

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1903rd
MEETING**

Tuesday, 24 November 1970,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

Chairman: Mr. Vernon Johnson MWAANGA
(Zambia).

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Sadry (Iran),
Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEMS 12, 13, 23, 61, 66, 67, 68, 69 AND 70*

Agenda item 12 (continued)
(A/8003, chapter XIII (section D))

Agenda item 13 (continued) (A/8004, A/8085)

**Agenda item 23 (Territories not covered under other
agenda items) (continued) (A/7989, A/8023/Add.4
(part I), A/8023/Add.4 (part II) and Corr.1, A/8023/
Add.6, A/8023/Add.7 (parts I to IV))**

**Agenda item 61 (continued) (A/8023/Add.8,
A/8134 and Add.1)**

Agenda item 66 (question of Oman) (continued)
(A/8023/Add.5 (part II))

Agenda item 67 (continued) (A/8148 and Add.1)

**Agenda item 68 (continued) (A/8023 (part IV),
A/8023 (part IV)/Add.1, A/8143)**

Agenda item 69 (continued) (A/8151)

Agenda item 70 (continued) (A/8162)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. SÖYLEMEZ (Turkey) said that it would be useful for the members of the Committee to see the film to which the representative of New Zealand had referred at the preceding meeting, so that they might be better informed of the special conditions prevailing in Niue and the Tokelau Islands.

2. Mr. TURKSON (Ghana) associated himself with that remark.

3. Miss STOKES (New Zealand) said that her delegation still had a copy of the film in New York and would be glad to make it available to the Committee.

* For the titles of the items, see "Agenda" on p. xi.

4. Mr. LANE (United Kingdom) said that his delegation could arrange for a short unofficial documentary film on Pitcairn to be made available, which might be of interest to the Committee in connexion with the question of the small Territories.

5. The CHAIRMAN said that, if there were no objections, he would ask the Secretariat to make the necessary arrangements for the showing of the films.

It was so agreed.

6. Mr. PSONČAK (Yugoslavia) emphasized that colonialism was an anachronism in the contemporary world. Colonial relations were based on a master-and-servant relationship, in which the needs of the "master" dominated and shaped the development of the "servant" country, distorting and crippling its economic, social and political life. That was particularly evident in the more pronounced presence and activity of the foreign economic and other interests in the colonial Territories, a problem to which the United Nations had given special attention and which was dealt with in agenda item 67.

7. The negative role of those interests in the colonial Territories had been made abundantly clear in the Fourth Committee. It had been shown that there was often full unity of interests and aims of the colonial and racist régimes and the foreign monopolies, above all in southern Africa. Their common aim was to secure and strengthen, by every conceivable means, including the most brutal repression, absolute domination of the white minority over rich and wide areas covering about 5 million square kilometres inhabited by some 35 million Africans. The foreign interests were not, however, content with gaining enormous profits from their exploitation of the natural resources and of cheap indigenous labour: they were also part of the strategic, military and political plans of the international imperialist and colonial forces. It was that policy that had created in southern Africa a most dangerous hotbed.

8. Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), in addition to Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, were becoming targets of certain powerful monopolies of Western countries, especially as the Lisbon régime was becoming less and less able to control its colonies by its own efforts. Portugal had come to the conclusion that the only way to retain its colonial empire was to intensify its co-operation with the racist minority régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury and with the foreign monopolies. To that end, it offered highly favourable conditions for the investment of foreign capital. As an economically backward country, Portugal would not be in a position to conduct colonial wars and to disregard the United Nations if it could not rely upon foreign aid.

The profits made by the foreign monopolies in the Portuguese colonies, in particular, and in southern Africa, in general, were three to four times higher than those made in any other region of the world. Foreign capital enjoyed a ten-year tax exemption and could transfer its profits and dividends freely. Moreover, it was entitled to customs privileges on the import of equipment and raw materials and to other privileges. All that confirmed the fact that the inhabitants of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), like other colonial peoples, were not able to influence the course of their own development. In the independent countries, foreign investment was subject to regulations; in the colonies, the situation was completely different: the colonial Power itself decided what, in its opinion, would promote the interests and development of the dependent Territory. The film shown by the Reverend Michael Scott portrayed that situation very clearly.

9. In the Portuguese colonies, the foreign companies, in particular the South African companies, were exploiting the rich mineral and petroleum deposits. The present economic boom in Mozambique and Angola was directly linked to the military and economic plans of the colonial and racist régimes. After the conclusion of a series of long-term agreements on co-operation between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, there was currently intense activity in the construction of the infrastructure in order to facilitate effective military intervention in any part of the region. The construction of the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique was of exceptional importance in those plans: the political and economic implications of that grandiose project were as yet unforeseeable, for they were linked to certain imperialist designs concerning the whole of Africa. The project was designed to satisfy the needs of the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia for electric power; furthermore, about 1.5 million hectares of land was to be converted for agricultural production, in order to accommodate hundreds of thousands of white settlers and thus to alter the ethnic structure of the region. Some million Africans would lose their homes as a result of the flooding by the dam.

10. It was common knowledge that that criminal project, in which more than \$400 million were to be invested, would be financed by large industrial groups of the Federal Republic of Germany, France, South Africa and Portugal. His delegation had welcomed the decisions of the countries which had refused to take part in the scheme. That, however, was only a first step: all States Members of the United Nations should undertake, as pointed out in the general resolution on decolonization adopted at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970, other appropriate measures to put an end forthwith to any assistance which could strengthen the oppressive colonial and racist régimes. At the Conference, President Tito had stressed the need for effective action against all those who were sabotaging the resolutions of the United Nations calling for the liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism.

11. With regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, which was

being considered under agenda item 68 and part of item 12, his delegation was glad that the specialized agencies were playing an increasingly important role and that many of them had extended moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples. One of their most significant measures should be the implementation of paragraphs 6 and 7 of General Assembly resolution 2555 (XXIV) of 12 December 1969, in which the specialized agencies were urged to withhold all assistance from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounced their policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination and to discontinue any collaboration with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. At the same time, all the specialized agencies should take more resolute action to give tangible assistance to the liberation movements in the colonial countries, the legitimacy of whose struggle had been recognized by the General Assembly and the Security Council. In his delegation's opinion, the Organization of African Unity was the most suitable intermediary between the liberation movements and the specialized agencies, especially in cases in which the latter faced certain administrative and statutory difficulties in providing direct co-operation. The Secretary-General had rightly pointed out in his report (A/8143) that the specialized agencies would be better able to carry out the wishes of the General Assembly in that respect if there was greater co-operation between the delegations of Member States in the various organs of the specialized agencies.

12. Mr. KIVUITU (Kenya) said that his Government condemned, in no uncertain terms, all forms of colonialism wheresoever they might be manifested and would always give its fullest support to those who were fighting for the eradication of colonialism. It was for the peoples under the colonial yoke to decide upon achieving independence what form of government they would adopt and what kind of association they would have with the former administering Power involved, and it was not for the colonial Power to decide what was the most suitable system and association for them. His delegation accordingly expressed its solidarity with the countries and peoples referred to in agenda item 23.

13. Agenda item 67 concerned the activities of foreign economic and other interests which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In view of the conclusions in paragraph 18 (b) of the report of the Special Committee (A/8148), which he quoted, he was amazed that some delegations were not yet convinced that those interests were impeding the implementation of the Declaration and he wondered what sort of further evidence they were looking for. It would seem that they were looking only for excuses. Foreign economic interests had one single object, namely, to obtain the maximum profits, and for that purpose they had to exploit the natural resources of the country and to pay the workers low wages. In applying their discriminatory policies, colonial and racist systems did not allow the labour movements free exercise.

14. With regard to agenda item 69, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, his delegation had pointed out at the previous session that his Government had complied with all the relevant United Nations resolutions, as it had done in the case of other

matters connected with decolonization, and it would continue to do so.

15. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) said that in the early stages of the debate it had become clear once again that decolonization efforts in the United Nations were encountering resistance from the colonial Powers and their Western allies. The liberation movements had to struggle, not only against the metropolitan authorities, but against a common colonialist front. For that reason, the victories gained by those movements were of particular importance.

16. The items now under consideration related to decolonization and deserved as much attention as the items considered earlier. It would therefore be useful if the members of the Committee could have the 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 from the very beginning of each session and not, as at present, only just before the Committee took up the respective items.

17. Czechoslovakia attached great importance to the assertion in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970 that the further continuation of colonialism was a crime which constituted a violation of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law and to the reaffirmation of the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers which suppress their aspirations to freedom and independence. Those who opposed those statements sought refuge in the provisions of the Charter which spoke of Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Trusteeship System and tried to forget that those provisions were not intended to perpetuate foreign domination but, according to Article 76 *b* of the Charter, were designed to promote the progressive development of the Trust Territories towards self-government or independence.

18. Hunger, illiteracy and disease showed that the interests of the colonial Powers ran counter to those of the indigenous peoples. According to paragraph 18 (*b*) of the Special Committee's report (see A/8148), foreign monopolies developed only those economic sectors yielding the highest profits, thus reducing the Territories to the role of supplier of agricultural products and raw material to the metropolitan or other countries. The liberation movements, which in their struggle were endeavouring to lay the foundations for the future development of their countries, could not control the activities of the foreign monopolies. That was a task for the United Nations and its specialized agencies. In that regard he drew attention to the appeal expressed in paragraph 5 of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee and contained in paragraph 13 of its report (see A/8023 (part IV)) and to the recommendation contained in paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 2555 (XXIV) to the effect that specialized agencies should work out, with the co-operation of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes for assisting the oppressed peoples of colonial Territories.

19. According to certain delegations, the establishment of military bases in colonial Territories was for defence

purposes. Were they suggesting that the Portuguese army was defending Angola, Mozambique or Guinea (Bissau) from an external threat? At a recent meeting of the Security Council on the question of Guinea it had again been demonstrated that not only were those forces used to oppress the indigenous inhabitants, but they also threatened neighbouring independent States and endangered international peace and security.

20. On the other hand, certain delegations were trying to undermine the validity of United Nations resolutions on decolonization by arguing that they overlooked the differences between large and small colonial Territories. Although it was necessary to recognize that those differences called for different approaches, colonial Territories, large or small, had an equal right to self-determination.

21. Lastly, some delegations had maintained that negotiations with the existing colonial régimes represented the only means of achieving decolonization. However, as various petitioners had informed the Committee, such negotiations were contrary to the interests of the oppressed peoples. It was important to create a sense of unity among the liberation movements, and negotiations could only serve to destroy that unity. If the peoples of colonial Territories had resolved to accept the sacrifices of armed struggle, it was because they were convinced that decolonization could not be achieved through negotiations. Czechoslovakia was prepared to continue to assist in every way, and by all the means at its disposal, those who were fighting for self-determination and independence.

22. Mr. HASSRAT (Afghanistan) wished, first of all, to express his delegation's sympathy to the representative of Pakistan in connexion with the natural disasters which had recently befallen that country.

23. Turning to the items before the Committee, he pointed out that the Territories under consideration appeared to be at varying stages of preparation for the attainment of independence and that certain areas were being used to further the interests of the Powers administering them.

24. The reports of the Secretary-General (A/8134 and Add.1) and of the Special Committee (A/8023/Add.8) concerning agenda item 61 revealed that although the Secretary-General had received the information required under Article 73 *e* of the Charter in the case of several Non-Self-Governing Territories, the administering Powers of other Territories had failed to submit any information, alleging that the Territories in question had attained self-government. Nor had the Government of Portugal transmitted any information, and its omission could only be interpreted as open defiance of the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, in particular resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1542 (XV) of 14 and 15 December 1960, respectively.

25. With regard to Papua and New Guinea, his delegation shared the views expressed by the Trusteeship Council in its report (A/8004) and supported the recommendations in paragraph 355 of that report. It also considered that the administering Power should exert every effort towards the speedy and full implementation of the Declaration on the

Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with regard to Papua and New Guinea.

26. Afghanistan had been happy to see Fiji attain independence and hoped that the United Kingdom would also grant independence to Oman and other Territories under its administration.

27. The natural resources of colonial Territories belonged to the indigenous peoples and any kind of activity aimed at exploiting those resources against the wishes of the inhabitants was contrary to the objectives of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly. It was clear from subparagraph (a) of the recommendations of the Special Committee contained in paragraph 18 of its report concerning agenda item 67 (see A/8148) and from the statements made by petitioners in the Fourth Committee that, currently, the activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial Territories were having a negative impact on the progress of those Territories and impeding the implementation of the Declaration. His delegation therefore supported those conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee.

28. Turning to agenda item 68, he recalled that when his delegation had advocated the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2311 (XXII) of 14 December 1967, it had believed that, as a result of the co-ordination requested in that resolution, all the specialized agencies and other international institutions would co-operate with the United Nations in order to present a common front for the attainment of the objectives of the pertinent resolutions. However, as could be seen from paragraph 2 of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on the question, which was contained in paragraph 13 of its report (see A/8023 (part IV)), they had not yet done so and his delegation accordingly expressed the hope that they would take appropriate action in the very near future.

29. His delegation believed that assistance and co-operation from all Member States, particularly the colonial Powers, and compliance with the decisions of the General Assembly relating to peoples under colonial domination, were essential if the United Nations was to help the peoples of those Territories to regain their freedom and independence.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.