



Chairman: Mr. Keith JOHNSON (Jamaica).

AGENDA ITEM 67

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration
(continued) (A/8348 and Add.1, A/8403, chapter XIII
(section A); A/8423/Add.1, A/8423/Add.4, A/C.4/L.992)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS
(continued) (A/C.4/L.992)

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that Morocco had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/L.992.
2. Mr. VENEGAS TAMAYO (Colombia) said that the members of the Latin American Group were pleased with the results of the consultations held with the Afro-Asian Group on the draft resolution under discussion. The contacts established had clarified various points and almost unanimous agreement had been reached. The negotiations had not been easy, but the Afro-Asian Group had once again demonstrated its spirit of co-operation with other geographical groups and had taken into account the legal, diplomatic, economic and practical objections and reservations of the Latin American delegations. Some substantial amendments suggested by the Latin American Group had been accepted. Those amendments, without departing from the main idea underlying the draft, provided for an objective and practical approach to the problem of colonialism in the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), thus increasing its possibilities of winning the support of a greater number of Latin American delegations.
3. The Latin American countries had a long tradition of opposition to colonialism and all forms of foreign domination and had repeatedly demonstrated their support for the fundamental principles of self-determination of peoples, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations as a means of ensuring international peace, justice and security. The countries that were still under the colonialist yoke could therefore count on the moral support of the Latin American countries in their struggle for freedom and independence. The peoples of Latin America provided an example of strength, endurance and courage in the hard battles they had fought to attain the sovereign status that had enabled them freely to decide their own destiny and establish the diplomatic and commercial relations that they wished to maintain with the other nations of the world. In exercise of that sovereignty they adhered to the Charter of the United Nations and advocated strict implementation by all Member States of the decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly, which Colombia had always respected and complied with.

4. The Colombian delegation hoped that the Government of Portugal, a country that had contributed important chapters to the history of mankind, would heed the appeals of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), who were struggling against colonialism and, as administering Power, forthwith take the necessary measures to avert an armed conflict and allow those peoples, at the earliest possible date, freely and democratically to express their desire to control their own destinies, thus achieving the freedom and independence to which they aspired and to which they were entitled. At all events, history would certainly record that irreversible development before long.

5. The delegation of Colombia was happy to have taken part in the successful negotiations on the draft resolution with the Afro-Asian Group. In that connexion he thanked the Latin American Group for having chosen his delegation, together with those of Trinidad and Tobago, Mexico and Venezuela, to serve as the point of contact with the Afro-Asian Group. As for the text itself, the Colombian delegation would have preferred operative paragraph 12 to start with the words "Takes note of" instead of "Approves". For reasons of a legal nature, which had to do mainly with the question of jurisdiction, and for practical and economic considerations, his delegation made the express reservation that it would be unable to vote for the approval expressed in that paragraph. With that exception, and in view of the considerations he had already mentioned, his delegation would vote in favour of the draft resolution on the question of Territories under Portuguese administration contained in document A/C.4/L.992.

6. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee would continue its consideration of draft resolution A/C.4/L.992 at the following meeting and expressed the hope that a vote could be taken at that time. As he had stated at the previous meeting, the Committee was very much behind with its work. The Fifth Committee was waiting for a vote to be taken on the draft resolutions with economic implications, and a vote on those texts should therefore be taken as soon as possible.

AGENDA ITEMS 13, 23, 65, 70, 71 AND 12, 72 AND 73*

Agenda item 13 (continued) (A/8360, A/8404)

Agenda item 23 (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued) (A/8368, A/8369, A/8423 (part IV) and (part IV)/Add.1, A/8423/Add.5 (part I), A/8423/Add.5 (part II) and Add.5 (part II)/Corr.1, A/8423/Add.6 (parts I-III), A/8423/Add.7 (parts I-IV))

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

Agenda item 65 (continued)
(A/8423/Add.8/Rev.1, A/8520 and Add.1)

Agenda item 70 (continued) (A/8398, A/8513)

Agenda items 71 and 12 (continued) (A/8314 and Add.1-4,
A/8403 (chapter XX), A/8403/Add.1 (part III), A/8423
(part III), A/8480)

Agenda item 72 (continued) (A/8485 and Add.1)

Agenda item 73 (continued) (A/8530)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)*

7. Mrs. WEISS (Austria) said that her delegation attached particular importance to item 73, (Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories) since it felt that offers of technical and vocational training and of training at the post-primary and university levels were of practical assistance to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories in their quest for self-determination and self-rule. Accordingly the Government of Austria had over the preceding years contributed, within the limits of its possibilities, to training programmes for the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 845 (IX) of 22 November 1954. As could be seen from the report of the Secretary-General (A/8530), Austria had again decided that year to make available scholarships for qualified students from Non-Self-Governing Territories for the 1972 study programme at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna. That post-graduate institution provided intensive training in international relations, foreign service, economics and related fields. Since 1965, when the Academy had started its courses, students from 29 countries all over the world had completed their studies at the Academy.

8. The previous year the General Assembly had requested, in paragraph 4 of resolution 2705 (XXV), that Member States offering scholarships should also provide travel funds for prospective students. She was happy to say that the competent Austrian authorities, in compliance with that request, were ready to include travel expenses in the budget provided for the scholarships.

9. Mr. PSONČAK (Yugoslavia), speaking on agenda item 70 and referring to the negative role of foreign economic and other interests in the Territories under colonial domination, recalled that the General Assembly and the Fourth Committee had been considering that question as a separate item since the nineteenth session. Again, in 1971, it had to be noted that those foreign interests and the administering Powers which were making possible and encouraging their operations had failed to take into account and to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. In the course of numerous debates it had been pointed out that the activity of international monopolies in the colonial Territories constituted a serious obstacle to the attainment of independence and the liberation of the peoples of those Territories, as well as the main impediment to the final elimination of neo-colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Those foreign economic interests very

often served as the most effective weapon in the service of colonial régimes, and that constituted a very grave problem, especially in southern Africa where the implementation of the policy of *apartheid* clearly perpetuated colonial rule and benefited those who applied it. The unity of interests of numerous and powerful foreign monopolies of some Western countries and colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa was almost total, since their basic aim was to secure the absolute political and economic superiority of the white minority. It was daily becoming more evident that the policy of *apartheid* was designed to perpetuate that domination, while the philosophy of racial supremacy and separation served only as a means and a pretext for the realization of such aims. Those who defended the system were even ready to seek compromise, as was confirmed by the recent initiative taken by South Africa towards holding a dialogue with the independent African States, provided that its primary interests were not affected.

10. It was clear that the activities of foreign monopolies in the Portuguese colonies had not diminished. On the contrary, with the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique and the Cunene River project in Angola, those foreign economic interests had further expanded their activities, creating a new military-economic complex whose purpose was to strengthen the economic basis for the domination of colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa. For instance, Zamco-Zambeze Consórcio Hidroelétrico, with predominant South African participation, had 17 factories in the Federal Republic of Germany, France and South Africa, and was to execute the major work on the Cabora Bassa project.

11. With regard to Namibia, the current position clearly refuted the contention that the operations of foreign economic interests in the colonial Territories contributed to their economic development and to the well-being of the indigenous peoples. It was almost impossible to produce a list of all the foreign companies with headquarters in South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, France or the Federal Republic of Germany, which were currently operating in Namibia. The profits and other benefits extracted by these companies from the Territory greatly exceeded the invested capital and their plundering operations were carried out in many different forms and by various methods. The example of Namibia illustrated how foreign monopolies, in their greed for great profits, were violating fundamental international norms and obligations. Of all the facts and figures contained in United Nations documents and press reports about Namibia, his delegation wished to draw particular attention to paragraphs 140 and 141 of the latest report of the United Nations Council for Namibia (A/8424), which stated that the use of contract labour by foreign undertakings in the Territory had been characterized as akin to slavery and that the *apartheid* laws, aimed at exploiting African labour, created inequality of opportunity and treatment between persons of different races with regard to access to vocational training, choice of employment, determination of wages and other conditions relating to employment. As the entire economy of Namibia was controlled by foreign monopolies which were totally indifferent to the interests of the Namibians and were concerned with extractive industries that were exclusively export-oriented, their investments were not changing the basic structure of the Namibian economy and justified the

* Resumed from the 1958th meeting.

fears voiced by Clemens Kapuu, Chief of the Herero people, who had said that when freedom finally came to the Territory its mineral resources would already be exhausted. All the commercial farming industry was in the hands of non-Africans, and Ovambos were not allowed to sell their cattle and fruit on the open market, so that they could not compete with white farmers.

12. The high rate of exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia had its counterpart in the inhuman exploitation of its people. Details of the inhuman treatment of Namibian workers were contained in paragraph 146 of the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia (*ibid.*). As a result of that situation, the dividends paid to shareholders of the foreign-owned enterprises in Namibia were very high. Furthermore, some of the revenue was paid to foreign Governments in the form of taxes. Press reports stated that during the financial year ending in March 1970, the South African Government had collected R104.2 million in revenues from Namibia, of which only R79.1 million had been spent in Namibia, mostly for the upkeep of South Africa's administration and for salaries of white officials. In view of that exploitation of the Namibian people, the need for more substantive assistance to the people of Namibia by the international community must be recognized. The Yugoslav delegation accordingly supported the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Fund for Namibia (A/8473) and item 10 of the recommendations of the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia (see A/8424, para. 197).

13. Turning to item 71, he said that with regard to the role of the specialized agencies in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it was gratifying to note that the assistance given by those agencies and other international organizations associated with the United Nations to the people still under colonial rule was becoming more substantive every year. He also noted with satisfaction the co-operation of the Office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Labour Organisation and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, among others, with the liberation movements of the peoples of the colonial Territories in southern Africa. However it must be borne in mind that some specialized agencies had not yet found their right place in terms of giving support to the process of decolonization and withholding support and assistance from colonial régimes. It was regrettable that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund continued to refuse to co-operate with the United Nations on those questions, so that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had found it necessary to make a direct appeal to them to that effect in paragraph 6 of the resolution contained in paragraph 12 of chapter III of its report (see A/8423 (part III)). In view of the means and resources at its disposal, the participation of IBRD would be highly important particularly in the study and implementation of projects intended to assist the refugees from colonial Territories in southern Africa and the Governments of their countries of asylum. His delegation hoped that both agencies would respond to that appeal

and associate themselves with efforts to liquidate the last vestiges of colonialism.

14. Mr. NEPIYVODA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that, after many years of discussion on the elimination of colonialism, it had been proved that the plundering activities of international monopolies in colonial Territories and the military and financial support given by Western countries to the colonialist régimes were the major obstacles to the independence of the peoples of those Territories. Those monopolies were the parties most interested in maintaining colonial rule. The high profits and low salaries were attracting an increasing flow of Western capital to the colonial Territories, which were a source of vitally important strategic and industrial materials: diamonds, gold, iron ore, oil and raw materials for the production of nuclear weapons. That foreign capital was invested in the colonial Territories not with a view to helping the indigenous population to overcome the evils of poverty, disease and illiteracy, but with a view to profiting from their defenceless position in order to increase the wealth of the investors. Of the 100 principal firms in the United Kingdom, including such veterans of colonialist despoliation as Imperial Chemical Industries, the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation and British Petroleum, 71 had investments in South Africa, in addition to the hundreds of smaller United Kingdom firms which operated in that country. Despite the decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling upon all countries to sever their economic ties with South Africa, the external trade of that country and the foreign investment in its territory were showing a steady increase.

15. Portugal and South Africa, with the support of the international monopolies, had been responsible for the breakdown of the sanctions imposed on the régime in Southern Rhodesia and had ensured its survival. The recent agreement between that régime and the United Kingdom Government was due to the pressure of economic interests eager to exploit the Zimbabwe people. According to the *Christian Science Monitor* of 28 September 1971, the decision of the United States Congress to permit the import of chrome from Southern Rhodesia was due to the pressure brought to bear by large metallurgical firms with investments in the mining industry of the Territory. His delegation considered that the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique and the Cunene River project in Angola would strengthen the alliance between the colonialists and the international monopolies and would impede the Africans' struggle for independence. It therefore supported the determined opposition of the national liberation movements to those projects.

16. The implementation of earlier decisions on the activities of the foreign monopolies in colonial Territories and the speedy application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must be ensured at the current session of the General Assembly. The specialized agencies could do much in that respect, as they could in giving material and moral support to the struggle of the colonial peoples for their liberation.

17. The inhabitants of the small Territories had been deprived of the right to use their own resources for their development, since the practice of selling the land of those

Territories to foreign undertakings was still continuing. The Special Committee had been obliged to note the absence of any progress towards the attainment of self-determination and independence by the small Territories. The General Assembly must once again affirm that geographical situation or size could not be considered obstacles delaying the full implementation of the Declaration.

18. The colonial wars that were being waged by Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Portugal's recent aggression against independent African States were a direct threat to peace in Africa. Moreover, South Africa had become the "policeman" of southern Africa and thus continued to receive arms despite the embargo imposed by the Security Council. It had made such progress in that respect that it was now in a position to export arms. The fact that the Western Powers were continuing to supply aid of all kinds to the colonialist countries was proved by the joint military manoeuvres held by South Africa and the United Kingdom in September and October 1971 and the choice of Lisbon for a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The maintenance by the colonial Powers of bases in Territories such as Gibraltar, the British Indian Ocean Territory, Guam, and Bermuda was also a threat to world peace. His delegation considered that at its twenty-sixth session the General Assembly should strongly condemn the criminal acts of the colonialists and do everything in its power to ensure that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was fully implemented.

19. Miss STOKES (New Zealand) said that the most intractable colonial situations, those in southern Africa, posed the gravest problems and had therefore been given priority in the Committee's agenda and had been the subject of detailed discussion. As at other sessions, the Committee had embarked on a procedure whereby the remaining items on its agenda, which encompassed some 40 Territories, were discussed in a general debate lasting only a few days. Her delegation had often expressed regret that more of the Committee's time was not devoted to consideration of the problems facing the small Non-Self-Governing Territories. The problems of those Territories were unique and could not be solved by the application of one rigid formula. Their problems of small size, remoteness, lack of resources and tiny population could not simply be ignored, because they were special problems which must be overcome before their peoples could take effective decisions on their future. For those small communities, the question was not so much when self-determination was to be exercised as how. In paragraph 304 of the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization (A/8401/Add.1), the Secretary-General, speaking of small Territories, had clearly stated that "the problems involved in their decolonization are nevertheless complex and call for individual solutions which must stem from the full and freely expressed wishes of their peoples, and, at the same time, take account of realities". New Zealand had always believed that the United Nations had an obligation to guide the future of those Territories. It had been a matter of disappointment to her delegation that the Special Committee had not yet considered in detail the special problems inherent in small Territories.

20. New Zealand was responsible for the administration of Niue and the Tokelau Islands. In accordance with General

Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), New Zealand was helping the two Territories to advance as rapidly as the islanders themselves deemed appropriate. Pursuant to Article 73 *e* of the Charter, New Zealand had submitted a comprehensive report on the Territories covering the year ending 31 March 1971. The area of the island of Niue was 100 square miles and the population was a little over 5,000. The Tokelaus, on the other hand, were three tiny coral atolls with a population of a little more than 1,600. In both Territories resources were slender, although Niue had a somewhat greater potential for development than the Tokelaus.

21. In accordance with the wishes of the Niuean people, the approach adopted towards self-government in the Territory during the preceding few years had been to concentrate on immediate steps and not on the more distant future. Niue had achieved a large measure of internal self-government and early in 1970 the island's Assembly had decided that the time had come to review progress. To that end, as she had stated the year before, the Assembly had decided to request advice from the New Zealand Government on the different forms the future constitutional development of Niue might take. Accordingly a constitutional adviser to the Niue Assembly, Professor R. Q. Quentin-Baxter, of Wellington, had been appointed to go to the island for discussions with the people of the Territory. At the beginning of 1971, the New Zealand delegation had submitted Professor Quentin-Baxter's report, which had been adopted by the Niue Assembly, to the Special Committee. It should be noted that the Special Committee had decided to issue the report as annex II of chapter XV of its report (see A/8423/Add.6 (part I)).

22. Professor Quentin-Baxter's report recorded the views of the Niuean people on their future constitutional development. In their opinion, progress should be careful and steady and should take account of the Territory's lack of economic resources. Apart from its links with New Zealand, Niue had the advantage of being associated in the South Pacific Commission with Fiji, Western Samoa and Tonga. Thus the leaders of Niue had an opportunity to maintain close personal relationships with the leaders of other independent territories. Nevertheless, because of Niue's smallness, there was anxiety about how to exist in a world of giants. It should always be borne in mind that there were 5,000 inhabitants, only 1,800 of whom were adults. Professor Quentin-Baxter had found that the people of the Territory were united about the following three prerequisites for constitutional development: retention of New Zealand citizenship and right of access to New Zealand; continued financial and administrative support from New Zealand; and the attainment of substantial control over their own affairs.

23. In the Niue Assembly and at the village meetings, the people had shown a cautious attitude towards further change and had displayed a certain amount of worry and perplexity over the form that their future constitutional development should take. While some believed that Niue should aspire to the goal of self-government, others believed that it was too soon for that. A third, and perhaps the largest, group showed concern that Niueans were being asked to choose between their relationship with New Zealand and control of their affairs, which they considered

an impossible choice. A controversy had therefore arisen as to whether the final goal should be integration with New Zealand or self-government and, as a result, a strong feeling had emerged that no move should be made for the moment. One factor which persuaded the people of Niue that they were not ready to take their destiny into their own hands was the island's relative isolation and lack of economic resources. Another factor was the lure of emigration to New Zealand, where economic and social opportunities were much greater and more varied. A third factor was that the people of Niue and their elected representatives were still accustoming themselves to use the legal and constitutional power they possessed. Professor Quentin-Baxter had assured the people of Niue that there was no question of their being asked to give up any of their three main requirements for constitutional development. Nor would they be required to take decisions before they were ready. New Zealand had repeatedly assured the people of Niue that, if they chose to become self-governing, they would continue to receive financial and other assistance from New Zealand as they had in the past. They would also continue to have all the privileges of New Zealand citizenship, including free access to New Zealand. Those assurances made it clear that the people of Niue were not being asked to give up self-government or New Zealand support. They could have both if they wanted. It was open for the people and Government of Niue to work out a satisfactory relationship with New Zealand while building up their own institutions.

24. According to Professor Quentin-Baxter, constitutional development should not be postponed until further economic, social and educational progress had been made, since the latter could not in itself solve Niue's problems. If the small community was to have a life of its own, and resist the drift of population, it had to build up its own institutions of government, which in turn could give the people of Niue the will to make progress with New Zealand assistance in the economic, social and educational fields. The basis of democratic government had already been laid: the Niue Assembly promulgated laws and controlled the budget and the Executive Committee had the legal and constitutional authority to formulate policy.

25. The Niue Assembly had adopted the Constitutional Adviser's recommendations and had asked the New Zealand Government to draft a bill amending the Niue Act of 1966 to increase Niuean control over local decisions and to bring certain provisions of the Act into line with the stage of constitutional development which the island had reached. The Niue Amendment Bill was currently before the New Zealand Parliament, after having been submitted in draft form to the Niue Government for consideration. A delegation from the island had travelled to Wellington to give evidence in Parliament and a group of New Zealand parliamentarians, both Government and opposition, had recently visited Niue to see the situation at first hand. Accordingly, when the Bill was debated in Parliament in a few days' time, a sizable group of members would be able to speak from their own experience.

26. The year before, the New Zealand delegation had shown members of Sub-Committee II of the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee a film about the Tokelau Islands which had illustrated the special problems facing the people of those tiny atolls. The 1,687 Toke-

laus lived on three coral atolls with a total surface area of four square miles and were separated from one another by 50 miles of sea. Two of them were smaller than New York's Central Park and a third was twice the size of the Park. No point in the Territory was more than 15 feet above sea level. Of all the Pacific islands, it was on such atolls that the battle for survival was hardest. The coral-based soil was thin and infertile. Of all the atolls in the Pacific, the Tokelaus represented an extreme example of the virtual impossibility of economic development. Furthermore, the population was rising fast and the atolls were becoming increasingly overcrowded.

27. The future of the Tokelaus had long been a preoccupation of the people of the islands and their administrators, and the question had been discussed in the Special Committee. The inhabitants had been told that the Government of New Zealand was not prepared to see the colonial relationship perpetuated. On the other hand, they had rejected union with the Cook Islands or with Western Samoa, despite New Zealand's promise to continue its aid in either eventuality. They clearly thought that migration to adjacent islands or to New Zealand was probably the only answer to their problems, particularly that of overpopulation. New Zealand had continued to implement the Tokelau Islands Resettlement Scheme, whereby the inhabitants could, by their own choice, be resettled in New Zealand over a number of years.

28. The New Zealand Government had for a long time expressed its willingness to receive a visiting mission and had in the current year invited the Special Committee to send a small mission to both Territories in 1972. The new air strip on Niue was operational and would facilitate the visit to that island. On the other hand, there were considerable transport and accommodation difficulties in the Tokelaus. On 26 November 1971, the Special Committee had decided that a three-member mission would visit Niue in May. The New Zealand Government would be happy to welcome the mission in Wellington for consultations. New Zealand was thus continuing to co-operate with the United Nations in the field of decolonization. It was confident that the mission's visit to Niue in 1972 would constitute an important opportunity not only to ascertain the attitude of the local population but also to deepen United Nations understanding of the conditions on those small Pacific islands. It would be the first occasion on which there had been a United Nations visiting mission to a small Non-Self-Governing Territory before the time to exercise self-determination had come. In that respect, a new chapter would be opened in the history of United Nations decolonization activities.

AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Namibia (*continued*)

29. The CHAIRMAN announced that two communications had been received concerning Namibia, one from Mr. George Mhongo, representative of SWANUF (South West Africa National United Front), and the other from Mr. E. S. Tjirimuje and others on behalf of the Herero people. Both communications were in the Secretariat files and were available to members who wished to consult them.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.