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*In the absence of the President, Mr. Abdulgani (Indo-
nesia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 81

**Implementation of the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc*
Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the
United Nations and the Specialized Agencies: report of
the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary
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REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7849)

AGENDA ITEM 82

**Publications and documentation of the United Nations:
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REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/7850)

AGENDA ITEM 83

Personnel questions:
(a) **Composition of the Secretariat: report of the Secre-
tary-General;**
(b) **Other personnel questions**

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE
(A/7851 AND CORR.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Rapporteur of the Fifth
Committee, Mr. Woschnagg of Austria, to present in a single
statement the Committee's reports on agenda items 81, 82
and 83.

2. Mr. WOSCHNAGG (Austria), Rapporteur of the Fifth
Committee: I have the honour to present to the General
Assembly on behalf of the Fifth Committee its reports on
agenda items 81, 82 and 83. The report on agenda item 81
[A/7849] contains in paragraph 24 three draft resolutions
which were adopted by the Fifth Committee and are
recommended for adoption by the General Assembly.

3. The report on agenda item 82 [A/7850] contains in
paragraph 6 a draft resolution which was adopted by the
Fifth Committee and is recommended for adoption by the
General Assembly.

4. The report on agenda item 83 [A/7851 and Corr.1]
contains in paragraph 40 three draft resolutions which were

President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

adopted by the Fifth Committee and are recommended for adoption by the General Assembly.

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

5. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 81 [A/7849]. The draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee are contained in paragraph 24. The Assembly will take separate decisions on the three draft resolutions: A, B and C.

6. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to adopt draft resolution A?

Draft resolution A was adopted (resolution 2537 A (XXIV)).

7. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution B was adopted unanimously in the Fifth Committee. May I therefore take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

Draft resolution B was adopted unanimously (resolution 2537 B (XXIV)).

8. The PRESIDENT: Finally, the Fifth Committee recommends the adoption of draft resolution C. May I take it that it is also the wish of the Assembly to adopt it?

Draft resolution C was adopted (resolution 2537 C (XXIV)).

9. The PRESIDENT: The next report of the Fifth Committee is on agenda item 82 [A/7850]. The draft resolution contained in paragraph 6 was adopted without objection in the Fifth Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it without objection?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 2538 (XXIV)).

10. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 83 [A/7851 and Corr.1]. In paragraph 40 of the report the Committee recommends three draft resolutions for adoption by the General Assembly. I first put to the vote draft resolution I concerning the composition of the Secretariat.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 83 votes to none (resolution 2539 (XXIV)).

11. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Norway for an explanation of vote.

12. Mr. REFSHAL (Norway): I had asked for permission to give an explanation of vote before the vote but I suppose that my explanation will be just as good after the vote as before.

13. My delegation abstained from voting in the Fifth Committee on draft resolution I and I should like to explain our vote in the Committee and in this plenary meeting.

14. My delegation introduced a draft amendment to the draft resolution in the Committee as an addition to paragraph 2. That amendment read as follows: "provided their qualifications are equal to those of other available candidates". The sole intention of the amendment was to ensure that all actions recommended in paragraph 2 would be consistent with Article 101, paragraph 3, of the Charter. Article 101, paragraph 3, as members know, lays down the rule that:

"The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity."

15. As my delegation explained in the Committee, the word "qualifications" in our amendment was, of course, meant to relate to the post in question so that it was a matter not of the number of university degrees but of being best qualified for the post that was to be filled.

16. The amendment was defeated in the Committee and consequently my delegation abstained on the draft resolution. That was not, however, the only reason for abstaining. During the debate in the Committee the original draft resolution was altered through other amendments in a way which made it even less satisfactory to my delegation. The original second preambular paragraph would have had the General Assembly note "with appreciation the Secretary-General's report". In the process of alteration the word "appreciation" disappeared.

17. In the original paragraph 1 the words "paramount consideration", taken from Article 101, paragraph 3 of the Charter, were included. Those words also disappeared.

18. However, as my delegation has been assured by some of the sponsors of the resolution that their intention is indeed that all measures recommended in the resolution should be consistent with the Charter, and as my delegation does indeed support the principle of equitable geographical distribution and all measures taken to reach that goal which are consistent with the Charter, we decided to vote in favour of the resolution here today.

Miss Brooks (Liberia) took the Chair.

19. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II refers to amendments to the Staff Rules of the United Nations.

20. May I take it that the Assembly adopts draft resolution II?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 2540 (XXIV)).

21. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III concerns the international salary system. As I hear no objection, I take it that the Assembly adopts draft resolution III.

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 2541 (XXIV)).

AGENDA ITEM 48

Draft Declaration on Social Progress and Development

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7833)

AGENDA ITEMS 55, 56 AND 57**Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination:**

- (a) **Implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;**
- (b) **Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;**
- (c) **Programme for the celebration in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7825)

Measures to be taken against nazism and racial intolerance: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7820)

Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of *apartheid*, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories:

- (a) **Measures for effectively combating racial discrimination and the policies of *apartheid* and segregation in southern Africa: report of the Secretary-General;**
- (b) **Report of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts on the treatment of political prisoners in South Africa: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/7826)

22. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Rapporteur of the Third Committee, Mr. Handl of Czechoslovakia, to present in one intervention the Committee's reports on agenda items 48, 55, 56 and 57.

23. Mr. HANDL (Czechoslovakia), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly on behalf of the Third Committee its report on agenda item 48 [A/7833].

24. It will be recalled that the General Assembly in its resolution 2215 (XXI) of 19 December 1966 called upon the Economic and Social Council to request the Commission for Social Development to prepare, on the basis of the purposes and principles of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and also on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, a draft declaration on social development which would, in general terms, define the objectives of social development and the methods and means of achieving them, and to submit it to the General Assembly for consideration at its twenty-third session at the latest. In response to that request, the Commission for Social Development began, at its eighteenth session in March 1967, the preparation of a draft declaration and completed it at its nineteenth session in 1968.

25. The Economic and Social Council at its forty-fourth session in May 1968 considered the draft declaration

prepared by the Commission and decided to transmit the text to Member States for their comments and subsequently to the General Assembly.

26. Thus the Third Committee at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly in 1968 began consideration of the draft declaration and adopted the Preamble and Part I, Principles.

27. At the current session of the General Assembly the Third Committee completed the consideration of the draft declaration on social progress and development and adopted Part II, Objectives and Part III, Means and Methods.

28. After completing the consideration of Part II and Part III of the draft declaration, the Committee decided to set up a Working Group whose members were appointed by the Chairman to rearrange the paragraphs of Parts II and III of the draft in order to make the text clearer and more readable.

29. The Working Group held nine meetings from 11 to 25 November 1969 under the chairmanship of Mr. Pierre Sanon, the representative of Upper Volta. On 28 November 1969 the Third Committee considered the report of the Working Group and unanimously adopted its recommendations. Thereupon, the Committee adopted Parts II and III and the text of the draft declaration as a whole.

30. The text of the draft declaration on social progress and development, is contained in paragraph 530 of the report as adopted by the Third Committee and consists of a preamble and three parts.

31. Under the terms of the Preamble to the draft declaration, the Assembly, among other things, would emphasize the interdependence of economic and social development in the wider process of growth and change, as well as the importance of a strategy of integrated development which takes full account at all stages of its social aspects and, in proclaiming the declaration on social progress and development, would call for national and international action for its use as a common basis for social development policies.

32. Part I of the draft declaration sets out the principles and elaborates the primary political, economic and other conditions of social progress and development.

33. Part II defines the objectives of the declaration through the attainment of which the continuous raising of the material and spiritual standards of living of all members of society, with respect for and in compliance with human rights and fundamental freedoms, may be achieved.

34. Part III of the draft declaration sets out the means and methods of achievement of the objectives of social progress and development by concentrating on mobilization of the necessary resources by national and international action.

35. The draft declaration on social progress and development now submitted for action by the General Assembly does not deal with social problems in an isolated manner. It sees social progress and development in its interrelation

with economic development and with the general political situation in the world. Thus it strives to put social problems in their proper perspective. These wider ramifications of social progress and development are reflected primarily in the Preamble and in Parts I and III of the draft.

36. The draft declaration is naturally not a perfect document. It is the result of long and complicated discussions in various bodies of the United Nations. In certain instances it contains compromise formulations by which the divergent views on certain aspects of social progress and development were accommodated or points which were subject to reservations by various delegations in the Committee. But a consensus prevailed in the Committee that this hardly diminishes the importance and value of the document as a whole.

37. In a sense, the preparation of the draft declaration by the Commission for Social Development, by the Economic and Social Council and eventually by the Third Committee of the General Assembly has been a pioneering work, as for the first time an effort has been made to include all the complicated and sometimes delicate problems connected with the social aspects of development into one comprehensive document.

38. The draft declaration may be considered as a major elaboration of the principles of the United Nations Charter concerning economic and social co-operation in the development of a higher standard of living for all without any discrimination, full employment and creation of conditions for economic and social progress of mankind.

39. Thus it may constitute an important contribution to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which we shall celebrate in 1970. The declaration is intended to be applied in the first instance to the formulation of an international strategy for development for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

40. The draft declaration on social progress and development as a whole was adopted unanimously by the Third Committee and is being recommended for adoption by the General Assembly.

41. The draft declaration is accompanied by a draft resolution, which is contained in paragraph 531 of the report. That draft resolution would have the General Assembly recommend that all Governments progressively take into consideration the principles, objectives and means and methods of the declaration, and decide that the declaration shall be taken into account in the formulation of the strategy for the Second Development Decade, as well as in the implementation of programmes of international action to be carried out during the Decade. It would also urge all Governments to take the provisions of the declaration into account in their bilateral and multilateral relations in the field of development.

42. The draft resolution would further have the General Assembly recommend that international organizations and agencies concerned with development should consider the declaration as an important international document in the formulation of strategies and programmes designed to achieve social progress and development, as well as in the

drafting of instruments that the United Nations may undertake in the field of social progress and development.

43. The draft would also have the General Assembly request the Secretary-General to arrange, in co-operation with Governments, for the widest possible dissemination of the declaration, as well as to inform the General Assembly, in summary form in the annexes to the reports on the world social situation, of the measures adopted by Governments and by the international organizations concerned on the realization of the provisions of the declaration and on the implementation of the resolution.

44. The Third Committee also recommends that draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly.

45. I also have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the reports of the Third Committee relating to agenda items 55, 56 and 57. These three items were considered jointly by the Third Committee, in view of their close interrelation.

46. With reference to item 55 the Assembly will note from the Third Committee's report [A/7825] that the questions of the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and of the status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, did not, in the view of the Third Committee, call for any new specific decision by the Assembly, the consensus being that they should be held under continuing review.

47. Satisfaction was expressed with the entry into force on 4 January 1969 of the international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. This was considered an important step on the way to achieving the goal of total and unconditional elimination of racial discrimination and racism, in all their forms and manifestations.

48. The Committee made another important contribution to the struggle against racism in all its forms, including *apartheid* and nazism. It unanimously adopted a draft resolution, which is contained in paragraph 23 of its report, recommending that the General Assembly should designate the year 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Under that resolution the Assembly would also approve a programme for the observance of the International Year, prepared by the Secretary-General in consultation with Member States and pursuant to a request made by the General Assembly at its twenty-third session.

49. The idea is not to have another year of ceremonial or merely public information activities, whatever their importance might be. The emphasis is on action and on deeds, rather than words, in the struggle against racial discrimination.

50. By that resolution the General Assembly would urgently appeal to all States to intensify and expand their efforts at both the national and international levels towards ensuring the rapid and total eradication of racial discrimination, including the policy of *apartheid* and nazism, in all its contemporary forms, as well as other manifestations of racism.

51. This emphasis on action seems to have found adequate expression in the programme for the observance in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which is contained in the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly.

52. The Third Committee's report on agenda item 56 is contained in document A/7820. The Committee unanimously adopted a draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council. This draft resolution proposes that the General Assembly should renew its strong condemnation of racism, nazism, *apartheid*, and all other totalitarian ideologies and practices, and urgently calls upon States which have not yet done so to take immediate and effective measures, including legislative measures, for the complete prohibition of nazi, neo-nazi and racist organizations and groups. It further calls for the protection of young people against any influence of nazism and similar ideologies and practices, as well as for promotion of the publication and dissemination of material connected with United Nations efforts to combat nazism in the past and material publicizing the danger of the present revival of nazism in a number of countries.

53. The draft resolution also recommends that all States and national and international organizations should observe, each year, the memory of the victims of the struggle against nazism and similar ideologies and practices based on terror and racial intolerance, and requests that States Members should submit to the Secretary-General relevant information on the measures adopted under that resolution for consideration by the General Assembly at its next session. The draft resolution is recommended for adoption by the General Assembly in paragraph 12 of the report.

54. In considering item 57, the Third Committee approved the following draft resolutions for adoption by the General Assembly [A/7826, para. 29]: draft resolution I, concerning the situation in the Middle East; draft resolution II, A on the situation in southern Africa, presented to the Third Committee by certain delegations at the current session; and draft resolution II, B on the situation in southern Africa, which the Economic and Social Council had recommended the Assembly should adopt.

55. Draft resolution I, relating to the situation in the Middle East, *inter alia*, expresses grave concern at the continuing reports of violation of human rights in the territories occupied by Israel; condemns such policies and practices as collective and area punishment, the destruction of homes and the deportation of inhabitants; and urgently calls upon the Government of Israel to desist forthwith from its reported repressive practices and policies towards the civilian population in the occupied territories, and to comply with its obligations under the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949,¹ the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the relevant resolutions adopted by the various international organizations.

56. Resolution II, A on the situation in southern Africa, adopted on the Third Committee's own initiative, after

reaffirming the Assembly's recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle by the opponents of *apartheid*, racial discrimination and Portuguese colonialism in southern Africa to realize their human rights and fundamental freedoms, concentrates on action with a view to restoring the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa, with particular reference to the inhuman and degrading treatment and torture of political prisoners, detainees and captured freedom-fighters in the Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), and Sao Tomé.

57. Draft resolution II, B, adopted on the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council, seeks urgent and effective action by the United Nations required in connexion with the gross and systematic violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the southern part of Africa.

58. After condemning the Government responsible for the inhuman policies of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa and in illegally occupied Namibia and deploring the refusal of the Administering Authority to suppress the racist and illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, the resolution calls *inter alia* for the repeal of illegal discriminatory legislation in that region and for the severance of all diplomatic, commercial, military, cultural and other relations by those Governments which still maintain them with the Government of South Africa and the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. The Secretary-General is requested, *inter alia*, to set up a radio unit of the United Nations in Africa to broadcast to the peoples of southern Africa and to give the widest possible publicity to the evils of the policies pursued by the offending Government and régimes.

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

59. The PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to turn their attention to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 48 [A/7833]. Document A/L.583 contains an amendment to the draft declaration recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 530 of its report. I call on the representative of the Netherlands to introduce the amendment.

60. Mr. UMRATH (Netherlands): On behalf of the forty sponsors of the amendment contained in document A/L.583, I should like to draw attention to the following.

61. Paragraph 6 of Part II of the Economic and Social Council's draft of a declaration on social progress and development reads as follows:

"The provision for all, particularly persons in low-income groups, of adequate housing and community services in both rural and urban areas, and provision for appropriate supervision of the utilization of land in the interest of the community" [A/7648, annex II].

62. During the debate on Part II in the Third Committee it was emphasized that supervision of the utilization of land was an implementation measure and not an objective and that consequently Part III would be the right place to deal

¹ Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

with this question. In the opinion of many representatives there was a consensus on this conclusion, and consequently it was presumed that this important question would be dealt with in Part III, but the point was not taken up in an amendment to Part III. Informal consultations indicated that a large majority, if not the whole Committee, would like that omission to be corrected. Therefore the sponsors hope that all delegations are prepared, at this late stage, to agree to the insertion at the end of article 17 of the draft declaration [A/7833, para. 530] which deals with urban and rural development, the following paragraph:

“(d) Measures for appropriate supervision of the utilization of land in the interests of society.”

The only change in the original Economic and Social Council text [A/7648, annex II] would be the last phrase: “in the interests of society”. This change was made in order to conform with the terminology used throughout the draft declaration. The sponsors hope that, in the spirit of co-operation that has prevailed in the Third Committee, this amendment can be adopted unanimously without any time-consuming delay.

63. The PRESIDENT: I now call on those representative who wish to explain their vote.

64. Mr. RUDA (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): We have before us a draft declaration on social progress and development [A/7833, para. 530] recommended by the Third Committee for adoption by the General Assembly. My delegation feels honoured that the initiative taken by Argentina in 1966 has culminated in a document which is the fruit of exhaustive study and wide discussion.

65. In this era, the technological and scientific revolution has replaced the industrial revolution, and economic development has advanced more rapidly than social benefits. With the reservations that I small mention later, my delegation trusts that the declaration to be approved by this General Assembly will be found an appropriate instrument for achieving through international co-operation the improvement of social and economic conditions and man's fulfilment within the community.

66. Progress in the transfer and interchange of technology through international co-operation has brought into being a new awareness of the interdependence of all human societies and created a general desire democratically to change social structures and raise standards of living everywhere. The declaration is evidence of this contemporary trend.

67. The main objective of social change should be the dignity of man. All over the world millions of human beings live in poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. Human dignity is apt to be swept away under the impact of industry and to be diminished in city life.

68. My delegation therefore believes that social changes constitute an effective guarantee of the restoration or preservation of human dignity. Men cannot have a sense of responsibility for the achievement of fundamental human rights without an awareness of their dignity and worth as members of society. They will not make an effort to

improve their condition unless they can see some hope of change in the relatively near future for themselves and for their children.

69. The achievement of the social changes advocated in the declaration now before this General Assembly must be sought, in my delegation's view, in an atmosphere of freedom. The sense of freedom is essential to any human effort and the promise of freedom is one of the most powerful agents of social change.

70. Just as freedom is essential for effective social change, so education is undoubtedly the principal instrument for achieving faster economic and social development, and education as a means of handing down experience and culture from one generation to another must necessarily be a dynamic process, adapted to the existing circumstances. A system of education which is not adapted to the changing circumstances of the contemporary world and which fails to reflect the expectations of the rising generations is doomed to failure. Youth, that section of society most sensitive to change, often points to the need to adapt old ways to new realities in social life.

71. The new education should, in the first place, reach all social strata without discrimination; it should open the doors of the highest institutions of learning to those who have the capacity, the vocation and the will to complete higher studies.

72. Education must, furthermore, be basically oriented towards economic and social development, as is proposed in this declaration. The old structures and methods must give way to this new purpose, which must take into consideration the needs of the community in general; culture should cease to be the property of the few but, on the contrary, must become a common aspiration and achievement. Within the educational system, the greatest challenge probably faces the universities, which are suffering from the repercussions of the rapid social changes taking place in the world.

73. The role of the universities in guiding this process is fundamental. They must place themselves in the van of change and try so to guide it that it can be achieved as quickly as possible, but at the same time in an atmosphere of dialogue and understanding which will ensure the hoped-for results. Having emphasized, as I particularly wished, this role of education as a means to social development, I now turn to the major objectives of the Declaration.

74. Those major objectives, the promotion of full productive employment, the elimination of hunger, poverty and illiteracy, the provision of comprehensive social security schemes, the sharing of scientific and technological advances between the developed and developing countries, and lastly, the orientation of society towards the process of development are in keeping with the spirit that led my delegation to take the initiative in suggesting that the United Nations should produce a declaration on social development. My delegation's purpose in 1966 was to contribute to international co-operation in the social field. We regret that so many amendments have been introduced into the original Argentine draft, especially on matters relating to social

policy, which do not accord with the spirit of the initiative and do not seem to be universally accepted.

75. Our special concern is aroused in connexion with article 22, paragraph (b), on the formulation and establishment of population control. My delegation wishes to make an express reservation on this subject and cannot accept the recommendation to take into consideration in its policy, plans and programmes the principles, objectives and methods set out on this subject in the declaration.

76. The Argentine delegation does not believe that there is a population problem in the world as a whole. There are population problems in certain parts of the world. As well as over-populated countries, there are others, like mine and many more, which are very far from having filled the living space at their disposal. There is no danger for the time being, nor for some time to come, of the planet overflowing.

77. On the other hand, economic development and population growth are closely connected. In our view, they are not separate entities. They are living facts which never cease to influence each other. We do not believe it will be possible to develop production more quickly without raising the birth-rate and thereby the level of consumption.

78. The only true policy for the less favoured countries must be based on international understanding of economic responsibilities and the unity of mankind. This is a revolutionary and difficult policy but the only one possible in the face of the conservatism and pessimism inspired by the policy of population control.

79. In any event, Argentina will respect whatever decision each Government may take in regard to population control. The solution suggested in the declaration is not applicable to my country. I should like to stress my delegation's concern at the intervention of the highest international body in so delicate and controversial a subject, which, moreover, affects the private matter of each sovereign nation's way of life and thought, and above all, what is most sacred to mankind, its freedom.

80. My delegation will vote in favour of this declaration on social progress and development because it believes it to be a forward step in international co-operation and in the best spirit of solidarity that has always been characteristic of our country's action in the United Nations. Our vote does not in any way signify that we accept indiscriminately each and every one of the articles of the declaration. We view it from the standpoint of over-all progress in the matter and wish to place on record our natural reservations concerning those articles of the declaration which run counter to the legislation in force in our country.

81. In conclusion, I should like to express once again my delegation's satisfaction that the idea which we put forward in 1966 has culminated in a draft declaration on social progress and development, which will certainly be considered an important guideline among the new ideas which govern, and which must govern, this development in the world today.

82. Mr. BABAA (Libya): My delegation will be happy to cast a positive vote in favour of the draft declaration on

social progress and development [A/7833, para. 53]. We attach great importance to that declaration, which will no doubt serve as a useful guideline for all countries, particularly the developing nations, in the formulation and implementation of policies and plans designed to improve the standards of living of their peoples. The declaration emphasizes once again the fundamental link between peace and the promotion of human rights and social justice. The provisions contained in that international document would seek to guarantee to all persons their dignity and social and economic rights, and to achieve social justice in the world. We hope that the declaration will also contribute to the achievement of rapid social progress for all mankind and improve the social situation of the world.

83. Almost every year the United Nations gives a nice gift to the international community. For this session, the declaration that in a few minutes will be adopted by this august body will no doubt be our gift of this year to all mankind. It is a sort of United Nations Christmas gift to all nations.

84. Since all delegations in the Third Committee have already put on record their reservations regarding certain articles, phrases and sections of the draft, and because of the fact that the draft declaration as a whole was adopted unanimously by the Third Committee, my delegation would like to propose that we adopt the declaration by acclamation.

85. Mrs. FLOREZ PRIDA (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of Cuba was unable to be present when the draft declaration on social progress and development [A/7833, para. 530] was put to the vote in the Third Committee, but I had the opportunity to state our position with respect to various articles of the draft which is now before the General Assembly. This inevitably leads us to abstain when the text is considered as an indivisible whole.

86. We have already recognized the noble purposes that inspire it, and the anguish reflected in its text. But with all due respect to the opinions of others, especially when shared by a large number of delegations, we are convinced that it is not the basic function of the United Nations to proclaim utopias or to formulate high-sounding declarations without any firm basis of support.

87. The draft gives us an impressive catalogue of social aspirations and points out ways to achieve them. What we have here is a scheme which, as we read it, transports us into a world of marvels which for a time make us forget the reality that surrounds and oppresses us. We are led to think that the United Nations is making real progress towards the conquest of the kingdom of liberty, equality and fraternity. The draft makes us dream of an international community free from imperialism, colonialism, racial discrimination and all the social evils that multiply in this culture broth.

88. Human societies struggle to survive, to change and to develop, and base their plans for achieving better standards of living on the realities from which they must start. The question here is of the conquest of ideals that cannot be achieved through some graceful concession on the part of the exploiters but only through strenuous efforts and by removing the obstacles that stand in the way.

89. How can there be an equitable distribution of the national income if the economic structures which deny that possibility remain intact? How can the expansion of international trade be proclaimed on the basis of the principles of equality and non-discrimination if the right of the United States imperialists to maintain an illegal blockade against Cuba and other countries is implicitly accepted? How will it be possible to achieve international technical, scientific and cultural co-operation while the flight of technicians and intellectuals is encouraged and any aid is subjected to the unavowed political interests that revolve around it? How can poverty be eliminated from a world where there is well-being and leisure for the few and oppression and poverty for the masses? How can the ideals of peace and justice be encouraged among young people in a world where they are used as cannon fodder and as an instrument for carrying out the greatest crimes in response to the dubious principle of due obedience?

90. The declaration on which we are about to vote cannot be more than a noble aspiration towards worthy objectives in the context of a monstrous reality that will remain unchanged unless eliminated by other methods.

91. It reminds us of that formal conception of justice as an ideal that can never be attained, like the Pole Star which guides the navigator but which he will never reach. In conclusion, my delegation will abstain in the vote on the declaration under discussion.

92. Mrs. DAES (Greece): My delegation asked to speak in order to explain briefly its vote on the draft declaration on social progress and development [A/7833, para. 530], and to express some views on that historic document.

93. In the view of my delegation, the aforesaid document is of great importance because it provides the principles which are fundamental for happiness, for harmonious relations and for the economic and social progress and development of all peoples in the world. It also defines the objectives of their social progress and development which aim to the creation of better conditions of stability and well-being, conditions which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among peoples based on respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and other international instruments.

94. The last part of the draft declaration provides the means and methods for the achievement of the objectives of social progress and development, which require the mobilization of all human and material resources by national and international action. My delegation had the honour of participating in the Commission for Social Development and in the Third Committee from the beginning to the final elaboration of the draft declaration under consideration, and we are happy now to be able to vote in favour of this historic document as a whole.

95. With your permission, Madam President, my delegation would like on this occasion to pay tribute to the delegation of Argentina, and in particular to Mr. Juan Carlos Beltramino, a very learned man, who with enthusiasm and true concern for the well-being of all peoples submitted to the Third Committee the first working paper

on the draft declaration on social development [A/C.3/L.1419] of 7 December 1966.

96. My delegation also wishes to pay tribute to the Division of Social Development, and in particular to Mrs. Thorsson and Mr. Jansson for their valuable guidelines during the elaboration of the present declaration, and also to thank the specialized agencies and UNICEF for their very remarkable contributions to the completion of the draft declaration on social progress and development.

97. We hope that this declaration will be one more document of the United Nations which will help countries in the formulation of their economic and social policies, in particular during the United Nations Second Development Decade, in order to achieve a better life for all members of the human family.

98. Miss MAKOLO (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*translated from French*): I shall be extremely brief because my delegation has already expressed its views in the Third Committee on the draft declaration on social progress and development [A/7833, para. 530] and on the draft resolution accompanying it [*ibid.*, para. 531].

99. At this stage my delegation wishes to restate its position, which it would like to be reflected in the record. My delegation would therefore, first, reiterate that in general it has no major difficulty in supporting the principles, objectives, means and methods set forth in the declaration, but has to make the same reservations as before with respect to paragraph 27 of the text of the draft declaration submitted by the Economic and Social Council [*ibid.*, para. 489], which has been considered in this Assembly and has become article 26 of the declaration, i.e. the article relating to aggression.

100. My delegation continues to oppose this restrictive definition of aggression, and still maintains that the concept of aggression, as well as the responsibility for its consequences, should also apply in the case of States which deliberately support armed bands. In this connexion, my delegation does not wish to create any misunderstanding in this Assembly. It wishes to repeat the statement it made at the 1696th meeting of the Third Committee, namely that, in its view, there is a fundamental difference between armed bands and national liberation movements. Whereas armed bands are illegal and should therefore be condemned, the activity of liberation movements is in conformity with the principle of self-determination contained in the Charter of the United Nations. This is why my delegation was obliged to abstain in the vote on that paragraph.

101. My delegation has already stated its view on the draft resolution accompanying the declaration. Certain paragraphs addressed to Governments contain terms which go beyond what we consider appropriate.

102. My delegation regards this document as a declaration, an instrument, a general outline advocating principles, means and methods which should be included in development policies and programmes only if Governments—and they alone are competent to judge—decide that this is desirable. It considers that the scope of the draft resolution goes beyond the intentions we attribute to the declaration,

and therefore felt, and still feels at this stage obliged to abstain.

103. Mr. FERNANDEZ-LONGORIA (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): I wish very briefly to express my delegation's reservation regarding the scope of article 22 (b) of the declaration [A/7833, para. 530]. We shall vote in favour of the declaration.

104. The PRESIDENT: I invite the General Assembly to turn its attention to paragraph 530 of the report of the Third Committee [A/7833] and to the draft amendment [A/L.583].

105. The representative of the Soviet Union has requested separate votes on articles 12 (a), 20 (c), 23 (b) and 25 (b) of the draft declaration.

106. The Assembly will vote first on the amendment, and then on the articles that I have just mentioned, after which, we shall vote on the draft declaration as a whole.

107. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the amendment in document A/L.583 without objection?

The amendment was adopted.

108. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft declaration [A/7833, para. 530]. We shall vote first on article 12 (a).

Article 12 (a) was adopted by 97 votes to 1, with 12 abstentions.

109. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will vote next on article 20 (c).

Article 20 (c) was adopted by 108 votes to 5, with 5 abstentions.

110. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on article 23 (b).

Article 23 (b) was adopted by 107 votes to 4, with 4 abstentions.

111. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will vote next on article 25 (b).

Article 25 (b) was adopted by 105 votes to none, with 12 abstentions.

112. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the draft declaration [A/7833, para. 530] as a whole, as amended.

The draft declaration as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 119 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 2542 (XXIV)).

113. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 531 of document A/7833.

The draft resolution was adopted by 117 votes to none with 1 abstention (resolution 2543 (XXIV)).

114. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have indicated their desire to explain their votes.

115. Mr. MOUSSA (United Arab Republic): To my delegation it is a happy moment when we see the General Assembly solemnly proclaim the Declaration on Social Progress and Development and call for national and international action for its use as a common basis for social development policies.

116. My delegation, which participated in all stages of the preparation, adoption and now the proclamation of this Declaration, feels that the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, with its principles and objectives, represents the fulfilment of the pledge of Members of the United Nations under the Charter to take joint and separate action, in co-operation with the Organization, to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development.

117. This Declaration reaffirms faith in human rights and fundamental freedoms, and in the principles of peace, of the dignity and worth of the human person and of social justice proclaimed in the Charter. This Declaration stands on solid ground. It recalls the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Convention and the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding among Peoples, the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

118. We believe that man can achieve complete fulfilment of his aspirations only within a just social order and that, consequently, it is of cardinal importance to accelerate social and economic progress everywhere.

119. We also believe that international peace and justice on the one hand and social progress on the other are closely inter-dependent and have reciprocal influence on each other.

120. Finally, I would recall that the principles upon which this Declaration is based are national independence, based on the right of peoples to self-determination, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the permanent sovereignty of each nation over its national wealth and resources, and the right and responsibility of each State, each nation, to determine its own objectives of social development and to set its own priorities.

121. In the light of all these lofty principles, in the light of the need of the developing nations of a better understanding of their problems and of the creation of conditions for rapid and sustained social and economic development, and since social progress and development must aim at the continuous raising of the material and spiritual standard of living of all members of society in compliance with human rights and fundamental freedoms, we have voted for this Declaration.

122. Mrs. BEGMATOVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation wishes to make the following statement in explanation of its vote.

123. We voted for the declaration on social progress and development as a whole because it contains a number of progressive democratic provisions which are in the interests of the peoples of all countries.

124. At the same time, my delegation would like to stress that we cannot agree with some of the formulations in these sections, namely, the application to the socialist countries on the same footing as the colonizers of the requirements relating to the allocation of one per cent of gross national product for aid purposes (article 23, paragraph (b)). The inclusion of that paragraph in this article of the Declaration does not mean that its provisions apply to the Soviet Union.

125. It is well known that the complex tasks facing developing countries in ensuring economic progress and the achievement of economic independence require the analysis and definition of the most appropriate ways and means of solving them. In this connexion, the delegation of the Soviet Union would like to state quite categorically that the application to the Soviet Union, which did not take part in the exploitation of colonial peoples, of the requirement that one per cent of gross national product of economically advanced countries should be allocated annually for economic assistance to developing countries is illegal. As we have already repeatedly stated, this requirement is legitimate only in respect of the colonial Powers, which for centuries exploited colonial countries which have not attained their independence.

126. We are also unable to agree with the idea of so-called class harmony, provision for which is made in article 20 (c). This terminology is being used in an attempt to push through the idea of class harmony. But everyone knows that so long as classes exist in the capitalist society, there can be no question of "class harmony". Social harmony can exist only in the classless socialist and communist society.

127. The inclusion in the Declaration of provisions which must be considered in other United Nations bodies is also unacceptable. We refer to Part III, article 25 (b), which provides for the use and exploitation of areas of the environment such as outer space and the sea-bed and ocean floor; in our opinion, this should be governed by appropriate international agreements.

128. With regard to Part II, article 12 (a), which contains a provision concerning "equality of opportunity", it must be emphasized that social progress and the struggle of workers in capitalist countries to further their interests and achieve radical social and economic changes are closely interrelated, and equal opportunity can be ensured only under conditions of social justice.

129. The Soviet delegation would also like to point out that a number of articles in the Declaration contain provisions which require clarification. The provision concerning the exact role to be played by "employers' organizations" in achieving "a fully integrated national

society" (article 15 (b)) is couched in much too nebulous terms.

130. Equally unclear is the formulation of the provision concerning the fiscal system, which permits the interpretation that taxes on the working masses must be increased, supposedly in order to promote social progress (article 16 (c)).

131. Mr. KALPAGÉ (Ceylon): We have just voted on the Declaration on Social Progress and Development. No declaration, or indeed even a resolution, can be expected to have the unreserved support of all Member States of the United Nations. Considering the diverse policies of Member States, reflecting a variety of societies in different parts of the world, of historical backgrounds and variation in processes of evolution of forms of government, it would be unrealistic to expect universal agreement on the substance of a declaration on social development. This was amply demonstrated during the discussions in the Third Committee. The differences were many, the debates were often prolonged and at times, regrettably, bitter and acrimonious. But in the end the Declaration was adopted unanimously by the Third Committee, as indeed it was by the General Assembly this afternoon. This unanimous adoption we believe underlines the need for such a declaration at the present time and the basic agreement there is on principles and fundamental objectives. Naturally there was some disagreement on the means and methods of achieving the objectives of social development.

132. The debates in the Third Committee indicated certain current trends in world opinion on this subject. The close interrelation between social progress and economic advancement was emphasized, but it was also accepted that economic development alone was not sufficient and that social progress should, in the words of the introductory paragraph of Part II, Objectives, "aim at the continuous raising of the material and spiritual standards of living of all members of society".

133. Particular stress was laid on the need for a global strategy in achieving social progress, on the urgency of bridging the gap between the affluent and the developing countries and on international co-operation in the economic sphere to achieve this goal. While there was a large measure of agreement on the need for greater assistance to, and better terms for, the developing countries, there was some objection by socialist countries to the call for the implementation of an aid volume target of a minimum of 1 per cent of gross national product.

134. In the final analysis when all obstacles to social development on a national scale have been overcome, the single factor restricting or even preventing rapid progress in raising economic and social standards in most countries is the question of resources. That was the reason why the Ceylonese delegation, together with other delegations, took the initiative of suggestions the incorporation in both Part I, Principles, and Part II, Means and Methods, of paragraphs dealing with the tremendous resources likely to be released in the near future as a result of man's exploration of the sea-bed and ocean floor and the benefits which could accrue from his conquest of outer space.

135. The General Assembly has already accepted the principle that these areas of man's environment should be exploited for the benefit of mankind as a whole and that we must avoid a race to grab and to hold areas of the environment which are properly the legacy of all human beings, the common heritage of all mankind.

136. The Third Committee adopted the second paragraph of article 9 of Part I, Principles, by 94 votes in favour, none against, with 7 abstentions. The second paragraph of article 25 of Part III, Means and Methods, was adopted by 94 votes in favour, none against, with 9 abstentions, and even this afternoon the vote was 105 in favour, none against, with 11 abstentions. These votes are surely indicative of the almost universal agreement that outer space and the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond national jurisdiction should be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes, and that the use and exploitation of these areas must be undertaken, not through competitive appropriation by a few States possessing the requisite technological capacity, but in a planned and orderly manner, so that the benefits can accrue to all mankind. In particular, we believe this is an endorsement of the idea that the vast resources of the sea-bed are to be used to augment national resources, particularly in developing countries, irrespective of their geographical location.

137. This is a revolutionary idea, an important step forward in international co-operation and one which no nation concerned with social and economic development and progress the world over can ignore.

138. Similarly, the achievement of general and complete disarmament and the channelling of the progressively released resources will assist in accelerating the pace of economic and social progress throughout the world. That is why we welcomed article 27. But we did not feel any need for the second part of that article, dealing with the mechanics of disarmament. My delegation has consistently supported general, complete and immediate disarmament, but we felt that it might not be appropriate to deal with the detailed procedures for achieving disarmament in one particular area in a declaration on social progress. For that reason, when this matter was discussed in the Third Committee my delegation did not favour the inclusion of that article of Part III. Incidentally, this is a matter which is properly being discussed in other United Nations organs.

139. These are some of the observations which my delegation wished to make on the vote that has just been taken on this Declaration. The Declaration is an important step forward in man's endeavour to define social objectives, the principles that should govern such objectives and the means and methods of attaining them. This is not a perfect instrument but it reflects the reality of the contemporary world. The Ceylonese delegation has voted in favour of it. The Government and people of Ceylon will always strive to be guided by its principles and objectives.

140. Before I close, I should like to pay a tribute to the Chairmen of the Third Committee under whose direction and guidance this declaration was discussed and finally adopted. I refer to Mr. Nettel of Austria and Mrs. Ould Daddah of Mauritania. We are grateful to them for their efficient handling of our meetings and for the consummate skill with which they performed a difficult task.

141. Mr. CALOVSKI (Yugoslavia): I should like to explain our affirmative vote on the Declaration on Social Progress and Development just adopted by the General Assembly. It is almost certain that the day of the adoption of the Declaration will often be cited in the future. This in itself shows why one who is privileged to speak on this occasion feels greatly honoured.

142. In the last few years the Members of the United Nations have been successfully building up a common concept on social progress and development. In today's divided world, the intensified struggle for full economic and political emancipation, equality in international relations and the successful outcome of the tireless efforts to create that desired concept represent a particular achievement of the United Nations.

143. The Members of the United Nations have agreed, among other things, to declare that the primary conditions for social progress should be national independence, non-interference, sovereignty, peaceful coexistence and peace; that poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, exploitation and discrimination should be eliminated; that the conditions for rapid and sustained social and economic development, particularly of the developing countries, should be created. Furthermore, the right to work, the achievement of the highest standard of health, free education, security schemes, housing for all and so on, should be ensured at all levels.

144. Whether the concept defined in the Declaration is progressive or conservative, Utopian or one which can be achieved, good or bad, only the future will tell. We can say with a high degree of certainty that it represents a new and contemporary view of social development as an integrated part of over-all development in which the centre is the human being whose improved conditions of well-being, higher standards of living and development as such depend upon both national and international social, economic and political relations and developmental efforts. In one place one can find what the principles of social progress are, what are the objectives to be achieved and how they are to be achieved. The Declaration underlines the fact that social development is not a group of social defence measures, but a developmental process. It stresses that social and economic development are of equal importance, that their interdependence is unquestionable. It underlines further the urgency for closing the gap between developed and developing countries.

145. The great importance that my delegation attaches to the Declaration is well known to the Third Committee. From the beginning we have advocated that the Declaration should be a purposeful document of the United Nations, of a mobilizing character, one which should serve in the first place the objectives and the needs of the developing countries. Its immediate purpose should be to help in the formulation of the strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade; and its constant purpose, to serve as a basis for national and international policy and measures, particularly in the field of social development.

146. From the start of this undertaking we have been faced with many difficulties and, thanks to the positive attitude and consideration on the part of many delegations,

we have been able to overcome them successfully. The first major difficulty was the present stage of economic development of many countries, the existence of developed and developing countries, of rich and poor, countries with market economies and centrally planned economies, and so on. For many countries different aspects of national and international relations are of varying importance and significance. These differences—political, economic, ideological, social, technological, traditional—influence attitudes towards the principles, the objectives, and the means and methods of social development. For example, a method that is very important to one country or a group of countries may not be of similar importance to others. In this the aim to achieve a United Nations concept and understanding has prevailed.

147. The second difficulty was how far we should go in defining the various elements that make up the concept of social development. How specific should we be? Should we simply catalogue them? Or should we integrate them with the objectives and purposes they are intended to serve and the achievements they are intended to promote? It would have been very difficult to say that in the attainment of this or that objective the following means and methods should be applied. It was obvious that we would differ in this. There would have been difficulties since the methods depend primarily on the given situation.

148. Another difficulty was the question of priorities. Social progress and development cover all fields of human activity; in rural and urban areas, in industry and agriculture, in the fields of education, employment, health, and so on. It is at once a political and an economic process. Its results depend on the national and international situation. Its achievements are often the result of the struggle for higher productivity, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, improvement of the international political situation, better trends in international trade, etc. To which of these should we have attributed primary importance? My delegation has actively participated in the overcoming of these difficulties and in finding an acceptable solution. On the whole, we are pleased with the results.

149. At one point when the Declaration began to look rather unbalanced—too much in favour of the developing countries—many qualifications of the Declaration appeared. Some delegations started to emphasize the old and narrow approach towards social development—that the Declaration was for everything but social progress; some felt that it was lacking in style, precision, and so on. Suddenly we saw a departure from the accepted, integrated approach towards social development, a departure from the view that development is a complex process comprising the economic, social, political and administrative processes, that social progress is a developmental process, that there are pre-conditions for social development.

150. We agree that the Declaration has shortcomings. We cannot say that all the articles are perfectly drafted, that the presentation is perfect, that the style is excellent, and so on. But we strongly disagree with those who maintain that because the Declaration emphasizes matters of particular interest for developing countries, because it constantly calls on the developed countries to participate actively in the efforts to narrow the gap that divides them from the

developing countries, this should be taken as a pretext for a negative qualification of the Declaration.

151. In conclusion, on behalf of my delegation, I should like to thank the delegation of Argentina for initiating this excellent achievement of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, and all representatives and colleagues who have worked on the Declaration and who have co-operated with my delegation, and our Chairmen—both Mr. Nettel and Mrs. Ould Daddah—for their very able leadership in this endeavour.

152. Mr. PAOLINI (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation voted in favour of the Declaration, which will be an important instrument for the formulation of national and international social development policies, but wishes to confirm the reservations it has already had occasion to express in the Third Committee regarding various provisions, in particular article 19, on which we abstained from voting in Committee. According to this article, the provision of free health services to the whole population is one of the means of social development, in contradiction with article 10 (*d*), which states that the provision of health protection for the entire population is a social development goal and that it should if possible be free of charge.

153. My delegation also wishes to recall that it abstained in the vote on article 27 and voted against paragraph (*b*) of that article, setting forth some specific measures of disarmament, a list which is in any event incomplete and out of place in a declaration on social development.

154. Lastly, we wish to recall that we voted in favour of article 26, while pointing out that the use of the word “aggression” could not of course be taken to limit the competence of United Nations bodies and in particular, of the Security Council.

155. The PRESIDENT: The decision just taken by the General Assembly in adopting the Declaration on Social Progress and Development and the resolution on the same subject represents a truly significant step in pursuance of the objective of promoting social progress and better standards of life and larger freedom set out in the United Nations Charter. The Declaration takes on particular significance because it is the first international instrument which provides clear guidelines not only for social policies but also for the integration of economic and social action for the improvement of the social environment and the well-being of the individual.

156. While the most immediate impact of the Declaration will no doubt be on the forthcoming Second United Nations Development Decade, its influence will go much beyond that period and its effects, I am confident, will be felt both at the international and national level for a long time to come.

157. I now invite representatives to turn their attention to the next report submitted by the Third Committee, which is on agenda item 55 [A/7825].

158. I call on the representative of Cameroon for an explanation of vote.

159. Mr. SAO (Cameroon) (*translated from French*): I shall be extremely brief. Consideration of the Third Committee's report [A/7825] on agenda item 55, "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination", seems to call for certain comments on the part of my delegation. These comments relate to item 55(c), "Programme for the celebration in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination".

160. In this connexion, Members of the Assembly will recall that in submitting the Manifesto on Southern Africa [A/7754], the President of the Cameroon proposed [1780th meeting] that the seminar contemplated in connexion with that programme should take place in Africa. The Cameroonian delegation later repeated that proposal in the Third Committee during the general debate on the relevant draft resolution [A/7825, para. 23], and it then stated that Cameroon was ready to act as host to such a seminar. We were therefore surprised that our proposal was not mentioned in the report so eloquently presented a few moments ago by the representative of Czechoslovakia.

161. My delegation hopes that the services concerned will nevertheless take due note of our proposal that the gathering contemplated in connexion with the programme for the celebration in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should take place in Cameroon.

162. The PRESIDENT: I invite Members to turn their attention to the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 23 of its report, [A/7825]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution appears in document A/7863.

163. Since the draft resolution was adopted unanimously in the Third Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 2544 (XXIV)).

164. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 56 [A/7820].

165. I call on the representative of Costa Rica, who wishes to explain her vote before the vote.

166. Mrs. DE BARISH (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation would like, not to explain its vote, but ask for a separate vote on the word "neo-nazi" in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution contained in the report of the Third Committee [A/7820, para. 12].

167. It will be recalled that on the day when this resolution was adopted in the Third Committee there was a request for a separate vote for the purpose of deleting the word "neo-nazi", which was felt to introduce an ingredient of the cold war into the resolution. On that occasion, more than half the members of the Committee were absent, so that only 46 delegations voted, the word "neo-nazi" being retained by one vote, with 18 in favour, 17 against and 11 abstentions.

168. Since this is the first time the word would appear in a General Assembly resolution, my resolution considers it important for a broader vote to be taken on the matter in the Assembly itself. I would therefore ask for a recorded vote on this point.

169. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution contained in paragraph 12 of the report [A/7820]. As a separate and recorded vote has been requested on the word "neo-nazi", I put this word to the vote.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Austria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, India,* Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Bolivia, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Dahomey, Finland, France, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Libya, Maldives, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Venezuela.

The word "neo-nazi" was rejected by 48 votes to 35, with 27 abstentions.

170. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution as a whole, as amended.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 117 votes to none (resolution 2545 (XXIV)).

171. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn now to the last report of the Third Committee which relates to agenda item 57 [A/7826]. Since the report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of draft resolution II, B recommended by the Third Committee is not ready, I propose, with the consent of Members, to put before the Assembly at this time only draft resolution I and draft resolution II, A, which are contained in paragraph 29 of the report [A/7826].

172. If I hear no objections, we shall proceed accordingly.

It was so decided.

* The delegation of India subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the word "neo-nazi".

173. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Malawi for an explanation of vote.

174. Mr. MBEKEANI (Malawi): The Malawi delegation will vote against draft resolution I for the following reasons.

175. First, we consider that the draft resolution as a whole embodies a one-sided view of the problems of human rights arising out of the Middle East war of June 1967, inasmuch as it does not include any reference to the need to alleviate Israel's legitimate fears about the treatment of Jewish citizens in Arab countries. Israeli representatives in this Assembly have cited ample grounds for their belief that the Jewish populations in some Arab countries are being deprived of their basic human rights and their anxiety has been echoed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report [A/7601/Add.1, para. 74] as well as by other delegations. Consequently, the adoption of draft resolution I would give the erroneous impression that Members of the United Nations are exclusively concerned with the plight of Arab civilians in Israeli-occupied territories.

176. Secondly, to the degree that draft resolution I represents a one-sided view of the human rights problems arising out of the June 1967 war, it can also be said to be contrary to the spirit of Security Council resolution 237 (1967), which initiated United Nations action regarding the humanitarian aspect of the war's aftermath. In that resolution the Security Council called upon the Government of Israel

“to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations have taken place, and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities”.

However it also acknowledged the urgent necessity of alleviating the suffering inflicted on civilians and on prisoners of war as a result of recent hostilities in the Middle East. In other words, the suffering of all civilians and prisoners of war throughout the area of the Middle East is recognized without discrimination as to whether the persons concerned are Israeli or Arab. And it may be further recalled that Security Council resolution 237 (1967) additionally recommended that “the Governments concerned”—that is, all the Governments directly involved—should observe “scrupulous respect” for the humanitarian principles governing the treatment of prisoners and civilians established in the 1949 Geneva Convention.

177. The fair-minded attitude towards the human rights problem of the 1967 war assumed by the Security Council eventually prevailed in the Emergency Session of the Assembly and found its expression in resolution 2252 (ES-V), which is also referred to in the preambular paragraph of the present draft. The Malawi delegation firmly believes that it was precisely the objectivity of that important Assembly resolution that enabled it to be adopted by an overwhelming majority of Members, including not only all the Arab States—with the exception of Syria—but also by Israel. As a result, Israel willingly co-operated with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General sent to investigate the human rights situation.

However, my delegation believes that that co-operation might have been motivated by and been dependent on the belief that Ambassador Gussing's mandate extended to investigating allegations of violations of human rights throughout the entire area affected by the June war. It is worth noting that when the Security Council later explicitly requested the Secretary-General's Representative to investigate conditions in the occupied Arab territories, Israel repudiated that resolution—resolution 259 (1968)—largely, we think on the grounds that it represented a one-sided view of the situation arising out of the June war and therefore refused to continue to receive the Secretary-General's Representative, so that the Security Council resolution can fairly be said to have defeated its own ends.

178. We assume that it was in much the same spirit that Israel also repudiated—and very rightly, in our opinion—resolution 2443 (XXIII) setting up a committee to investigate the human rights situation in the occupied lands. That resolution, which my delegation voted against, went much further than merely embodying a one-sided attitude. Unlike Security Council resolution 259 (1968), it prejudged the issue by employing language that seemingly conferred upon the committee the task of endorsing a conclusion already reached by its sponsors and supporters—namely, that Israel had in fact committed gross violations of human rights in the territories concerned. Since that conclusion was in reality an assumption made—at least in the view of my delegation—without proof, it is small wonder that Israel felt justified in categorically denouncing the resolution and refusing to receive the committee.

179. Draft resolution I is essentially an extension and confirmation of that wholly unacceptable measure. In calling upon the Government of Israel to desist forthwith from “its reported repressive practices and policies towards the civilian population in the occupied territories”, it uses the same technique of assuming what has yet to be proved. And in referring the provisions of the draft resolution to the committee established under resolution 2443 (XXIII), it is referring them to a body that has been given a mandate unworthy of any subsidiary organ of this Assembly.

180. The Malawi delegation will therefore vote against draft resolution I, in the first instance, as a matter of principle: because, in our view, it contravenes the canons of objectivity—which is only another name for equity—which ought properly to be the abiding concern of our Organization. We shall vote against it in the second place, because its very lack of objectivity has ensured its impracticability. As Israel has told us that it will ignore the resolution, it will achieve precisely nothing towards actually helping to safeguard the human rights of the poor, helpless Arab civilians in the occupied territories.

181. The PRESIDENT: I would ask representatives to turn now to the draft resolutions contained in paragraph 29 of the report [A/7826]. We shall vote first on draft resolution I. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, China.

Against: Dahomey, Ecuador, Gabon, Gambia, Israel, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Rwanda, Swaziland, Uruguay, Bolivia.

Abstaining: Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 52 votes to 13, with 49 abstentions (resolution 2546 (XXIV)).

182. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to draft resolution II, A. There is a request that separate votes should be taken on paragraphs 10 and 13.

183. I call on the representative of Tanzania, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

184. Mr. WALDRON-RAMSEY (United Republic of Tanzania): We should like a roll-call vote on paragraph 6.

185. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Tanzania has requested a separate roll-call vote on paragraph 6.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica.

Against: Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Uruguay, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Italy.

Abstaining: Japan, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Philippines,* Rwanda, Spain, Swaziland, Turkey, Venezuela, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic,** Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Ireland, Israel.

Paragraph 6 of resolution II, A was adopted by 67 votes to 16, with 26 abstentions.

186. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take together paragraphs 10 and 13.

Paragraphs 10 and 13 were adopted by 80 votes to 1, with 27 abstentions.

187. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution II, A as a whole.

Draft resolution II, A, as a whole, was adopted by 87 votes to 1, with 23 abstentions (resolution 2547 (XXIV)).

188. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will continue its consideration of the item upon receipt of the report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of draft resolution II, B.

189. I now call on those representatives who have expressed the wish to explain their votes.

190. Mr. SATTAR (Maldives): In explaining my affirmative vote in the Third Committee on draft resolution I, I stated the following:

“My delegation voted in favour of the draft as a whole. However, I would like to state that we have reservations on operative paragraph 3, particularly in so far as it relates to operative paragraph 5. Therefore, I would like it to be clearly understood that our vote on the draft resolution was entirely on humanitarian grounds and not as a measure of prejudging the issue or the findings of the Committee established under General Assembly resolution 2443 (XXIII).”²

191. I should like it to be known that our vote today was cast on the same grounds and with the same reservations.

192. Mr. LESHEM (Israel) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Israel would like briefly to explain its negative vote on draft resolution I and its reasons for rejecting this resolution, which the General Assembly has just adopted by a vote of 52 in favour to 13 against, with 49 abstentions.

193. It will be noted that it is in fact a minority of Members of the Assembly which has declared itself in

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

** The delegation of the Dominican Republic subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted against the draft resolution.

² This statement was made at the 1709th meeting of the Third Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

favour of this resolution, doubtless on account of their biased and partisan spirit. The number of countries supporting the resolution has, moreover, declined in comparison with last year, when, at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, 60 members voted for a resolution [2443 (XXIII)] dealing with the same subject, i.e., the territories administered by Israel following the failure of the war of aggression launched by the Arab States against my country in May 1967.

194. The sponsors have represented their draft as a humanitarian resolution. Even a superficial examination, however, is sufficient to bring out its political and propagandist purposes. If the sponsors of the resolution had really been prompted by humanitarian considerations, how could they have closed their eyes to the sufferings of the Jewish communities in certain Arab countries which, since the 1967 war, have been the victims of barbarous oppression, living under the threatening shadow of injustice, indignity and the gallows?

195. Human rights are indivisible. To practice discrimination while claiming to act from humanitarian motives is to make a lamentable farce of all the efforts of the United Nations to secure universal respect for human rights. The indifference displayed in this resolution towards the sad plight of the persecuted Jewish minorities in certain countries robs it of all moral value. How can a resolution that denies universality claim to pursue the ideals contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or to shed light where nothing is being hidden, while at the same time turning the beam of its alleged concerns away from those places where the darkness of oppression, discrimination and persecution really do hold sway?

196. The territories administered by Israel are open to all. Thousands of tourists, numerous journalists and members of the clergy of all faiths, representatives of international organizations, especially of the International Red Cross, and other distinguished individuals move about freely in these territories and publish their reports in the international press. Any person sincerely interested can easily ascertain the manner in which the Israeli authorities take care of the security and well-being of the population. Naturally, they are obliged to take whatever measures may be necessary, but there again, nothing is secret. Why then this alleged humanitarian concern over well-known facts, and why this obstinate refusal to show any interest in, and thereby offer some ray of hope to, the Jewish minorities in certain Arab countries who are innocent victims of a persecution that has become unbearable following the 1967 war?

197. It is sufficient to recall the membership of the Committee of Three³ illegally set up in August this year and likewise referred to in this resolution which prejudices results of the Committee's work—to appreciate the biased political motives behind it. One of the members of that Committee has never recognized Israel's right to sovereign existence, while another broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967.

³ Committee set up pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2443 (XXIII).

198. It is in these circumstances that the Government of Israel is obliged to doubt the humanitarian good faith claimed as the inspiration for this resolution. We are encouraged by the fact that our doubts are shared by a great number of Member States. In fact, the majority of the Organization's Members have refused to support this resolution. Many of those who voted for it are distinguished less by their concern for human rights, especially in their own countries, than by their blind defence of Arab belligerence against the State of Israel. In view of all this, the resolution cannot be considered an expression of impartial international opinion. The resolution is consequently unacceptable to my people and Government.

199. Mr. SAYEGH (Kuwait): My delegation voted in the Committee in favour of draft resolution I and we have voted for it today in the General Assembly. We also participated somewhat actively in the debate on this resolution when it was still a draft resolution in the Committee. I have no intention whatsoever of reviewing the debate at this stage, nor even of summarizing its contents.

200. My delegation has paid careful attention to the objections that were raised both in the Committee and in the plenary Assembly to that draft resolution, which has now become a resolution, and would like to state the reasons why, notwithstanding the fact that they were made, it has been able to vote for the resolution.

201. In the first place, the statement that this is a one-sided resolution makes no sense to my delegation. This is a resolution on human rights in occupied territories. We are not aware of two kinds of occupied territories: Arab territories occupied by Israel, and Israeli territory occupied by some Arab State or other. Had there been two such occupied territories, had there been abuses of human rights in both and had the resolution condemned one and remained silent about the other, then there would have been, indeed, a one-sided resolution. But in the absence of any occupied territory other than Arab territories occupied by Israel, the charge of one-sidedness simply makes no sense.

202. Secondly, there has also been the remark that this is a minority resolution. According to the best arithmetic that my delegation is capable of coming up with, the vote showed 80 per cent of the Members present and voting in favour of the resolution. How 80 per cent of the Members present and voting can be considered a minority I cannot understand. There was, indeed, a minority, a minority in opposition to the resolution. Only one-tenth of the Members of the United Nations expressed themselves in opposition to the resolution.

203. Finally, there was some doubt about the factual base of the resolution. It was said to prejudge the issues. Since the discussion in the Third Committee ended, and between the end of that discussion and today, fresh evidence has been brought to light in another Committee of the General Assembly, in the Special Political Committee, by none other than the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. In his annual report, in supplementary information provided to the Committee in response to questions from members at its 680th meeting on 2 December and its 686th meeting on 5 December, and in

still more supplementary information presented by Mr. Micheltore in document A/SPC/136 on 10 December 1969, the following information has been brought to light to corroborate the factual base on which the judgement in this resolution was made.

204. Mr. Micheltore has notified the United Nations that out of some 5,000 employees of UNRWA in the occupied territories 177 have been detained and arrested, of whom only a small number have ever been charged or brought to trial; and that 54 have been deported, contrary to article 49, paragraph 1, of the Geneva Convention; that is to say, out of every 100 employees of UNRWA alone four have lost their freedom, either by way of illegal deportation or by way of largely arbitrary detention and arrest. Mr. Micheltore also notified the United Nations that 335 shelters of refugees, owned by UNRWA, built by UNRWA, financed by UNRWA, have been demolished illegally by the arbitrary action of the occupation authorities.

205. If this is what happens to international civil servants, if this is what happens to United Nations property in the occupied territories, how much more is happening to those who have no protection and whose property has no protection?

206. Mr. ARCHER (United Kingdom): My delegation refrained from participating in the vote on draft resolution II, A and on the separate paragraph votes when the item was considered in the Third Committee on 20 November [1709th meeting], for reasons which were then fully explained. Those reasons were equally applicable to our non-participation today. They are set forth in the Committee's summary records, and at this hour of the afternoon I do not propose to delay the General Assembly by repeating them.

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)*

207. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now continue its consideration of agenda item 23. I shall call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

208. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece): The Greek delegation, true to its policy of supporting the efforts of the United Nations to enable the populations of colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories to exercise their right to self-determination, will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.581 and Add.1 and 2. However, in so doing, my delegation wishes to put on record its reservations concerning certain provisions of the draft resolution.

209. In the first place, we are not in a position to subscribe to paragraph 8, which we consider to be irrelevant to the aims of the draft resolution. We further believe that

it should be left to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories to decide, once they have achieved their independence, which ties they wish to maintain or establish with the former administering Power.

210. Secondly, although we recognize the gravity of the situation in certain colonial Territories as a result of the refusal of the respective administering Powers to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions, we are not prepared to go as far as sharing the assessment of this situation given in paragraph 4 of the draft resolution. Furthermore, as we have already stated on several similar occasions, we consider that the responsibility for such an assessment lies primarily with the Security Council.

211. As regards paragraph 6, and particularly its implications regarding the relations of the specialized agencies with certain Member States of our Organization, we hold the view that these relations should be governed by the statutes of the agencies.

212. Finally, we do not consider it necessary to enact special legislation forbidding the recruitment of mercenaries on Greek soil and making it a punishable offence, as the existing legislation is quite adequate for coping with such a situation in the highly unlikely event of its occurrence.

213. The PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to turn their attention to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/7865] on the administrative and financial implications of draft resolution A/L.581 and Add.1 and 2.

214. I now put that draft resolution to the vote.

The draft resolution was adopted by 78 votes to 5, with 16 abstentions (resolution 2548 (XXIV)).

215. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

216. Mr. FERNANDEZ (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to make certain reservations regarding the resolution the General Assembly has just adopted. We must point out once again that our affirmative vote is fundamentally an expression of unconditional support for the demand that the international community should find a just solution to colonial problems on the basis of the guiding principles for the decolonization process laid down by the United Nations.

217. The first reservation my delegation wishes to make is of a general nature and refers particularly to the approach adopted in the resolution. If we compare it with General Assembly resolution 2465 (XXIII), adopted at the last session, we find very little difference. It must be pointed out that that resolution 2465 (XXIII) did not produce any changes in the colonial situation. In some territories, on the contrary, it seems to have led to backward rather than forward steps in the process. From the tone of last year's resolution, and the number of reservations and explanations of votes to which it gave rise, it could be foreseen that it would remain unfulfilled. This year, my delegation greatly fears that the text we have just voted upon will not be fully accepted and therefore not fully complied with by many States, especially by administering Powers.

* Resumed from the 1826th meeting.

218. The Fourth Committee has already submitted or is about to submit to the General Assembly various specific draft resolutions on certain colonial problems. Nevertheless, as happens year after year, draft resolution A/L.581 repeats almost word for word decisions on these matters that have already been adopted before.

219. Reservations concerning direct or indirect interference with the responsibilities and functions of the Security Council are among those most frequently encountered in connexion with questions relating to colonial matters. Warnings have been voiced on many previous occasions without, apparently, their having been taken into account. The Security Council has some of these problems on its agenda and, as usual, my delegation has definite reservations concerning the possibility of prejudging measures which may or may not be adopted by the Council and concerning the description of colonial situations as threatening peace and security. In the same way, the problem of military bases is, as we understand it and have already pointed out, specifically a matter for the specialized organs of the United Nations and its mention in this context seems to us inappropriate.

220. In a resolution circulated for information purposes during this session, together with the Lusaka Manifesto [A/7754], the Organization of African Unity requested all States to support those liberation movements which it had duly recognized. My delegation cannot in the circumstances understand how it can be claimed that the United Nations should give indiscriminate support to all liberation movements in all colonial territories. This is a dangerous incitement in view of the controversial nature of some of those movements, acting simultaneously in the same territory, and we greatly fear that the responsibility of the United Nations may in the future be compromised by acts contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter, inasmuch as such support might take the form of military action.

221. It goes without saying that our keen sympathy for peoples in their struggle for liberation is in no way diminished, but we draw attention to the contradiction, as we see it, between the text of the resolution and the fundamental principles of the United Nations. We must express a similar reservation regarding the general reference to foreign interests in colonial territories, without any specific details, and on the exhortation to the specialized agencies, which should contain a reference to the limits of their competence.

222. My delegation is concerned about the lack of progress in decolonization and about the mechanical way in which some colonial questions are dealt with in repetitive resolutions which have no influence even as recommendations. We should like to see a new approach to this problem.

223. We hope that the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which my country had the honour of co-sponsoring, will lead to a revision of the methods applied by the United Nations to the process of decolonization, to make it more effective, on the one hand, and more widely accepted, on the other, within a framework in which justice will work in accordance with reality and not under the influence of impatience and enthusiasm expressed in mere words.

224. The end of colonialism is a legitimate aspiration of the international community. The methods used to bring it to an end must, therefore, if we wish them to be effective, be agreed by all. With these reservations, and in accordance with its total adherence to a principle which we have always supported, my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly.

225. Mr. SÖYLEMEZ (Turkey): The Turkish delegation has just voted in favour of the revised draft resolution sponsored by nineteen Asian and African countries and Yugoslavia [A/L.581 and Add.1 and 2].

226. We voted in the affirmative because my delegation was among the sponsors of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which was adopted nine years ago with near unanimity by this Organization.

227. It became a tradition for this Assembly to establish new guidelines for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) every year. The General Assembly closely concerns itself—and rightly so—with the implementation of that important Declaration which has become the password of decolonization and the yardstick of the activities of our Organization.

228. There is no doubt that much was achieved in this field during the past decade and we all share and take pride in what has been accomplished. However, we must immediately add that the implementation of that important Declaration has fallen short of the high expectations of the international community. However, we believe that this fact should be no reason for pessimism or grounds for frustration. The hard core problems of southern Africa remain today as anachronistic examples of colonialism which will be eradicated given time, patience and perseverance.

229. My delegation has supported the draft in document A/L.581 and Add.1 and 2 as revised for reasons of our traditional and unequivocal stand on matters of decolonization and as part of our Asian-African solidarity. However, we have certain reservations: first on preambular paragraphs six and eight—not for reasons of substance but because of their strong language and drafting. I must point out that my delegation has noted with satisfaction the valuable contribution made by the Committee of Twenty-Four during 1969 and expresses its appreciation for its useful work, but my delegation does not completely share all the views, observations and recommendations of that important Committee and my delegation would therefore like to reserve its position on paragraph 2 of the resolution before us.

230. My delegation also expresses its reservations as to the appropriateness of paragraph 11. Paragraph 6 of this resolution requests the imposition of certain sanctions against certain countries, the stipulation of which, in our opinion, would be in excess of the constitutional powers of the General Assembly. Consequently, my delegation has serious reservations on that paragraph, as well as on paragraph 4, which would create similar legal problems between the Security Council and the General Assembly.

231. Finally, if there had been a separate vote on paragraph 8, my delegation would have abstained.

232. Mr. MORENO PINO (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): The resolution which has just been voted on incorporates a substantial number of concepts on which, on earlier occasions when they were considered, my delegation felt obliged to safeguard its position by making express reservations or objections, all of which it still maintains, though at this stage it is neither necessary nor opportune to go into detail, as they will be found in the appropriate records of the working meetings of this Assembly.

233. In spite of what I have just said, we did not vote against the resolution and indeed voted for it, because we deeply respect the libertarian, egalitarian and anti-colonialist motivations which undoubtedly were the fundamental inspiration of the delegations co-sponsoring it.

Those motivations are, needless to say, fully shared by Mexico.

234. Mr. CANADAS (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation voted for the resolution because it agrees with the objectives and principles which the resolution sets forth. My delegation would, however, like to have recorded its reservation concerning the terms and content of pre-ambular paragraphs 6, 7 and 8, and especially operative paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 9 and 13.

235. If these paragraphs had been voted on separately, my delegation would have been obliged to abstain.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.