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IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF
PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING
OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE
EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Report of the Third Committee

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Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The General Assembly, at its 1939th plenary meeting on 25 September 1971, allocated to the Third Committee agenda item 55 entitled "Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights".
2. The Committee considered this item at its 1868th to 1873rd meetings, held from 11 to 16 November 1971, and at its 1880th to 1884th meetings, held from 23 to 26 November 1971. The observations made by Member States on the question are contained in the summary records of those meetings (A/C.3/SR.1868-1873 and 1880-1884).
3. The item was included in the agenda on the basis of General Assembly resolution 2649 (XXV), in which the Assembly requested the Commission on Human Rights to study, at its twenty-seventh session, the implementation of the United Nations resolutions relating to the right of peoples under colonial and alien domination to self-determination and to submit its conclusions and recommendations to the General Assembly, through the Economic and Social Council, as soon as possible.
4. The Commission on Human Rights, in its resolution 8 B (XXVII) of 11 March 1971, decided to recommend to the Economic and Social Council the approval of a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly. This draft resolution was approved by the Council in resolution 1592 (L) of 21 May 1971.

II. DEBATE

5. It was stated during the debate that the right of peoples to self-determination was now a generally accepted principle of international law. It was one of the fundamental rights enunciated by the United Nations Charter and its acceptance was also demonstrated by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and by the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, both of which reaffirmed that right explicitly.

6. Several representatives stated that the direct application of the principle of self-determination meant the elimination of colonialism and foreign or alien domination and usurpation, and accession to independence, since colonialism and foreign domination could never be reconciled with the expression of a people's free will. Accordingly, the application by all States without exception of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, enunciated in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and of other relevant resolutions, was indispensable for the promotion of the right of self-determination.
7. Many representatives stressed man's basic human right to fight for the self-determination of his people under colonial and foreign domination.
8. It was widely felt by representatives that the concept of self-determination was absolute and multi-dimensional in that it covered not only the political but also other fields, such as the economic field. Mention was made, in this connexion, of the influence of foreign monopolies on economic development.
9. Many representatives requested further study of the application of the principle of self-determination along the lines envisaged by the Commission on Human Rights in its resolution 8 A (XXVII). It was stated that the Third Committee could assist that work from the outset by identifying situations which constituted violations of the right to self-determination. Proceeding from that basis, other organs might be able to formulate conclusions and recommend action.
10. Several representatives referred in their statements to concrete situations where in their opinion the right of peoples to self-determination had been violated. Particular stress was laid on situations which had been the subject of specific resolutions by United Nations organs, such as those affecting the rights of the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the Territories under Portuguese domination and Palestine.

III. DRAFT RESOLUTION AND AMENDMENTS

11. In addition to the draft resolution which the Economic and Social Council had recommended for adoption by the General Assembly (A/8331, para. 3), the Third Committee had before it amendments to that draft resolution proposed by Iraq (A/C.3/L.1877/Rev.1), by the Syrian Arab Republic (A/C.3/L.1878), by Afghanistan (A/C.3/L.1879), by Barbados, Guyana, Kenya, Mauritania, Nigeria, Sierra Leone

Somalia, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia (A/C.3/L.1880), by the United States of America (A/C.3/L.1881/Rev.1), by Algeria, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, the Libyan Arab Republic and Tunisia (A/C.3/L.1882) and by Pakistan (A/C.3/L.1866/Rev.1). Amendments were proposed by Barbados and Uganda to the amendments contained in documents A/C.3/L.1882 and A/C.3/L.1877/Rev.1 (A/C.3/L.1888 and A/C.3/L.1889, respectively); Uganda withdrew as a co-sponsor at the 1881st meeting but rejoined in that capacity before the vote. An oral amendment was submitted by Morocco to the documents contained in documents A/C.3/L.1888 and A/C.3/L.1889, respectively. And an amendment was proposed by India (A/C.3/L.1893) to the amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1.

12. The text of the draft resolution (A/8331, para. 3) recommended by the Economic and Social Council read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Solemnly reaffirming that the subjugation of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation is a violation of the principle of self-determination as well as a denial of basic human rights and is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations,

"Concerned at the fact that many peoples continue to be denied the right to self-determination and are living under conditions of colonial and foreign domination,

"Expressing concern at the fact that some countries, notably Portugal with the support of its North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies, are waging war against the national liberation movement in colonial and developing countries,

"Confirming that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, including the methods of neo-colonialism, constitutes a gross encroachment on the rights of peoples and the basic human rights and freedoms,

"Convinced that effective application of the principles of self-determination of peoples is of paramount importance for promoting the development of friendly relations between countries and peoples and for ensuring human rights,

"1. Confirms the legality of the peoples' struggle for self-determination and liberation from colonial and foreign domination by all available means;

"2. Affirms man's basic human right to fight for the self-determination of his people under colonial and foreign domination;

"3. Believes that the main objectives and principles of international protection of human rights cannot be effectively implemented while some States pursue the imperialist policy of colonialism, use force against developing countries and peoples fighting for self-determination and support régimes that are applying the criminal policy of racism and apartheid;

"4. Condemns the colonial Powers that are suppressing the right of peoples to self-determination and hampering the liquidation of the last hotbeds of colonialism and racism in the African continent and in other parts of the world;

"5. Condemns States that contribute to the creation in southern Africa of a military-industrial complex whose aim is the suppression of the movement of peoples struggling for their self-determination and interference in the affairs of independent African States;

"6. Recalls that it is the duty of every State to contribute through joint and independent action to the implementation of the principle of self-determination, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, and to assist the United Nations to discharge the responsibilities vested in it by the Charter for the implementation of this principle;

"7. Urges States to discharge their duty and to co-operate in bringing about universal respect for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms and eliminating all forms of racial discrimination;

"8. Resolves to devote constant attention to the question of flagrant large-scale violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms resulting from the denial to peoples under colonial and foreign domination of their right to self-determination."

13. The amendments submitted by Iraq (A/C.3/L.1877/Rev.1) were as follows:

(a) Add the following at the end of operative paragraph 1: ", particularly in southern Africa and Palestine;";

(b) Insert the following new operative paragraph 3 and renumber the other operative paragraphs accordingly:

"3. Calls upon all States dedicated to the ideals of freedom and peace to give all their political, moral and material assistance to peoples struggling for liberation, self-determination and independence against colonial and alien domination;";

(c) In the first line of operative paragraph 4, after the word "colonial", insert the words "and usurping";

(d) In the third line of operative paragraph 4, replace the words "African continent" with the words "African and Asian continents".

14. The amendment submitted by the Syrian Arab Republic (A/C.3/L.1878) consisted of inserting the following as the first preambular paragraph:

"Reaffirming its resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, 1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963, 2535 B (XXIV) of 10 December 1969, 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, 2672 C (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and resolution VIII adopted by the International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran in 1968,".

15. The following amendment was submitted by Afghanistan (A/C.3/L.1879): in the second line of operative paragraph 1, after the words "foreign domination", insert the words "and alien subjugation".

16. The amendment submitted by Barbados, Guyana, Kenya, Mauritania, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia (A/C.3/L.1880) called for the addition of the following as the last preambular paragraph:

"Affirming that the future of Zimbabwe cannot be negotiated with an illegal régime and that any settlement must be on the basis of 'no independence before majority rule',".

At the 1881st meeting Jamaica joined in sponsoring that amendment.

17. The amendments submitted by the United States of America (A/C.3/L.1881/Rev.1) were the following:

Preamble

(a) Replace the third paragraph by the following:

"Expressing concern at the use of violence to suppress the right of self-determination,";

(b) Replace the fourth paragraph by the following:

"Confirming that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, including new forms of colonialism, constitutes a threat to basic human rights and freedom,";

Operative part

(c) At the end of operative paragraph 1, add the following: "consistent with the United Nations Charter;"

(d) Replace operative paragraph 3 by the following:

"Believes that the main objectives and principles of international protection of human rights cannot be effectively implemented while some States deny the right of self-determination to countries and peoples fighting for self-determination and support policies which clearly encourage régimes that apply the abhorrent policy of racism and apartheid;"

(e) Replace operative paragraph 4 by the following:

"Calls upon colonial Powers to permit the full exercise of self-determination by peoples under colonial domination;"

(f) Replace operative paragraph 5 by the following:

"Calls upon all States not to contribute to the suppression by military and industrial means of the movement of peoples struggling for their self-determination in southern Africa;"

18. The amendments submitted by Algeria, Guinea, Libyan Arab Republic, Mali, Mauritania and Tunisia (A/C.3/L.1882) were as follows:

Preamble

(a) First paragraph: Add the word "colonial" before "exploitation";

(b) Third paragraph: Replace the words "in colonial and developing countries" by "of the colonies and against certain independent States of Africa and Asia,"

(c) Fifth paragraph: Replace the words "promoting the development of friendly relations between countries and peoples and for ensuring human rights" by "the promotion of friendly relations between countries and peoples, the guarantee of human rights and the maintenance of peace in the world,"

(d) Add a sixth paragraph reading as follows:

"Reaffirming the inalienable rights of all peoples, and in particular those of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Palestine, to freedom, equality and self-determination, and the legitimacy of their struggles to restore those rights,"

Operative part

(e) Paragraph 3: After the words "some States", add ", particularly Portugal and South Africa,"; after the word "against", add "independent African States and".

(f) Paragraph 5: Replace "Condemns States" by "Condemns the policy of the States members of NATO".

(g) Paragraph 7: Replace by the following:

"7. Urges the Security Council to take effective steps to ensure the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on the elimination of colonialism and racism, and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session;"

19. The amendments submitted by Pakistan (A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1) were as follows:

(a) Insert the following three new paragraphs as the sixth, seventh and eighth paragraphs of the preamble:

(i) "Considering that the establishment of a sovereign and independent State freely determined by all its people entitled to the right of self-determination constitutes a mode of implementing this right,

(ii) "Further considering that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of a State established in accordance with the right of the self-determination of its peoples, is incompatible with the practices and purposes of the Charter,

(iii) "Mindful that interference in the internal affairs of such States is a violation of the Charter and can pose a serious threat to the maintenance of peace;

(b) Insert the following new paragraphs as operative paragraphs 9 and 10:

"9. Reaffirms that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of a State established in accordance with the right of self-determination and any interference in its internal affairs are incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter and a threat to international peace and security,

"10. Calls upon all States to observe the principle of the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and respect for their sovereign rights and territorial integrity."

20. The amendment submitted by Barbados and Uganda (A/C.3/L.1888) to document A/C.3/L.1882 consisted of amending the text appearing in paragraph (d) of the amendments issued in document A/C.3/L.1882 (paragraph 18 (d) above) to read as follows:

"Reaffirming the inalienable rights of all peoples, and in particular those of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and elsewhere, to freedom, equality and self-determination, and the legitimacy of their struggles to restore those rights,".

21. The amendment submitted by Barbados and Uganda (A/C.3/L.1889) to document A/C.3/L.1877/Rev.1 called for replacing the words "and Palestine" by "and elsewhere" in the amendment issued as document A/C.3/L.1877/Rev.1 (para. 13 (a) above).

22. The amendments submitted by India (A/C.3/L.1893) to document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1 were as follows:

(a) Replace the text of the three additional preambular paragraphs to be inserted after the last preambular paragraph contained in document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1 (para. 19 (a) above) by the following text:

"Reiterating the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which elaborated the principle of self-determination of peoples,";

(b) Replace the last part of paragraph 9 proposed in document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1 (para. 19 (b) above) for insertion in the operative part, after the words "integrity of a State", by the following: "conducting itself in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and possessed of a Government representing the whole people belonging to the territory without distinction as to race, creed or colour is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter;".

23. At the 1880th meeting the representative of India submitted an oral amendment to the amendment by the Syrian Arab Republic (see para. 14), calling for the insertion after the words "1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963" of the words "2200 (XXI) of 16 December 1966,". He also proposed the insertion in the same amendment, after "2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970", of the words "2649 (XXV) of 30 November 1970". Those amendments were accepted by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

24. The following amendments were proposed orally to the amendments appearing in document A/C.3/L.1882 (see para. 18):

(a) The representative of Algeria announced that the sponsors would retain, rather than delete, the words "and developing countries" referred to in subparagraph (b).

(b) The representative of Jamaica proposed that in the new paragraph 7 (see para. 18) the words "as well as States Members of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies" should be inserted after "Urges the Security Council...".

(c) On behalf of the sponsors of those amendments, the representative of Tunisia orally revised paragraph 6 (see para. 18 (f)) by replacing the words "of the States members of NATO" by the words "of certain States members of NATO".

25. (a) In the course of a statement, the representative of Pakistan orally revised his amendments in document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1 (see para. 19) as follows:

(i) In paragraph 19 (a) (i) above, replace the words "entitled to the right of self-determination" by "belonging to that territory". At the end, after "a mode of implementing", replace the words "this right" by "the right of self-determination". At the end of subparagraph (ii) delete the words "the practices and" and insert after the words "incompatible with the purposes" the expression "and the principles".

(ii) In paragraph 19 (b) above, delete the proposed new paragraph 9.

(b) At the 1882nd meeting, the representative of Cyprus orally revised the amendment appearing in document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1 (see para. 19 (a) (ii)) by proposing the deletion of the phrase "established in accordance with the right of the self-determination of its peoples".

26. At the 1883rd meeting, the representative of Morocco orally amended the amendments contained in documents A/C.3/L.1888 and A/C.3/L.1889 (see paras. 20 and 21) as follows:

(a) In the amendment appearing in A/C.3/L.1888 (see para. 20) replace the words "and elsewhere" by "and the Palestinian people".

(b) In the amendment appearing in document A/C.3/L.1889 (see para. 21) replace the words "and elsewhere" by the words "in particular those of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) as also of the Palestinian people".

27. Pakistan proposed an amendment to the Indian amendment in document A/C.3/L.1893 (see para. 22 (a)) whereby the words "Replace the text of the three additional paragraphs... by the following" would be replaced by the words "Add the following paragraph before the three new paragraphs to be added to the preamble", i.e. the three paragraphs proposed in document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1 (see para. 19 (a)). Withdrawing his amendment (para. 19 (b)) calling for a new paragraph 9, the representative of Pakistan removed the justification for the amendment referred to in paragraph 22 (b).

28. At the 1882nd meeting, on 25 November 1971, the representative of Uruguay moved the closure of the debate, in accordance with rule 118 of the rules of procedure. The Committee decided to close the debate and to proceed to the vote by 85 votes to none, with 20 abstentions.

IV. VOTING

29. At its 1883rd meeting, the Committee voted on the amendments and on the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council (A/8331, para. 3). The results of the voting were as follows:

- (1) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1878, as orally revised, was adopted by 54 votes to 5, with 52 abstentions.
- (2) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1882, paragraph 1 (see para. 18 (a)), was adopted by 80 votes to none, with 33 abstentions.
- (3) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1881/Rev.1, paragraph 1 (see para. 17 (a)), was rejected by 64 votes to 27, with 23 abstentions.
- (4) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1882, paragraph 2 (see para. 18 (b)), was adopted by 75 votes to 4, with 33 abstentions.
- (5) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1881/Rev.1, paragraph 5 (see para. 17 (b)), was rejected by 63 votes to 26, with 24 abstentions.
- (6) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1882, paragraph 3 (see para. 18 (c)), was adopted by 105 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

- (7) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1880 (see para. 16) was adopted by 89 votes to 3, with 24 abstentions.
- (8) At the request of the representative of Morocco, a recorded vote was taken on the Moroccan oral amendment to document A/C.3/L.1888 (see para. 26 (a)). The results of the voting were as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Ceylon, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Greece, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Israel, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Swaziland, Uganda, United States of America, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Denmark, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gambia, Ghana, Guyana, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Laos, Madagascar, Mexico, Nepal, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela, Zambia.

The representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and Bulgaria stated that they would have voted in favour of the Moroccan amendment if they had known that the original amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1877/Rev.1 (see para. 13 (a)) would not be put to the vote.

- (9) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1888, as amended, was adopted by 48 votes to 23, with 45 abstentions.
- (10) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1882, paragraph 4 (see para. 18 (d)), as amended, was adopted by 47 votes to 20, with 47 abstentions.
- (11) The oral amendment proposed by Pakistan (see para. 27) to the amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1893 (see para. 22 (a)) was adopted by 83 votes to none, with 26 abstentions.
- (12) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1, paragraph 1 (a) (see para. 19 (1) (i)), was adopted by 81 votes to none, with 31 abstentions.
- (13) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1, paragraph 2 (2) (see para. 19 (a) (ii)), was put to the vote after a separate vote proposed by Cyprus on the words "established in accordance with the right of the self-determination of its peoples" (see para. 25 (b)). The words were retained by 24 votes to 5, with 81 abstentions. The amendment in its original form was adopted by 68 votes to none, with 43 abstentions.
- (14) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1, paragraph 1 (3) (see para. 19 (a) (iii)), was adopted by 80 votes to none, with 31 abstentions.
- (15) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1879 (see para. 15) was adopted by 82 votes to none, with 32 abstentions.
- (16) At the request of the representative of Israel, a roll-call vote was taken on the Moroccan oral subamendment to document A/C.3/L.1889 (see para. 26 (b)). The amendment was adopted by 47 votes to 26, with 41 abstentions. The results of the voting were as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan,

People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Israel, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Portugal, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gambia, Ghana, Guyana, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Laos, Madagascar, Mexico, Nepal, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela, Zambia.

- (17) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1877/Rev.1, paragraph 1 (see para. 13 (a)), as amended, was adopted by 47 votes to 26, with 40 abstentions. At the request of the representative of Barbados, the vote was taken by roll-call. The results of the voting were as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Israel, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Portugal, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gambia, Ghana, Guyana, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Laos, Madagascar, Mexico, Nepal, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela, Zambia.

(18) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1881/Rev.1, paragraph 3 (see para. 18 (c)), was adopted by 53 votes to 34, with 24 abstentions.

(19) At the request of the Tunisian representative, a recorded vote was taken on the amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1877/Rev.1, paragraph 2 (see para. 13 (b)). The additional proposed paragraph was adopted by 82 votes to 4, with 28 abstentions. The results of the voting were as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic,

/...

Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Ireland, Italy, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

- (20) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1881/Rev.1, paragraph 4 (see para. 17 (d)), was rejected by 68 votes to 22, with 24 abstentions.
- (21) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1882, paragraph 5 (see para. 18 (e)) was put to the vote in two parts:
- (a) The words "particularly Portugal and South Africa" were adopted by 78 votes to 2, with 30 abstentions.
- (b) The words "independent African States and" were adopted by 84 votes to 1, with 27 abstentions.
- (22) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1881/Rev.1, paragraph 5 (see para. 17 (e)), was rejected by 70 votes to 20, with 24 abstentions.
- (23) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1881/Rev.1, paragraph 3 (see para. 13 (c)), was adopted by 61 votes to 6, with 45 abstentions.
- (24) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1877/Rev.1, paragraph 4 (see para. 13 (d)), was adopted by 78 votes to 1, with 30 abstentions.
- (25) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1881/Rev.1, paragraph 6 (see para. 17 (f)), was rejected by 65 votes to 21, with 27 abstentions.
- (26) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1882, paragraph 6 (see para. 18 (f)), as orally amended by the sponsors, was adopted by 72 votes to 18, with 21 abstentions.
- (27) The oral subamendment by Jamaica (see para. 24 (b)) to the amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1882, paragraph 7 (see para. 18 (g)), was adopted by 43 votes to none, with 68 abstentions.

- (28) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1882, paragraph 7 (see para. 24 (g)), as amended, was adopted by 82 votes to 5, with 26 abstentions.
- (29) The amendment contained in document A/C.3/L.1886/Rev.1, paragraph 2 (see para. 19 (b) (10)), was adopted by 95 votes to none, with 19 abstentions.
- (30) The first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council, as amended, was adopted by 103 votes to none, with 9 abstentions.
- (31) The third preambular paragraph of the draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 74 votes to 15, with 23 abstentions.
- (32) The fifth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 107 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.
- (33) Operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council, as amended, was adopted by 57 votes to 13, with 40 abstentions.
- (34) Operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council, as amended, was adopted by 79 votes to 1, with 29 abstentions.
- (35) Operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council, as amended, was adopted by 70 votes to 1, with 37 abstentions.
- (36) Operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council, as amended, was adopted by 74 votes to 13, with 23 abstentions.
- (37) At the request of the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, a recorded vote was taken on the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council as a whole, as amended. The draft resolution was adopted by 74 votes to 12, with 27 abstentions. The results of the voting were as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, France, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Gambia, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Norway, Panama, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay, Venezuela.

V. RECOMMENDATION OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE

30. The Third Committee recommends that the General Assembly should adopt the following draft resolution:

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No Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights

The General Assembly,

Ab Reaffirming its resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, 1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963, 2200 (XXI) of 16 December 1966, 2535 B (XXIV) of 10 December 1969, 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, 2649 (XXV) of 30 November 1970 and 2672 C (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and resolution VIII adopted by the International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran in 1968,^{1/}

Ab Solemnly reaffirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and colonial exploitation is a violation of the principle of self-determination as well as a denial of basic human rights and is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations,

Ab Concerned at the fact that many peoples continue to be denied the right to self-determination and are living under conditions of colonial and foreign domination,

No Expressing concern at the fact that some countries, notably Portugal, with the support of its North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies, are waging war against the national liberation movement of the colonies and against certain independent States of Africa and Asia and the developing countries,

Ab Confirming that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, including the methods of neo-colonialism, constitutes a gross encroachment on the rights of peoples and the basic human rights and freedoms,

Ab Convinced that effective application of the principles of self-determination of peoples is of paramount importance for the promotion of friendly relations between countries and peoples, the guarantee of human rights and the maintenance of peace in the world,

No Affirming that the future of Zimbabwe cannot be negotiated with an illegal régime and that any settlement must be on the basis of "no independence before majority rule",

^{1/} Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.XIV.2), p. 9.

No Reaffirming the inalienable rights of all peoples, and in particular those of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) ^{as well as} ~~and~~ the Palestinian people, to freedom, equality and self-determination, and the legitimacy of their struggles to restore those rights,

Ab Reaffirming the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which elaborated the principle of self-determination of peoples,

Ab Considering that the establishment of a sovereign and independent State freely determined by the whole people belonging to the territory constitutes a mode of implementing the right of self-determination,

Ab Further considering that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of a State established in accordance with the right of the self-determination of its peoples is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Ab Mindful that interference in the internal affairs of States is a violation of the Charter and can pose a serious threat to the maintenance of peace,

No 1. Confirms the legality of the peoples' struggle for self-determination and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, notably in southern Africa and in particular that of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), ^{as well as} ~~as also~~ of the Palestinian people, by all available means consistent with the Charter of the United Nations;

Ab 2. Affirms man's basic human right to fight for the self-determination of his people under colonial and foreign domination;

No 3. Calls upon all States dedicated to the ideals of freedom and peace to give all their political, moral and material assistance to peoples struggling for liberation, self-determination and independence against colonial and alien domination;

No 4. Believes that the main objectives and principles of international protection of human rights cannot be effectively implemented while some States, particularly Portugal and South Africa, pursue the imperialist policy of colonialism, use force against independent African States and developing countries and peoples fighting for self-determination and support régimes that are applying the criminal policy of racism and apartheid;

No 5. Condemns the colonial and usurping Powers that are suppressing the right of peoples to self-determination and hampering the liquidation of the last hotbeds of colonialism and racism in the African and Asian continents and in other parts of the world;

No 6. Condemns the policy of certain States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that contribute to the creation in southern Africa of a military-industrial complex whose aim is to suppress the movement of peoples struggling for their self-determination and to interfere in the affairs of independent African States;

Ab3 7. Recalls that it is the duty of every State to contribute through joint and independent action to the implementation of the principle of self-determination, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, and to assist the United Nations to discharge the responsibilities vested in it by the Charter for the implementation of this principle;

No 8. Urges the Security Council as well as States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies to take effective steps to ensure the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on the elimination of colonialism and racism, and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session;

Ab3 9. Resolves to devote constant attention to the question of flagrant large-scale violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms resulting from the denial to peoples under colonial and foreign domination of their right to self-determination;

Ab 10. Calls upon all States to observe the principles of the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and respect for their sovereign rights and territorial integrity.
