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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION
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FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1963rd MEETING

Tuesday, 7 December 1971, at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

Chairman: Mr. Keith JOHNSON (Jamaica).

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))

Agenda item 65 *(continued)* (A/8423/Add.8/Rev.1, A/8520 and Add.1 and 2)

Agenda item 70 *(continued)* (A/8398 and Add.1, A/8513)

Agenda items 71 and 12 *(continued)* (A/8314 and Add.1-5, 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)*

1. Mr. VASILYEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) recalled that the United Nations had adopted many resolutions against colonialism, in particular resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, in which the General Assembly had declared that the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations was a crime; however, the efforts made by the United Nations had only been partly successful. The blame lay, not with the decisions taken by the United Nations, which were quite satisfactory, but with the policy of the Western Powers, which were maintaining their domination over colonial Territories for political, economic and strategic reasons. The recent decision by the United States Congress to authorize the importation of chrome from Southern Rhodesia, and the negotiations held between the United Kingdom Government and the Smith régime clearly reflected that policy of the imperialist Powers. In resolution 2703 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, the General Assembly had requested the colonial Powers to take legislative, administrative and other measures in respect of their nationals who owned and operated enterprises in colonial Territories in order to put a stop to their activities which were detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of the Territories, but, as was indicated in document A/8398, no such measures had been taken and the Western Powers were continuing shamelessly to exploit the peoples of colonial Territories and to reap very high profits in those Territories, whose inhabitants had no legal means of obstructing the activities of monopolies. Those monopolies constituted a considerable force and were partly responsible for maintaining the colonialist racist régime in southern Africa which, in turn, were helping the monopolies to prosper by providing them with cheap labour that was cruelly exploited. The report of the United Nations Council for Namibia (A/8424) characterized the conditions on the labour market as akin to slavery. The monopolies themselves openly admitted that they were in sympathy with those régimes. There was a veritable empire of British and American capital in southern Africa. The figures spoke for themselves: since 1969, for example, the profits of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa had risen by 6.8 per cent, those of the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation by 15 per cent, those of Charter Consolidated by 19 per cent. Investment by the Western Powers in Namibia was increasing, in spite of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Early in the year the United Kingdom Government had started negotiating with the South African Government with a view to buying uranium ore which was to be mined in Namibia by a company controlled by Rio Tinto; an American firm, the North Mining Company, was mining tungsten, another American company was beginning to extract zinc, and so on. Capitalist monopolies were investing in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and thus helping Portugal to combat the national liberation movements. The Cabora Bassa dam was a particularly striking case in point, and the General Assembly had accordingly adopted resolution 2703 (XXV), in which it condemned that project and requested the colonial Powers and States concerned, whose companies were participants in the construction of the Cabora Bassa project, to withdraw their support from the scheme and put an end to the participation of their companies in the project. However, the Governments of the Western Powers were not only neglecting to take any measures to restrict the activities of the monopolies, but they were actually encouraging them by extolling the benefits which the monopolies were supposedly bringing to the population. His delegation supported the conclusions and recommendations 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, contained in document A/8398, with regard to the activities of the monopolies and felt that the United Nations should ensure the implementation of the decisions it had adopted on that subject.

2. The military activities of the colonial Powers constituted an even more direct obstacle to the implementation

* For the titles of the items, see "Agenda" on page

of the Declaration. It was clear from document A/8423 (part II) that the colonial Powers were not implementing the relevant United Nations resolutions and, in particular, were violating paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, in which they were requested "to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones". The United Nations should not slacken its efforts and it should confirm its resolutions on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

3. The specialized agencies should make their own contribution to that effort, as recommended in General Assembly resolutions 2621 (XXV) and 2704 (XXV). The documents before the Committee showed that the specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies had taken some measures to help the colonial peoples, but those measures mainly related to refugees and therefore only partially met the requirements of paragraph 5 of resolution 2704 (XXV). The specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies should support the indigenous population of the colonial Territories as a whole. They should also contact representatives of the national liberation movements, through the Organization of African Unity, and invite them to their international conferences and seminars. The United Nations, for its part, should condemn the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for co-operating with the colonialist régimes and should call upon Governments to help the specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies to carry out their programme of aid to the colonial peoples. It was to be hoped that at its current session the General Assembly would adopt resolutions which would ensure the speedy elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism.

4. Mr. KATENDE (Zaire) said that the activities of foreign economic and other interests were preventing the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The same economic pattern was to be observed in all the colonial Territories and it undeniably reflected the old colonial pact. The foreign monopolies concentrated on developing the export-oriented economic sectors which provided greater opportunities for profit-making than the traditional sector, which had been left to the local people; the colonial countries thus found their role reduced to that of suppliers of raw materials for the metropolitan country, which then sold back to them manufactured goods at highly remunerative prices. In that economic pattern the inhabitants of the colonized country represented cheap unskilled labour. His delegation therefore strongly condemned that community of interests between the foreign monopolies and colonial régimes and was endeavouring to break up that economic pattern, which helped to perpetuate the colonial régimes and robbed the local populations of their right to benefit from the natural resources of their own countries. He could not accept the arguments put forward by some delegations to the effect that a distinction should be made between private interests which enriched the countries and prepared them for their emancipation and interests which sought solely to perpetuate domination and exploitation. The high profits accumulated by the foreign monopolies were sent straight out of the Territory or remained in the hands of a minority of foreign settlers and were never used to improve the economic and social conditions of the local population. His delegation was critical of foreign economic investments in Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa and particularly objected to the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam which would merely help to perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the people of Mozambique. The example of his own country where, a few weeks after the proclamation of independence in 1960, foreign colonists had engineered the secession of one of the richest provinces, showed the disastrous consequences of that kind of investment. Not content with exploiting the poverty of the peoples of those Territories, the monopolies procured capital for the colonial Governments and provided them with military assistance to crush the national liberation movements.

5. The United Nations should oppose the activities of the monopolies as part of its campaign against colonialism and should involve all the active forces in the international community, and particularly the specialized agencies, in its efforts.

6. To ensure the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960) with respect to the small Non-Self-Governing Territories, the United Nations should urge the administering Powers to refrain from taking any measures which might interfere with the free choice of the peoples concerned. They should also be asked not to permit the fragmentation of those Territories or any measure that would impair the unity of their populations, and not to transform those small Territories into military bases. They should be requested fully to develop their economic potential, and to make a real effort to improve education in the Territories and ensure that the people received a political education. His delegation supported the idea of sending a visiting mission to the Territories and requested the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the United Nations in that matter. It rejected the validity of any treaty concluded with the traditional chiefs, who had often been subjected to pressure. It hoped that the process of transferring executive and legislative powers to elected representatives of the people of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea would be accelerated.

7. Finally, his delegation wished to emphasize the humanitarian significance of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, and considered that the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees should be congratulated for their co-operation, so that the specialized agencies would also be encouraged to co-operate. It recalled that in 1970 it had supported the establishment of a United Nations Fund for Namibia, and reiterated that it would fully support the United Nations in the solution of all problems relating to decolonization and its consequences.

AGENDA ITEM 68

Question of Southern Rhodesia *(continued)*** (A/8423/Add.1, A/8423/Add.2 (parts I and II))

8. Mr. DELGADO (Cuba) said that he wished to state the views of his delegation on the recent negotiations between

** Resumed from the 1959th meeting.

the United Kingdom Government and the racist minority Smith régime. He was, of course, not attempting a definitive interpretation of those events, the full ramifications of which were not yet known, and his delegation therefore reserved the right to return to the subject later.

9. Since the unilateral declaration of independence on 2 March 1965, the racist minority, supported by its imperialist allies, had been attempting by all possible means to secure recognition for the current régime. Yet, since coming to power, that régime had applied a far more rigid policy of *apartheid* against the African population than that applied by previous régimes, and was subjecting it to increasingly harsh repression. It was pointless to describe the wretched living conditions of that population, as they were well known, or to recall that the prisons were full of patriots, or that torture was commonly practised, sometimes with fatal results. The situation was even more serious than it had been at the time of the illegal declaration of independence, and the only hope lay in the growing resistance of the population, supported by all progressive African countries. The agreement reached on 25 November 1971 between the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesia constituted, in fact, recognition of an illegal racist régime, as that régime had never reversed the decisions it had taken unilaterally and had given no cause for hope that it would in future show a greater concern for justice. It could hardly be expected that a régime which enshrined *apartheid* in its constitution would adopt any constitutional reforms that would guarantee equitable representation of the population. Furthermore, the complicated machinery for applying the agreement did not guarantee that its aims would be achieved. How, in fact, would the Smith régime set about consulting the population? Would it consult the people in prison, the people who had died in recent years and the enslaved and oppressed African population or would it consult mere puppets chosen by the white minority? The argument that the indigenous population must become accustomed gradually to participating in the activities of the country's legislative institutions was indefensible. If the white minority left Southern Rhodesia, it would take only a few hours to set up an African Government capable of assuming the necessary tasks and responsibilities. In fact, the people of Zimbabwe had one of the most advanced cultures on the African continent, and it was incredible that anyone should claim to bring civilization to them.

10. The United Kingdom had no right to contend that it was unable to impose its will on the Smith régime, when it had had no hesitation in using force when its former colonies had demanded their independence, when the United States had itself used force in the Congo, the Dominican Republic and Korea, and when they were dropping thousands of tons of bombs, poison gas, and chemical and bacteriological substances on Viet-Nam. The international community should not remain inactive, and the General Assembly should take a stand on the negotiations between the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesia and condemn all manoeuvres aimed at securing recognition for the régime, which would have to be replaced sooner or later by a government representing the African majority, when the African population was able to exercise its right to self-determination. It was the duty of the international community to provide all possible political, moral and material assistance to peoples who were struggling against foreign domination, like the people of Zimbabwe, whom Cuba for its part would steadily support.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.