENT: Statements will be limited to explanation of vote. The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Special Political Committee were made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

320. May I remind members that by its decision 34/401 the General Assembly agreed that when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in the plenary a delegation should as far as possible explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in plenary meeting, unless the delegation's vote in the plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee.

321. We shall now consider the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 54 [A/35/620].

322. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 6 of the report. The Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/121).

323. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 57 [A/35/674]. That report contains five draft resolutions. In addition, the Assembly also has before it draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1. I now call upon the representative of Iraq to introduce this draft resolution.

324. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First of all, on behalf of my delegation I should like to thank the delegations which took part in the preparation of the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. I should also like to thank those members of the Secretariat who helped in the preparation of the report, which reflects the facts objectively and scientifically.

325. The delegation of Iraq is pleased to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1 on behalf of the sponsors. Today, the Zionist entity has added other crimes to its repertory of terrorism, massacres and the infliction of suffering. Since the Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, commemorated by the people of the occupied territories to express their loyalty to their country and their determination to liberate themselves from the yoke of zionism, the Zionist authorities have committed all kinds of atrocities. They have seized the schools and universities, thus depriving the students for long periods of the opportunity to study, or even to take their examinations. These authorities have not confined themselves to such acts as these. They have fired on students, wounding a great number of them; a 14-year-old student was hit. In addition, they have held the teachers as well as the students in detention. Not content with that, the repressive authorities of the Zionist entity have, under the direction of Menachem Begin, also proclaimed an unjust decision against the Mayors of Halhoul and Hebron, who had been freely elected,

thus contravening the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and Security Council resolutions. They have exiled the mayors from their country, in spite of the fact that the Zionist authorities have not been able to accuse them of any crime, unless it be that of loving and being faithful to Palestine, where they were born.

326. In this respect, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to a report in yesterday's edition of *The New York Times*, which is known for its support of the Zionists. It published the following report from its Jerusalem correspondent:

"Israeli military authorities detained 60 to 70 high school students in the West Bank town of Ramallah today after rocks were thrown at an Israeli jeep. Witnesses said about 20 of the teen-age students were beaten by soldiers in the yard of the Ramallah military compound in front of their parents.

"There was no official comment from the Israeli military spokesman, though an official at the West Bank military headquarters confirmed that the students had thrown rocks through the jeep's windshield and that some students had been arrested after soldiers fired warning shots and used tear gas. An unspecified number of students were still being held for questioning.

"Some were kept there and beaten in front of their mothers, according to Ramallah's Deputy Mayor, the Rev. Audeh Rantisi. There were about 20 who were beaten.

"Describing the beatings, the Deputy Mayor said of the soldiers, 'They had clubs.' The students, he said, 'were made to put their heads on the ground, and the soldiers hit them on the back.'

"Bishop Colin Winter, the Anglican bishop of South-West Africa, also known as Namibia, who is here on a visit, said he has witnessed part of the incident. He reported seeing the soldiers forcing the students to run around the compound. 'This is an outrage to civilization,' he said."¹¹

Those practices are not isolated cases. They are a flagrant violation of law, as one can imagine. It is a deliberate plan designed to force the Palestinians to give up their property, their homes, their villages and to uproot them from everything that belongs to them and to supplant them by Zionists from all over the world.

327. The Zionist entity is the only one to defy the world by its refusal to apply United Nations resolutions, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and Security Council resolutions which stress these atrocities, particularly resolution 476 (1980), and General Assembly resolutions, the latest of which is resolution 34/90 B of last year. The Palestinian Arab people will continue their noble task in order to achieve their national objectives and to recover their inalienable rights, their right to self-determination, their right to independence and their right to sovereignty under the sponsorship of the Palestine Libera-

tion Organization and supported by all the peoples of the world.

328. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote on the six draft resolutions. Statements should be limited to 10 minutes and made from the delegations' seats.

329. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1 is just another building block in the general Arab campaign conducted against my country by the States of the new Arab League and by their supporters in the United Nations. This draft resolution, which has just been introduced by the spokesman of that well-known humanitarian and pacifist Saddam Hussein, is a collage containing elements pulled out from some of the other draft resolutions on which this Assembly is about to vote. It contains a series of mendacious and worn-out allegations, all of which have been addressed and refuted by the representative of Israel in the Special Political Committee. The draft resolution then focuses on the cases of Mr. Fahd Qawasma, Mr. Mohamed Milhem and Mr. Rajab Attamimi as a pretext to steamroll through the Assembly yet another ritualistic condemnation of Israel.

330. As is well known, the Israel Supreme Court, sitting as the High Court of Justice, has upheld the validity of the expulsion measures taken against the individuals in question. Israel is a State dedicated to the rule of law, which is carried out through an independent judiciary. The Israel courts and the Israel judicial system as a whole have established for themselves an enviable reputation. They certainly can match, and in many cases are better than, the courts in any of the countries represented in this Assembly.

331. The draft resolution is a totally impermissible and unacceptable attempt to interfere with the judicial system of a sovereign Member State. It must therefore be rejected. Since the main objective of this draft resolution is to prepare the ground for further media events in other United Nations organs, Israel sees no purpose in addressing itself here to the matter of Mr. Qawasma and his colleagues. We will state our position at the appropriate time.

332. Miss STREDEL (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Venezuela will vote in favour of the draft resolution on agenda item 57 which was adopted in the Special Political Committee because we share the views expressed in draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1.

333. On many occasions, Venezuela has shown its support for the Palestinian cause, and in the present circumstances it wishes to reiterate that support once again. Nonetheless, the delegation of Venezuela wishes to place on record its reservations regarding the language used to indicate the elements contained in the draft resolution adopted by the Special Political Committee that is now being submitted to the General Assembly.

334. The delegation of Venezuela likewise wishes to state its reservations with regard to the inappropriate language in draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1 on the same subject, and in particular the second part of operative paragraph 2.

¹¹ Quoted in English by the speaker.

335. Mr. OSVALD (Sweden): Draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1 is concerned with a serious aspect of the Israeli policies of occupation. Those policies are rightly a matter of concern to the international community. My delegation has repeatedly stated that there is no doubt that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 1949, is fully applicable to all Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. In accordance with that Convention, collective penalties and measures of intimidation or terrorism are prohibited, as are reprisals against protected persons and their property. It is also a clear transgression of the Convention summarily to deport civilian inhabitants of the occupied territories to neighbouring countries.

336. The expulsion of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul and of the Sharia Judge of Hebron was, in our view, illegal and totally unacceptable, and we strongly deplore the failure of Israel to acknowledge the applicability of the provisions of the aforementioned Geneva Convention and to comply with them. We call on Israel to rescind all actions and measures which are in contravention of that Convention.

337. Having said this, Sweden will nevertheless abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1 since, in our view, certain formulations in the operative part are inappropriate.

338. Mr. MATHIAS (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has asked to speak in order to explain its vote on draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1 before the vote. The delegation of Portugal will vote in favour of that draft resolution.

339. We wish, however, to express our reservations on the wording of certain paragraphs, in particular that which claims that Israel pursues a deliberate policy of opening fire on defenceless students. My delegation wishes unambiguously to stress that the occupied territories referred to in operative paragraph 1 include only those territories occupied after the 1967 war.

340. Miss DANSILIO de JORDAN (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Uruguay will vote in favour of the draft resolutions recommended in the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 57 because we consider that, as is traditional in the foreign policy of our Republic, the widest possible support must be given to the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, to the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by the use of force and to the recognition, as an irreversible fact, of the existence of the State of Israel within secure and just boundaries, as well as to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the creation of a national State.

341. On this basis, Uruguay has supported since the thirtieth session of the General Assembly all resolutions adopted by that body in favour of the application of existing international conventions on the protection of civilians in time of war to the territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

342. Conquest by war engenders no rights whatsoever, and therefore my delegation has also condemned since the same time and with equal strength

all actions and measures of Israel to change the legal status, geographical nature or demographic composition of the occupied territories. Such actions and measures are but additional barriers to solutions leading to a just and lasting peace in the area allowing all States to exist within secure and recognized boundaries and the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights.

343. Although the delegation of Uruguay agrees with the spirit of Security Council resolutions 465 (1980), 468 (1980) and 469 (1980), and although it supported both resolutions of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, it expresses its reservations with regard to operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution C recommended in document A/35/674 until such time as it is proved that the listed practices and policies are in fact engaged in by Israel.

344. Finally, my country, for the same reasons, will abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1, the wording of which gives rise to certain reservations when we consider that language, as a means of communication and understanding, should be a fundamental factor to be taken into account in all instruments which are intended to serve as the means for peaceful and constructive solutions of conflicts among civilized countries and peoples.

345. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the five draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 24 of its report [A/35/674].

346. I invite members to turn their attention to draft resolution A. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/35/713. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda,

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Guatemala.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 141 votes to 1, with 1 abstention (resolution 35/122 A).

347. The PRESIDENT: I next put to the vote draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Guatemala, Malawi, United States of America.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 140 votes to 1 with 3 abstentions (resolution 35/122 B).

348. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution C. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic,

Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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 Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 118 votes to 2, with 23 abstentions (resolution 35/122 C).

349. The President: I next put to the vote draft resolution D. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand,

Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Guatemala, Malawi, United States of America.

Draft resolution D was adopted by 140 votes to 1, with 3 abstentions (resolution 35/122 D).

350. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put draft resolution E to the vote. One delegation requested a roll-call vote on this draft resolution. However, in view of the lateness of the hour and the large volume of unfinished business, delegations have been asked to rely on the recorded vote for the information they desire. I am pleased to state that those concerned are prepared to co-operate in this regard.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Burma, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Swaziland,¹² Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution E was adopted by 119 votes to 2, with 23 abstentions (resolution 35/122 E).

351. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay.

The draft resolution was adopted by 117 votes to 2, with 25 abstentions (resolution 35/122 F).

352. The PRESIDENT: I now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

353. Mrs. NOWOTNY (Austria): Austria's position on the policies and practices of Israel and its military authorities in the territories occupied since 1967 is well known. It has during this session of the General Assembly been amply documented in the statement of the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs at the 20th meeting, as well as in the contributions of the Austrian delegation to the agenda item at present under discussion. On the basis of this position we have decided to support draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1, which has just been put to the vote, as we share the concern expressed therein about the measures taken against the Mayors of Hebron and Halhul as well as against educational institutions for the Palestinian population. The positive vote of the Austrian delegation does not, however, imply that Austria does not have several serious reservations with regard to formulations of the resolution. Those

¹² The delegation of Swaziland subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

reservations concern specifically operative paragraphs 2 and 5. We also interpret the reference to Palestinian and other Arab territories to apply to those territories which were occupied in 1967.

354. Mr. DIDIER (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): The nine States members of the European Community sincerely would have very much liked to vote in favour of resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1, in view of the seriousness of recent events mentioned in that text. However, they were unable to do so because of their reservations with respect to some of the wording contained *inter alia* in the preamble and in operative paragraphs 1 and 5.

355. On the other hand, the events mentioned increase their anxiety regarding the situation in the territories occupied since 1967. The nine members strongly disapprove of the measures taken by the Israeli authorities in this respect, particularly those mentioned in operative paragraph 2. They also strongly deplore the decision to expel the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul for the second time.

356. The Community strongly urges the Israeli Government to abandon such actions forthwith since they can only hamper any peace effort.

357. Finally, I should like personally to take this opportunity to express our deepest sympathy to the family of Mr. Fayez Sayegh, recently deceased, and to the delegation of Kuwait. Mr. Fayez Sayegh for many years played an outstanding role in the debates on the agenda items before us. We bow to his memory.

358. Mr. TORRES (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation has invariably considered that the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, apply to the territories occupied since June 1967. We have also associated ourselves with the appeal of the Security Council in its resolutions 468 (1980) and 469 (1980) and have accordingly voted in favour of the draft resolution on the subject contained in the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 57.

359. Nevertheless, the delegation of Chile abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1 which has just been adopted, because of our doubts regarding the propriety of dealing with these matters in conjunction with situations of a different kind. We also wish to point out that we are not convinced that the language used in some parts of the draft resolution is proper.

360. Mr. SEZAKI (Japan): The Government of Japan finds it deplorable that the Government of Israel has decided to expel once again the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul. We have sympathy for the inhabitants of the West Bank as a result of such measures of the Israeli Government. Nevertheless, Japan abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1 as a whole because it included some elements which we could not support.

361. Mrs. SHERMAN-PETER (Bahamas): The Bahamas delegation supported draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1 which has just been adopted by the General Assembly, because it contains certain elements that are consistent with our Government's policy on questions of human rights in the territories

occupied by Israel. However, my delegation wishes to place on record its reservations on the content and language of several paragraphs, including operative paragraph 3.

362. I wish to state that had separate votes been taken on those paragraphs, my delegation would have abstained.

363. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): At the 34th and 39th meetings of the Special Political Committee my delegation explained its vote on the five draft resolutions under this agenda item, which were then before the Committee. In addition, we voted against draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1.

364. We have repeatedly expressed our deepest concern over the illegal expulsion of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul and we once again appeal to the Government of Israel to permit them to return to their homes and resume the duties of their offices. We hold that the fourth Geneva Convention applies to the occupied territories. It is our considered judgement that the harsh measures taken against student demonstrators and educational institutions by the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories are disproportionate and work against the intended purpose of maintaining civil order.

365. However, we cannot accept this resolution in its present form for a number of reasons, but principally because, first, it purports to dictate to the Security Council what measures that body should take with regard to Israel; secondly, it uses unwarrantably extreme and unbalanced language in alleging a policy and a systematic campaign of repression; thirdly, it makes no mention of the broader context in which these events have occurred.

366. Mr. RANGER (Canada): My delegation would like to comment on its vote on draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1.

367. Canada is most concerned about the decision of the Israeli authorities to deport two mayors and Sharia Judge Tamimi. This concern has been demonstrated by our voting in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/35/674, concerning the mayors. That text and draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1, indicate that such deportations are prohibited by the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

368. Canada is also very concerned about recent disturbances in the West Bank affecting Palestinian universities and their students. The incidents of violence which have taken place recently are very much to be deplored and we fervently hope they will not be repeated.

369. Although we therefore support important aspects of draft resolution A/35/L.46 and Add.1, we cannot subscribe to the emotive charges made in parts of the text. For example, such language as "systematic Israeli campaign of repression" in operative paragraph 3 does nothing to contribute to the resolution of these very serious issues. Indeed, it exacerbates further an atmosphere already fraught with tension and mistrust. Accordingly, my delegation abstained in the vote on this text.

370. Mr. LESSIR (Tunisia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution

A/35/L.46 and Add.1, and this was to be expected because the position of my country has always been one of support for the Palestinian cause and condemnation of the policy of arbitrariness and oppression followed by Israel against the Arab population in the occupied Arab territories.

371. We voted enthusiastically in favour of this draft resolution because it is consonant with our views and feelings. Unfortunately, we have some doubt whether the measures decided upon by the Security Council will be effective, given the prevailing situation in the Council, and especially since the draft resolution calls for an immediate meeting of the Council. The fate of Council resolutions 468 (1980) and 469 (1980) is still fresh in our minds.

372. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 58 [A/35/678]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation in paragraph 7 of the report. I call on the representative of France, who wishes to explain his vote before the vote.

373. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): I shall refer briefly at this stage of the proceedings to item 58 in order to explain my delegation's vote against the draft resolution recommended in document A/35/678.

374. I should like first to remind members that my country does not recognize the competence of the General Assembly in this matter, which has been improperly submitted to it. History and law can prove without any possible doubt that the islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India are part of the French Republic. It is certainly not within the competence of the Assembly to distribute territories or to remodel existing boundaries. Were it to do so, it would create a very dangerous precedent, the gravity of which will escape no one.

375. As for the draft resolution itself, there is no need to enumerate once more the reasons for which it is unacceptable to us. It seeks to endorse ill-founded pretensions which rest only on unverifiable allegations and postulates which cannot be proved. The confusion which it seeks to establish between this question and the problem of decolonization now seems to have been dissipated. Everyone here knows that the islands in question have never had an indigenous population; there is no trace of a former permanent establishment there. It is not surprising, therefore, that a large number of African States expressed reservations concerning the resolution submitted by Madagascar at the thirty-fifth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, held at Freetown, from 18 to 28 June 1980.

376. I will not prolong any further a discussion which was imposed upon us but which should not have taken place. Delegations which listened in the Special Political Committee to the statements of those of the sponsors who spoke understand their intentions and motives. The facts of the problem are now sufficiently clear.

377. My delegation will vote against this draft resolution without hesitation, for such is the position that logic and good sense compel us to adopt in this matter.

378. The PRESIDENT: I shall not put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 7 of its report [A/35/678]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Luxembourg, Morocco, Netherlands, Senegal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Cyprus, Denmark, Djibouti, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Lebanon, Mauritius, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Portugal, Samoa, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, United Republic of Cameroon, Zaire.

The draft resolution was adopted by 81 votes to 13, with 37 abstentions (resolution 35/123).¹³

379. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Madagascar has requested to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

380. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): We do not intend to reopen the debate on these islands, but the statements made in explanation of vote in the Special Political Committee and the General Assembly compel us, at the risk of repetition, to give some clarifications so that it may not later be said that we bowed to arguments whose main characteristic was confusion.

381. As regards procedure, first of all, we have always maintained that the question which concerns us is that of incomplete—and I stress incomplete—decolonization, as well as of sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity. These two aspects are closely linked and in our opinion they cannot be dissociated to support rather specious arguments.

382. To be more clear, if that is necessary, we maintain that Madagascar, when it acceded to indepen-

¹³ The delegations of the Dominican Republic and Equatorial Guinea subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been abstentions.

dence, had a part of its territory amputated, the return of which we now demand. It is in this context that we have invoked resolution 1514 (XV) and in particular its paragraph 6.

383. Secondly, in an approach which in no way takes account of the nature of the question, some have sought to give credibility to the thesis according to which Madagascar is calling for the exercise of self-determination for uninhabited islands. And for good measure, completely formal logic is followed to reach the conclusion that, since the islands are uninhabited and self-determination only applies to given populations, the request of Madagascar has no substance. Such an argument is so tainted with bad faith that I need not dwell on it further.

384. Thirdly, we are unjustly reproached with not having had recourse to a bilateral approach. We did that in 1960, 1973, 1978 and 1979; and it was only when we were unable to obtain a positive reaction from France that we decided to bring the question before the United Nations.

385. Fourthly, in mentioning the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, we were careful to specify that it was in this context that we wished to seek the peaceful settlement of this particular dispute. We categorically reject any other interpretation of our intentions.

386. Fifthly, we regretted that resolution 34/91 was ambiguous, in the sense that it advocates negotiations while defining their objective, and however strong might be our desire to negotiate, it is obvious, at least to us, that negotiations cannot be an end in themselves.

387. As regards the present status of the islands, we have the following brief remarks to make. It has been stated that these islands, of which possession was taken at dates different from that of the annexation of Madagascar, could not be considered as being dependencies of Madagascar. In this respect, I should like to read an official French Act taking possession of the islands on behalf of France on 31 October 1897, which appeared on page 6090 of the Official Journal of the Republic of France on 31 October 1897:

“In application of the law of annexation of 6 August 1896, notified to foreign Powers and declaring Madagascar and its dependencies”—I stress “and its dependencies”—“to be a French colony, the French flag has been planted on the islands of Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India in the Mozambique Channel.”

The islands were thus dependencies of Madagascar before the annexation of Madagascar by France, and it cannot now be maintained that they were only attached to Madagascar for reasons of administrative convenience.

388. As regards the Glorieuses islands, they were attached to Madagascar by the successive decrees of 9 August 1908, the law of 25 July 1912, the decree of 23 February 1914 for the application of the latter, and the government decree of 9 November 1928. It is important to note on this subject that the law of 9 May 1946 established the archipelago of the Comoros,

made up of Mayotte, Anjouan, Mohéli and Grande-Comore as an autonomous overseas territory, and this composition was recalled in resolution 3385 (XXX) of 12 November 1975 by which the General Assembly decided to admit the archipelago of the Comoros to membership in the United Nations. The Glorieuses were thus legally declared to be dependencies of Madagascar from 1908 and, in our opinion, have been so since then without interruption.

389. We have been told that the theory of contiguity, of neighbourliness or of proximity, which it is sought, I do not know why, to convert into a simple geographical notion, is not recognized in international law. This assertion is to say the least surprising, and I should like to refer members of the General Assembly to the *Dictionnaire de la terminologie du droit international* by Jules Basdevant, in which that theory is defined as being the theory whereby “the effective occupation of a territory by a State must *ipso jure* confer on that State sovereignty over all the territories *nullius* which are near it or in its neighbourhood”.

390. For this part, Professor Paul Reuter in his work *Droit international public* maintains in respect of continuity that “territorial sovereignty... over a territory involves also sovereignty over accessory elements”.

391. The taking of possession by the French on 31 October 1897 was a pure and simple application of this theory, which had already led to the annexation law of 6 August 1896.

392. Nevertheless, when we in our turn recall this, the French side does not wish to take it into account, and it is indeed a case of today’s truth being tomorrow’s error, as Montesquieu said.

393. As for the future of the islands, it has been hinted that Madagascar, by claiming the islands, wishes to obtain advantages on the continental shelf and the exclusive economic zone, to extend its sovereignty over large areas of the Indian Ocean and the Mozambique Channel, thus endangering the free circulation of ships in the Mozambique Channel. I wish to declare on behalf of my Government that the Democratic Republic of Madagascar intends to exercise its rights and discharge its obligations with scrupulous respect for the freedom of navigation, whether it be in the territorial sea, in the exclusive economic zone, on the high seas or in international channels of communication defined in the draft convention on the law of the sea.¹⁴ We have no difficulty—and I stress, no difficulty—in accepting articles 78, 58 and 17 to 26 of the said draft convention, and we fail to see how the return of these islands can endanger international navigation in the Mozambique Channel or the future convention on the law of the sea.

394. On the other hand, we are not at all certain that delimitation by the administering Power of an exclusive economic zone surrounding these islands is in accordance with article 121 of the draft convention relating to the régime of islands and the provisional nature thereof.

395. Together with other coastal States and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, we concluded last

¹⁴ A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.3.

year that the growing military presence of the great Powers in the Indian Ocean area created a grave threat to the peace and security of our States. This was already our position when the Government of Madagascar called for the evacuation of the former French military bases in Madagascar, particularly that at Antseranana, formerly Diégo Suarez.

396. The same reasons are to be found in the repeated declarations of the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, who has said that Madagascar does not intend to grant new bases to any foreign country and repeated our concern regarding the possible military use of the islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India. Those considerations prove the stupidity of the intentions that are attributed to us, to the effect that we will hand those islands over to another Power as soon as we recover them.

397. Finally, in his proposal that a summit conference on the Indian Ocean should be convened, the President of the Republic of Madagascar gave the highest priority to the question of the freedom and security of civilian shipping and suggested that special guarantees should be given to oil tankers. The basic idea is that the military presence of the great Powers in our area will no longer be necessary once these guarantees have been granted in a convention.

398. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 122 [A/35/739].

399. There are no explanations of vote before the vote. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 28 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroun, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet

Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Algeria, Benin, Burundi, Congo, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Sao Tome and Principe, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Zimbabwe.

The draft resolution was adopted by 105 votes to 16, with 14 abstentions (resolution 35/124).

400. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Kuwait who wishes to make a statement.

401. Mr. EL-JEAAN (Kuwait): We are deeply touched by the expressions of sympathy and condolence. We are very grateful to the officers of the Special Political Committee and to all who share our grief and sorrow.

402. Mr. Fayez Sayegh was a scholar who dedicated his life to the cause which he served brilliantly. We miss him as a fighter for justice for his people and for peoples under occupation. All through the years he participated in the debates of the United Nations, and his brilliant and original statements will always remain a guiding force for us in the United Nations and will assist us in realizing his dream, which emanated from the ideals of the Charter.

403. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Kuwait, and I share his sorrow.

AGENDA ITEM 68

Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/631)

AGENDA ITEM 69

International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/632)

AGENDA ITEM 70

Preservation and further development of cultural values, including the protection, restitution and return of cultural and artistic property

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/633)

AGENDA ITEM 71

Problems of the elderly and the aged: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/634)

AGENDA ITEM 72

Human rights and scientific and technological developments

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/635)

AGENDA ITEM 73**Question of a convention on the rights of the child****REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/636)****AGENDA ITEM 76****International Covenants on Human Rights:**

- (a) Report of the Human Rights Committee;
- (b) Future meetings of the Human Rights Committee: report of the Secretary-General;
- (c) Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/637)**AGENDA ITEM 79****International Year of Disabled Persons: report of the Secretary-General****REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/638)****AGENDA ITEM 80****United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace:**

- (a) World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women;
- (b) Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women: report of the Secretary-General;
- (c) International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/639)**AGENDA ITEM 81****Policies and programmes relating to youth: report of the Secretary-General****REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/640)****AGENDA ITEM 83****Status of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: report of the Secretary-General****REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/35/641)**

404. Miss OBAFEMI (Nigeria), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to introduce today 11 reports concerning the work of the Third Committee on agenda items 68 to 73, 76, 79 to 81 and 83.

405. The report on agenda item 68 [A/35/631] gives a summary of the proceedings at the 14 meetings at which the Third Committee discussed this item jointly with agenda items 69 to 73, 76, 79 and 81. In paragraph 8 of the report, the Committee recommends

for adoption by the Assembly a draft resolution which was adopted by the Committee without a vote.

406. The Third Committee's report on agenda item 69 [A/35/632] reflects the proceedings in the Committee during the meetings at which the item was discussed. Paragraph 12 of the report contains a draft resolution which was adopted without a vote and which the Third Committee recommends for adoption by the Assembly. The Committee also decided that the Advisory Committee for the International Youth Year should be composed of representatives of 24 Member States. That draft decision, which is to be found in paragraph 13 of the report, is recommended for adoption by the Assembly.

407. The report on agenda item 70 [A/35/633] gives a summary of the Committee's discussion of that item. Two draft resolutions were adopted by the Committee without a vote. Paragraph 10 contains the texts of those two draft resolutions, which are recommended for adoption by the Assembly.

408. In paragraph 11 of the report on agenda item 71 [A/35/634], the Committee recommends to the Assembly the draft resolution which the Committee adopted without a vote.

409. The report on agenda item 72 [A/35/635] reflects the discussion of the Committee on that item. Paragraph 17 contains the text of the draft resolution recommended by the Committee. Draft resolution A was adopted without a vote. Draft resolution B was adopted by a recorded vote of 70 to none, with 63 abstentions.

410. Paragraph 8 of the report on agenda item 73 contains the text of the draft resolution which the Committee adopted without a vote, and which it recommends to the Assembly.

411. The report on agenda item 76 [A/35/637] gives a summary of the discussion of the Committee on this item. Paragraph 8 contains the text of the draft resolution which the Committee adopted without a vote, and which it recommends to the Assembly.

412. Paragraph 10 of the report on agenda item 79 contains the text of the draft resolution adopted by the Third Committee without a vote, and which it recommends to the Assembly.

413. In paragraph 8 of the report on agenda item 81 [A/35/640], the Committee recommends for adoption by the Assembly the draft resolution, which the Committee itself adopted without a vote.

414. The report on agenda item 83 [A/35/641] gives a summary of the Committee's proceedings at the 14 meetings at which that item was discussed jointly with agenda item 80. Paragraph 8 contains the text of the draft resolution adopted by the Committee without a vote, and which it recommends to the Assembly.

415. The report on agenda item 80 [A/35/639] deals with the discussion of the Committee on this question. Five draft resolutions relating to this item were adopted by the Committee. Draft resolution I, entitled "International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women," was adopted without a vote. Draft resolution II, entitled "Refugee and displaced women," was also adopted without a vote. Draft resolution III entitled "World Conference of

the United Nations Decade for Women” was adopted by a recorded vote of 128 votes to 3, with 7 abstentions. Draft resolution IV, “Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women,” was adopted without a vote.

416. The Committee considered a draft resolution entitled “Draft Declaration on the Participation of Women in the Struggle for the Strengthening of International Peace and Security and against Colonialism, Apartheid, All Forms of Racism and Racial Discrimination, Foreign Aggression, Occupation and All Forms of Foreign Domination”. The Committee held a debate on this issue and decided to recommend to the General Assembly that it request the Secretary-General to seek the views of Governments of Member States on that draft Declaration and to consider that draft Declaration at its thirty-sixth session.

417. Paragraph 33 contains the texts of those draft resolutions, and the draft decision appears in paragraph 34. They are recommended to the General Assembly.

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

418. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Third Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant records.

419. I should like to remind members again that in its decision 34/401 the General Assembly agreed that when the same draft resolution is considered in a Committee and in plenary meeting delegations should, as far as possible, explain their votes only once, either in the Committee or in the plenary meeting, unless a delegation’s vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee. I should also like to recall that, in accordance with the same decision, explanations of vote should not exceed 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

420. We shall consider first the report of the Committee on agenda item 68 [A/35/631].

421. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/125).

422. The PRESIDENT: Next, the General Assembly will consider the report of the Committee on agenda item 69 [A/35/632].

423. Mr. VOICU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The Romanian delegation would like to ask the Secretariat to be so good as to set 23 February 1981 in Vienna as a definite date for the beginning of the work of the first session of the Advisory Committee for the International Youth Year. That date was communicated to the Secretariat when we began to consider agenda item 69 in the Third Committee. That date was also officially communicated to the Fifth Committee at its 34th meeting and to the Committee on Conferences. The United Nations Secretariat’s Department of Conference Services has confirmed on repeated occasions that time and conference space

are available to organize a session of the Advisory Committee beginning on 23 February.

424. My delegation wishes again to ask the Secretariat to confirm the date of 23 February as the definite date for the beginning of that session of the Advisory Committee.

425. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 12 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/35/658. The Third Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/126).

426. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the draft decision recommended by the Committee in paragraph 13 of the report. That draft decision was adopted by the Third Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt that draft decision without a vote?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 35/318).

427. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Romania who wishes to explain his vote after the voting.

428. Mr. VOICU (Romania): It is with particular pleasure that my delegation asks to be allowed to speak again in connexion with the resolution just adopted by the Assembly. The Romanian delegation would like to take this opportunity to express again its most sincere thanks to the 75 sponsors representing all regions of the world for their constructive contribution to the preparation, negotiation and adoption of resolution 35/126. Our thanks are addressed equally to the whole body of sponsors and to each delegation in particular.

429. Moreover, I should like to ask all the delegations which sponsored the text adopted as resolution 35/126 to be kind enough to transmit our heartfelt thanks to their Ambassadors, their Ministries of Foreign Affairs, their Ministries of Youth Affairs and to all other appropriate authorities which authorized them to join our delegation in submitting the draft resolution. We should also like to express our deepest gratitude to all delegations for their spirit of co-operation and their valuable participation in the promotion of an initiative to which the Romanian delegation attaches great importance.

430. We could not omit to thank again the Chairman of the Third Committee, all members of the Secretariat and, most of all, the Secretary of the Committee for their efficient assistance during the debate on agenda item 69.

431. The Romanian delegation is happy to believe that the adoption of the resolution entitled “International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace” is a significant event and a promising starting point for the practical preparation of the Year.

432. The PRESIDENT: Next we shall consider the report of the Committee on agenda item 70 [A/35/633].

433. The Assembly will now take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Committee in paragraph 10 of the report.

434. Draft resolution I is entitled "Preservation and further development of cultural values, including the protection, restitution and return of cultural and artistic property". The Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 35/127).

435. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Restitution and return of cultural and artistic property to its countries of origin". The Third Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 35/128).

436. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the report of the Committee on agenda item 71 [A/35/634].

437. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 11 of the report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/35/746. The Third Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/129).

438. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the report of the Committee on agenda item 72 [A/35/635].

439. The Assembly will take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Committee in paragraph 17 of the report. The Assembly will first take a decision on draft resolution A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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 Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania,

Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Angola,¹⁵ Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Congo, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Iran,¹⁵ Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mauritania,¹⁵ Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 111 votes to none, with 30 abstentions (resolution 35/130 A).

440. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will take a decision on draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Portugal, Rwanda, Samoa, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Mozambique, Niger, Oman, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 78 votes to none, with 62 abstentions (resolution 35/130 B).

441. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will turn its attention to the report on agenda item 73 [A/35/636].

442. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in

¹⁵ The delegations of Angola, Iran and Mauritania subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

paragraph 8 of the report, which was adopted by the Third Committee without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/131).

443. The PRESIDENT: Next we shall consider the report of the Committee on agenda item 76 [A/35/637].

444. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of the report. The Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/132).

445. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Uruguay who wishes to explain his position on the decision just taken.

446. Mrs. GUELMAN (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Uruguay did not oppose the adoption without a vote of resolution 35/132 because of its well-known position in support of and respect for international agreements and conventions which seek the defence and full universal implementation of human rights. Proof of that is the undeniable fact, which should be taken very much into account, that Uruguay was among the first countries that ratified not only the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights but also the Optional Protocol thereto.

447. I turn now to the main reason for my statement. My delegation wishes to express its reservations concerning the report of the Human Rights Committee [A/35/40] and in particular with respect to annexes VI to X. It is our understanding that at the General Assembly level it is not proper for such communications to be made and therefore, on this occasion, we simply wish to express our rejection of the conclusions of the Committee. We shall inform the Committee directly of our views on those annexes within the context of the continued co-operation which my Government has always given it.

448. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Committee on agenda item 79 [A/35/638].

449. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 10 of the report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/35/646. The Third Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/133).

450. Miss RICHTER (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government of Argentina, I have the honour of thanking the General Assembly for deciding to accept its offer to be the host country for an international Symposium of experts on technical assistance for disabled persons and on technical co-operation among developing countries, which is to be held in the city of Buenos Aires towards the middle of 1981.

451. It is our hope and wish that the consultations to be undertaken with the United Nations Secretariat in order to decide on the site may begin shortly. We also hope that this international symposium will contribute to the activities which will make it possible for all those who are disabled to take part in society, since they will have learned to overcome the frailty of their bodies or minds and without looking back on the past will have fashioned a future in keeping with their hopes.

452. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Committee on agenda item 80 [A/35/639].

453. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Committee in paragraph 33 of the report. Draft resolution I is entitled "International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women". It was adopted without a vote in the Third Committee. May I consider that the General Assembly likewise adopts draft resolution I?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 35/134).

454. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Refugee and displaced women". The Third Committee adopted draft resolution II without a vote. May I consider that it is the wish of the General Assembly also to adopt it?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 35/135).

455. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution III entitled "World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Canada, Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Central African Republic, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*Draft resolution III was adopted by 132 votes to 3, with 9 abstentions (resolution 35/136).*¹⁶

456. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women". The Third Committee adopted it without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 35/137).

457. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution V is entitled "Expression of appreciation to the Government and people of Denmark on the occasion of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women". May I take it that the General Assembly also adopts this draft resolution without a vote?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 35/138).

458. The PRESIDENT: Finally, in paragraph 34, the Committee recommends the adoption of a draft decision. I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to adopt that draft decision?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 35/429).

459. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives wishing to explain their votes.

460. Mr. ERRAZURIZ (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In connexion with the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, the Chilean delegation wishes to record its rejection of resolution 18 which was adopted at the World Conference in Copenhagen, because it is unjust, selective and false.

461. On the other hand, we must reiterate Chile's reservations to the Plan of Action adopted at the World Conference in Copenhagen, in particular paragraph 5, which contains judgements with which my delegation does not concur.

462. Mr. ROM (Israel): My delegation has voted with regret against draft resolution III contained in the report under discussion—with regret because my Government supports almost all the projects proposed

in the Programme of Action adopted at the World Conference in Copenhagen.

463. My delegation, however, has been constrained to vote against draft resolution III because its sponsors have deliberately chosen to phrase it in such a way as to make it unacceptable, not only to my delegation but also to those of several other countries as well, because of the controversial political issues they have unnecessarily included in it. It is indeed ironic that the 26 countries which have expressed reservations about this draft resolution as a whole, or about parts of it, by either voting against it or abstaining at the Committee stage, include some of the world's Governments most active on behalf of women's rights, Governments which are proving their concern for women's rights day by day their actions to improve the lot of women wherever they are discriminated against. On the other hand, many of those Governments which voted in favour of this draft resolution pay only lip service to the cause of women's rights without doing very much about it.

464. My delegation can therefore only express its deep regret that the sponsors' insistence on sowing dissension by the inclusion of extraneous political references has frustrated the natural inclination of my Government and many others to endorse a draft resolution which we should have been able to adopt unanimously, and even by acclamation.

465. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Committee on agenda item 81 [A/35/640].

466. I now put before the Assembly the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 8 of the report. I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt the draft resolution without a vote?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/139).

467. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn its attention to the Committee's report on agenda item 83 [A/35/641].

468. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of the report. The Committee adopted it without a vote. May I consider that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/140).

The meeting rose at 9.35 p.m.

¹⁶ The delegation of Seychelles subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.