



Chairman: Mr. Zdeněk ČERNÍK
(Czechoslovakia).

AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*)* (A/8650,
A/8663, A/8664, A/8723 (part II), A/8723/Add.1,
A/8759 and Add.1, A/C.4/L.1014, A/C.4/L.1015)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS
(A/C.4/L.1014, A/C.4/L.1015)

1. Mr. AL-JAZZAR (Syrian Arab Republic) said that he had the privilege of introducing draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014 on behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Algeria, Cameroon, Chad, the Congo, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Iraq, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, the Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, the Sudan, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia and his own. The draft resolution dealt with the political aspect of the question of Southern Rhodesia and represented a further effort to induce the Organization to commit itself to political action in keeping with its responsibilities and to bring about the conditions under which the Territory could achieve independence on the basis of political and social equality for all its people.

2. After reading out the eighth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014, he recalled that the General Assembly in resolution 2877 (XXVI) had rejected the "proposals for a settlement" agreed upon between the United Kingdom and the illegal Smith régime. The ninth preambular paragraph accordingly noted with satisfaction the rejection by the African population of Zimbabwe of the "settlement proposals". It was in fact abundantly clear that the indigenous people of Zimbabwe desired freedom and self-determination.

3. Draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014 was based on principles and goals whose validity could not be questioned since they were rooted in the Charter of the United Nations and taken up in a series of resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities.

4. Operative paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014 laid down a principle that the political

leaders of the African majority held as cardinal: there should be no independence before majority rule. In affirming that right, they were supported by the total membership of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the group of non-aligned States and the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations.

5. It was a well-known fact that the administering Power had thus far failed to take any measures which responded positively to the dictates of the situation. Therefore, subparagraphs (a), (b) and (c) of paragraph 4 called upon the United Kingdom to bring about the conditions necessary to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise freely and fully their right to self-determination and independence and listed those conditions.

6. Having read out paragraph 6, he said that the United Nations could not agree to any settlement which would allow the minority group to legalize its existence and extricate itself from the authority of the administering Power until the rights of the African majority were firmly safeguarded. Those rights could be assured only if the majority was able to exercise immediately the power which rightfully belonged to it.

7. The views reflected in draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014 were the result of wide consultations held with different groups, and the sponsors of the draft hoped that it would receive the unanimous support of the Committee.

8. Mr. DIENG (Senegal) said that draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014 reflected the conclusions of 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. There were two dominant ideas in the operative part: the convening of a national constitutional conference where the genuine political representatives of the people of Zimbabwe would be able freely to decide their own future and the creation of the conditions necessary to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence. Those conditions included the release of patriotic detainees and the repeal of all repressive discriminatory legislation. All that could be achieved only if all the attributes of sovereignty were withheld from the illegal Smith régime and if the presence of South African armed forces in Rhodesia and foreign intervention in all its forms were ended once and for all.

9. The international community still believed that the United Kingdom would not disappoint it and would

* Resumed from the 2000th meeting.

face up to its enormous responsibility in Rhodesia. His delegation hoped that all States devoted to justice and peace would support draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014.

10. Mr. ISHAN (Nigeria) said that draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014 represented substantial progress over General Assembly resolution 2796 (XXVI) because a new situation had arisen in Southern Rhodesia following the Pearce Commission's report.¹

11. It had been hoped that the Pearce Commission would open a democratic front for discussion among the various ethnic groups in the Territory. Unfortunately, Ian Smith and his henchmen were determined to crush popular demands and frustrate the will of the majority. Not only had the leaders of African political groups been thrown in prison but legislation had been enacted curtailing even further the already minimal fundamental rights of the Africans. The rebel régime had introduced pass laws modelled on South Africa's which represented the introduction of *apartheid* and perpetual bondage for the five and a half million Africans under the domination of half a million whites.

12. The purpose of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014 was to try once more to bring pressure to bear on the Governments that were secretly supporting the rebel racist régime to desist from their unpopular actions. The text of the draft had been toned down to secure the widest support possible. His delegation therefore hoped that all delegations would support it.

13. Mr. RAKOTOSIHANAKA (Madagascar) said that draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014 hinged on the responsibility of the administering Power. Everyone was convinced that, as administering Power, the United Kingdom alone was responsible for the situation in Southern Rhodesia and that the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe depended on its will and political determination.

14. The Africans had no objection if, after having been humiliated by Ian Smith, the United Kingdom wished to use force. It might be the only measure which the illegal régime would understand.

15. However, there was another measure which should be borne in mind. The continuation of the Southern Rhodesia Act, 1965, approved by the House of Commons in November 1971 enabled the British Government to intervene in Rhodesia. He therefore wished to stress the existence of that law and in particular of section 2 thereof, which empowered the Queen in Council to take whatever measures were necessary in view of the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia, and he hoped that it would no longer be said that the administering Power did not have the means required to put an end to the rebel régime.

16. The United Kingdom had never disclaimed its responsibility, and the Act provided it with the means,

¹ Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce, Cmnd. 4964 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

including the use of force, to help the people of Zimbabwe, who had been suffering for centuries.

17. Thus, it was natural that draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014 underscored the role which the Government of the United Kingdom should play. It was also logical that the United Kingdom should be called upon to apply a democratic system in Rhodesia and that, at a time when the racist minority was celebrating the anniversary of its rebellion, the United Nations, aware of its duties, should recommend to the United Kingdom Government the convening of a national constitutional conference in which the genuine political representatives of the people of Zimbabwe would take part to decide on the future of their land.

18. Lastly, it was reasonable that all the conditions required to bring freedom and independence to Rhodesia should be created, because no one, except Ian Smith, could be in favour of inequality and opposed to democracy.

19. His delegation hoped that the Fourth Committee would contribute unanimously to the triumph of democracy, wisdom and human dignity.

Mr. Ibrahim (Sudan), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

20. Mr. VLASCEANU (Romania) said that his delegation fully supported draft resolution A/C.4/L.1014 and considered that it deserved the fullest support of all Members of the Organization.

21. As the document had been prepared after the representatives of the liberation movements of Zimbabwe had been heard and in the light of many consultations, it responded to the present concerns of the international community.

22. The tragic situation of the peoples of Zimbabwe, which was continuously worsening, was the cause of deep concern to all peace-loving peoples. The perpetuation of the situation, the result of colonial anachronism, contradicted the letter and spirit of the Charter and conflicted with one of its basic principles: the sacred right of all peoples to decide their own destiny.

23. The situation called for all progressive forces in the contemporary world to unite in order to liquidate all forms of colonial domination, to dismiss the illegal minority régime and to grant increasing assistance to the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for their sovereign right to a free and independent life.

24. The United Kingdom, which was the administering Power in Southern Rhodesia and which bore primary responsibility for events in that country, should, as a matter of urgency, adopt the necessary measures, in accordance with the will of the people of Zimbabwe and their authentic representatives, the national liberation movements, to liquidate the illegal racist régime in Salisbury and confer power on the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of the principle of majority rule.

25. Naturally, the draft resolution took into account the decision of the people of Zimbabwe, who had rejected the "settlement proposals" agreed upon between the United Kingdom and the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith, and stressed the need for the future of the Territory to be worked out with the full participation of the representatives of the national liberation movements and the support of the people expressed in democratic form on the principle of "one man, one vote". Such measures could not be taken while South African military forces were present in the Territory of Southern Rhodesia to support the illegal Salisbury régime. His delegation therefore strongly condemned the presence and the intervention of South African forces in the Territory in violation of the decisions of the Security Council, and it supported the appeal for action to bring about their immediate expulsion.

26. Finally, his delegation wished to underline the special significance of the appeal calling upon all Governments, specialized agencies and other United Nations organs to provide, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, moral and material assistance of every kind to the people of Zimbabwe.

27. Mr. MULWA (Kenya), introducing draft resolution A/C.4/L.1015 on behalf of the 31 sponsors, said that the text was very similar to that of resolution 2796 (XXVI), adopted by the General Assembly at its previous session. The second preambular paragraph expressed growing concern at the deteriorating situation in Zimbabwe, which the Security Council had described as constituting a threat to international peace and security. The recent activities of the Government of Rhodesia had been alarming. A week ago, Ian Smith had introduced in Parliament a bill which made it necessary for every African, without distinction, to have a "travel visa", in addition to a passport, in order to travel outside the country. That was a sample of what Smith's Government could do to humiliate the Africans. Other racial moves recently announced had included the segregation of public swimming pools, a curfew on the serving of food and drink to Africans in white areas after certain hours, and other measures aimed at preventing Asian and coloured "infiltration" of white suburbs. It had also been learned that legislation to introduce segregation of trade unions was in preparation.

28. The third and fifth preambular paragraphs referred to the assistance given by the Governments of South Africa and Portugal to the rebel régime, which had enabled it to resist sanctions. The fourth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 4 dealt with the importation of chrome by the United States in clear contravention of the relevant Security Council resolutions. That concern had already been expressed in General Assembly resolution 2765 (XXVI), and it was disturbing to note that despite that resolution the United States had not rescinded its decision. It was inconceivable that certain Western Powers which professed to be against racism and were permanent members of the Security Council, with the power of veto, could not make a small sacrifice to implement the sanc-

tions imposed by the Council. That attitude indicated that it might be necessary to make a reappraisal of the Charter.

29. Operative paragraph 1 called upon the Government of the United Kingdom, as administering Power, to take effective measures to end the rebellion. The sponsors of the draft resolution believed that the United Kingdom could still act to assert its authority with a view to changing the present power structure in Rhodesia. Only in that way could Rhodesia be saved from a future of increasing violence.

30. Paragraph 2 dealt with the assistance given to Rhodesia by the Governments of South Africa and Portugal. Both countries were Members of the United Nations and were committing crimes against the Africans in southern Africa. If those countries were not prepared to implement the resolutions of the United Nations, the Organization would have to think seriously about the possibility of extending sanctions to include South Africa and the Portuguese Territory of Mozambique.

31. Although sanctions had not so far brought down the Smith régime, they had not failed. Even though the sanctions had not been implemented as they should, they had had an effect on white Rhodesian comfort and future expectations. The sanctions had failed to bring about the desired results because some countries continued to trade with Rhodesia through South Africa. Others had permitted their corporations to continue trading with Rhodesia directly or indirectly. Those countries, while claiming to oppose *apartheid*, were reluctant even to support criticism of South Africa, pleading that that country, the home of *apartheid*, was a legally independent sovereign State whose trade was valuable to them. They argued that freedom of trade existed in their countries and that they could not tell their nationals where they could trade. He recalled, however, that until very recently the United States had forbidden its citizens, including companies, to trade with the People's Republic of China. That argument could therefore bear no weight.

32. The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1015 believed that if all Members observed the sanctions rigorously, the Smith régime could not last. Paragraphs 3 and 5 of the draft resolution therefore condemned those who continued to trade with the white Rhodesian régime. Paragraph 6 repeated the appeal to the Security Council already contained in General Assembly resolution 2796 (XXVI).

33. During the debate on the Rhodesian issue, many representatives had expressed their desire that violators of the sanctions should be exposed. The sponsors had had that in mind in paragraph 7.

34. He hoped that since all Member States condemned the illegal Salisbury régime, all would vote for draft resolution A/C.4/L.1015. Abstentions or votes against the resolution could be interpreted only as moral support for the Smith régime.

35. Finally, he announced that Burundi, Iraq, the Libyan Arab Republic, the Central African Republic and Rwanda had become sponsors of the draft resolution.

36. Mrs. JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone) said that no resolution on Rhodesia could fail to contain a reference to sanctions but that draft resolution A/C.4/L.1015 dealt fundamentally with that matter. The United Nations had always believed that, with the exception of force, the only way of ending the illegal Smith régime was through sanctions. However, sanctions could be effective only if they were mandatory and if an effective watch was kept on their implementation. Although in some sectors sanctions were being applied, that was not the rule. For example, the mining sector was very prosperous in Rhodesia, and that was regrettably due, *inter alia*, to the fact that the Government of the United States was continuing to import chrome and nickel from Zimbabwe in open violation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. The draft resolution condemned the Government of the United States for that action, and it was to be hoped that the latter would change its attitude.

37. It was also important to bring to public attention the various aspects of United Nations activities aimed at a solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia, and paragraph 7 in particular covered that matter. Paragraph 6 requested the Security Council to widen the scope of the sanctions to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter.

38. She hoped that a majority of the members of the Committee would support draft resolution A/C.4/L.1015.

39. Mr. SAMUELS (Guyana) said that draft resolution A/C.4/L.1015 dealt with the sanctions which had been imposed in order to establish democracy in Rhodesia and bring down the rebel régime of Ian Smith. The third preambular paragraph deplored the fact that measures taken so far had failed to bring the rebellion in Zimbabwe to an end, mainly because of the collaboration of South Africa and Portugal with the rebel régime in violation of Article 25 of the Charter. That action was all the more serious because, as the second preambular paragraph pointed out, the Security Council had reaffirmed that the situation in Zimbabwe constituted a threat to international peace and security.

40. The fifth preambular paragraph reaffirmed the conviction that sanctions would not be effective unless they were strictly applied by all countries, particularly South Africa and Portugal. The sponsors believed that those two countries were primarily responsible for the maintenance of the Smith régime and the resulting consolidation of racist repression in the Territory. With a view to ensuring the implementation of sanctions, paragraph 5 requested all Governments that had not so far done so to apply sanctions more strictly and urged them to refrain from taking any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal régime.

41. Operative paragraph 6 drew the attention of the Security Council to what was said in the second preambular paragraph. It did not seem very probable, in view of past experience, that Portugal and South Africa would heed the appeals. Sanctions should therefore be widened to cover those countries as well, in response to their violations.

42. Draft resolution A/C.4/L.1015 had three major characteristics: it pointed out and deplored the deterioration of the situation in Zimbabwe, which was due, *inter alia*, to the refusal of the United Kingdom to take decisive measures; it tried to end that deteriorating situation by urging the United Kingdom to take more radical measures, and it was designed to make the sanctions more effective and widen their scope. The sponsors of the draft resolution had wished to avoid any polemics, to focus essentially on the question of sanctions and to make them functional. They therefore hoped that it would be supported by all delegations.

AGENDA ITEMS 13, 22, 63, 67, 68 AND 12, 69, AND 70**

Agenda item 13 (*continued*) (A/8704, A/8825)

Agenda item 22 (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (*continued*) (A/8723 (parts II and IV), A/8723/Add.4 (parts I and II), A/8723/Add.5, A/8723/Add.6 (parts I and II))

Agenda item 63 (*continued*) (A/8723/Add.7, A/8821 and Add.1 and 2, A/8827)

Agenda item 67 (*continued*) (A/8723 (part III))

Agenda items 68 and 12 (*continued*) (A/8647 and Add.1 and 2, A/8703 (chapter XVI), A/8723 (part V), A/8862)

Agenda item 69 (*continued*) (A/8850 and Add.1)

Agenda item 70 (*continued*) (A/8855)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

43. The CHAIRMAN recalled that at the previous meeting the representative of Uganda had asked that the statement by the Cuban representatives at that meeting should be reproduced *in extenso*. If there were no objections, he would take it that the Committee agreed to that procedure, on the usual understanding concerning financial implications.

*It was so decided.*²

44. Mrs. RAKHIMOVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), referring to agenda item 67, said that the work 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, as shown in chapter V of its report (A/8723 (part III)), had been very productive. The chapter provided an excellent analysis of the activities of the

** For the title of each item, see "Agenda" on page ix.

² See the record of the 2005th meeting.

monopolies in the colonial Territories and showed that they were continuing to exploit the peoples of the Territories, depriving them of their natural resources and aiding the colonialist and racist Governments.

45. The capitalist monopolies and other foreign interests, particularly in their activities in southern Africa, were motivated solely by selfish interests. In order to increase their profits, they were helping to maintain colonial rule. The Governments of certain imperialist States took no action whatever against enterprises owned by their nationals which were violating United Nations resolutions, were increasingly active in southern Africa and were assisting the racist régimes in the area. The basic incentive for the foreign monopolies was the opportunity to make huge profits. In southern Africa, the profits of foreign enterprises went as high as 25 per cent, which was more than twice what they made in other areas.

46. Many enterprises and monopolies in the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and other countries whose interests were closely interrelated were participating in the exploitation of the resources of the colonial Territories. The colonialist and racist régimes were trying to create favourable conditions for those monopolies by granting them various privileges, simplifying the system of exemption from customs duties, permitting them to export capital, exempting them from taxes and supplying them, of course, with cheap labour whose abundance was assured by the system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. The monopolies extracted huge profits from the colonial Territories, and those profits accrued not only to the investors but also to the Governments of the colonialist countries. For example, according to the report of the Special Committee (see A/8723, part III), Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd. had had a net profit of 33.8 million rands in 1971, the Tsumeb Corporation, Ltd. a net profit of 9.9 million rands and the South West Africa Company, Ltd. a net profit of £ 481,000.

47. Political factors played an important role in the activities of foreign interests. The imperialist Powers regarded South Africa as their bastion in southern Africa and were thus inclined to support the Government of that country, as was demonstrated by the contributions made by General Motors and Chrysler to the so-called South African Foundation, whose objective was to publicize the system of *apartheid* on an international scale.

48. The Government of Portugal received a substantial part of the profits gained in exploiting the human and natural resources of its colonies. For example, in the report of the Special Committee (*ibid.*), it was indicated that DIAMANG, from the time it had begun its operations in Angola until 1970, had paid a total of 5,653.4 million escudos to the Government of Angola. The same report showed that the Cabinda Gulf Company had paid \$5.7 million to the Government of Angola in 1971.

49. Foreign investment in Southern Rhodesia, involving some 290 companies, was estimated at tens of mil-

lions of pounds sterling. The acceptance of the racist Smith régime by the ruling circles in the United Kingdom was an accurate reflection of British monopoly interests. The so-called settlement proposals had been intended to legalize the Smith régime so that the monopolies could further strengthen their position in Southern Rhodesia and thus avoid the additional expenses which they incurred in evading the sanctions. The economic interests of the foreign monopolies and of the imperialist States which supported them coincided with the warlike strategic interests of the colonialist and racist régimes, and those monopolies were participating directly in the fight against the national liberation movements. For example, under the laws in force in the Portuguese colonies, foreign investors had to make a financial contribution for "defence purposes". The contribution by DIAMANG, according to the report of the Special Committee, had been 38.2 million escudos in 1970.

50. The report of the Special Committee also showed that an important element in the expansion of foreign economic interests was the establishment, with the aid of powerful monopolies controlled from the United Kingdom, the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan, of a new military and para-military industrial complex, under the aegis of South Africa, which was penetrating deeply into the neighbouring Territories of southern Africa. That outward economic push was apparent in the Cabora Bassa dam project, already under construction on the Zambezi River, and in the Cunene River Basin project in southern Angola, in which South African financial interests were playing an important role. Those projects were not intended to benefit the native populations but, on the contrary, to drive them from the areas in question and attract white settlers there in order to assert white supremacy in the region.

51. The struggle against the racist régimes was inseparable from the struggle to put an end to the rapacious activities of the imperialist monopolies, which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The General Assembly should reaffirm its condemnation of the activities of the imperialist monopolies in the colonial Territories and insist that States whose companies were operating or making investments in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the Territories under Portuguese domination and other colonial Territories should take steps to put an end to those activities, which were impeding the national liberation of the Territories under foreign domination. Her delegation approved of the work done by the Special Committee with regard to the activities of foreign monopolies and was in favour of continuing that work and giving greater publicity to the activities of the imperialist monopolies aimed at impeding the full implementation of the Declaration.

Mr. Černík (Czechoslovakia) resumed the Chair.

52. Mr. GODWYLL (Ghana) stressed the importance of the problems of colonialism, which affected the destiny of millions of people living in dependent Territories throughout the world.

53. Speaking in connexion with agenda item 13, he referred to the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/8704) and, in particular, to the situation in Papua New Guinea, a Territory which appeared to be advancing rapidly towards self-government; he paid a tribute to the administering Power for the detailed report presented by its representative (2002nd meeting) and for the effort it was making to permit attainment of the goals laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Trusteeship Agreement. That co-operative attitude was heartening and contrasted with that of the intransigent racist and colonialist régimes in southern Africa.

54. His delegation had been gratified at the elections held in Papua New Guinea, the formation of a National Coalition Government and the setting of a target date for the transfer of power and the assumption by Papua New Guinea of full internal self-government. The representative of Australia had given an assurance that independence would come after internal self-government, when the Government and people of Papua New Guinea wished it. His delegation believed that the administering Power should seek to establish, in consultation with the freely elected representatives of the people, a specific time-table for the attainment of full independence and sovereignty.

55. However, what was most important was to create the proper atmosphere in which self-government could be achieved in peace and harmony. The period preceding independence was vital, and it was essential that the Territory should attain independence as a single political and territorial entity. The administering Power should discourage all secessionist tendencies that might lead to the fragmentation of the Territory; to that end, it had to eliminate the problems which could prejudice national unity: intertribal disputes, regional fears of domination by other regions and the legacy of past division or neglect. The campaign to promote national unity through mass political education had to be intensified, and the administering Power had to encourage the emergence of national leaders and political parties. He recalled the recent statement by Mr. Gavera Rea, Member of the House of Assembly and Minister of Labour of Papua New Guinea, who had said that it was unfounded fear and not the philosophy of self-government, whether immediate or gradual, that was dividing the people. The Ghanaian delegation shared the view of the recent Visiting Mission that, despite the progress made, there was still much to be done to remove misconceptions and overcome ignorance. The expatriate population also had to be educated so that it would develop healthier views on localization and current political progress in the Territory.

56. The administering Power had the fundamental task of opening up the country in order to facilitate movement of people and goods internally and the penetration of the Territory by the outside world. Papua New Guinea had one of the most difficult geographical terrains in the world, so that its people lived in isolation and spoke 700 different languages. There was therefore a need for a systematic programme of telecommunications, a problem to which the adminis-

tering Power was devoting attention. There was also the need to inform the indigenous people about the outside world, and to that end, the United Nations and the Government of Australia should step up their information activities to enlighten not only the indigenous people but also some foreign officials who had lived in one place so long that their horizons had become narrow. The people of Papua New Guinea should be given opportunities to travel more; he commended the recent arrangements whereby representatives of the people were sent abroad to observe conditions in other countries and foreign representatives were invited to visit the Territory and familiarize themselves with its problems.

57. His delegation urged the administering Power to pursue its present measures for economic and social development with greater vigour and determination. It was necessary to accelerate the integration of the indigenous people of Papua New Guinea into the economic and social life of the country, since that constituted an essential preparation for independence. It was also necessary to encourage and facilitate economic growth while ensuring that the interests of the people and Government of Papua New Guinea were protected and their resources preserved. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and other members of the United Nations family could help in accelerating progress in all sectors of the national economy, thereby helping the process of building up an independent economy in the shortest possible time.

58. His delegation had noted with satisfaction that Australia had transferred to the Government of Papua New Guinea some responsibility in such areas as wages and industrial relations in the private sector, immigration, land settlement policy and political education, and it therefore took the liberty of urging that Government, with the advice of the administering Power, to establish positive programmes in such matters. For example, it should give urgent consideration to the question of land tenure, with a view to enacting legislation designed to solve certain problems that arose from existing legislation. The administering Power, for its part, should take the necessary measures to alleviate the difficult situation in the agricultural sector and ensure the continued extension and development of education and health facilities. It was also essential to preserve the cultural heritage of the people of Papua New Guinea, so that it might make its own contribution to civilization and to the common heritage of mankind.

59. Turning to agenda item 63, the question of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted in compliance with Article 73 *e* of the Charter of the United Nations, he expressed regret at the unwillingness of some administering Powers to fulfil that obligation. His delegation urged all administering Powers to co-operate with the United Nations in that regard and declared that the international community could no longer accept arguments by administering Powers to the effect that certain Territories under their control had become self-governing and, therefore, no information need be given on them. Where a Territory

lacked external marks of independence, the United Nations must continue to demand information on it.

60. Many references had already been made, in the context of agenda item 67, to the complications created in the field of decolonization by the activities of foreign economic interests. In the colonial Territories, particularly in southern Africa, economic projects were carried out without regard to the genuine and legitimate interests of the people, and did them harm through the exploitation of their natural resources and through discriminatory labour practices and working conditions.

61. When Africans drew attention to that truth, certain delegations sought to give the impression that foreign economic ventures benefited the African economy. Yet a look at the operation of the economic machinery of the African countries before independence revealed that while they had been colonies, their economies had been tied to those of the metropolitan Powers and had received little or no benefit from the world economy. In many cases, attempts had been made to make the colonial economies entirely dependent on production of raw materials. In other cases, foreign economic interests had exploited the natural resources of the Territory and sent most of the resulting profits back to their own country, without any concern for the economic and social improvement of the indigenous inhabitants. That colonial legacy still survived in some countries, and in any case, it had not created a viable economic and social infrastructure, which was essential for an independent country.

62. In Southern Rhodesia, there was a combination of political, economic and financial interests which, with the backing of South Africa in particular, were engaged in efforts to frustrate the effects of sanctions on the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith, as was borne out by the reports submitted by the United Kingdom as the administering Power for Southern Rhodesia.

63. Moreover, it could not be denied that it was the support of certain foreign economic and other interests which enabled Portugal to refuse to apply the principle of self-determination to the Territories under its domination. It was those foreign economic interests, in various combinations, which made possible such projects as the Cabora Bassa dam and the Cunene River Basin projects. His delegation commended those Governments which had prevailed on their national companies to withdraw from those projects and urged Governments which had not yet done so to follow suit.

64. South Africa, too, played a central role in exacerbating the grave situation in the whole of southern Africa. In all those cases, military interests were inextricably linked with other foreign interests. The international community had called on all States to cease the sale to South Africa of arms, ammunition and military vehicles, equipment and materials, but those measures had not been complied with by certain States, and some of those States which appeared to have complied with

them were covertly providing financial and technical assistance to South Africa.

65. His delegation therefore supported the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee and urged all States to cease supplying funds and other forms of economic and technical assistance to the colonialist régimes.

66. In the context of agenda item 68, it also urged all the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations not to grant assistance to South Africa and Portugal until they renounced their policies of racial discrimination and colonial domination. At the same time, it exhorted them to assist the peoples struggling to free themselves from colonial rule, especially the oppressed peoples of the colonial Territories of Africa, including in particular the peoples in the liberated areas of those Territories.

67. His delegation associated itself with the appreciation which the Special Committee, in paragraph 16 of chapter VII of its report (see A/8723 (part V)), had expressed to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to those specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system which had co-operated with the United Nations in the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions on decolonization, and it hoped that the institutions concerned would continue to co-operate with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in order to avoid duplication of effort and wastage of scanty resources.

68. His delegation would like to see organizations like UNDP increase their assistance to refugees from colonial Territories, and it would also like to see more pressure exerted on Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia by international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). It recognized that there might be legal and constitutional limitations which could hinder the implementation of certain recommendations made to the specialized agencies and other institutions by the General Assembly, and it was prepared to consult with them on ways and means of surmounting some of those difficulties.

69. In connexion with agenda item 69, his delegation stressed the importance of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, which seemed to be functioning well, but it was concerned about the financial status of the Programme, which was financed by voluntary contributions. Ghana would contribute to the Programme in cash or in kind and was already offering study and training facilities to nationals of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

70. Referring to agenda item 22, with regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories, he observed that some of them had peculiar problems due to their small size and population, their geographical isolation or their limited economic resources. His delegation shared the

firm conviction that those factors should not be used as an excuse to delay self-determination for the peoples of those Territories. For that reason, it viewed with concern the military bases and installations which certain colonial Powers and their allies continued to maintain in some of those small Territories, since the activities of those bases often tended to impede the progress of decolonization and constituted an obstacle to economic development.

71. His delegation noted with satisfaction that negotiations were proceeding on the questions of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), British Honduras, French Somaliland and Gibraltar, and it hoped that the parties concerned would reach amicable settlements which would enable the indigenous peoples concerned to achieve self-determination.

72. With regard to Spanish Sahara, the goodwill shown by Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria was encouraging, and, in pursuance of previous United Nations resolutions, Spain should consider conducting an open plebiscite or referendum under United Nations auspices, with a view to allowing the people of Spanish Sahara the free exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.

73. Mr. MONTROYA (Peru), referring to the Territory of Papua New Guinea, said that the election of indigenous persons to the House of Assembly and the establishment of a cabinet presided over by a Chief Minister were an undeniable sign of the people's progress towards self-government and independence. The advancement of the people of Papua New Guinea was undoubtedly due to the programmes being implemented by Australia, as the administering Power, which gave reason for looking forward with satisfaction to the coming achievement of independence by the people of Papua New Guinea, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

74. The condominium status of the New Hebrides created difficulties for the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as did other circumstances such as economic and geographical factors. Direct contact with the population would make it possible to know its aspirations with certainty; accordingly it was important to send a visiting mission of the Special Committee.

75. Niue and the Tokelau Islands were under the excellent administration of New Zealand. The Special Committee had already reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Tokelau Islands to self-determination, and that right was fully supported by the administering Power.

76. With regard to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands, the picture was not encouraging, since no substantial progress had been made in the constitutional and political evolution of those Territories. In the case of American Samoa and Guam there had been some progress, to the benefit of their peoples, and the Special Committee had repeated its opinion that the size, isolation and limited

resources of those Territories should not in any way delay the implementation of the Declaration.

77. The military activities conducted and the provisions of a military nature adopted by the colonial Powers in the Territories under their administration, and the activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial Territories were the two factors which constituted the main impediments to the speedy implementation of the Declaration.

78. Installations for strategic military purposes also harmed the interests of peoples who were not self-governing as yet, and for that reason he endorsed conclusion 11 of the Special Committee, contained in paragraph 6 of chapter VI of its report (see A/8723 (part IV)).

79. Foreign monopolies, using a standard which stressed the typically colonial character of Territories in such a position, were carrying out activities detrimental to the legitimate rights of the inhabitants of those Territories, since they developed only those sectors which gave them the highest profits and reduced the Territories to the role of suppliers of raw materials to the metropolitan Powers and other countries. Such a situation was especially evident in the Territories of Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique.

80. The Government and people of Peru hoped that the steadfast struggle against colonialism would gradually lead to the implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Australia and New Zealand had given an example of compliance with their obligations as administering Powers. The colonial problem would continue, however, so long as the other States which administered Territories covered by resolution 1514 (XV) did not fulfil their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

81. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria) said that he concurred with conclusion 2 of the Special Committee, contained in paragraph 6 of chapter V of its report (see A/8723, part III), to the effect that the foreign economic concerns operating in the colonial Territories, particularly in southern Africa, were guided solely by their own interests and acted without regard for the legitimate rights of the inhabitants of the Territories. The activities of those enterprises, despite their respectable appearance, were in fact plunder of the immense natural resources of those Territories and merciless exploitation of their inhabitants, the rightful owners of those resources. Moreover, it had been proved beyond a doubt that the imperialist enterprises were giving support to the racist régimes in southern Africa and helping them against the national liberation movements.

82. Practically the entire economy of Namibia was dominated by foreign companies, either South African or Western. Foreign capital was concentrated mainly in mining and commercial fishing, which dominated

the Territory's economy. While the large mining companies amassed enormous profits, they paid miserable wages. It was not surprising that over 13,000 Namibian workers had gone on strike in December 1971 and January 1972 in order to protest against the contract system and working conditions.

83. The natural resources of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) continued to be exploited by Portugal and the economic interests of certain Western Powers. In the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects, South African monopolies were playing a very active role but so were companies from certain Western countries which had thus far disregarded the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2703 (XXV) and 2795 (XXVI). The aim of those projects was to strengthen colonial domination in those Territories and to intensify the oppression of the indigenous inhabitants. In addition, Portugal intended to bring more than a million white settlers to the Cabora Bassa region.

84. In Angola, Portugal's policy of encouraging foreign investments was accompanied by a campaign to resettle the African inhabitants and to replace them with non-African settlers. The situation was similar in Southern Rhodesia, where foreign capital of South African and other origin also predominated in the economy.

85. The Special Committee had reached the conclusion that a major feature in the present process of expansion of foreign economic interests in the colonial Territories was the assistance which the monopolies gave to the creation of a new military and para-military industrial complex under the leadership of South Africa, which was penetrating deeply into the neighbouring Territories of southern Africa. The Special Committee was also concerned at the activities of foreign capital in other colonial Territories, including those in the Caribbean and the Pacific, which were depriving the indigenous peoples of their wealth. Thus, there was an abundance of arguments to support the assertion that the activities of foreign interests constituted a serious impediment to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

86. His delegation was in complete agreement with the Special Committee's conclusion 1 in paragraph 6 of chapter VI of its report (see A/8723 (part IV)) that the colonial powers had not complied with the provisions of paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 2878 (XXVI). Furthermore, the colonial régimes had continued to increase their military activities, particularly in the colonial Territories in Africa, in order to perpetuate the racist régimes and to protect the activities and investments of the foreign monopolies.

87. The colonial régimes, supported by the military and economic assistance of the Western Powers, had recently intensified their activities against the national liberation movements. Portugal maintained 150,000 soldiers in the Territories under its administration. There were 3,000 South African policemen in Southern Rhodesia to assist the régime of that Territory, and

South African police had participated in the repression of Africans in Angola. Portuguese troops had, in turn, been sent to Namibia to help the South Africans suppress the Ovambo miners' strike. In view of those facts, it was alarming that certain imperialist Powers continued to violate the arms embargo against South Africa.

88. In the smaller Territories the colonial Powers and their allies continued to maintain military bases and equipment, and sometimes they even drafted the indigenous inhabitants into their armies. In that way they delayed the process of decolonization of those Territories and interfered with the development of their economies.

89. The activities of the foreign military and economic interests in the colonial Territories were detrimental to the interests of the indigenous populations and contrary to the Charter. The United Nations was duty-bound to wage a relentless struggle to put a stop to them, and all Member States had the obligation to assist the Organization in that struggle.

90. Another very important aspect of the United Nations struggle against colonialism was the role of the specialized agencies and other bodies of the United Nations system in implementing General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In 1972 the question had been placed in clearer perspective, and the need had been unequivocally established for the specialized agencies to render assistance on a broader scale and as a matter of priority to the peoples of the colonial Territories, especially in Africa. The Special Mission of the Special Committee which had visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) had made very pertinent recommendations on the issue (see A/8723/Add.3, para.36).

91. The assistance given by some agencies to refugees from colonial Territories was not sufficient; they must give direct assistance to the inhabitants of the liberated areas of colonial Territories and to the liberation movements.

92. Certain agencies had tried to establish contacts with the Organization of African Unity in order to work out concrete programmes of assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories. There was a joint educational assistance project of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO) had sent missions to Africa and to the OAU, while the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) had also endeavoured to provide assistance. Unfortunately the rest of the agencies, including some large ones such as IBRD and IMF, had done nothing in their respective spheres of competence. At a time when the cause of decolonization was moving forward with assistance from the United Nations, which had granted observer status to the national liberation movements of southern Africa, it was inadmissible to condone the passivity of certain agencies which cited constitutional and procedural

limitations as an excuse. Informed sources had repeatedly stated that those obstacles were not insurmountable if the necessary goodwill existed. One encouraging fact should be noted: on 17 November 1972 the ILO had adopted a consensus on participation in its meetings by representatives of the colonial peoples.

93. A second aspect of the same problem was the discontinuation by the specialized agencies of all collaboration with the colonial and racist régimes in Africa, until such time as they renounced their policy

of racial discrimination and colonial oppression. Many agencies had officially declared that they would follow that course, but all the other agencies must follow their example.

94. The United Nations must continue its efforts to engage the active participation of the specialized agencies in the struggle against colonialism and must take the necessary steps to that end.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.