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Question of Namibia:

- (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 United Nations Council for Namibia;
- (c) Establishment of a United Nations Fund for Namibia;
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Report of the Fourth Committee

President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)

1. Mr. PSONCAK (Yugoslavia) (interpretation from French): The United Nations Charter has already solemnly proclaimed among its main objectives its faith in fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of nations large and small. However, the Charter has also stated that these objectives cannot be attained as long as colonialism, a vestige of collective slavery, exists in any part of the world. To that end the Charter demands the speedy, unconditional elimination of colonialism. It rejects any acceptance whatsoever of the idea of colonialism as a basis for human relations. The adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples-of which we have just celebrated the tenth anniversary this year, as well as the anniversary of the creation of the United Nations—and the principles proclaimed in this Declaration marked a step forward in the elaboration and the implementation of the objectives of the Charter. The history of these last 25 years has shown the tremendous efforts and the persevering struggle aimed at the achievement of these sacred objectives. Incontestably, very considerable results have been achieved and powerful colonial empires have fallen. The struggle has

often been carried out by peaceful means and independence acquired thanks to the co-operation of the colonial Powers. On the other hand, frequently many colonized peoples have been compelled to obtain their freedom and independence through bloodshed, lengthy struggles and tremendous sacrifices.

- 2. Aside from the positive results achieved up to now in the field of the elimination of colonialism, we must not lose sight of the fact that there are still nearly 50 Non-Self-Governing Territories whose populations are deprived of their fundamental right to freedom and independence. Among these are many peoples who, at the present time, see as the only alternative open to them an armed struggle in order to achieve their freedom from the colonial yoke. The colonialist and racialist regimes in southern Africa remain deaf to all appeals from the international community to grant the right of self-determination and independence to the peoples under their domination. Meanwhile, in a great many colonial territories repressive measures are applied against the indigenous populations aimed at preventing them from freely attaining their inalienable rights by peaceful means.
- This year, during the commemorative session, in the speeches delivered by many Heads of State and many delegations of Member States, as well as in the adoption of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 2621 (XXV)], the United Nations has irrevocably demonstrated that the conscience of the international community cannot be satisfied with a mere slowing down in the process of decolonization. The General Assembly, by adopting this programme of action and by the terms of the Charter, has solemnly demanded the total and unconditional elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. It has come out in favour of measures to be taken to speed up the acquisition by the colonized people of freedom and independence.
- 4. Taking into consideration item 23 of the agenda with respect to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization in the near future, my delegation considers that in approving this programme of action, the United Nations has this year entered a new and decisive phase. This is all the more important, since the programme reaffirms in precise terms the inherent right of the colonial peoples to self-determination and to free sovereign existence. The programme further recognized that all peoples of the colonial Territories have the right to struggle by all means available to them against those colonialist Powers which, by using

repressive measures, including armed force, are trying to crush their aspirations to freedom and independence.

- 5. In this expression of recognition, the General Assembly, by means of the programme of action, has submitted a request to all Member States, as well as to the specialized agencies, to supply all moral and material assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories, as well as to their national liberation movements, in the struggle to attain freedom and independence. The implementation of the programme of action will be a substantial contribution to the process of decolonization.
- Since the existence of colonialism and the aggressive acts of the colonialist and imperialist forces are becoming an ever greater threat to international peace and security—and we have glaring proof of this in the recent aggression against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea-we are convinced that the Security Council should deal more seriously with these problems. The Security Council, in accordance with the obligations devolving upon it under the Charter, should express greater determination in the matter and should apply appropriate peremptory measures of a mandatory nature, applicable to all Member States, against the régime of oppression; this, in order to ensure the application of the various Nations resolutions the in decolonization. The Yugoslav delegation is convinced that only in this way and only through concerted action on the part of all Member States can the United Nations fulfil its duty of speedily eradicating the last vestiges of colonialism in all its manifestations.
- 7. Mr. NEKLESSA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly's consideration at its present session of the item on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is particularly significant in that it is taking place at a time when the tenth anniversary of that historic document is being celebrated. The Declaration, which solemnly proclaimed the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, was adopted, as we all know, at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly on the initiative of the Soviet Union and on the basis of a draft resolution drafted by 43 African and Asian States. This important document—for the first time in the history of international relations—clearly, unequivocally and comprehensively condemned colonialism and declared it to be illegal. This should be emphasized especially in view of the fact that the imperialist States had for long been trying to make out that the fate of colonial peoples was an internal affair of the metropolitan States. Even after the adoption in 1945 of the United Nations Charter, which contains provisions concerning the right of peoples to selfdetermination and proclaims the principle of equal rights and sovereignty of peoples, many years of constant and determined struggle against colonialism on all fronts were required before the thoroughly democratic and anti-colonialist interpretation which was given to the Charter by the socialist countries and by all

- those struggling for national liberation and social progress was officially recognized as part of international law and further developed in the 1960 Declaration.
- The Declaration was adopted at the time of a great upsurge in the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom and independence. The emergence and consolidation of the world socialist system and the powerful national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America dealt crushing blows to imperialism and colonialism and prepared the ground for the condemnation of colonialism in international law. The success of the liberation struggle of the peoples brought a change in the alignment of forces within the United Nations. New Member States from the so-called third world joined the ranks of the Organization and took a firm stand against imperialism and colonialism and for peace and national liberation. These circumstances created a new historical situation in international relations and in the United Nations. Despite the frenzied opposition of the colonialist States, which had in effect imposed their decisions on the United Nations in the past, the General Assembly adopted a clearly worded anti-colonialist Declaration, which for the past ten years has been playing an important positive role in the anti-colonialist struggle of oppressed peoples and is the basic instrument for the Organization's anti-colonialist activities.
- 9. The years that have passed since the adoption of the Declaration have been marked by new advances in the struggle against the colonial system of imperialism. Some 30 countries have gained their independence during this period. Many former colonies have achieved independence in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania. The national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples is being continued successfully in areas where hotbeds of colonialism still remain.
- 10. However, ten years after the adoption of the Declaration, its final implementation is still far from complete. The slowing-down of the decolonization process in recent years is due to the colonial Power's increasing resistance to the implementation of the Declaration and their efforts to keep the remaining colonial Territories under their domination by any possible means, for their own economic, military and strategic purposes.
- 11. Colonialism and racism are continuing their open opposition to the forces of liberation and progress. The racist Government of the Republic of South Africa which is pursuing the fascist Government of the Republic of South Africa which is pursuing the Fascist and inhuman policies of apartheid, the illegal white minority government which has usurped power in Southern Rhodesia, and the Government of Portugal which refuses to grant independence to Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau) are arrogantly defying the national liberation movements and opposing the United Nations and public opinion throughout the world. They are resorting to increasingly harsh punitive measures against those who are struggling for freedom and independence.
- 12. The main cause of the delay in the elimination of racist and colonialist régimes is the assistance they

are receiving from the leading countries of the NATO military bloc. Without economic and military assistance of every kind from the NATO countries, the colonialist and racist régimes of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia would not be able to resist United Nations demands for the granting of independence to the peoples of southern Africa. This fact was recognized and emphasized once again by many delegations of African, Asian and Latin American countries only a few days ago, when the Security Council was discussing the question of the Portuguese aggression against Guinea.

- 13. Another manifestation of the desire to maintain and continue the control of the racists over southern Africa is the statement by the United Kingdom of its intention to supply arms to the Republic of South Africa—a statement which has evoked legitimate indignation and condemnation by all Africa and throughout the world.
- 14. It is high time to demand that the NATO countries should immediately and unconditionally cease providing military assistance to Portugal and the racist and colonial régimes of southern Africa.
- 15. The maintenance of the colonialist and racist régimes in Africa threatens not only the existence of the peoples now under their yoke but also the entire continent. In pursuing their aggressive policies the South African racists and the Portuguese colonialists are encroaching more and more on the independence and sovereignty of neighbouring countries and are posing a real threat to the peace and security of African peoples. The imperialists are using every possible means, including direct armed intervention, in their efforts to regain their lost positions.
- 16. In late November imperialism organized yet another armed action. This time the action was taken by the Portuguese colonialists against the Republic of Guinea. But it is quite clear that the aims of the imperialist aggressors went much further. The Portuguese aggression is only one link in the global policy of imperialism against the national liberation movement.
- 17. The statement adopted on 2 December 1970 by the participants in the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty on the aggression by the colonialists against the Republic of Guinea contains the following observation in this connexion:

"The aggressors counted on arresting the liberation struggle of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, which are striving to break loose from the clutches of colonialist and racist oppression and to determine their own destiny themselves. The Portuguese colonialists, in committing an armed attack on the Republic of Guinea have acted as the shock force and as the tool of the imperialist forces and of all those who covet the wealth of the African continent. Portugal would never have ventured to

- take such an impudent step without the knowledge and support of the imperialist forces which are arming that country and directing its policy, including its attempts to deal with the national liberation movement."
- 18. The Security Council's consideration of the question of Portugal's aggressive action has made it unmistakably clear that this imperialist aggression was aimed not only against the Republic of Guinea alone but against all Africa.
- 19. Portugal's brazen attack on the Republic of Guinea shatters the illusions of politicians who are still counting on the possibility of coming to terms with imperialism and its racist client régimes. The gunfire at Conakry broke out at the very time when some representatives at this session of the General Assembly were opposing the adoption of too severe a resolution on the question of the Portuguese colonies and were continuing to insist on holding a so-called "dialogue" with the colonialists.
- 20. The aggressive acts committed against the Republic of Guinea, the continuation of Portugal's colonial war against the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), and the military and police repression practised by the Republic of South Africa and the racist régime in Salisbury show that resolute and effective measures must be taken against the colonialists and it is no good trying to persuade them. They are deaf to all appeals.
- 21. Failure to punish aggressive acts committed or supported by imperialist States in various parts of the world will only encourage the colonialists to commit similar acts against States which have recently attained their independence.
- 22. The imperialist aggression against Guinea clearly shows the urgent need for the complete liquidation of colonial and racist régimes as soon as possible, and for the removal of the threat posed by colonialism to the peace and security of African peoples. It has become more apparent than ever that so long as even one colonialist régime or colonialist springboard remains on the African continent and until all troops have been withdrawn from that region and all the military bases of the colonialists have been eliminated, the peaceful and free existence and development of the independent African States will continue to be threatened.
- 23. The recent course of political events indicates that the role of operating as the main shock force on the African continent is being assigned to the racist South African régime. Having established a racist order in their own country and in Namibia which they have annexed, the Pretoria rulers are at the same time helping to strengthen the racist Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia and are giving assistance to the Portuguese colonialists.
- 24. The events that have taken place on the coast of Guinea cast additional light on the plans of imperial-

ism and colonialism to increase their military assistance to the racist South African régime. Considering the Republic of South Africa as a strongpoint in the struggle against the national liberation movement in Africa, the NATO strategists are not only prepared to provide the ruling circles in Pretoria with weapons but are also thinking of establishing, with Pretoria's participation, a new aggressive bloc which would become the "fire brigade" of imperialism for the so-called "maintenance of order" on the continent.

- 25. The dangerous situation in southern Africa is a matter of serious concern to world—and particularly African—public opinion and shows the urgent need for the United Nations to take steps to break down the resistance which the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa and the major imperialist powers supporting them are offering to the implementation of the Declaration in regard to the hotbeds of racism and colonialism in that area.
- The problem of the elimination of the colonial régimes in the "small" colonial Territories is becoming increasingly acute. Recently more intensive efforts have been made to convert those Territories into strategic military strongholds for the imperialist forces, and the expansion and modernization of existing military bases and the construction of new ones is continuing. Ouite recently, the United Kingdom press reported once again the intention of the United States and the United Kingdom to create a large naval base on so-called British Territory in the Indian Ocean. A glance at the map is enough to show that this base will be aimed primarily against the countries of Africa and Asia which have quite recently liberated themselves from the colonial yoke and are now endeavouring to safeguard their sovereignty and independent economic and political development. Portugal's aggression against Guinea fully confirms this.
- 27. Another characteristic aspect of the present situation of the small Territories is the intensification of the efforts beings made by the colonial countries to secure those Territories for themselves for ever. To that end, they are seeking to impose on the peoples of those Territories the status of so-called "association" with the metropolitan States; and this in fact leaves unchanged the colonial situation of those Territories. Also, it flagrantly violates the provisions of the Charter and the Declaration to the effect that the peoples of colonial territories should be granted the opportunity to exercise their right to selfdetermination and independence. As an example of this, we can refer to a number of Territories in the Caribbean on which the status of so-called "associated State" has been imposed. Attempts are also being made to perpetuate the domination of the United States over the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In the Soviet delegation's opinion, the United Nations should be particularly vigilant with respect to the activities of States which are responsible for the administration of the small colonial Territories, to ensure that measures can be taken in time to prevent the virtual absorption of those Territories by the colonial countries under the pretext of so-called "association".

- 28. An extremely sinister role is being played by international monopolies, particularly those which are entrenched in southern Africa, in delaying the process of decolonization.
- 29. For the purpose of obtaining excessive profits, which far surpass profit margins in the metropolitan countries, the imperialist monopolies are providing all kinds of assistance to the colonial racist régimes; they are investing their capital in the economies of countries administered by those régimes and, with the assistance of those régimes, they are subjecting the local population to inhuman exploitation.
- The United Nations has adopted a number of decisions designed to check the harmful activities of foreign monopolies in colonial Territories. Unfortunately, we are obliged to note that the States whose imperialist monopolies are ruthlessly exploiting the natural and human resources of the Territories under their domination have not only failed to comply with the decisions of the United Nations but are not giving any signs of their intention to do so. The role of foreign monopolies in the colonies has been correctly evaluated and fully described by the representatives of the national liberation movements, who told the Ad Hoc Group of the Committee of Twenty-Four which visited Africa that foreign economic investments in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, So th Africa and Guinea (Bissau) had caused immense harm to the colonial peoples and were instrumental in prolonging the struggle that is being waged in colonial Territories in southern Africa. Several of the major companies operating in the region were mentioned by name as profiting from the misery of the peoples of the Territories by taking advantage of the discriminatory labour conditions and cheap labour, and at the same time impeding the struggle of the colonial peoples by providing revenues to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as the Smith régime, which enable them to sustain their war against the African peoples.
- 31. The General Assembly should not lose sight of that important aspect of United Nations decolonization activities and should make new efforts to restrain the anti-national, exploitational and plundering role and activities of the imperialist monopolies in colonial Territories.
- 32. I should now like to make a few comments on the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four. Throughout the years of its existence, this Committee has done a great deal of work in studying the situation in colonial Territories and in working out measures to ensure the full implementation of the Declaration in regard to the remaining hotbeds of colonialism. All its recommendations—which, as a rule, have been used as a basis for the decisions adopted by the General Assembly on colonial questions—have been of a clear-cut anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-racist nature. They have therefore been useful for the cause of the final elimination of colonialism. It is not the fault of the Committee that the Declaration on decolonization has not yet been fully implemented and that a consider-

able portion of its provisions still remain merely written on paper.

- 33. The Committee of Twenty-Four still has some major tasks before it. These tasks will call for new efforts by the Committee, aimed at the liquidation of the remaining colonial and racist régimes. At the current session the General Assembly has adopted a programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 2621 (XXV)]. On the basis of that programme of action, the Committee must find ways and means of intensifying its activities and increasing the effectiveness of its work. It is important to strengthen the Committee's contacts with the Organization of African Unity and with the representatives of the national liberation movements.
- 34. The Declaration on decolonization, in its contents and in its letter and spirit, is fully in keeping with the basic interests of the struggle of the oppressed colonial peoples and will assist them in that struggle. The Soviet Union, which since the very first days of the Great October Socialist Revolution has been in the vanguard of the great liberation struggle of the peoples against colonialism and imperialism and which was the prime mover in the adoption of the Declaration by the United Nations, attaches great importance to the full and final implementation of its purposes and principles.
- 35. The Soviet Union will continue to make efforts, together with the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America which are waging an active anti-colonialist struggle, to ensure the implementation of this Declaration and of all the anti-colonialist decisions of the General Assembly aimed at the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism on earth.
- 36. The Soviet Union has given and will continue to give all possible assistance and support to the peoples struggling for their national liberation from imperialism and colonialism. As L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated at the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969:

"The Soviet Union, together with the other socialist countries, is taking an active position on the broad and constantly turbulent front of the national liberation movement and is rendering solid political, material and moral support to the peoples fighting for their liberation."

37. The PRESIDENT: It appears that no other representative is ready to speak on item 23.

AGENDA ITEM 62

Question of Namibia:

(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 United Nations Council for Namibia:
- (c) Establishment of a United Nations Fund for Namibia;
- (d) Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/8186)

- 38. Mr. SEVILLA BORJA (Ecuador), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee (interpretation from Spanish): It is now my honour to introduce to the General Assembly the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 62 [A/8186].
- 39. The Fourth Committee considered that this item was of special importance, and therefore, with the two other items on the serious situation in southern Africa, it was agreed to give it priority. The other two questions were those relating to the Territories under Portuguese administration and Southern Rhodesia.
- 40. After the general debate, the Fourth Committee considered and adopted three draft resolutions on the item. The first was on the question in general, the second referred specifically to the United Nations fund for Namibia, and the third draft resolution dealt with petitions concerning Namibia. These draft resolutions are contained in paragraph 33 of the report, which I now submit for consideration to this plenary meeting of the General Assembly.
- In the debate on this item, the Members were unanimous in their concern over the constant refusal of the South African Government to abide by the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Many members considered that South Africa's defiance was dangerously undermining the authority of the United Nations. Others also said that they were of the opinion that its continued illegal presence in the Territory of Namibia gave rise to a situation which posed a threat to international peace and security. The majority of the members emphasized the need to take effective action to remove South Africa from the Territory of Namibia. In the debate in the Fourth Committee, not only was South Africa condemned for its constant refusal to withdraw from the Territory but also the support given to it by its allies was emphatically condemned, as indeed were those countries which still trade with South Africa. The Governments concerned were urged immediately to cease their assistance to and co-operation with South Africa.
- 42. In reiterating their solidarity with the people of Namibia, many members said that the Security Council should consider the possibility of taking genuinely effective action against South Africa, including the action provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, as the only realistic way of asserting the authority of the international community. All States, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, were also urged to give full support to the action taken by the Security Council or to any action the Council may

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Youth—Building Communism* (Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1970), p. 392 (Russian text).

take in the future to impose the withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory.

- 43. These considerations are reflected in draft resolution I, which was sponsored by 33 Member States and adopted in a roll-call vote by 90 votes to 5, with 14 abstentions. On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I commend this draft resolution to the General Assembly.
- The second draft resolution concerns the estab-44. lishment of a general United Nations fund for Namibia. As the sponsors of the draft resolution pointed out, the suggestion to establish this fund was made in the ad hoc Sub-Committee on Namibia² of the Security Council, and was subsequently adopted by the Security Council in resolution 283 (1970), on 29 July this year. Although, according to this draft resolution, the Assembly would decide to establish a general fund for Namibia, this fund would not become a reality until the Secretary-General had completed his study on the planning, execution and administration of the fund which is called for in operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution and until he had reported to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session. In the meantime, as provided for in operative paragraph 6, the Secretary-General would be authorized to give provisional subsidies not exceeding \$50,000 in addition to the assistance at present being given to the Namibians.
- 45. The draft resolution was broadly supported in the Committee and it was adopted by 101 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions. I express the hope of many that the margin of support for the draft resolution will be increased today.
- 46. Draft resolution III concerning the petitions regarding Namibia was suggested 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. It was adopted without opposition in the Fourth Committee, and I would commend it to the attention of the Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 58 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

- 47. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those delegations which wish to explain their votes before the voting.
- 48. Mr. MOLEFHE (Botswana): My delegation supports the general objective of draft resolution I in paragraph 33 of the report [A/8186] and will, accordingly, vote in favour of it. However, my delegation wishes to record its reservations on paragraphs 7, 9 and 10. Finally, my delegation wishes to record that its present action does not prejudice the stand the Botswana Government may wish to take on paragraph 11.
- 49. Mr. CARASALES (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): Although some paragraphs of draft

resolution I call for comment by the delegation of Argentina, as we stated in the Fourth Committee, we will vote for it because we are in favour of its objective: the full implementation of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) in respect of the people of Namibia in its exercise of the right to self-determination and independence.

50. As regards the continued illegal presence of South Africa in the Territory, the position of the Republic of Argentina has already been made perfectly clear from the very beginning. In reaffirming that position, I should like to say that on 26 November of this year the Foreign Minister of my country sent a note to the diplomatic representative of South Africa in Buenos Aires in which the following was stated:

"The firm position of Argentina in support of the process of decolonization is well known to everyone. In accordance with and pursuant to Security Council resolution 283 (1970), my Government wishes to express to Your Excellency, and through you to the Government of South Africa, that we do not recognize any authority on the part of South Africa over Namibia and we consider that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal."

- 51. That note is an official declaration by the Government of Argentina on this subject. It was sent in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 283 (1970).
- Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Last week [1916th meeting the delegation of Mauritius voted in favour of resolution 2652 (XXV) on Southern Rhodesia. Today we shall vote in favour of the draft resolutions on Namibia in document A/8186. Our position will be the same with regard to the draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee on the Territories under Portuguese administration. This attitude is based on our strong belief in the inalienable right of all the colonial peoples to self-determination and independence, and our determination to support the legitimate struggle of the peoples concerned, particularly in southern Africa, where white minority régimes are denying the majority of the people the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.
- 53. The case concerning Namibia is clear: that Territory has become the direct responsibility of the United Nations since South Africa's Mandate over South-West Africa was terminated by this Assembly in 1966 [resolution 2145 (XXI)]. We consider therefore that since 1966 the presence of the South African authorities in the Territory has been illegal. The United Nations should not only condemn South Africa's refusal to withdraw from the Territory but also devise appropriate ways and means to obtain its withdrawal from the Territory.
- 54. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to the vote. The Fourth Committee has recommended for adoption three draft resolutions in paragraph 33 of its report [A/8186]. The administrative and

²Ad Hoc Sub-Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 276 (1970)

financial implications arising out of paragraphs 13 and 14 of draft resolution I appear in paragraph 7 of document A/8211.

55. The representative of Zambia has requested a roll-call vote on draft resolution I.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados. Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan.

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

Abstaining: Sweden, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Italy, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 95 votes to 5, with 14 abstentions (resolution 2678 (XXV)).

56. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to draft resolution II. The administrative and financial implications arising out of the draft resolution are to be found in paragraph 11 of document A/8211. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil,

Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyaza, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo. Peru. Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Malawi, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 104 votes to 2, with 8 abstentions (resolution 2679 (XXV)).

- 57. The PRESIDENT: Finally, the Assembly will take a decision on draft resolution III. In the Committee draft resolution III was adopted without any objection.
- 58. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution III.

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 2680 (XXV)).

- 59. Before we conclude consideration of this item, I should like to invite the attention of the General Assembly to the letter from the representative of Zambia in document A/8194, and the note from the Secretary-General in document A/8220, which refer to sub-item (d), concerning the appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia.
- 60. There is no proposal put forward by the Secretary-General to change the existing provisions in regard to the Acting Commissioner for Namibia. Therefore, no action is required during this session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.

³ The delegation of Botswana subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.