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CONTENTS

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*) .....

Page

1

Agenda item 12:

Report of the Economic and Social Council (*continued*)  
Report of the Second Committee (part II) .....

10

Agenda items 40 and 41:

Operational activities for development:  
(a) Activities of the United Nations Development Programme: reports of the Governing Council;  
(b) Activities undertaken by the Secretary-General  
United Nations Capital Development Fund  
Report of the Second Committee .....

16

Agenda item 44:

Question of the establishment of an international university: report of the Secretary-General  
Report of the Second Committee .....

Agenda item 45:

Permanent sovereignty over natural resources: report of the Secretary-General  
Report of the Second Committee .....

**President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).**

**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*)**

1. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The quarter of a century that has elapsed since the creation of this Organization is recorded in modern history as the decisive affirmation of the will of peoples fully to realize their aspirations for a better life, for independent development.

2. The evolution of the world in the post-war period has highlighted the irresistibly forceful development of an objective, inevitable process of national renaissance of peoples on all continents, which theretofore had been subjugated and compelled to play the role of passive tools of history. It was the era when, despite the determined resistance of imperialism and international reaction, the revolutionary energies of peoples, animated by the ideals of independence and progress,

tumultuously gained their freedom, giving new meaning and a higher status to the struggle for national liberation.

3. An integral part of this gigantic socio-political anti-imperialist movement, the national liberation struggle for the final liquidation of colonialism and against neo-colonialism exercises an increasing influence on the development of modern society and the evolution of international relations. As a result of the struggle of peoples to regain their national independence, the colonial system has crumbled and dozens of new States have emerged on the ruins of colonial empires. These States at present play an important role in the United Nations and in international life as a whole.

4. My delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity warmly to hail the accession to full independence of the people of Fiji and to welcome them into the ranks of our Organization.

5. Life itself shows that the process of the participation of an ever-increasing number of nations in a deliberate historic creation is now in full swing. The peoples that have shaken off the colonial yoke, or are struggling to free themselves from that yoke, are concentrating their efforts on the conquest and reinforcement of their economic and political independence, on their consolidation and affirmation as independent nations within the international community. The force with which people are combating colonial régimes, the determination with which the great majority of young sovereign States are rising up against neo-colonialist practices of direct or indirect interference in their domestic affairs, and the struggle of peoples against the domination of foreign monopolistic circles are eloquent evidence of the timeliness and the vigour of the ideas of independence and national sovereignty in the contemporary world, their role and their deep significance in the advancement of peace and the social progress of peoples.

6. The abolition of the colonial system and respect for the right of every people to self-determination stand as the political and moral imperatives of our time. As the President of the Council of the State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, emphasized during this statement to the commemorative session of the General Assembly:

“We believe it is imperative to act resolutely to ensure the final elimination of colonialism, a shameful anachronism that flagrantly contravenes international ethics and principles unanimously proclaimed today by the peoples of the world. It is no longer

conceivable to allow the resurgence in any form of the domination of one State by another. It is necessary to take determined action to abolish neo-colonialism, which re-enacts the plundering of the peoples in a disguised form.” [1872nd meeting, para. 98.]

7. This is not only a requirement which accords with the faith proclaimed in the Charter by the peoples of the United Nations, following the severe trials they had undergone in the Second World War, in the “dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”, and for that matter colonialism and its perpetuation constitute a negation of every word of this passage I have just quoted from the preamble to the Charter; but this issue also raises profound questions both of history and of practical politics.

8. Need one recall that all the great international problems today confronting mankind have their origins in colonialism? Is it not an actual fact that the major part of United Nations activities are designed to confront and eliminate the vestiges of the colonial system that has brought so many evils to the peoples of all parts of the world?

9. Take, for instance, the matter of underdevelopment, one of the most burning problems of the present-day world, which derives its existence from the fact that for many long years the resources of the peoples were exploited solely for the benefit of a small group of metropolitan countries. Five centuries of plunder and humiliation—that, in brief, is the colonial history of Africa. It cannot be denied that the perpetuation of underdevelopment, and above all the attempts by the imperialist and colonialist forces to carry on with their old practice of dominating peoples and enslaving them to foreign interests, remain as a permanent cause of animosities, mistrust and tension in international relations.

10. Accordingly, we find the same colonial origins in many international conflicts that divert the attention, labours and energies of the peoples concerned from the creative, constructive and peaceful activities which they so sorely need, to concentrate on the problems involved in their general development. All this derives from the heritage bequeathed by the colonial system that prevailed in the world for several centuries.

11. We still see this system in action, stubbornly refusing to give up its last-ditch positions, in nearly 20 per cent of the continent of Africa and elsewhere. As we know, the Portuguese Government, benefiting from military aid from NATO and from international reactionary circles, is striving to maintain a vast colonial empire. In the Republic of South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia, the racist régimes of those countries, with the active support of the great international monopolies which have economic interests in those countries, are trying very hard to guarantee the implementation of an anti-scientific, anti-human doctrine and philosophy, which is the least that can be said, translated into practical application by the policy

of *apartheid*—which itself is also a direct derivative of the colonialist system and mentality. To maintain their domination, those régimes have begun and are carrying on bloody colonial wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe and Namibia, peoples who have quite legitimately risen up in arms to obtain their liberty, their independence and respect for their sacred right to be the masters of their own destinies. For the same reasons, the oppressive régimes of southern Africa are the adversaries of the young sovereign States which are busily engaged in promoting their independent development and which manifest their solidarity with the struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke.

12. To this must be added the permanent danger to the peace and security of peoples which emanates from the maintenance of the colonial system and from the attempts of imperialist circles to re-establish their spheres of political and economic domination. In their effort to arrest the revolutionary transformation of the world and the progressive processes that are going on in contemporary society, the imperialist circles resort to plots, coups d'état and acts of armed aggression aimed at repressing and stifling the national liberation movements and the trends towards the sovereign development of States. They support the most reactionary forces in various countries, seek to overthrow progressive régimes and Governments and try to impose, from outside, régimes that have nothing to do with the genuine will and aspirations of the peoples involved.

13. The imperialist plot worked out against Guinea last November is but one of the most recent cases in point. The Romanian people energetically condemned the armed intervention against Guinea as an act profoundly violating the most rudimentary rules of international morality and justice and the unanimously accepted norms of international law.

14. The aggression against Guinea brings out once again the threat to the independence of peoples and to peace represented by the aggressive activities of imperialism, and international reaction, and by the attempts of the colonialist forces to maintain and recover their positions and privileges.

15. If we have felt compelled to make all these comments, it was so that we might bring out clearly the acute need for the urgent and complete eradication of the last remnants of colonialism.

16. To be sure, there are many obstacles in the way of decolonization. Twenty-five years of debate in the United Nations together with the practical experience of every day have helped to identify them in full. One of them lies in the activities and practices of foreign financial and other interests which operate in the colonial territories to the benefit of the imperialist Powers who are described and rightly so as the major obstacle to the attainment of the objectives proclaimed in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and in the Programme of

action for the complete application of that Declaration adopted during this session. What we are dealing with here is the stubborn refusal by the international monopoly interests to resign themselves to the idea that their traditional sources of profits, gained from the exploitation of colonial peoples, will shortly be cut off.

17. That refusal is naturally reflected here in the General Assembly in definite ways. We are referring to the consistently negative attitudes of certain States with regard to resolutions concerning the principal colonial problems that the Organization has to deal with. This attitude, which is undoubtedly of significance, was particularly conspicuous during the work of the present anniversary session of the Assembly at the time of the debates on the adoption of the Programme of action [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*] and the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [*resolution 2627 (XXV)*].

18. We have mentioned this fact because it sheds light on the mentality, political choice, and the lack of willingness of certain Powers to recognize and become part of the objective process which consists of the vigorous affirmation of the determination of peoples to forge a free and independent life in accordance with their own desires.

19. The liberation struggle has developed and is continuing to develop in specific conditions which vary from country to country and from region to region. It has, for that matter, assumed certain definite forms and adopted particular methods of action and decolonization has been carried out at different tempos depending on the territory. Because of historical and political circumstances, southern Africa remains one of the most powerful vestiges of the colonial system. In that part of the African continent the liberation struggle has become a broad scale and consistent undertaking. The national liberation movements have become stronger and stronger and better and better organized in their activities to unify their peoples, and to overthrow the colonial régimes. In this connexion, the successes gained by the patriotic forces of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) in the liberation of their countries, as well as the growing resistance of the popular masses in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia against the racist Governments, are significant.

20. The Romanian people, which in the course of its history has had ample opportunity to know the meaning of foreign exploitation and oppression, has great sympathy and esteem for the cause of the liberation of peoples; it fully supports all those peoples that are rising up to shake off the foreign yoke, and warmly supports their fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and their struggle to enforce respect for their right to freedom, independence and a dignified and civilized life.

21. The Romanian delegation would like once again to reaffirm this attitude and our determination to support any action undertaken within the United Nations that may advance the right of every people to determine

its own destiny and to achieve the integral and urgent implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

22. Mr. DIAZ CASANUEVA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Chilean delegation wishes to express its gratitude to the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In our opinion, that Committee is firmly pursuing the objective which is its very *raison d'être* and is discharging its responsibilities in a vigorous and serious fashion. As a member of that Committee, we contributed to the examination and solution of various problems entrusted to it. We became aware of both the possibilities open to us and the difficulties in our path. But as a result of our experience we have renewed faith in this important work of aiding peoples to shake off the colonialist yoke which denegates them and keeps them in a state of backwardness and slavery.

23. It is gratifying to me to be able to express from this lofty rostrum the firm determination of the new Government of Chile to collaborate with full enthusiasm and conviction in the implementation of the United Nations policy to destroy the last bastions of colonialist oppression and exploitation remaining in the world.

24. Chile, as a former colony, is particularly sensitive to the aspirations for freedom of peoples who are still victims of colonialism. I should like to mention in particular the case of southern Africa, where sizable reactionary forces are consolidating and strengthening themselves—forces which are strangling the peoples of the region and are threatening the entire international community. Chile does not forget the great battles that its people had to wage to win their independence. Today we are continuing further in our struggle, fighting for a full measure of independence in all areas—independence which is not opposed to inter-dependence: on the contrary, it would be a complementary element, especially in our relations with our brother-countries of Latin America.

25. We must uproot the backward forces of the old colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism which hamper our development, so that peoples can take their destinies into their own hands and achieve the profound transformations that will ensure their progress and well-being at all economic and social levels.

26. Ten years ago this international Organization, in response to the strong clamour for justice and solidarity, adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It supplemented the spirit of the Charter by interpreting a widely-supported feeling of the vast majority of the peoples of the world in proclaiming the necessity to put an end rapidly and unconditionally, to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. There are no longer any valid excuses or pretexts for impeding an irreversible process, a historic departure, which should be carried out freely and quickly, to the benefit of all parties, were it not for the blind determination of the colonial-

ists to impede, by the cruellest and most refined methods, inevitable liberation, postponed up till now but unquestionably destined to become a reality tomorrow.

27. This Assembly, for example, no longer accepts the pretext of a lack of political, economic, social or other form of preparation of various Territories in order to retard the exercise of their legitimate right to self-determination. In a few days, on 14 December, we shall be marking the tenth anniversary of that historic Declaration. That day should be one of reflection for international public opinion, and of recognition of the moral duty that we have to participate in the common struggle against the aggressive policy of colonialism. Unfortunately, there are countries which, while denying in theory the legitimacy of the colonial system, in practice, by their cautious attitude or by their support of the colonialists, are compromising themselves and making themselves responsible for the perpetuation of colonialism. Thus, scepticism spreads about the role that the United Nations should play as an effective instrument in the liquidation of colonialism in more than 45 Territories that are still submerged under such an iniquitous régime, the most flagrant examples of which we find in southern Africa.

28. Those who are reluctant to collaborate decisively in the eradication of colonial systems have interests either strategic or economic that are linked to those systems. It is essential that the United Nations should examine and denounce the harmful influence of foreign interests in dependent territories where they find resources of which the peoples are being despoiled, an abundance of cheap labour, and strictness on the part of the colonial governments in the treatment and exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants, all of which makes these areas propitious zones for ensuring the growing rate of great profits that are extracted through plundering oppression and even the extermination of millions of human beings.

29. In the sphere of decolonization the liberalization of Africa has been halted at the Zambezi and at the frontier of the Congo and Angola. Thus there has been created a powerful bloc dominated by Portugal, South Africa and Smith's illegal régime in Rhodesia. In this way colonialism unites with racism and bellicosity for in this zone we find a dangerous military bloc being consolidated. Of the 28 million people who are being deprived of the right to self-determination, 18 million are in southern Africa. In South Africa the inhuman and shameful system of *apartheid* prevails. South Africa ignores the authority of the United Nations, persists in the illegal occupation of Namibia and denies to its people the right to freedom and independence. Through the so-called law of South West Africa, which consecrates the annexation of Namibia and the establishment of the so-called "homelands" separated into the various races—the régime of the Bantustans in accordance with the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission<sup>1</sup>—South Africa has intensified the oppres-

sion of Namibia. The position of this Territory which has been seized from the United Nations is a threat to international peace. The Security Council recognized this fact in its resolution 276 (1969) which considers the presence of South Africa in Namibia as unlawful, contrary to the principles of the Charter and prejudicial to the interests of the people and the international community. The Security Council urges the Government of South Africa immediately to withdraw its administration from that territory.

30. Chile is particularly cognizant of its responsibility in this case because it is a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, a Council which unfortunately has been prevented by many many obstacles from doing an effective job.

31. In Rhodesia the Africans suffer from exploitation and the denial of their fundamental rights. We cannot forget that the United Kingdom in this instance continues to be the responsible Power.

32. Nor can we fail to mention a fact which concerns us deeply, that is, the failure of the sanctions applied to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

33. With respect to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), the Portuguese Government insists on maintaining the legal fiction of overseas provinces. In these Territories the Africans are shedding their blood without having the necessary means to defend themselves. Here we should like to pay a tribute to the liberation movements that have been brutally repressed and which are continuing in their great historic struggle overcoming their lack of strength and frustration, convinced that in the final analysis the reward for so much sacrifice will be freedom, independence and the regaining of human dignity.

34. My delegation firmly supports the statement made by U Thant on 1 September 1970 in Addis Ababa in which he stated:

"After the gigantic upsurge from 1955 to 1965, the great wave of liberation which swept over Africa appears . . . to have met a solid wall of defiance in the southernmost part of the continent. Despite all the efforts of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the forces of racism and reaction still remain strongly entrenched in that part of the world, and derive aid and comfort from the failure of certain Powers to lend their whole-hearted co-operation to the United Nations in the application of effective sanctions."

35. As a matter of fact not only have these sanctions failed, but rather they provide aid to the colonialist bloc, as has occurred in the case of the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique and on the project to harness the Cunene in Angola. We are glad that the Governments of Sweden and Italy have convinced their nationals not to participate in the building of the dam at Cabora Bassa.

<sup>1</sup> Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, established in 1962 by the Government of South Africa under the chairmanship of Mr. F. H. Odendaal.



36. Unfortunately in southern Africa we are witnessing an escalation of colonialism, of racism, of unlawfulness and of aggression in the dependent territories and also in the neighbouring free and independent countries. In order to perpetuate the domination of the African majority by the white minority, the régimes that hold sway in this area not only follow a common odious political philosophy, but they are also perfecting their military ties with the support of the imperialists and the international monopolies. Thus, in order to oppose independence the colonialists do not hesitate to resort to genocide within the territories or aggression outside of them.

37. World peace is seriously compromised by colonialism. The Chilean delegation wishes to express its support of Zambia which is living under the constant threat of the reactionary régimes that preyail in southern Africa, and also its support of Guinea which was the victim of aggression just a few days ago.

38. In our opinion, while the United Nations can point to visible creditable achievements and positive contributions in the great task of eradicating colonialism, its objectives and its task for the future should be expanded and made more dynamic because, as is happening in southern Africa, a bitter dramatic situation is growing worse with a system of cold and methodical colonialist exploitation, violation of all human rights, and a threat to world peace.

39. In the face of cynical, unmasked colonialism, in the face of modern, dissimulated forms of neo-colonialism, in the face of the heroic will of the peoples who are shedding their blood in the struggle for independence, in the face of frustration because the measures taken against colonialism, especially in Africa, have proved ineffective, with all this in mind it is the duty of the United Nations, and of each and every Member nation to revise its policy, its methods, in order to make fully effective the principles contained in the Declaration whose anniversary we are celebrating with mixed feelings of joy and sorrow, concern and hope.

40. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to remind members that in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 1920th plenary meeting, on 8 December, the time-limit for submission of proposals under agenda item 23 will be 5 o'clock this afternoon.

41. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This Organization assumed the commitment to defend the right of all peoples to total national independence in an historic document, the tenth anniversary of which we shall be celebrating next week. Since the founding of this Organization, our Assembly has seen its ranks swelled by delegations of many countries which have acceded to independence during the past quarter of a century. Throughout this long period also, at every session of this eminent Assembly, we have had various resolutions and appeals adopted which were designed to ensure that this process, which guarantees independence, is extended to all Territories

that have still not attained their right to self-determination. There are dozens of resolutions which have been adopted by this Assembly to the effect that an end should be put to colonialism and foreign oppression over many peoples of Africa and Asia which are still subject to oppression from abroad.

42. None the less, the situation has reached a point where these decisions are merely repeated year after year without our being able to see any considerable progress in the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). The peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Cabinda, Oman, the Afars and other Territories in the Arabian peninsula, continue their heroic struggle to win a full measure of national independence, and still have to cope with the resistance of the colonialists who turn a deaf ear to the numerous appeals of the international community. In southern Africa, moreover, the process continues of strengthening a whole group of States, which are the heritage and continuation of the colonial régime in its most anachronistic form, the régimes of South Africa and of Southern Rhodesia, which constitute a source of threat to the security of those African States which have attained the exercise of their national sovereignty. Those racist régimes that have extended their oppression to the Territory of Namibia, support the old forms of colonialism still existent in Africa and are continually organizing acts of provocation and attacks against the neighbouring independent States. Only a few days ago the Security Council of this Organization had to consider the most recent incident of this type that occurred, which was the Portuguese aggression against independent Guinea. There are other cases that the African peoples recall, of which Guinea also has been a victim, as well as the People's Republic of the Congo, Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania and other States. All of this activity which endangers international peace and security, and the persistence of the colonial régime in Africa, are made possible thanks only to the military and financial support that the racist and colonialist régimes receive from NATO, and in particular from the great Western Powers.

43. My delegation would like to reaffirm its complete solidarity with the struggle of all the African peoples for their complete national independence and with the struggle of African independent States to preserve their sovereignty and develop a new life, free from pressures and threats from abroad. My delegation is prepared in future to co-operate with all of those actions fostered here in the United Nations to strengthen these anti-colonialist objectives which are endorsed by the majority of the members of the Assembly.

44. But while we express our complete solidarity with the peoples that are fighting against colonialism in Africa or in Asia, we wish to reaffirm our view that the struggle against colonialism must be universal because the right of peoples to independence and self-determination is universal. On more than one occasion we have drawn the attention of this Assembly to the need to take measures to ensure to all peoples, without exception, the enjoyment of the principles contained in the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV).

45. Here my delegation finds itself compelled to recall a case that we have been mentioning year after year, with results that are frankly unsatisfactory, which detract from the prestige and the seriousness of the decisions taken by the Assembly.

46. Since October 1965, that is, for more than five years now, my Government has been officially approaching the Special Committee on decolonization with the request that it begin to study the case of the colony of Puerto Rico, thus following the recommendation made by 47 Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries which had met in Cairo the previous year, 1964, and which had made a similar request to the Special Committee.

47. Five years have not proved sufficient time for the Special Committee on decolonization even to begin the examination of this case. Nevertheless, Puerto Rico is a classic case on which the Assembly should take a position, a case which will determine the judgement that the international community and history will make on the anti-colonialist vocation of this Organization.

48. A Latin American country whose culture, origin and historic development are completely different from those of the administering Power, linked for centuries with its sister countries of Latin America, Puerto Rico, through United States military occupation, has been subjected to the colonial yoke for more than 70 years now. The administering Power exercises complete control over all facets of the life of the Puerto Rican people, thus providing a classic and typical case of colonialism, and in addition it has undertaken a series of activities which even endanger the very survival of the Puerto Rican people and nation. This sister country has actually been set up as a vast United States military base, with military installations that occupy 17 per cent of the total area of the country, where we find the largest atomic bases of the United States in the Western Hemisphere and where military testing activities are being carried out which endanger the very existence of the people of Puerto Rico, as has even been denounced here by the United States press itself.

49. The attempts by the colonial Power to destroy the nationalist spirit of the Puerto Rican people, to liquidate their cultural independence and assimilate them to the metropolitan country have failed despite all the efforts and all the resources of the greatest empire in the world. Today the Puerto Rican people continue to speak their own language, continue to cherish their own tradition, continue to preserve their own culture and continue to fight for independence, offering one of the most heroic and laudable examples that can be found in modern times because it is being carried out in isolation and without support from international organizations. The silence of this Organization does not affect the people as much as it affects the Organization itself.

50. If the anti-colonialism movement is to come to a halt, when the accusing finger ought to be pointed at the United States Government, there is good reason for people to question the seriousness and the strictness

of application of the resolutions we have adopted. It is important for this Organization that once and for all the 24-nation Special Committee should begin consideration of this case and act accordingly, recognizing to this sister nation the right to apply principles which we ourselves have proclaimed as universal.

51. Among the efforts designed to bring about the application of the principles of anti-colonialism proclaimed by the Assembly, my delegation believes that among the most important is the effort to strengthen the activity and the role of the Special Committee. The difficulties the Committee has encountered of the reluctance of the colonial Powers to recognize the rights of peoples have perhaps served to make certain delegations pessimistic and cause them to withdraw their support for and contribution to the activities of that important United Nations organ.

52. However, my delegation believes that it is in the interests of all independent States of the third world and in the interest of the Organization itself that the Special Committee should continue to function in the future and should have the broadest possible encouragement and co-operation of all the Member States. Along these lines we believe that the General Assembly should reaffirm the Committee's mandate, welcome the efforts the Committee has made despite all the difficulties raised by colonialism and by those who support colonialism in the world, ask the Committee to continue its efforts to contribute to the independence of peoples and, further, request the Committee to press forward with the process of studying and examining all the existing cases throughout the world where, as the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) states, there are peoples that have not yet attained independence.

53. It is in the interest of this Assembly and the work of decolonization that the Special Committee should continue to examine the situation of the Territories which so far have been under its consideration, but in addition it should, without further delay, proceed to complete the list of all the other Territories that have not yet attained independence, Territories whose destiny has been entrusted by the Assembly to the Special Committee, and which it is duty bound to consider and discuss in the future.

54. The enemies of decolonization are perhaps interested in having the Committee continue to encounter the present difficulties, and in ensuring that the special role the Assembly assigned to it may one day become confused with the routine activities of the Fourth Committee, with the same agenda, the same resolutions and, unfortunately, the same practical results from the resolutions. However, we believe that the mandate given by the General Assembly to the Special Committee would enable that Committee to inject new vigour into its activities and perhaps to follow a fresh course which would enable it to make further contributions to the work being done in this area by the Assembly every year. One of those possibilities is that of defining something that resolution 1514 (XV) considered to be the third category of still-dependent States—that is to say those peoples or

countries which, though not now considered to be colonies or 'trust territories, have still not attained independence.

55. It has not been possible to fulfil that mandate in the Committee either, for the obvious reason that certain colonial Powers and others which, though they claim not to be colonialist, oppress other peoples as though they were colonies, want to keep this door barred to the efforts of the Committee of Twenty-Four. If the Committee once and for all were to begin its consideration of this question and make recommendations to the Assembly we believe it would not only contribute to and supplement our work but also help to shatter the dreams of those who want to put an end to its work and would strengthen the tradition of anti-colonialism already established by this Assembly.

56. Mr. SEN (India): During the last 12 months the progress of the colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories towards independence has been negligible. Only Fiji has achieved independence. We must therefore continue in our vigilance and take concerted action to speed up the independence and self-determination of the remaining colonial Territories.

57. The concept of the white man's burden and of his captives, depicted as half devil and half child, is flaunted even today by the Government of South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. *Apartheid* is but yet another cloak for that concept, and I do not have to elaborate here on its application to most of southern Africa. Briefly, in this area the position is that South Africa, Portugal and the illegal régime in Rhodesia have decided not only to challenge the authority of the United Nations but to destroy a principal part of its foundation, and some countries that are Members—important Members—of the United Nations follow policies and pursue doctrines that, far from discouraging South Africa, Portugal and Ian Smith, in fact help them to increase their strength and so enable them to repress and suppress the local population with greater ferocity. The recent Security Council debate on Guinea's complaint was significant for a variety of reasons, and the comments of *The New York Times* of yesterday on this subject are both pertinent and welcome.

58. Namibia is a direct responsibility of the United Nations, but so far we have been prevented from taking effective action to meet that responsibility. South Africa continues to extend its shameful system of *apartheid* to Namibia and to divide its people into so-called Bantustans. Yet the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations sit with folded hands.

59. Over the past year, most of the world's 'legal' executions have been carried out by South Africa. In South Africa itself, as many as half a million people have been imprisoned. Considering that the overwhelming majority of those were non-white males, 1 in every 10 Africans of South Africa has been imprisoned during the year. No comments are necessary. We can imagine what is going on in Namibia under the domination of South Africa.

60. In Southern Rhodesia matters have continued to worsen during the last year. The self-imposed impotence of the administering Power, which not only has refused to take action against the illegal racist minority régime but has given assurances in advance to that effect, has encouraged Ian Smith to do what he likes and to ape the racial policies of neighbouring South Africa to ensure continued domination by the white man. Mr. Smith can reasonably expect South Africa to continue to provide him with men, money and arms. And South Africa in turn has been encouraged to believe that it can receive more and more arms. All this can only lead to bloodshed and increase the threat to international peace. But then some people think African peace is different from international peace. The Africans are, after all, black, and, as in Kipling's days, all coloured people are considered to be half devil and half child.

61. The colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are taking their toll of African lives. As many as 200,000 Portuguese troops are engaged for that purpose. Despite South African aid, both military and financial, to spur the Portuguese Government to continue its wars, the freedom fighters have been able to liberate vast areas of their countries and have set up their own administrations in those areas. But the little men who rule Portugal have no wish to learn any lessons. They are, however, very good at preaching Christianity.

62. While atrocities are perpetrated on the colonial peoples in Africa the United Nations looks on as a helpless bystander, unable to take effective action against the brutal forces of oppression.

63. One of the prime motives of the maintenance of unrepresentative régimes in the colonial Territories of southern Africa is the operation of foreign economic interests in those Territories. Working under the protection of oppressive and discriminatory labour conditions, and under the auspices and for the benefit of the illegal régimes of those regions, those economic interests continue to prosper while pretending to have the welfare and benefit of the colonial peoples as their objectives. We know and welcome the actions of the Governments of Sweden and Italy to dissociate their nationals and companies from operations in the Cabora Bassa scheme. We hope that other countries will follow their example on this and other projects in colonial Territories in southern Africa. The Cabora Bassa scheme not only will directly serve the interests of the Portuguese and South African Governments but will also affect the racial balance of the region with the arrival of new settlers from Europe.

64. This year, the Committee of Twenty-Four sent an *ad hoc* group to Africa to meet leaders of liberation movements. Many useful ideas came out of that visit. The group's report [A/8086, annex II] has been of value to the Committee in preparing the programme of action the Assembly adopted earlier in this session. We hope the committee of Twenty-Four will continue to consider the suggestions and recommendations contained in that report. We also believe that the programme

of action contains the most effective guidelines for dealing with the colonial problems of southern Africa today.

65. Now I turn to the situation in some of the smaller colonial Territories, which are scattered all over the globe. In many of those Territories economic exploitation by the administering Powers concerned, or by outside economic interests, continues. We are told that opportunities for such economic exploitation are today greatly diminished, and that the reasons for the colonial Powers retaining those possessions merely because of the isolation, small size, population and resources of those Territories. We accept that some of the smallest colonial Territories have special features, but we cannot believe that they are generally applicable. We think that difficulties have often been exaggerated to continue colonial domination in the economic and strategic interests of the administering Powers.

66. A rather different example of the exploitation of a colonial people is to be found in the New Hebrides, in the Pacific Ocean. Of the two administering Powers in the condominium governing that Territory, one has refused to recognize the authority of the United Nations to look into the problem at all. In the Territory's dual administration, which includes two systems of law and practically no political development, the people of the New Hebrides face many serious difficulties. Petitions have been received by the United Nations concerning land alienation and other problems, but those complaints have not been satisfactorily explained by the administering Powers. The United Nations, in turn, is powerless to investigate the problems of the peoples of the New Hebrides at first hand since the administering Powers have refused to accept a visiting mission.

67. That brings us to the broader subject of direct contact between the United Nations and colonial Territories. Visiting missions of the United Nations are generally the most effective means by which it can study closely the problems of the colonial peoples and ascertain their wishes concerning their political futures. Such missions have been used with success on a continuing basis by the Trusteeship Council, but the same Powers which themselves have participated in visiting missions of the Trusteeship Council refuse to allow visiting missions of the Committee of Twenty-four on grounds of principle. We find no explanation for this attitude.

68. My delegation has stated before this and other forums of the United Nations that, in our view, the primary function of the United Nations on colonial matters is to give effect to the wishes of the colonial peoples about their political future. The United Nations does not seek to impose solutions but, in order to determine and implement what the inhabitants of colonial Territories want, the United Nations must have free access to them. So long as such access is denied by the administering Powers, the difficulties for achieving decolonization will continue. We believe that the United Nations has both the right and the obligation to visit any colonial Territory, before as well as during

the exercise of self-determination. Whenever the United Nations is denied this facility by an administering Power, we are apt to face new difficulties.

69. Apart from what the administering Powers can do to bring about independence and self-government in their colonial Territories, other countries can also help in the process, mainly through assistance for education. In the past, scholarships have been provided by different countries as well as by contributions through the United Nations. India will continue to offer these scholarships and we hope that assistance for education of the colonial people, either direct or through the United Nations, will increase considerably.

70. Similarly, the specialized agencies and other appropriate international organizations can be of help. The Committee of Twenty-Four has been studying this problem and has made useful suggestions from time to time. We look forward to an effective programme of assistance by the specialized agencies to colonial peoples. In Africa, where the need is great, such a programme could be undertaken through the co-operation of the Organization of African Unity.

71. Before I conclude, I should express once again our satisfaction at Fiji's independence and immediate admission to the United Nations. Fiji's contribution will assist us in our deliberations and we shall work in close co-operation with it. We continue to hope, in spite of many difficulties I have mentioned, that the independence of Fiji will mark the beginning of a rapid advance towards independence of the colonial territories all over the world.

72. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation, as a member of the Special Committee, had an opportunity to participate fully during the deliberations on this subject. However, due to the importance of the issue, as far as my Government is concerned, my delegation speaks now in order to highlight some important points.

73. We are discussing this important item while Portugal's barbaric invasion of the Republic of Guinea is still fresh in our memories. And what is more significant is the fact that the invasion of the Republic of Guinea was planned and executed from Guinea (Bissau), a Territory still under Portuguese administration. That wanton and callous act of aggression against the Republic of Guinea by Portugal has been strongly condemned by the Security Council. The recent events in Guinea should not be viewed in isolation. Portugal's aim in invading the Republic of Guinea was to reverse the clock of decolonization. Portugal, in fact, had intended to install a puppet régime sympathetic to its evil intentions.

74. My delegation, therefore, can draw only one conclusion, namely, that as long as Portugal continues to have Territories in Africa we are likely to witness more invasions in the future.

75. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) contains a historic Declaration. It was a Declaration of warning



to all colonialists and imperialists. It was a Declaration addressed to the colonialists demanding that they speed up the process of decolonization. I am sure it was the hope of the United Nations then that by now all dependent Territories would be independent.

76. Yes, I know we are going to be told that since 1960 the colonialists have given independence to a number of countries, and I am sure the colonial Powers would want us to accept that that is enough.

77. As long as there are millions of people still languishing under the ruthless system of colonialism, it is expecting too much from us to want us to concede that what the colonialists have done so far is enough. For as long as there are millions still under foreign domination 10 years after the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization, it means that the danger of that cancerous colonialism is still with us.

78. As I said earlier, Guinea was invaded by Portugal because Portugal is still illegally occupying Guinea (Bissau). The report of the Special Committee is very specific on this particular question. It points out the various methods the colonialists are employing in their fervent desire to prolong their stay in the remaining Territories. The various reports before us are very clear in showing how the administering Powers have treated with contempt the Declaration on decolonization. Ian Smith in Rhodesia has consolidated his position to an extent that he is now thinking of introducing the *apartheid* system. The Special Committee in observing this dangerous trend of events had no choice but to warn that developments had led to a further worsening of the situation in southern Africa constituting a dangerous threat to international peace and security.

79. While accepting that the solution of the Rhodesian problem is the responsibility of the United Kingdom, we must equally point out that the longer Britain waits the more suffering it means for the African inhabitants.

80. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), among other things solemnly urged the colonialists to bring a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. In the same resolution there is a paragraph banning armed and repressive measures against dependent peoples. What do we see today in Rhodesia? When will an end come to oppression and repression there? These are questions that the United Kingdom should answer. We are tired of double talk and deceit. Since the time power was usurped in Rhodesia we have been waiting for the United Kingdom to act, and it appears as though we have to wait until doomsday because Britain is afraid of hurting the white settlers who have usurped power there.

81. In spite of all this, it is disheartening to note that whenever the United Nations or any of its organs have considered the question of Rhodesia, the representatives of the United Kingdom have done their best either to obstruct or frustrate possible action or to justify the policy of inaction pursued by their Government

with regard to the Rhodesian problem. The displeasure of the Special Committee on decolonization is reflected in the draft resolution on Rhodesia contained in chapter V of the report.

82. Portugal still continues to defy the Organization. The General Assembly resolutions relating to Portuguese Territories have never been implemented by Portugal. Instead, Portugal has opted to continue its barbaric wars of oppression against the freedom fighters and civilian populations of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), and in these wars, we must remember, the role of NATO is very significant. It is NATO which supplies deadly weapons to Portugal, enabling it to continue the war of repression in Africa.

83. The racist régime in South Africa, besides denying the indigenous inhabitants their right to self-determination, still continues to rule by force the Trust Territory of Namibia. South Africa continues to frustrate the various resolutions of the General Assembly in connexion with the change of status of Namibia.

84. Equally important, as we are discussing this subject, are the damages caused by military activities and arrangements in colonial Territories. In fact, it is now becoming obvious that the colonial Powers are deliberately increasing military activities in colonial Territories in order to silence those who may want to agitate for independence. What is more serious is the new policy of turning these Territories into military bases for NATO Powers. That is why Portugal is able to attack independent African States and to continue to attack freedom fighters from Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Angola.

85. Similarly, it must be noted that the Special Committee was informed of the increased military installations in Non-Self-Governing Territories of the Caribbean belonging to the United States of America and the United Kingdom. What is more serious, these same military installations have on various occasions been put to use against nationalist forces in the islands fighting for independence.

86. Although we have noted with pleasure the efforts made by the specialized agencies in helping the people from dependent Territories, my delegation only hopes that these efforts will be redoubled to reflect the importance we attach to decolonization.

87. Before I conclude, I should like to recall that it is now 10 years since resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted. In fact, during this session a commemorative session has been held to launch the new programme of action. It is a matter of regret and shame, therefore, that 10 years after the adoption of that decolonization resolution we are still faced with this terrible cancer called colonialism. Tanzania resolutely condemns the colonial Powers for their stubbornness and refusal to grant independence to the remaining Territories. Tanzania also holds the colonial Powers and their NATO allies responsible for the development which has led to the worsening of the situation in southern Africa, thus constituting a dangerous threat to international peace and security. Tanzania, as a member of the Com-

mittee of Twenty-Four, will continue to fight for the total eradication of colonialism and its manifestations wherever it may exist, and expose all the criminal and ruthless policies of the colonialists and their allies.

### AGENDA ITEM 12

#### Report of the Economic and Social Council (continued)\*

#### REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART II) (A/8203/ADD.1)

88. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider part II of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 12, which relates to chapters of the Economic and Social Council report that were referred to that Committee.

89. Mr. VERCELES (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: I have the honour to present part II of the report of the Second Committee on item 12 [A/8203/Add. 1]. Part I of the Committee's report on this item was considered at the 1918th plenary meeting during which time the General Assembly adopted draft resolution I on the feasibility of creating an international corps of volunteers for development [resolution 2659 (XXV)]. The second portion of the Committee's report contains seven additional substantive draft resolutions and four procedural draft recommendations by the Committee for adoption by the General Assembly.

90. The original text of draft resolution II, entitled "Unified approach to economic and social planning in national development" was introduced by the representative of Sweden at the 1322nd meeting of the Committee on behalf of 14 sponsors.

91. The salient points of the draft resolution would have the General Assembly confirm the need for a unified approach to development through a full integration of the economic and social components in the formulation of policies and programmes at the national and international levels; support some of the views of the experts on social policy and planning in national development which had met in Stockholm, particularly those calling for the participation, as much as possible, of all sectors of the population in national development and the achievement of an equitable distribution of income and wealth within nations; request the organizations, both principal and subsidiary, within the United Nations system, especially the Economic and Social Council and the Commission for Social Development and those responsible for the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, to apply the principles and guidelines of the unified approach; and further request the Secretary-General to evolve methods and techniques for the application of the unified approach to development to be put at the disposal of Governments at their request.

92. The draft resolution, as revised and amended, which at the time of the vote had 16 sponsors, was adopted by the Committee at its 1327th meeting.

93. Draft resolution III, "Multilateral Food Aid", was presented at the 1324th meeting of the Committee by the representative of New Zealand. As revised and amended, it was adopted by the Committee at its 1354th meeting.

94. The draft resolution would have the General Assembly, *inter alia*, recommend to Member States that excess food supplies should be used increasingly to meet food needs of developing countries and to assist in their economic and social development, and that the facilities and experience of the World Food Programme, which can handle up to double or even more of its present resources, be availed of increasingly; request Member States to increase their cash contribution to the World Programme so as to increase its purchases from exporting developing countries; and further request the United Nations/FAO intergovernmental Committee and the Executive Director of the World Food Programme to take appropriate action on the suggestions concerning the improvement of the World Food Programme's administration and procedures.

95. Draft resolution IV, "World Population Year", was introduced by the representative of India at the 1352nd meeting of the Committee. This draft resolution was presented as an alternative resolution to that recommended by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1485 (XLVIII) for adoption by the General Assembly. The Committee took no action on the draft resolution recommended by the Council.

96. The draft resolution adopted by the Committee calls, *inter alia*, for the following: that the year 1974 be designated as World Population Year; that the formulation and implementation of population policies and programmes are matters of domestic competence and that international action in the field should take this essential point into account; that the Secretary-General, in co-operation and consultation with interested organizations within the United Nations family, prepare a detailed programme of measures and activities to be undertaken during the World Population Year; that Member States participate fully in the World Population Year consistent with their policies and capacities; and that assistance from the United Nations system in the demographic field should continue to be made available to Member States at their request.

97. Draft resolution V, "Increase in the production and use of edible protein", was introduced by the representative of Pakistan on behalf of the sponsors at the Committee's 1343rd meeting and adopted by the Committee at the same meeting.

98. The main features of the draft resolution would have the Assembly request the Secretary-General to prepare a concise report on the possible structure of a strategy suggesting what Governments and the United Nations system could do to close the protein gap, including those measures already found desirable and possible and the best measures to implement them; and recommend that the United Nations Development Programme give increased attention to projects related

\* Resumed from the 1918th meeting.

to the protein problem, and that the Protein Advisory Group and other United Nations agencies concerned intensify their activities in this field.

99. Draft resolution VI, "Economic and social consequences of disarmament", in its original version was presented to the Committee by the representative of the Philippines at the Committee's 1343rd meeting. The Committee adopted the draft resolution at its 1348th meeting, after some slight revisions and amendments were made.

100. Under the terms of the draft resolution, the General Assembly would request the Secretary-General, in consultation with such advisers as he may designate, to (a) Formulate suggestions for the guidance of Member States and the organizations within the United Nations system for the establishment of the link between the Disarmament Decade and the Second Development Decade, so that part of the resources released by disarmament could be channelled into the economic and social development of developing countries, in particular; and (b) Propose measures for the mobilization of world public opinion towards the establishment of the development-disarmament link, thereby creating the impetus for intensified negotiations towards disarmament under effective international control. Furthermore, Member States and the United Nations family of organizations would be requested to submit to the Secretary-General their comments and recommendations concerning the establishment of the link.

101. Draft resolution VII, calling for the renaming of the regional economic commissions, was introduced by the representative of the Philippines at the Committee's 1348th meeting. The draft resolution, as revised would have the Assembly recommend to the Economic and Social Council that it consider the renaming of the regional economic commissions so as to reflect their activities in the economic and social fields and emphasize the importance of an integrated economic and social approach to development. If favourably considered by the Council, the titles of the commissions would then be: the Economic and Social Commission for Europe, the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Far East, the Economic and Social Commission for Latin America, and the Economic and Social Commission for Africa.

102. Draft resolution VIII is entitled "Role of the regional economic commissions in the Second United Nations Development Decade". At the 1349th meeting of the Committee, it was introduced by the representative of India. The draft resolution, as adopted by the Committee, would express the Assembly's appreciation of the regional commissions and the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut for their contribution to the formulation of the International Development Strategy; and would request the regional commissions to (a) intensify their efforts to promote regional trade expansion, economic co-operation and integration; and (b) make suitable arrangements for conducting regular appraisals and evaluation of progress in the implementation of the Strategy.

103. Under the draft resolution, it is also urged that the regional commissions be provided with the means and resources necessary to enable them to fulfil their role for the benefit of their member countries.

104. I commend for adoption the draft resolutions I have referred to, which are found in paragraph 47 of the Committee's report, and the four procedural recommendations appearing in paragraph 48.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.*

105. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

106. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines):<sup>2</sup> Apropos of the item under consideration, I would like to address a brief appeal to this Assembly.

107. The time has come for us to begin to translate into reality the promise that savings from disarmament will be devoted to the well-being of the poor countries.

108. Almost \$200,000 million are being spent annually by the United States, the Soviet Union and other great Powers in the armaments race. Savings of only 3 per cent of that vast sum would amount to about \$5,000 million, equivalent to all the loans made by the World Bank Group to the poor countries during two years. In other words, the funds available to those countries for development would be trebled.

109. The two great crusades launched by the United Nations this year—the Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade—are closely linked. At least parts of the savings from disarmament should therefore be allocated to meet the development needs of the poor countries.

110. This is the hope of the Filipino people, and indeed of all the developing countries. It behoves us to listen to their appeal. And we should respond to it now, at the very beginning of the Development Decade aimed at enabling the poor peoples all over the world to have a better life.

*[The speaker continued in English].*

111. The Second Committee should be commended for highlighting this vital link between the Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade. This is one of its outstanding accomplishments in its consideration of the annual report of the Economic and Social Council [A/8003 and corr. 1 and A/8003 Add.1] to the General Assembly.

112. Time will not allow me to elaborate on the views of my delegation on all of the eight substantive draft resolutions adopted by the Second Committee, five of which were co-sponsored by the Philippines. I shall

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Romulo spoke in Filipino. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

dwell briefly, for only 10 minutes, on two of them that were initiated by my delegation. These are the draft resolutions on the economic and social consequences of disarmament, to which I have already alluded in my opening remarks in the Philippine national language, and the renaming of the regional economic commissions.

113. My delegation believes that the draft resolution on the economic and social consequences of disarmament contains the initial measures to link savings produced by disarmament directly with development. For the first time, the United Nations, through the Secretary-General, would propose measures for the effective mobilization of world public opinion in support of this vital link, and thus encourage intensified negotiations towards disarmament and/or limitations of arms under effective international control. The condemnation of the world community would be upon those countries that would not take heed.

114. We have been told that the establishment of a link between development and disarmament will continue to be a distant dream, because disarmament itself is claimed to be Utopian. Our answer is that in this day and age, the link between development and disarmament can no longer be questioned; and given the political will, that link can be established. The two are interrelated; they are inseparable parts of the same chain. For if the affluent countries could only reduce their military expenditures, it would be easy for many of them, particularly the super-Powers, to comply with the target of 1 per cent of their gross national product to be allocated as aid to the developing countries. Indeed, in the view of my delegation, the simultaneous launching of the Second Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade is not a mere coincidence.

115. We have heard it also said that the establishment of the development-disarmament link is premature. Our reply is that it is not; on the contrary, it is long overdue. Over the years, valuable resources have been wasted in the futile arms competition.

116. In the early fifties, decolonization, restructuring of trade relations, industrialization of developing countries, elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, and family planning were matters of limited interest in the United Nations. But as the gap between the fortunate rich and the unfortunate poor widened, it was realized that in a world of plenty, it was morally wrong for two thirds of humanity to live in abject poverty and misery. Inevitably, the revolution of rising expectations engulfed the developing world.

117. In the 1960s, eminent economists advanced the view that developed countries themselves can benefit from the progress and development achieved by developing countries. The international community awakened to the reality that the progress of the developing countries was a matter of international concern.

118. But the establishment of the link between disarmament and development should not be seized as an

excuse to defer the development process, for, in reality, this is not the first time that such a link has been recognized. I wish to call your attention to the fact that it was enunciated in resolution 1710 (XVI), paragraph 4 of which requested the Secretary-General to develop proposals for the intensification of action in the fields of economic and social development by the United Nations system of organizations with particular reference, *inter alia*, to:

“(i) The utilization of resources released by disarmament for the purpose of economic and social development, in particular of the under-developed countries”.

119. What is new is the proclamation of the Disarmament Decade. What remains to be done is to forge the link between the Disarmament Decade and the Development Decade in such a manner that efforts in the field of disarmament can contribute to and intensify the progress towards the integrated economic and social development of developing countries.

120. Great ideas require time to mature. I envisage that the establishment and implementation of the link between disarmament and development will continue to engage the attention and energies of the United Nations during the 1970s—perhaps for the remaining quarter of the century. But let us begin.

121. Permit me now to explain my delegation's position on the renaming of the regional economic commissions. In the Second Committee my delegation cited three reasons that prompted Thailand and the Philippines to submit the draft resolution. It will not restate them here but let me elaborate on the most compelling reason of all, namely that the titles of the regional commissions should truly reflect the real nature of their activities in the economic and social fields. It cannot be gainsaid that the four regional commissions have undertaken programmes and activities in the social fields such as education, employment, health, housing, social welfare, nutrition, population, environment and the like. The addition of the word “Social” to the names of the regional commissions should be a mere formality and should not cause difficulty to any delegation. The change for example, to “Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Far East” is apt and logical.

122. For the Philippine and Thailand delegations, the present names represent a relic of the past. It was once thought that with economic development social development would follow as a matter of course. Unfortunately, that has not been the case and so we witness today violent social upheavals even in economically developed countries. Indeed, the present names are an anachronism in an age when the crucial relevance of balanced or integrated economic and social development is generally recognized.

123. In the case of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, I have one more word to say. The term “Far East” has colonial connotations, a misnomer in our modern world. We ask, “What is the



Far East far from?" On behalf of my delegation I wish to state that we would prefer ECAFE to be called "the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific", which is a more precise and descriptive title, considering the present membership of ECAFE, rather than "the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East".

124. The renaming of the regional commissions as called for in the draft resolution is to be done by the Economic and Social Council in consultation with the Secretary-General and taking into account the views of the regional commissions and those expressed in the Assembly on the subject. I trust that the Economic and Social Council in its wisdom will consider this proposal favourably and eliminate the words "Far East".

125. The main thrust of the two draft resolutions to which I referred is change, or innovation for progress. On this, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, let us not be afraid of sound new ideas. The exciting adventure of the seventies requires bold and imaginative initiatives on our part.

126. In conclusion I should like to repeat what I said in the Sixth Committee in connexion with my proposal for a Charter review conference, which I believe is apropos here, and I quote myself:

"Time does not stand still. The only thing that is permanent is change. There has never been a period of more rapid change in human history than the last twenty-five years, particularly in international relations. The law of all life is growth and adaptation."<sup>3</sup>

127. Mr. GALLARDO MORENO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico abstained from voting on the draft resolution submitted by India in the Second Committee, and which is referred to in paragraph 47 of the report of the Rapporteur of that Committee [A/8203/Add.1], because that resolution contains questionable affirmations and establishes principles that are open to objection.

128. The third preambular paragraph states:

"Noting also that the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade provides for action, both at the national and international levels, to deal with the problem of population growth . . .".

That is not correct. Affirmations of that kind could not have been made in a document that was the result of negotiations that made it possible to avoid controversial points in the text. Many countries have in various fora of the United Nations stated that underdevelopment is not a result of an increase in their population. On the contrary, many believe that their development is impeded because they do not have the necessary population to carry it out.

<sup>3</sup> This statement was made at the 1238th meeting of the Sixth Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

129. The fifth preambular paragraph of that draft resolution indicates that "varied aspects of the population problem require further attention from Member States and international organizations". The affirmation made here, it seems to us, is excessive, because it refers in general terms to the attention which allegedly should be paid by all international organizations to the population problem.

130. In operative paragraph 6, the General Assembly:

"Stresses that assistance from organizations of the United Nations system and interested Member States should continue to be available upon request for evolving and implementing a dynamic population policy to cope with all problems emanating from different population levels, characteristics and trends, including assistance in developing a comprehensive demographic research and studies programme as well as training programmes and in providing advisory services in this field;"

131. It seems to us unjustified for the activities and resources of all the organizations of the United Nations system to be used only for those countries that decide to practise birth control, when they should be devoted to solving general problems for the benefit of all. The United Nations Fund for Population Activities, which is administered by the United Nations Development Programme, was established to assist countries that want to remedy the increase in their population. The resources specifically earmarked by the donors for this purpose should go to that Fund, and we think that it is from that Fund that the resources needed by the countries concerned should be drawn.

132. Mr. VISESSURAKARN (Thailand): When draft resolution III "Multilateral food aid", introduced by the representative of New Zealand, was voted upon in the Second Committee, my delegation decided to abstain and it gave an explanation before the vote to the following effect.

133. My delegation would have preferred this draft resolution to reflect concretely my country's serious concern over certain aspects of food aid. We expressed the earnest hope that food aid, either bilateral or multilateral, must not have any adverse effect on the production and export of agricultural products of developing countries like mine, whose economy depends mainly on the export of such products for its foreign exchange earnings. Also, such food aid should avoid the problem of commercial market displacement. However, in view of the fact that this draft resolution obtained overwhelming support in the Second Committee, and in a spirit of international co-operation and solidarity, my delegation, in spite of its reservations, has now decided to support this worthy cause and will vote for draft resolution III.

134. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 47 of its report [A/8203/Add. 1], beginning with draft resolution II.

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 100 votes to none, with 10 abstentions (resolution 2681 (XXV)).*

135. We shall next vote on draft resolution III.

*Draft resolution III was adopted by 101 votes to none, with 9 abstentions (resolution 2682 (XXV)).*

136. I now put to the vote draft resolution IV.

*Draft resolution IV was adopted by 71 votes to 8, with 31 abstentions (resolution 2683 (XXV)).*

137. The administrative and financial implications arising out of paragraphs 3 and 4 of draft resolution V are contained in paragraph 5 of document A/8215. I now put draft resolution V to the vote.

*Draft resolution V was adopted by 101 votes to none, with 10 abstentions (resolution 2684 (XXV)).*

138. The administrative and financial implications arising out of paragraphs 1 and 3 of draft resolution VI are to be found in paragraph 12 of document A/8215. I now put draft resolution VI to the vote.

*Draft resolution VI was adopted by 87 votes to 9, with 14 abstentions (resolution 2685 (XXV)).*

139. I now put to the vote draft resolution VII.

*Draft resolution VII was adopted by 93 votes to none, with 17 abstentions (resolution 2686 (XXV)).*

140. We shall now vote on draft resolution VIII.

*Draft resolution VIII was adopted by 99 votes to 1, with 9 abstentions (resolution 2687 (XXV)).*

141. I would now ask members to turn their attention to paragraph 48 of document A/8203/Add.1, in which the Second Committee recommends the adoption of four decisions.

142. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt those four decisions?

*It was so decided.*

143. I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to explain their votes after the voting.

144. U MAUNG MAUNG (Burma): I merely wish to state briefly the vote of the delegation of Burma on draft resolution VI relating to economic and social consequences of disarmament.

145. All Member nations recognize that world disarmament is the most complex and pressing problem of the century. All Member nations strongly favour world disarmament under effective international control and for the utilization of the economic resources thereby released for the betterment of human conditions and particularly for the economic and social

advancement of the developing countries. We all believe that real disarmament would release tremendous financial, material and human resources for promoting domestic welfare and world development programmes. Thus it is clear to all of us that the quest for general and complete disarmament is inextricably linked with the striving for economic and social progress.

146. We stand today at the threshold of the twin decades of disarmament and development that has been declared for the 1970s and it would seem only proper and relevant to ensure the linkage existent between them. Additionally, we all are agreed that it is necessary to plan for the economic transition involved in disarmament and that more study and research into the problem are needed.

147. We also recognize that foremost among the factors that explain the persistency of disarmament negotiations is public opinion. The political and moral influence of public outcry has been great in spurring the continuing series of disarmament negotiations, and the need to mobilize world public opinion in this direction can never be over-emphasized.

148. Burma places a high value on the foregoing motivations reflected in draft resolution VI and commends the sponsors for their effort. Having said this the question arises: why then has the delegation of Burma decided to abstain on draft resolution VI? As far as the delegation of Burma is concerned the reason is simple. We should like to think that it would be possible to deal with first things first, concentrating on the more immediate objective of disarmament measures on which agreements might reasonably be reached. We venture to think that it is necessary to balance what is desirable and what is practicable. Pending achievement of a reasonable degree of concrete and real disarmament and without foreknowledge of necessary expenditures that would inevitably be entailed in ensuring effective implementation in the way of international control and inspection systems, in an international peace-keeping force and in added machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes, it would in our opinion be premature to evaluate credibly the resources released by disarmament that would be available for enlarged programmes of economic and social development on a global basis.

149. With what we believe is a practical and objective approach the delegation of Burma abstained on draft resolution VI contained in document A/8203/Add.1, although we have no objection in principle to the text.

150. Mr. GUÉLEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): For unforeseen reasons the Bulgarian delegation was not able to take part in the voting on draft resolution IV dealing with the World Population Year, adopted by the Second Committee at its 1353rd meeting. That is why I should like to explain very briefly the attitude of the Bulgarian delegation on that subject.

151. In our view, there is a tendency to over-estimate, and above all to generalize, the influence of the demog-

raphic factor on economic development. We think that on the threshold of the Second United Nations Development Decade it would be reasonable to adopt a very cautious approach to that very complex problem. We certainly do not want to underestimate the problem of population in general, and still less to deny the importance of that problem for certain countries and regions. However, it would be difficult for us to share, for example, the view expressed by one delegation at the 48th session of the Economic and Social Council that the demographic explosion might represent perhaps a greater danger for humanity than the explosion of a thermonuclear bomb.

152. Without wishing to go into the details, I should like to reaffirm the position of principle of the delegation of Bulgaria, namely, that the reduction of the rate of growth of the population in general—and the birth rate in particular—could not of itself resolve the social and economic problems faced by the developing countries, and still less contribute to the improvement of the well-being of their people. We could find, moreover, eloquent confirmation of that in the history of a certain African country where, during the colonial régime, the population went down by almost a half without, however, the standard of living or well-being showing any improvement at all. A substantial change in the field of the demographic processes in the developing countries—and particularly the creation of preliminary material and psychological conditions for reducing the birth rate—is determined by the elimination of outmoded relationships and practices and also the bringing about of radical, social and economic reforms. In other words, the key to slowing down the too great pace of population growth lies in the bringing about of far-reaching and radical social and economic reforms, the expansion of all sectors of the economy and, at the same time, the increase of productivity and the cultural level of the people. We think that that is confirmed by the demographic history of all industrialized countries.

153. No one, of course, could deny the need to influence the demographic factors in those countries and regions where there is a particularly large population growth. However, in order that measures tending to influence the demographic factors may be effective, it is indispensable to define properly the place those measures should take within the general framework of the economic policy of each country, since it is only too clear that demographic problems differ appreciably from one country to another.

154. For all these reasons, my delegation continues to have serious doubts about the usefulness of international action or actions under the aegis of the United Nations which might have the result of diverting much effort and financial and material resources in order to popularize, over a period of several years, the policy of birth limitation and demographic growth. But can it be attested that that is a policy which has been adopted by the United Nations?

155. In our view, the formulating of a demographic policy in a given country should be in the final analysis

a matter for the sovereign decision of its Government, which must take account of the specific conditions of the country and prepare a programme with the full support of public opinion within the country in total conformity with humanitarian considerations and respect for the fundamental rights of man.

156. In the view of the Bulgarian delegation, the very interesting discussion which took place on this problem in the Second Committee did not argue in favour of the principle upon which the draft resolution is based, and still less in favour of the practical measures which should be taken by the United Nations under draft resolution IV.

157. Those are the reasons which led my delegation to vote in the way it did on draft resolution IV.

158. Mr. ZAKHAROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I should like to explain the votes cast by the Soviet Union delegation on draft resolutions II and VI. The Soviet Union supports the general goals of resolution II on a unified approach to economic and social planning in national development. This draft resolution could have some positive effect on the prospects for international co-operation in achieving the objectives of economic and social development. The resolution would, however, have a more positive effect on the economic and social planning process if it were not marred by a number of defects. In the first place, the resolution does not stress the need for planning to be conducted on a strictly scientific basis at both the national and international levels, taking into account the real possibilities of countries and international organizations. In addition, it has no provisions to the effect that planning should be backed by definite material and human resources, should bring about drastic social and economic reforms of a progressive nature and should produce a fundamental improvement in the position of the working masses. The resolution also overlooks the importance of the State sector in the development of the developing countries.

159. For these reasons and for the reasons stated by the Soviet Union delegation in the Second Committee in connexion with the considerable financial implications of paragraph 8 of the resolution, the Soviet delegation was obliged to abstain in the vote.

160. The position of the Soviet Union on the question of disarmament is well known. The Soviet Union is in favour of peace and the strengthening of international security and is prepared, on a basis of reciprocity, to go the whole way to general and complete disarmament.

161. The question of the economic and social consequences of disarmament is inextricably linked to the question of general and complete disarmament. In this regard we see a link between disarmament and development. The Soviet Union has taken part and will continue to take part in the work of the United Nations to study the economic and social consequences of disarmament. However, resolution VI, which has just

been adopted, goes beyond the usual scope of the question of research in this area. Therefore the Soviet Union delegation could not support it.

162. The delegation of the Soviet Union wishes once again to stress in this connexion that the question of the diversion to peaceful purposes of financial and human resources can become relevant and be solved constructively only in conditions of general and complete disarmament.

### **AGENDA ITEMS 40 and 41**

#### **Operational activities for development:**

- (a) Activities of the United Nations Development Programme: reports of the Governing Council;**
- (b) Activities undertaken by the Secretary-General United Nations Capital Development Fund**

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/8214)

### **AGENDA ITEM 44**

#### **Question of the establishment of an international university: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/8218)

### **AGENDA ITEM 45**

#### **Permanent sovereignty over natural resources: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/8221)

163. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Rapporteur of the Second Committee to present, in one statement, the reports of that Committee on items 40 and 41, 44, and 45.

164. Mr. VERCELES (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: I have the honour to present the reports of the Second Committee on items 40 and 41 [A/8214], 44 [A/8218] and 45 [A/8221], which contain the draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee for adoption by the General Assembly.

165. The Second Committee took up items 40 and 41 at the same time. It considered the documentation listed in paragraph 3 of its report [A/8214] in its discussion of these items and the three draft resolutions appearing in paragraph 14.

166. Draft resolution I, "The capacity of the United Nations development system", is a resolution which the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1530 (XLIX) had recommended for adoption by the General Assembly.

167. This draft resolution is the product of a consensus arrived at during the tenth session of the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme, held in Geneva. The Governing Council at that session took up the report of Sir Robert Jackson entitled *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations*

*Development System*.<sup>4</sup> The main thrust of this draft resolution would have the General Assembly approve the provisions calling for the application of the concept of country programming commencing from 1 January 1971, taking into account the transitional measures in those provisions, and request the Governing Council to prepare for consideration by the Assembly at its twenty-sixth session a draft omnibus statute to govern the procedures and activities of the United Nations Development Programme. The formulation of the United Nations Development Programme country programme is the first phase of a process which may be called the United Nations development co-operation cycle.

168. The importance of this draft resolution cannot be over-emphasized. The most rational and efficient utilization of resources available to the United Nations Development Programme at present and the doubling of those resources within the next five years could determine, in a very crucial way, the success or failure of development in the under-developed world.

169. Draft resolution II is a procedural resolution which would take note with appreciation of the reports of the Governing Council on its ninth and tenth sessions.

170. Draft resolution III, "United Nations Capital Development Fund", was introduced in its original version in the Committee by the representative of Tunisia. The highlights of this resolution are that it would have the Assembly reaffirm the need to expedite the effective operation of the Fund; request the Governing Council to consider all possibilities for reaching the objectives of the Fund, including the desirability and feasibility of providing follow-up investment projects of the Fund in country programmes; and appeal to Member States, in particular to developed countries, to provide substantial contributions to the Fund to make it operational and effective.

171. With respect to the Committee's report on item 44 concerning the international university [A/8218], a draft resolution on the subject was introduced to the Committee by the representative of Japan. The revised draft resolution in paragraph 13 of the report, which was sponsored by 37 countries, would invite UNESCO and UNITAR to continue their feasibility studies on the project and request the Secretary-General to continue his consultations and studies concerning the establishment of a university. These studies are to be complementary in character. The Secretary-General, furthermore, would be authorized to establish in due course a panel of experts to assist him, consisting of 10 to be nominated by Governments and designated by the President of the General Assembly and 5 by the Secretary-General in consultation with the Director-General of UNESCO and the Executive Director of UNITAR.

172. The third report [A/8221] pertains to item 45 on permanent sovereignty over natural resources. A draft resolution on that subject was introduced by the

<sup>4</sup>United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.I.10



representative of Chile at the 1354th meeting of the Committee. Under the revised draft resolution appearing in paragraph 16 of the report recommended by the Committee for adoption, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, would reaffirm the right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, which must be exercised to promote their national development; invite the Economic and Social Council to instruct the Committee on Natural Resources to include in its work programme a periodic report on the financial advantages derived from the exercise of such sovereignty towards economic and social development; and invite Member States to inform the Committee on Natural Resources on progress achieved in safeguarding the exercise of permanent sovereignty over natural resources, including measures taken to control the outflow of capital.

173. It is my privilege to commend the draft resolutions I have mentioned for adoption by the Assembly.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Second Committee.*

174. The PRESIDENT: I invite Members to turn their attention to the report of the Second Committee on agenda items 40 and 41 [A/8214].

175. The General Assembly will now take a decision on the three draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 14 of its report. Draft resolution I was adopted without objection by the Committee. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts it.

*Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 2688 (XXV)).*

176. We now turn to draft resolution II. This draft resolution also was adopted by the Committee without a dissenting vote. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts it also.

*Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 2689 (XXV)).*

177. Finally, we turn to draft resolution III.

*Draft resolution III was adopted by 78 votes to 9, with 21 abstentions (resolution 2690 (XXV)).*

178. Before completing consideration of this item, I invite Members to turn their attention to the note by the Secretary-General contained in document A/8029.

179. The Secretary-General is pleased to report that after consultations with members of the Governing Council of UNDP he has reappointed Mr. Paul G. Hoffman as Administrator of UNDP for the year 1971.

180. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that appointment?

*It was so decided.*

181. May I also, on behalf of the General Assembly, express admiration for Mr. Hoffman's work, and appreciation of his continued efforts.

182. I call on the representative of France, who wishes to speak in explanation of vote.

183. Mr. VIAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should first like to express my delegation's satisfaction at Mr. Hoffman's agreement to remain at the head of the United Nations Development Programme for one more year. Consequently, the news from the Secretary-General is a matter of great pleasure for us.

184. My delegation voted against adoption of draft resolution III on the United Nations Capital Development Fund because it remains our opinion that proliferation of funds for aid and co-operation would be harmful to an effective and coherent policy of development. It is not in fact true that the new fund will make it possible to finance investments in fields not covered by international financial institutions. The tendency of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Association for Development to put into effect, in co-operation with other organs of the United Nations family such as UNESCO and FAO, projects to promote education in developing countries or to promote the vocational training of farmers or teach them new techniques shows that the United Nations is, institutionally at least, equipped to meet the demands of the developing countries. Rather, it is the resources necessary to satisfy those needs that are lacking and the creation of a new organization would not make it possible to increase those resources.

185. Our position is also explained by what we consider to be the inappropriate character of operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution III. Whereas the system of country programming approved in principle by the Governing Council of UNDP in June 1970 has not yet been fully worked out, and UNDP has not succeeded in satisfying all requests for technical assistance or preinvestment addressed to it, it seems dangerous to us in these rather ill-defined conditions to extend a helping hand to the camouflaged merging of UNDP and the capital development fund.

186. My delegation considers it would be better for the General Assembly to recommend that UNDP explore more actively than it has so far the possibility of financing pilot projects. In that way we could better extend preliminary studies of the programme, many of which are unfortunately not followed up because the means of financing have not been found.

187. My delegation will not object to the Governing Council of UNDP undertaking the study mentioned in the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly, but we shall, in a constructive spirit, try to guide that study along the lines I have just indicated—that is to say towards better and more systematic exploitation of the possibilities of financing pilot projects existing

at the present time in the developing countries or in certain regions.

188. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 44 [A/8218] concerning the question of the establishment of an international university.

189. The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the

Second Committee in paragraph 13 of that report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications which would result from the adoption of the draft resolution is to be found in document A/8225.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 94 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 2691 (XXV)).*

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*