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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 10: Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization	1
Agenda item 11: Report of the Security Council.....	1
Agenda item 14: Report of the International Court of Justice	1
Agenda item 21: Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations (<i>concluded</i>)	1
Agenda item 23: Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: 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 (<i>continued</i>)	1
Organization of work	4

President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 10

Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has on its agenda this morning items which have been referred for consideration directly in plenary meeting. The first of these is item 10 which concerns the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/8001 and Corr.1 and 2 and A/8001/Add.1]. It has been customary for the Assembly merely to take note of this report of the Secretary-General, and unless I hear any objection I shall take it that the Assembly wishes to follow this practice.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 11

Report of the Security Council

2. The PRESIDENT: The next item concerns the report of the Security Council for the period 16 July 1969 to 15 June 1970 [A/8002]. In this connexion, a draft resolution has been submitted by Finland and Zambia [A/L.617] proposing that the Assembly takes note of this report. Unless any delegation wishes to speak, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts this draft resolution without objection.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 2699 (XXV)).

AGENDA ITEM 14

Report of the International Court of Justice

3. The PRESIDENT: Item 14 concerns the report of the International Court of Justice for the period 1 August 1969 to 31 July 1970 [A/8005].

4. If no representative wishes to speak, I propose that the General Assembly take note of the report of the International Court of Justice.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 21

Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations (*concluded*)*

5. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly now has before it the report of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations concerning the World Youth Assembly [A/8161]. This report is submitted to the Members of the General Assembly for their information.

6. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of the report?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: 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 (*continued*)

7. Mr. BELKHIRIA (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): At the very moment when the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations is drawing to a close and we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there are still, unfortunately, 45 dependent Territories in which approximately 28 million inhabitants still suffer under the colonial yoke.

8. Whether we are talking about the peoples of Namibia or Southern Rhodesia, or the peoples in the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), in all those Territories, man—with all the

* Resumed from the 1883rd meeting.

finer connotations of that word—is persecuted, oppressed and frustrated, deprived of his most elementary rights; his dignity is trampled underfoot, and he is despoiled of his property and heritage.

9. My delegation is shocked by the flagrant challenge to the authority and prestige of the United Nations in Namibia, a Territory falling within the competence of the United Nations. The South African Government persists in refusing to implement relevant United Nations resolutions and to co-operate with the United Nations Council for Namibia. In that challenge to our Organization the South African Government goes even further, by extending its policy of *apartheid* which is intended to lead to the dismantling of that Territory by creating separate “homelands” on the basis of race.

10. The situation in Southern Rhodesia is equally disturbing, and I might say grave. The unlawful racist minority régime also continues to defy the United Nations and world opinion by adopting racially discriminatory legislation, in addition to its unlawful constitution.

11. Portugal, for its part, is pursuing a vast colonial war, extending from Guinea (Bissau) to Mozambique, and passing through Angola. Blinded by its greedy and ruthless ambitions, but doomed inevitably to failure, Portugal clings desperately to a cause that is lost in advance. By basing its colonial policy on the repression of the true nationals of those Territories, on the shameless exploitation of the wealth and natural resources of those Territories, and finally on the abject and immoral use and exploitation of cheap labour in contempt of the principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, and of the elementary rights inherent in the human person enunciated again in resolution 1514 (XV), the Portuguese Government is only hastening the end of its unlawful presence in the Territories under its administration and will finally be forced to recognize tomorrow the very people it is repressing today as the lawful representatives of their peoples, and will have to engage in negotiations with them for a total disengagement. This is particularly true since the United Nations has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to regain their independence and, thereby, their dignity.

12. In the same way, my delegation is particularly concerned and indeed upset, by the ever-growing volume of foreign investments in the colonial Territories before they have acceded to independence. We are convinced that, without the aid of its allies, and the complicity of foreign international firms and corporations, Portugal, which is 46 times smaller than the Territories which it administers, and the poorest country in Europe, could in no way cope with a project of the size of the Cabora Bassa dam, the benefits and profits from which for that matter will be placed exclusively at the service of the white colonists, and in a round about way will also benefit South Africa, while cynically preventing the legitimate heirs from disposing of the benefits in accordance with Chapters XI and XIII of the Charter.

13. Nevertheless, my delegation is gratified at the noble, meritorious and praiseworthy gesture that has just been made by Sweden and Italy in withdrawing their contributions to the construction of the dam. We take this occasion to launch an appeal to all countries that have participated closely or even remotely, directly or indirectly, in the building of that dam to withdraw immediately their support, whatever form it may take, in order to boycott that malevolent enterprise which is directed against the acceleration of the process of decolonization. But that is not sufficient: a military embargo should supplement the economic embargo so that Portugal will finally cease to feed its inclinations and its greed for economic conquest and territorial expansion of which the aggression committed on 22-23 November last against Guinea, a sovereign Member State of the United Nations, is a typical example.

14. The Tunisian delegation cannot remain silent in the face of the situation raging in the small Territories which are the subject of draft resolutions A/C.4/L.979 and A/C.4/L.978,¹ and must again draw the General Assembly's attention to them. It is incomprehensible, indeed inadmissible, to my delegation that on the pretexts—which, for that matter, are totally devoid of any juridical basis—invoked by the administering Powers, those Territories because of their small size, or their economic nonviability or a plurality of dialects, should be prevented from acceding to independence.

15. Those arguments were disproved at the time of the accession to independence of dozens of countries at the end of the Second World War, thanks to the efforts of the United Nations. That is why we would very much hope that during the forthcoming decade the United Nations will examine more effectively the problems of those Territories in order to hasten their delivery from the colonial yoke. Moreover, it is imperative and urgent for the administering Powers to provide the necessary information on the populations of those Territories under their trusteeship, on their evolution and on the stages planned for their accession to effective independence. If those Powers are recalcitrant or evade their responsibilities, we will have to recognize the need for visiting missions. Tunisia, for its part, considers that their role is of capital importance. If they are to function properly it is incumbent on the administering Powers not to hamper the work of visiting missions, and to provide them with adequate means to carry out properly the task entrusted to them by the United Nations.

16. More than ever, Member States should fulfil their obligations under the Charter and co-operate with the United Nations. For although our Organization has kept mankind in a relative state of peace for a quarter of a century, it remains nonetheless true that the spectre of the threat of war has not been totally dispelled. It will continue to hang over us until we have restored to the oppressed peoples the complete freedom to determine their own destinies, and until we have extended a helping hand to them to free them

¹ Subsequently adopted as resolutions 2709 (XXV) and 2700 (XXV) respectively.

from poverty, disease and ignorance, and until we have silenced the cannons so that the living may live in dignity, freedom, justice and peace.

17. Mr. BATYUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Colonialism must be exterminated. "The process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible", as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples solemnly proclaimed 10 years ago.

18. Although the process of the liberation of the colonies has slowed down perceptibly over recent years, the growth of the anti-colonialist forces throughout the world has not ceased even for a moment, the national liberation movement in the colonial Territories continues to expand and an atmosphere is being created in international relations in which the last colonialists are finding it increasingly difficult to breathe. The growth of the power of the world socialist system, the collapse of the colonial system and the emergence of independent States has radically altered the world situation.

19. The spirit of the new times is very apparent in the United Nations. In the first few years after its establishment, the voices of those who were fighting colonialism in the United Nations were lonely ones; but in 1970, the year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization, we can see the final and irrevocable moral defeat of colonialism in the United Nations and the complete isolation of the last colonizers and their protectors. They find themselves in unenviable solitude every time they try to prevent the adoption of anti-colonial decisions.

20. It is true that such countries as Portugal and the Republic of South Africa and their active guardians, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and some other members of NATO, have suffered a moral defeat in the United Nations and found themselves unable to prevent the adoption of anti-colonial decisions, are now trying to undermine in practice the implementation of these decisions.

21. The Declaration on the elimination of colonialism is now 10 years old. Yet for tens of millions of people in the remaining colonies the Declaration has not yet been carried out. In southern Africa the position of the indigenous population is still deteriorating. The reasons for this are known to all.

22. The racists know that they are being propped up by the support which various Western Powers are giving them because of the community of basic economic and political interests between imperialism and South African colonialism and racism. Over the past 10 years, in violation of the sanctions, the Republic of South Africa has already acquired from the west various types of weapons worth almost \$1,000 million.

23. The representatives of monopolistic capital have a greater intrinsic ideological kinship with the colonialist régimes than with the majority of the Members of the United Nations.

24. On 3 June this year, Mr. Fisher, one of the 77 United States Congressmen urging recognition by the United States of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, made the following statement to his colleagues in the United States Congress:

"That African nation [Southern Rhodesia] has done us no harm. It even offered at one time to send some aid to South Viet-Nam if we asked for it. It is a friendly country, rich in resources, and strongly committed to the western struggle against the relentless forces of communism."²

As we see, the colonial régimes are appreciated by their Western guardians mainly because of their reactionary character.

25. The fact that this régime and others in southern Africa which are also "friendly to the United States of America" have adopted a policy and practice of terrorizing and oppressing the African population has no significance for the allies of Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The logic of world social development is such that the "heroes" of Sharpeville and Sonmy consider themselves brothers-in-arms, even if they are not formally allied.

26. The failure of the leading NATO countries to comply with the decisions of the United Nations on decolonization and their economic and military support of the racist colonial régimes—these are the props on which racism and colonialism rely in southern Africa. Take away these props and there will be nothing left of colonialism tomorrow.

27. Colonialism originated in war and existed in the inhuman suppression of the natural aspirations of peoples to freedom and independence. The fate of the last bastions of colonialism is also linked with the suppression of the liberation movement. The remnants of colonialism pose a growing threat to the peace and security of the peoples and, in particular, to the African States adjacent to the colonies.

28. Remember how often in recent years the Security Council has been called upon to consider serious situations resulting from the aggressive acts committed from colonial Territories against the independent African States, the occupation of Namibia by South African troops, the war being waged by Portuguese troops in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and the existence of military bases in colonial Territories. It is no accident that the Security Council devotes a large portion of its time to the dangerous situation created by the military activities of the colonialists.

29. Just recently, in November, the Portuguese colonialists committed an unprecedentedly brazen attack against the Territory of the independent State of Guinea using mercenaries—a practice which has been condemned by the United Nations. This attack failed, but how could it have taken place at all? Was it not because

² *United States Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 91st Congress, Second Session*, vol. 116, No. 90, p. E5152.

Portugal, as a member of NATO, knew in advance that the NATO members who are also permanent members of the Security Council would make every effort to prevent the adoption of decisive action by the United Nations against the Portuguese colonialists? The consideration by the Security Council of the question of this aggressive act by Portugal in Africa did indeed show that the Portuguese colonialists can rely on their NATO partners in their anti-African policy.

30. That is why Ambassador Mwaanga, the representative of Zambia on the Security Council, was quite right in saying on 7 December at the Council's 1561st meeting:

“Portugal's crimes against independent Africa are also NATO's crimes against Africa. There are no two ways about that. It is with NATO arms and material assistance that an impoverished Portugal is waging its colonial wars and committing acts of aggression against independent African States.”

31. The Ukrainian delegation strongly condemns colonial wars and demands the adoption of vigorous action against the colonialists who have entrenched themselves in southern Africa.

32. Africa is entering the 1970s divided into a liberated north and a colonial south. The African freedom fighters should be prepared for new ordeals but we believe that the decade of the seventies will bring new history-making victories for the national liberation movements of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, Guinea (Bissau) and other Territories.

33. The Ukrainian SSR is proud that, both inside and outside the United Nations, it has always supported and will continue to support the just cause of the struggle against colonialism. Certain positive results have been achieved through the unification of the progressive forces in the United Nations. The adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four, the special programme of action adopted at the current session for the full implementation of the Declaration on the elimination of colonialism [resolution 2621 (XXV)], and a number of other decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council have helped to accelerate the decolonization process. A greater effort must, however, be made to overcome the resistance of the colonial régimes and rid our planet for ever of the last vestiges of colonialism.

34. The widespread national liberation movement in the colonies, the decisive and comprehensive material and moral assistance being given to the struggle of the peoples against colonialism and the effort to ensure the implementation by all States of the anti-colonial decisions taken by the United Nations must inevitably culminate in the elimination of the outmoded and shameful system of colonialism. Colonialism must be exterminated.

35. The PRESIDENT: There are no more speakers for this morning on item 23.

36. Representatives are aware that a draft resolution sponsored by Algeria, Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia has been distributed [A/L.621].

37. I have just received a slip of paper asking that Libya be added to the list of sponsors. I take it for granted that the delegation of Libya has cleared this with the other sponsors, because from a strictly formal point of view it is not permissible for delegations to announce that they are sponsors. A draft resolution is the property of those that have originally sponsored it and we must have their permission to add other sponsors to it. It has, however, been usual to accept new sponsors when there has been no particular objection from the original sponsors.

38. If I hear no objection I shall take it that none of the original sponsors has any objection to adding the name of Libya to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution [see A/L.621/Add.1].

39. May I ask whether any delegation would like to introduce the draft resolution in question or whether any delegation is ready to speak on it? I would add that one of the reasons for deciding to have a meeting today was the hope that representatives would start the discussion of this draft resolution so that we would have that much more time left on Monday. It seems, however, that no delegation is ready to speak on it.

Organization of work

40. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting I should like to make an announcement. As will be remembered, it had been decided that the Assembly should terminate this session on 15 December. That decision has not been changed. However, today it seems possible—pessimists might even say probable—that one of the Committees will not be able to finish its work in time to terminate the Assembly on 15 December, and it might then be necessary to have an extra day or perhaps an extra day and a half. No decision has been taken on that because we are still hoping that the Committee in question will be able to make so much progress over the week-end and on Monday that it will be possible to finish in time. I shall bring this matter before the Assembly again in the course of Monday so that we can then take a decision. It is believed that it will be sufficient for the Assembly to have a meeting on 16 December and, if necessary, perhaps also on the morning of 17 December. But there is a very good possibility that we shall finish on 16 December, and still a slight hope that we shall be able to finish on 15 December.

The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.