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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Aguilar (Venezuela), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 68

Question of Southern Rhodesia: 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*)*

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE
(PART II) (A/8518/ADD.1)

1. Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: Less than a week ago the Fourth Committee submitted to the Assembly the first part of its report relating to the question of Southern Rhodesia in connexion with a case of possible breach of sanctions by a permanent member of the Security Council. The General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, adopted resolution 2765 (XXVI) on the question of Southern Rhodesia. In operative paragraph 5 of that resolution the General Assembly decided "to keep this and other aspects of the question under continuous review".

2. In accordance with that provision the Fourth Committee continued its examination of the question and adopted further recommendations for consideration by the Assembly which, as the Rapporteur of that Committee, I have the honour to introduce this morning in part II of the Committee's report, contained in document A/8518/Add.1.

3. As will be noted from paragraph 11 of the report, the draft resolution now before the Assembly deals with a specific aspect of the question, namely, the talks between the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the rebel leaders of the illegal minority

régime in the Territory. In view of the serious implications of such talks between the administering Power and the rebellious régime, the majority of the members of the Committee deemed it necessary for the General Assembly to reaffirm the principle that there should be no independence in Southern Rhodesia should conditions other than majority rule prevail in the Territory. That is the objective of operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution.

4. It was also the view of most members that the General Assembly should express its opinion clearly that any settlement relating to the future of the Territory must be worked out with the fullest participation of all nationalist leaders representing the majority of the people of Zimbabwe and must be freely endorsed by the people. That idea is contained in operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution.

5. As representatives are aware this draft resolution was approved by an overwhelming majority of the members of the Fourth Committee. On behalf of that Committee, I commend the report to the serious attention of the General Assembly.

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

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Albania, who wishes to explain his vote before the voting.

7. Mr. NAÇO (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Albania, in conformity with the policy of principle of its Government to support the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation in solidarity with the delegations of peace-loving Member States, will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/8518/Add.1. True, we would have preferred a text which responded better and more realistically to the truth and which would have condemned those who are really guilty—those who support the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia.

8. On this occasion the delegation of Albania wishes to reaffirm once again that the grave situation which exists in Southern Rhodesia is the result of the ferocious policy of domination and racial discrimination instituted and continued in that country by the racist clique of Ian Smith, which, assisted and encouraged by the British colonialists and thanks to the support of American imperialists, has transformed Southern Rhodesia into a concentration camp for the African population of Zimbabwe.

9. As is known, our Organization has been dealing with this question for years, and it is clear that the affirmations according to which the application of economic sanctions

* Resumed from the 1984th meeting.

against the racist clique of Ian Smith could change the situation in that country have proved to be false and have not led to the desired result. Moreover, as the delegation of Albania has not failed to point out on repeated occasions, it is now clear that the manoeuvres of the colonial Powers in this connexion were intended simply to delay the taking of any effective measures and to deceive public opinion in regard to their true intention, which was to give the time needed to the régime of the white settlers the better to strengthen and consolidate itself in Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with the primary interests of the imperialist and colonialist Powers and, in first place, of the British and American monopolies in that country.

10. That is the aim likewise intended in the negotiations now under way in Salisbury with the illegal régime of Ian Smith. By means of those negotiations, the British Government has in fact put an end to the game which was played for six years—the so-called obstruction of the Fascist régime in Southern Rhodesia. Now starts the phase of open and multiform co-operation with that régime. The experience of the struggle for freedom and independence has shown the people of Zimbabwe that these goals will come to them not as a result of the negotiations now under way in Salisbury but through armed struggle against colonial and imperialist domination and against their instrument, the Ian Smith régime.

11. The people of Albania have followed with sympathy and have supported and will always support the just struggle for the liberation of the Zimbabwe people.

12. In conclusion, I should like to add that our vote in favour does not mean our agreement with certain of the provisions of the documents mentioned in the draft resolution.

13. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since no other delegation wishes to explain its vote before the vote, the General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the Fourth Committee in its report, contained in document A/8518/Add.1. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

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

In favour: Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia,

Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain.

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

Abstaining: United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand.

The draft resolution was adopted by 102 votes to 3 with 9 abstentions [resolution 2769 (XXVI)].¹

14. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote.

15. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Belgium abstained in the vote on this draft resolution because it feels that the Assembly should not *a priori* disregard any solution of the Rhodesian question on bases other than those advocated in this draft resolution which might prove to be acceptable to the population of Rhodesia as a whole. Indeed, it seems to us that in the very interest of that population, whose right to self-determination and independence we emphasize, an equitable solution should be found without delay. We ourselves, while respecting and scrupulously applying the decisions taken by the Security Council on Rhodesia, continue to give our support to measures undertaken by the United Nations to put an end to the illegal régime in Salisbury.

16. Mr. ASHWIN (Australia): The Australian delegation abstained from voting on this draft resolution. It did so only after serious consideration, and it did so with regret, because Australia fully supports the principles of majority rule and of consultation which are embodied in the resolution. We also welcomed the moderate tone and language used by the sponsors of the draft resolution. We recognize that they put forward their draft in a spirit of conciliation, with the hope of obtaining wide support for it. We appreciate that. However, because of the practical implications of operative paragraph 1, at a time when the United Kingdom Government is endeavouring to ascertain whether a settlement can be arrived at on the basis of the principles it has itself consistently maintained, the Australian delegation felt bound to abstain on the draft resolution in order not to prejudice what might emerge from those endeavours.

AGENDA ITEM 53

World special situation: report of the Secretary General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/8507)

17. Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: The report of the Third Committee [A/8507]

¹ The delegations of Botswana, Burundi, Kenya, Uganda and Yemen subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

which I have the honour to introduce today deals with one of the basic aspects of the work of the United Nations in the field of development, the social situation in the world.

18. The *Report on the World Social Situation*,² which is submitted to the General Assembly after detailed discussion in the Economic and Social Council's Commission for Social Development, was considered a useful source of information on major social trends in the latter part of the First United Nations Development Decade. The report also provides a vantage point not only for retrospective evaluation of the world-wide social change, but especially for consideration of social problems which are to be dealt with during the Second Development Decade. The subject of the World Social Situation was considered thoroughly by the Third Committee. The central conclusion of the Committee was that despite some progress that might have been made in certain fields there had been very little improvement; that an actual worsening of the world social situation as a whole had taken place; and that a real deterioration in many aspects of the social situation had befallen the world.

19. The Committee discussed the reasons for such a deterioration and the possible ways and means to remedy that situation. Consequently the Committee, by 106 votes to none, with 5 abstentions, reaffirmed the urgency of taking effective measures aimed at halting the deterioration of the world social situation and promoting social progress and development. This is contained in operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution II.

20. The Committee unanimously emphasized the pressing need to raise levels of living in developing countries, to reduce the disparities between the developed and developing countries and within countries and to accelerate economic and social reforms, and for all countries to pursue progressive and well co-ordinated policies for the promotion of economic and social progress and development throughout the world.

21. As for the reasons for the deterioration, the Committee, by an overwhelming majority, emphasized that colonialism, racial discrimination, *apartheid*, alien domination, foreign occupation, aggressive wars, violations of human rights and economic exploitation by foreign monopolies constitute the principal obstacles to social progress and development in many parts of the world.

22. While analysing the reasons and formulating the conclusions and recommendations on the subject and bearing in mind the aforementioned elements, the Committee on the one hand unanimously stressed that the primary responsibility for the development of developing countries rests upon themselves and on the other hand overwhelmingly urged Governments of developed countries to fulfil their obligations to implement the International Development Strategy.

23. Related to these two points, responsibility and obligations, are two other aspects. The first is that the primary responsibility of developing countries for their own development should be coupled with increased financial resources and more favourable economic and commercial

policies on the part of the developed countries. The second aspect is that the obligation on the developed countries to implement the International Development Strategy should not be construed as changing the interpretation of the Strategy. The Committee in its draft resolution II put forward 12 conclusions and recommendations to improve social conditions in the world. They dealt *inter alia* with the improvement of international political and economic relations; the liberation of peoples under colonial and foreign or racial rule; a positive approach by the developed countries to questions of trade and aid; the creation of conditions that lead to freeing of the necessary resources for development; increased utilization of science and technology for development and its equitable sharing by the developed and the developing countries; the need for favourable terms of trade, including the just stability of prices of primary commodities which constitute the bulk of the exports of many developing countries; the end of the brain drain; an adequate role for women; and child care.

24. As regards the role of youth in development, the Committee unanimously adopted a separate recommendation, that is, the recommendation contained in draft resolution I in paragraph 50 of the report.

25. Before concluding by asking the Assembly to adopt the Third Committee's two recommendations, I wish to apologize for a very unfortunate omission. The representative of Greece submitted a certain amendment in oral form which was accepted by the sponsors concerning paragraph 8, sub-paragraph (f) of draft resolution II. Indeed the improvement of that paragraph was due to her amendment.

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

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since there are no explanations of vote, the General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee, in paragraph 50 of document A/8507. We shall vote first on draft resolution I, on which a recorded vote has been requested

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

² United Nations publication, Sales No. E.71.IV.13.

Against: None.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 91 votes to none [resolution 2770 (XXVI)].³

27. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now put to the vote draft resolution II. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Japan, Portugal, United States of America.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 95 votes to none, with 3 abstentions [resolution 2771 (XXVI)].⁴

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to explain their votes after the voting.

29. Mr. GUILHEM DE LATAILLADE (France) (*interpretation from French*): I shall not revert to the reasons for which the French delegation voted in favour of draft resolution II on the world social situation. Those reasons were given during the explanations of vote in the Committee and it is necessary for me only to mention that we supported that draft resolution because it seemed to us that it was constructive and that it essentially met our own concerns.

30. However, we did emphasize that we regretted the introduction of certain political references in a social text and that certain questions, such as disarmament or the sea-bed, which were the subject of extensive debates in

other Committees dealing with them, had been dealt with in only a few words.

31. We also made clear our interpretation of economic problems, in particular those relating to the International Development Strategy, while indicating that, of course, we would do our best to see that the objectives which had been set during its elaboration would be met. However, we did observe that according to our concept Member States were not undertaking any legal obligations but were agreeing as to the objectives which they believed it would be desirable to set for the international community.

32. I must also make clear our interpretation of operative paragraph 7, concerning the permanent sovereignty of all States over their natural resources. It goes without saying that, while approving the principles contained in that part of the draft resolution, we feel that the exercise of this sovereignty must be in conformity with international law.

33. Having made these few objections about the substance of the draft resolution, the French delegation considers that the draft resolution has as its major aim the improvement of the situation of the least favoured peoples, and for that reason it confirmed the vote in favour which it had cast in the Committee.

34. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic): My delegation voted for the two draft resolutions contained in the report of the Third Committee. However, we should like to point out the following.

35. On 11 October 1971 my delegation raised serious objections⁵ to that part of the 1970 *Report on the World Social Situation* which pertains to the Middle East. My delegation would like to reiterate these objections in regard to that report and request that future reports on the subject should take into serious consideration the objections which we raised and which we shall not repeat now because they are contained in the records of the Third Committee.

36. It is a grave mistake to try to speak in a United Nations document of the social progress of a country that occupies Palestine and the territories of three States Members of the United Nations. It is unjust to compare the social progress of a country that has been condemned on numerous occasions because of its policies of expansion coupled with the dispossession and eviction of the Arab inhabitants, with the progress of countries whose territories are partly occupied.

37. We believe that paragraph 10 of the report contains a recognition that the aggressor in the Middle East does not belong to the area of the Middle East except in the context of aggression and the occupation of Arab territories.

38. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation voted for the resolution on the world social situation as a whole, including paragraph 6 of that resolution.

39. In this respect the Soviet delegation wishes to express a reservation based on my country's position of principle

³ The delegations of Cyprus, Honduras and Kenya subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

⁴ The delegations of Cyprus and Kenya subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution and the delegations of Canada and the United Kingdom as having abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Third Committee* 1834th meeting.

on the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade—a position which was set forth at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly in a statement on behalf of eight socialist countries.⁶

40. We continue to maintain that position today, and I should like this to be reflected in the record.

41. On the whole, my delegation feels that the resolution just adopted is of value, that it is a worthy result of our discussions in the Third Committee and that it reflects the essence of the social trends in the world today. We hope that it will contribute, above all, to social progress in the developing countries. We are grateful to all the representatives who supported the Soviet amendment to operative

paragraph 4 of the resolution, thereby showing their appreciation of its significance—for the aggressive wars being waged by imperialism, and especially by United States imperialism, remain a real threat to peace and the well-being of peoples.

42. Finally, we should like to point out the importance of the oral amendment submitted by Poland and approved by the sponsors and the Committee to operative paragraph 10 of the draft resolution. I have in mind the reference to the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, contained in General Assembly resolution 2542 (XXIV). In stressing the importance of that Declaration, my delegation would like to urge the authors of the next report on the world social situation to be guided by the content of the Declaration, which directly reflects the problems of social progress and development.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 42, document A/8074.

The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.

