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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 26

Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: report of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): I have the honour and, indeed, the great privilege to submit on behalf of 36 African States Members of the United Nations draft resolution A/L.706 and Add.1.
2. The Organization of African Unity [OAU] is only 10 years old. Within that period the item relative to the subject under consideration has been included in the agenda of the General Assembly no less than five times. That in itself should leave no one in doubt about the great value which OAU attaches to forging mutually rewarding links of closer co-operation with the United Nations. OAU has had occasion to acknowledge with deep satisfaction and gratitude the inspiration and assistance it has received from the United Nations in many fields.
3. General Yakubu Gowon, the Nigerian Head of State, touched upon this aspect when he addressed this august body in his capacity as current Chairman of OAU on 5 October last. Permit me to quote his exact words:

“I should like to express the deep appreciation of OAU and all the people of Africa to the United Nations for the co-operation, inspiration and assistance that have continued to characterize the relations between our regional organization and this world body. We highly appreciate the constant interest of the United Nations as an institution, and the unfailing concern of the Secretary-General and the various agencies in developments in Africa and progress of OAU. All this is in keeping with the spirit of Article 52, which encourages regional organizations ‘consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations’.” [2141st meeting, para. 13]
4. The draft resolution that I am now formally presenting has been worked out with great care and seeks to achieve certain specific goals within the broader context of that desirable co-operation between our regional body and the United Nations. Accordingly, the first preambular para-

graph does no more than recall previous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on co-operation between the United Nations and OAU. The second preambular paragraph notes with satisfaction the efforts of OAU, the United Nations and the specialized agencies within the United Nations system to seek solutions to the serious problems which principally afflict southern Africa. The last preambular paragraph recalls in particular the urgent need to give effective assistance to those millions of Africans who languish as hapless and dispossessed victims of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* as a result of the political and criminal acts of repression by the Portuguese and South African Governments and the illegal minority racist régime in Southern Rhodesia.

5. Operative paragraph 1 takes note with satisfaction of the report of the Secretary-General on this item [A/9162] and, further, commends the Secretary-General’s efforts in promoting such co-operation.
6. Operative paragraph 2—in a sense a very crucial one—reiterates the firm intention of the United Nations—and this also is important—in co-operation with OAU, to intensify its efforts with a view to finding a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa.
7. In operative paragraph 3 the Secretary-General is requested to take any other necessary action to strengthen the co-operation between the United Nations and OAU in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. It is of particular importance to the sponsors of this draft resolution that a major element of such co-operation should be directed towards the provision of adequate and multiform assistance to the victims of colonialism and *apartheid* in southern Africa. Such assistance should be channelled to the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and *Apartheid*, which was established by OAU a few years ago.
8. Operative paragraph 4 draws the attention of the Security Council to the need to take effective measures to associate OAU regularly with all its work concerning Africa, including the activities of its Committee on Sanctions. This provision is so obviously important that I need not elaborate further on it.
9. Operative paragraph 5 invites the specialized agencies and other organizations concerned within the United Nations system to continue and intensify their co-operation with OAU.
10. Operative paragraph 6, which is the last, merely requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the twenty-ninth session on the implementation of the resolution and the progress in further developing the co-operation

between OAU and other bodies concerned within the United Nations system.

11. As all members of the General Assembly will agree, this draft resolution is anything but controversial. It represents the collective will of the membership of our regional organization, the founding of which was consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and which, in pursuit of those common high objectives, desires co-operation on a meaningful and much wider basis with the United Nations.

12. As I mentioned earlier, operative paragraph 4 of this draft draws the attention of the Security Council to the imperative need for it to take appropriate and effective measures to associate OAU regularly with all its work concerning Africa, including the activities of its Committee on sanctions.¹ It has been the experience of many Member States that on most occasions when such a call is made some voices are raised in protest, as the intention of advocates of Security Council action in specific matters seems to be misconstrued. I wish to reiterate, in all seriousness, that all the sponsors of this draft are very conscious and mindful of the well-known fact that the Security Council is the master of its own procedure; consequently it is most competent to decide the pressing matters that should engage its attention. However, to draw the attention of the Council to a specific subject that, in the view of most Members, merits consideration, or to invite it to extend co-operation on a regular basis to OAU when it is considering questions of grave concern to Africa, should in no way be regarded as an attempt to vitiate its supreme authority. United Nations records show that this has been done before. Furthermore, it is the Security Council, and the Security Council alone, that will make the final decision after its debate on any subject.

13. Given the circumstances in which it has had to work, one cannot but commend the efforts of the Security Council's Committee on sanctions against Rhodesia. All that the aforementioned provision seeks to ensure is that OAU will be closely associated with the work of the Committee on sanctions, as indeed with other matters of vital importance and concern to the African continent before the Security Council. All the 41 countries of Africa are deeply convinced that such co-operation would be most realistic and politically desirable and would be of considerable assistance to the United Nations in its efforts to seek a solution to the depressing racial and colonial problems that bedevil the continent of Africa.

14. This draft resolution envisages the consolidation of past co-operation between the United Nations and OAU. It seeks greater co-operation between the two bodies. I therefore recommend it for unanimous adoption by the General Assembly. In so doing, the Assembly will again underline its determination to throw its moral and material weight on the side of Africa, whose regional organization is dedicated to the ideals of the United Nations and seeks to contribute its quota to the achievement of mankind's aspirations for peace, justice and dignity.

15. Mr. ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Ten years after the establishment of OAU, 41 African States

are Members of the United Nations. Certainly, Africa is well aware not only of the prestige that it derives from such a position, but also and above all it is aware of the vast responsibilities implied in the privilege of having this number of Members, constituting a group which wishes to and can play an effective role in the settlement of world problems.

16. At the head of the problems which command the attention of the African continent figures, and rightly so, are the liquidation of colonialism and racism in all their forms, and also the harmonious and peaceful development of international co-operation throughout the world.

17. OAU, which is both the cradle, the framework and the symbol of the action of the African peoples, is one of the best supporters of the United Nations in all of its peaceful and humanitarian undertakings.

18. OAU, which is also one of the linch-pins of the non-aligned movement, gives its whole-hearted support to all international action which sets as its goals the promotion of international co-operation on a basis of equality, the elimination of sources of tension which are the result of injustices or the denial of rights, the possibility for all human beings to aspire to and attain decent living conditions free from hunger, poverty and ignorance, but also free from humiliations and discrimination regardless of the form it may take.

19. That is why OAU has never ceased to recall its faithful devotion to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter, nor has it failed to give its fullest support to the initiatives and the action of our Organization for the consolidation of international peace and the advancement of ever-broader co-operation for the benefit of all peoples.

20. The United Nations has not had a record of success alone in its attempts to play the primary role which devolves upon it in the defence and strengthening of international peace and security.

21. Well-known groups are always attempting seriously to bypass the United Nations, if they cannot bring it to heel, in order to stamp events throughout the world with the hallmark of their own interests.

22. We can never sufficiently denounce these groups which want to set aside our Organization and prevent it from playing its rightful role, that is to say, to examine and oversee the solution of the great problems of our world.

23. We will also speak out all the more strongly because these groups are still succeeding quite happily in monopolizing the initiatives designed to settle major crises, a situation which obviously allows them to consolidate their interests or create new interests, which are far from being in accord with the true interests of the peoples involved and serve even less to enhance the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

24. The prestige and authority of our Organization are essential, for many peoples throughout the world place their hopes in our Organization to ensure that their aspirations and fundamental rights, which are threatened or lost, will prevail.

¹ Security Council Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia.

25. This is true not only of the African peoples but also of other peoples of various continents, including Europe, who see with concern the dizzy ascent of certain hegemonies which, little by little, are establishing what has come to be called condominiums over certain regions, while awaiting the day when they can spread them throughout the planet.
26. The non-aligned movement, of which OAU is an integral part, has fully realized the dangers of such an evolution, which it denounced in the most unequivocal terms.
27. In participating in this true crusade, Africa shows itself to be the best defender of the United Nations, its natural prerogatives and its prestige. Moreover, it is also demonstrating that its devotion to a true democratization of international relations is sincere and far-reaching.
28. We have already achieved impressive progress towards the universality of the Organization, a universality which we hope will not be long in becoming total.
29. Universality and democratization are the two characteristic features which should make the United Nations the primary, effective and undisputed instrument for international peaceful co-operation.
30. We have often expressed a great deal of regret at the number of United Nations resolutions which remain a dead letter because of ill will, if not stubbornness and arrogance, on the part of certain States that are still Members of the Organization, but whose last desire is to conform to the will of the international community.
31. A strong and prestigious international Organization would be in a better position to enforce respect for its decisions. Those setting themselves up against the Organization would deliberately cut themselves off from the international community, with all that this implies and what it should imply for them in terms of the consequences and sanctions laid down in the Charter.
32. We African countries, Members of the United Nations, wish to reaffirm today, in conjunction with this debate, our fidelity to the Charter and our deep desire to promote the most loyal and most extensive co-operation with the international Organization.
33. We consider that the problems which still affect our continent—particularly the problems of the elimination of colonialism in Angola, in Mozambique, in the Sahara under Spanish domination, the multi-faceted Portuguese aggression against the free State of Guinea-Bissau, the injustice that is being done to the Zimbabwe people and racism and *apartheid* in South Africa—are a blot on the record of all mankind and still constitute major obstacles to loyal and serene co-operation between the countries which are Members of the United Nations.
34. Egypt, which is a country considered to be one of the pillars of our Organization, has already seen the eastern portion of its territory invaded and occupied by the Israeli army seeking space to slake its appetite for annexation.
35. The countries that are members of OAU, of which Egypt is a founding member, learned with stupor and with justified repugnance that Israeli soldiers in the course of recent events had set foot on the African continent itself during their traitorous, expansionist operations. It was too much for Africa to accept, Africa which is jealous of its young and dearly won freedom.
36. Africa's reaction was immediate and unequivocal because of the blow thus dealt to the integrity and the dignity of the continent.
37. Hence, Israel alone can today assess the consequences of an operation so disastrous to its image and also probably to its future.
38. However, Africa expects that the United Nations will continue its unswerving peaceful action in the region in order to assume at the highest level the responsibilities and the great prerogatives which are rightfully those of the Organization.
39. The report of the Secretary-General on the question of co-operation between OAU and the United Nations deserves our full attention and our appreciation.
40. We should merely like to state once again our complete satisfaction at the manner in which the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, is conducting and developing co-operation between the two organizations.
41. We think that Africa, which henceforth represents almost one-third of the countries that are Members of the United Nations, constituting a homogeneous and united group, will benefit in future from the responsibilities that rightfully belong to it and which will enable it to play the role to which it can rightfully aspire both at the level of action as well as at the conceptual level in the organs of the Secretariat.
42. The draft resolution [*A/L.706 and Add. I*] proposed for adoption by the Assembly gives a very moderate but realistic picture of the concerns and desires of the African continent.
43. What OAU has in mind and what it desires to achieve above all is the continuation and promotion of our co-operation with the United Nations, and we are happy that we constitute one of the most dynamic groups in the Organization.
44. Our hope is that the draft resolution on co-operation which was proposed to the Assembly a few moments ago by my friend, Mr. Ogbu of Nigeria, will receive maximum support because it reflects—at least we hope it does—the feelings and concerns of the largest number of countries that are Members of the United Nations.
45. Mr. ANTOSYAK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The General Assembly is discussing an important matter—the question of co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, which is a large and influential group of States and whose membership includes almost all the States of the African continent.
46. The question of co-operation between these two international organizations has been discussed on more than one

occasion by the General Assembly, and the Assembly has taken decisions on each such occasion approving and encouraging that co-operation. Nor is this a coincidence. We are all aware of the major role played by OAU in the life of the African continent and in international life. OAU assemblies and conferences have often taken important decisions that helped to maintain and strengthen peace not only in Africa but throughout the world. OAU, as we know, is playing an outstanding role in the fight against colonialism, racism and *apartheid* on the African continent and in the struggle to consolidate the independence of the young African States.

47. OAU celebrated its tenth anniversary this year. A message from the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr. Podgorny, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Kosygin, to the anniversary session stated as follows:

“We can only welcome the fact that the African States have been able in a very short space of time to win for themselves a secure place in the international arena and are taking an active part in solving problems affecting all mankind.”

The message went on to say:

“The opposition of the African States and OAU to imperialist aggression, their support for the non-use of force in relations between States and their defence of peace and international security have enhanced Africa’s international prestige and are having a positive impact on the development of world events. Today progressive forces throughout the world deservedly salute OAU as one of the most important and most authoritative international organizations.”

48. The unity of action by the African States in the fight against imperialist aggression has been clearly demonstrated in connexion with events in the Middle East. The African countries were an important force supporting United Nations demands for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 as a result of Israel’s aggression against the Arab countries. Israel’s disregard of these demands, its continued occupation of Arab lands and its further acts of aggression against neighbouring Arab States were properly seen by the African States as a direct challenge to OAU, which condemned Israel’s aggression. As a protest against that aggression and against Israel’s policy of international brigandage, almost all the countries of Africa have broken off diplomatic relations with Israel. This is further evidence of the fact that co-operation between OAU and the United Nations is helping to implement very important United Nations decisions relating to the fight against aggression, the provision of assistance to the victims of aggression and the strengthening of peace and the security of nations.

49. The countries of Africa are having to make strenuous efforts to overcome the burdensome legacy of their colonial past, to develop their economies, to eliminate illiteracy and to raise the material and cultural living standards of their peoples.

50. In order to deal successfully with these complicated problems, which can be lumped together under a single

broad term—development—peace is essential. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, said in his recent statement at the World Conference of Peace Forces in Moscow:

“Enormous economic and social tasks face the peoples of countries that have freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism. They can be dealt with successfully only if there is peace based on reliable security and broad mutually advantageous co-operation between all States.”

51. Taking as its starting point the Leninist principles of socialist foreign policy, that is to say, equality, friendship and co-operation between peoples, principles that were reflected in the Programme for Peace adopted at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union has consistently urged, now as in the past, that the peoples of Africa should base their life on the principles of non-interference in and protection of the sovereign rights of the peoples of the African continent in accordance with their national interests and the interests of peace and mutually advantageous co-operation between all States, large and small. The Soviet Union will, as in the past, provide all possible support and assistance to the peoples of Africa in their just struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress and in their fight against *apartheid* and for the elimination of the last traces of colonialism and racism on the continent. Africa greatly appreciates the Soviet Union’s support for and co-operation with the African States. This was reflected in a statement by the Assistant Secretary-General of OAU, Mohamed Sahnoun, who said in May of this year: “We know that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the whole Soviet people were with us in our fight from the moment that OAU came into being.” The African States have found a constant friend in the Soviet Union, and one who is ready to help them in consolidating their political and economic independence.

52. The record of the General Assembly shows that the positions of the Soviet Union and the African countries on the main issues relating to United Nations activities are identical or nearly so. Only recently, an item on reducing the gap between the developed and the developing countries was placed on the agenda of the General Assembly [*item 108*] on the initiative of Sierra Leone, with the support of the developing countries. This item follows the same lines as the proposal by the USSR for a reduction in the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council and the use of part of the funds thus saved for purposes of development [*A/9191*]. Discussion of the item [*item 102*] will begin very shortly, and the Soviet delegation hopes and believes that all the non-aligned countries, including the countries of Africa, will take an active part in the discussion. The same purpose is served by the proposal to convene a World Disarmament Conference. That proposal was widely supported by the non-aligned countries, including the African countries. It, too, is intended to put a halt to the senseless process of the arms race, which casts \$220,000 million into the maw of the god of war every year. We hope that joint efforts by all those who are in favour of halting the arms race, including the African States, will enable the General Assembly to find an approach that will facilitate a practical solution to the problem of disarmament—first

and foremost, reduction of the military budgets of the five permanent members of the Security Council and the beginning of practical work on preparations for the convening of a World Disarmament Conference. All of this will open up the possibility of using part of the funds released by disarmament for purposes of development, including the development of the African countries.

53. OAU and the United Nations are linked by co-operation based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Soviet delegation, for its part, welcomes and supports this fruitful and constructive co-operation, and will vote in favour of the draft resolution on this item submitted by the African States.

54. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with rule 90 of the rules of procedure, I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes, before the vote, the first of whom is the representative of the United Kingdom.

55. Mr. WEIR (United Kingdom): My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.706.

56. My Government welcomes co-operation between the United Nations and regional organizations, and we hope for constructive results from such co-operation. I must add, however, that my delegation has reservations about certain points in the draft resolution before us.

57. In the third preambular paragraph we feel that the use of the word "criminal" is unduly sweeping and prejudicial.

58. With regard to operative paragraph 3, the remarks which my delegation made on 13 December 1972 [2108th meeting] about paragraph 3 of resolution 2962 (XXVII) apply equally to the same paragraph in the draft resolution on which we are about to vote. In this connexion I should like to remind the Assembly of my Government's opposition to the use of violence for the attainment of political aims.

59. Finally, with regard to operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, while, as I have said, my delegation is in favour of close co-operation with OAU, and while we support and indeed welcome all efforts towards the more effective implementation of existing sanctions, my delegation assumes—and we are encouraged in this assumption by the explanation given by the representative of Nigeria—that any action under this paragraph by the Security Council and its Committee on sanctions would be undertaken in accordance with their constitution and their normal practice.

60. Mr. de MEIRA-FERREIRA (Portugal): In accordance with what took place last year when the item entitled "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity" was debated in this forum, the Portuguese delegation judges it necessary to make some comments concerning draft resolution A/L.706, which is now under consideration in this Assembly.

61. It is sufficient to emphasize as of now that, in principle, my delegation has nothing against the collaboration perchance existing between the United Nations and OAU.

However, in this case, what is intended by the above-mentioned draft resolution is not collaboration in the economic, educational and cultural spheres, or in any other fields whose legitimacy cannot be contested. On the contrary, what is in view here is that the United Nations should endorse OAU armed support of terrorist movements which are based in foreign territories and receive moral and material assistance from foreign Powers—some of which are well known for their expansionist and imperialist interests—for attacks perpetrated against the Portuguese provinces of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.

62. In protecting these terrorist movements, which are in no way representative of the people, OAU overlooks the hundreds, if not thousands, of inhabitants of the Portuguese provinces who, throughout the years, have been victimized by the most insidious and treacherous attacks and violent acts of repression opposed to all elementary principles of human rights. And this is because these people do not wish to relinquish their adherence to the Portuguese nation, preferring, as they do, to live in a climate of peace and security.

63. In Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, or in any other part of Portuguese Africa, as we have stated several times and now reaffirm, victims of colonialism and racial discrimination do not exist because the entire population enjoys the same rights and opportunities, independent of race, colour or religion. This has been the policy followed by the Portuguese Government throughout the centuries.

64. What are acts of repression are really the terrorist activities of the so-called "liberation movements" against the defenseless population, performed with the blessing of OAU.

65. It is regrettable that we must mention yet another time the accentuation of the process of disintegration which has befallen the United Nations, now more than ever directed by a mechanical and meaningless majority which blindly follows certain interests and ideologies with complete disdain for the fundamental principle of the Charter—namely, the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a Member State. Given the present draft resolution, we can only repeat what we have said on other occasions, that the United Nations acts increasingly as a mere echo of OAU, principally in its campaign against Portugal.

66. And, as the Portuguese Foreign Minister has said in the plenary session of 3 October 1973, is this campaign not "a good pretext for displaying a fictitious solidarity among Africans and towards Africans; a smoke-screen for concealing from the eyes of the world the true problems and the real drama of Africa"? [2138th meeting, para. 145]

67. Given the preceding, the Portuguese delegation cannot but cast a negative vote against draft resolution A/L.706.

68. Mr. von HIRSCHBERG (South Africa): The South African delegation will vote against draft resolution A/L.706. Co-operation between the United Nations and any regional organization is obviously desirable as a matter of principle. However, when this co-operation in the terms of a draft resolution is wholly or partly misdirected and is,

moreover, to be promoted on the basis of imputations, allegations and assertions concerning a sub-region—in this case southern Africa—which we for our part reject as being unsubstantiated and unwarranted, clearly we have no choice but to oppose that draft resolution.

69. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution which appears in document A/L.706 and Add.1.

The draft resolution was adopted by 92 votes to 2, with 3 abstentions (resolution 3066 (XXVIII)).

70. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of France who wishes to explain his vote after the vote.

71. Mr. de LATAILLADE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation has voted in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted in spite of its reservations concerning certain provisions of this text. With particular reference to operative paragraph 4, my delegation wishes to make it clear that, in accordance with its interpretation of this provision, any possible association of

OAU with the activities of the Security Council's Committee on sanctions will, of course, have to take place within the normal context of the procedure governing the organization of their work and the conduct of their deliberations. We could not accept, in particular, that through this resolution the Organization be granted any privileges which are not normally conceded to Member States themselves.

72. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of China who wishes to make a statement in connexion with the vote.

73. Mr. CHANG Yung-Kuan (China) (*translation from Chinese*): At the time of voting the representative of China was temporarily absent from the hall. Had the Chinese representative been present the Chinese delegation would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

74. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As is normal, the statement made by the representative of China will appear in the record.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.