

cated to the Secretary-General of the United Nations when he had visited Namibia in 1972.¹ Secondly, the Namibian people were not prepared to accept anything short of total independence on the basis of one man, one vote. Thirdly, the South African régime was continuing to occupy Namibia illegally. Fourthly, the Pretoria régime still insisted on excluding the true representatives of the Namibian people from the talks on the future of the Territory. Fifthly, the people of Namibia demanded that the policy of "Bantustanization" should be stopped before they participated in any talks and were prepared to fight and even to die for their convictions.

22. The truth was that the Pretoria régime was neither willing nor prepared to participate in meaningful negotiations leading to complete independence and self-determination for Namibia. Like British imperialism in its day, South Africa considered the existence of a free and prosperous Namibia to be a threat to its security. That was why it had transplanted its administration to Namibia, in application of the doctrine of territorial annexation and military aggression. The South African régime was going ahead with its plans to hold "elections" in January 1975 in order to decree the so-called independence of Ovamboland.

23. SWANU urged the Committee to reject the content of South Africa's statement, which was nothing but the continuation of the unacceptable policy of *apartheid*. SWANU had no doubt that the Namibian people would free themselves from the colonial yoke of the South African régime and its imperialist friends. It was no coincidence that the three Western Powers, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, whose multinational corporations had large investments in

the mining industry of Namibia, at the Security Council 1808th meeting had vetoed the Council's draft resolution on South Africa.² It was obvious that those three nations put their economic interests above the human dignity and freedom of the people of South Africa and Namibia.

24. One of the most difficult issues in the case of Namibia was that of the recognition of the organizations of Namibian people. SWANU would not ask for recognition at the expense of SWAPO, which, after all, was also a member of the National Convention. Similarly, it did not think that recognition of the National Convention compelled the United Nations or the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to choose between SWAPO and the Convention. The question was, rather, to find a solution to the existing situation in which a constituent part was being recognized while the whole was not. A satisfactory solution to that situation would benefit all concerned.

25. Any negotiation, discussion or dialogue between the Fascist régime of South Africa and the United Nations should include the participation of the representatives of the people of Namibia at all stages. It should be borne in mind that that principle had been established by the General Assembly itself in its relevant resolutions.

26. SWANU also paid tribute, on behalf of the National Convention and the oppressed people of Namibia, to the courageous people of Guinea-Bissau and to the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO); they had rendered an invaluable service to the struggle of the Namibian people by contributing to the weakening of colonialism and imperialism in Africa.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1974, document S/11543.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10738, para. 29.

2111th meeting

Thursday, 14 November 1974, at 3.15 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2111

AGENDA ITEM 68

Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa (continued) (A/9623 (part V))

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. ARAIM (Iraq) said that chapter IV of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/9623 (part V)) contained evidence of continued exploitation of the peoples of colonial Territories by multinational corporations. Neither the colonial Powers nor those corporations had made any attempt to abide by General Assembly resolution 3117 (XXVIII) or other relevant United Nations resolutions. Colonialist encouragement of investment by multinational corpor-

ations in colonial Territories was motivated not by a desire to improve the standard of living of the people of those Territories but rather by the possibility of exploiting cheap indigenous labour. There was no indication of progress or improvement in the standard of living of peoples under colonial domination and it was a well-known fact that in the African colonial Territories non-African workers received much higher wages than Africans. The profits of the multinational corporations were either sent to their headquarters outside the colonial Territories or used to increase exploitation, but were never used for the benefit of the Territories themselves. Despite the statements made by Western Powers in the Committee regarding the role of multinational corporations in the advancement of colonial peoples, his delegation believed that those corporations were interested only in continuing their exploitation.

2. Colonial domination continued even after countries achieved independence, through long-term concessions which enabled the multinational corporations to continue their exploitation. After independence, his country had had to continue its struggle to rid itself of the monopolistic control of

its natural resources by foreign oil companies. In view of press reports concerning the role of some large American companies in the subversion of Governments of independent countries which exercised their legitimate right of sovereignty over their natural resources and over the activities of those corporations within their territory, he warned the national liberation movements in the Territories under Portuguese administration to guard against the obstacles that multinational corporations would continue to put in their way even after independence.

3. His delegation strongly supported the recommendations in chapter IV of the report of the Special Committee (*ibid.*, para. 7). It condemned the activities of multinational corporations aimed at impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It expressed indignation at the collaboration between colonial Powers and multinational corporations in the exploitation of indigenous peoples and the perpetuation of colonial domination.

4. Capitalist States even intervened in the internal affairs of independent States to protect the interests of multinational corporations; in the case of colonial Territories, the colonialists used the pretext of protecting the interests of the indigenous populations to justify such interference. Neither the colonial Powers nor the multinational corporations provided any transfer of advanced technology other than that required for the exploitation of the natural resources and manpower of the colonial Territories. The debate in the Committee on the question of Southern Rhodesia had shown that the illegal Smith régime was able to continue its rebellion because of the support it received from the racist Government of South Africa and from the multinational corporations which, in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, continued to violate the sanctions imposed on that régime. In many instances, the States where the headquarters of such corporations were located failed to take effective measures to enforce those resolutions.

5. As a country that had suffered in the past from colonial domination and from the manoeuvres of multinational corporations, Iraq identified itself with the struggle of colonial peoples. The Arab people of Palestine continued to suffer from the exploitation and domination of the colonialist Zionist régime and the unholy alliance between that régime and those who sought to exploit the resources of the Arab world.

6. Mr. NEPIYVODA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that his delegation shared the concern of those countries that had drawn attention to the increasing activities of foreign monopolies in the colonial Territories. Chapter IV of the report of the Special Committee demonstrated that the sole aim of such activities had always been the extraction of maximum profits from the plundering of the natural resources of those Territories. Southern Africa remained one of the most profitable areas and a rich source of mineral wealth for Western investors, as could be seen from the figures given in the report for United Kingdom and United States investments in South Africa. The Anglo American Corporation of South Africa Ltd. was a striking example of a transnational corporation that enriched itself from the exploitation of the natural and human resources of the countries of southern Africa. It was not the only example. Hundreds of foreign investors were operating in South Africa without control and playing a significant role in the maintenance of the whole system of colonialism and *apartheid*.

7. United Kingdom monopolies were particularly active in developing economic co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa; total British capital investments in South Africa amounted to £1,300 million. Nor did United States companies lag behind; about 340 of them had capital investments totalling \$1,000 million in South Africa.

8. Namibia was subjected to particularly merciless plundering; as the report stated, Namibia could be considered as the most exploited Territory in history (*ibid.*, para. 6(5)). Apart from South Africa itself, the main traders in minerals obtained in Namibia were the United States, Belgium, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom.

9. There was no doubt that the economic sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia by the Security Council could have put the illegal racist régime in a difficult position if they had been implemented. But they had been disregarded by many Western States and their companies and banks. The report confirmed that foreign economic interests co-operated with the régime to give the economy a new direction by manufacturing substitutes for embargoed imports. The Western Powers, in particular the administering Power—the United Kingdom—were clearly unwilling to take effective action against the régime.

10. It was clear from what he had said that the transnational corporations of the imperialist States were penetrating more deeply into the economies of the colonial Territories. One thing was clear: the activities of those corporations had nothing to do with the interests of the peoples of the Territories. By rendering assistance to the colonialist and racist régimes of southern Africa the Western countries and their monopolies were seeking to impede the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

11. His country had always condemned the accomplices of the racists and colonialists, which rendered assistance to the racist régimes. It supported unconditionally the demand of the developing countries and the national liberation movements that the activities of the imperialist monopolies be stopped. His delegation was convinced that the current session of the General Assembly would take new and effective decisions designed to terminate those pernicious activities, which were impeding the realization of the hopes and longings of the peoples of the colonial Territories.

12. Mr. WU Miao-fa (China) said that the African continent, one of the cradles of world civilization and culture, had been plundered by European colonialists, who had ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the African people, inflicting untold suffering upon them. Following the attainment of independence by a number of African States, imperialism and colonialism had continued their efforts to maintain control of the economies of those countries and had stepped up their economic plunder and exploitation of the colonial Territories in southern Africa. Recent statistics showed that their investments in the African colonial Territories amounted to more than \$10 thousand million. In the case of Angola, capital investment from the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries controlled the exploitation of local mineral resources, and other sectors of the economy were almost entirely monopolized by certain Western Powers. Of the mining industry in Southern Rhodesia, 80 to 90 per cent was owned by the capital of some Western Powers. In South Africa, foreign capital investments, which amounted to between \$6,000 million and \$7,000 million, monopolized the gold and coal-mining industries, oil refineries, and the chemical and machine-building industries. The imperialists and colonialists were engaged in wanton plunder of the rich mineral resources of Namibia. In that connexion, he mentioned that the annual report of the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa Ltd. showed that in 1973 production from the Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa Ltd. amounted to 1.6 million carats, which had created a new record net profit. If the imperialists and colonialists were to continue their plunder at its current rate, the natural resources of Namibia would be virtually exhausted within 20 years. Imperialism had grabbed a large amount of strategic

and other raw materials from southern Africa. Almost all the imported tantalum, three quarters of the imported cobalt, one third of the imported manganese and a large quantity of the imported uranium and diamonds of a certain Western Power came from that region. A certain oriental country continued to expand its trade and investment in South Africa and to increase its purchase of minerals, including strategic minerals, from Namibia. In the period from 1966 to 1970, the United States of America had extracted a profit of \$3,200 million from South Africa alone.

13. Ruthless colonialist oppression and extortion had resulted in misery for the indigenous people. The population was 95 to 98 per cent illiterate; the annual *per capita* national income was only \$20, and over 50 per cent of the children died before the age of 10.

14. The so-called affluence of imperialism and colonialism was built on exploitation of the colonial people and of third world countries as well as on exploitation of their own workers. The poverty of colonial and third world peoples was a result of prolonged oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and colonialists. Some Western news media had tried to disguise imperialist and colonialist oppression and plunder of the African colonies by referring to them as "the dissemination of civilization" or by stating that the investment of world monopolistic capital in colonial countries was "in the interests" of the indigenous people and helped them to overcome their backwardness and embark on the road of "progress" and "independence". Those hackneyed claims were not worth refuting.

15. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly (General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI)) stated that neo-colonialism continued to be among the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries and had rightly emphasized the right of the developing countries and the peoples of Territories under colonial and racial domination and foreign occupation to achieve their liberation and to regain effective control over their natural resources and economic activities, and in particular the right of all States, territories and peoples under foreign occupation, alien and colonial domination or *apartheid* to restitution and full compensation for the exploitation and depletion of, and damages to, their natural and human resources. The international community was duty bound to support their just struggles.

16. Imperialism and colonialism subjected colonial peoples to ruthless exploitation and aggression in order to extract vast profits, and gave political and military support to the racist régimes in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and to other colonial authorities in order to preserve their enormous economic interests in southern Africa. They formed a reactionary military alliance with those régimes in an attempt to suppress the national liberation movements of the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Portuguese colonies.

17. Under the guise of giving "assistance" and "support", social-imperialism was doing its utmost to infiltrate into Africa. Following the pattern of Western transnational corporations, it engaged in various profiteering activities in the colonial Territories. It monopolized the industrial and agricultural products of countries in the name of "economic assistance" and "trade" and engaged in speculative deals to reap fabulous profits. It conducted surveys of mineral resources on behalf of other countries, but retained sole possession of the data it acquired. An increasing number of third world countries and peoples had begun to see through the sinister activities of that international exploiter.

18. In the face of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist aggression and plunder, the heroic people of southern Africa continued their struggle for national independence and libera-

tion. They realized that only by taking their destiny into their own hands could they eradicate the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation that had been imposed on them for centuries and regain the right to control and dispose of their own natural resources.

19. The United Nations should strongly condemn imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for their oppression, exploitation and plunder of colonial peoples. It should adopt effective measures to ensure the implementation of the principles and decisions contained in the Declaration and in the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, also adopted at the sixth special session (General Assembly resolution 3202 (S-VI)). The Secretariat's Office of Public Information should constantly expose and report on the economic aggression by imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism in southern Africa in order to arouse world public opinion.

20. With the development of the national liberation struggle in southern Africa, the struggle against plunder and exploitation by foreign monopolistic capital would be intensified. The day would come when the peoples of the non-independent regions in southern Africa would be masters of independent countries and would control their own rich natural resources.

21. Mr. DOLZHINTSEREN (Mongolia) said that many delegations, including his own, had already drawn attention to the negative role of foreign monopolies in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia as one of the main obstacles to the exercise by the colonial peoples of their rights to self-determination and independence. The international community must bring every pressure to bear on foreign and transnational corporations and must uncover their activities in support of the colonialist and racist régimes.

22. Western monopolies continued to make huge capital investments in the economies of the colonial countries of southern Africa; according to chapter IV of the report of the Special Committee, foreign investment exceeded \$10 thousand million (see A/9623 (part V), para. 6 (2)). The transnational monopolies were seeking to enrich themselves by exploiting the cheap labour and natural resources of those countries. Their activities amounted to material support for the policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. They were given every possible assistance by the white minority régimes, which received a share of the profits in exchange. The United Nations, together with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), must consider adopting more effective measures to put a stop to that kind of agreement.

23. Despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, Western monopolies were even expanding their links with the minority régimes, seeking to strengthen their own positions. The Governments of certain Western Powers remained deaf to United Nations appeals that they should prohibit their nationals and companies from engaging in activities detrimental to the interests of the colonial peoples. The General Assembly must again condemn such activities.

24. The United Nations must also make greater efforts to bring pressure to bear on those Powers and their monopolies to persuade them to break off their links with the South African and Southern Rhodesian régimes. World public opinion must be made more aware of the pernicious activities of foreign monopolies. The United Nations must make full use of its information and other channels for that purpose, and his delegation supported the recommendation of the Special Committee in that connexion (*ibid.*, para. 7 (1)). The United Nations must also strengthen its co-operation with non-governmental and public organizations.

25. His delegation hoped that the recommendations and proposals put forward in chapter IV, paragraph 7 of the

Special Committee's excellent report would be reflected in the resolution adopted at the current session.

26. Mr. SOOMRO (Pakistan) said that chapter IV of the report of the Special Committee (A/9623 (part V)) made grim reading. Foreign monopolies dominated economic activity in the colonial Territories. Their sole aim was excessive profit and they showed no concern for the welfare or long-term interests of the indigenous peoples. The real owners of the natural resources of those Territories were used as cheap labour and were subjected to discriminatory wage practices. The assessment of the situation in Southern Rhodesia given in paragraph 114 of appendix III in the annex to chapter IV was typical of conditions prevailing in all the colonial Territories. The people of those Territories continued to live in misery and poverty, and were denied educational and health facilities and other civic and political opportunities.

27. Because of their investments in the colonial Territories, foreign interests had a big stake in the continuation of colonial rule and supported the colonial authorities. For example, they provided the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia with the mechanism to evade United Nations sanctions and continued to invest in Southern Rhodesia through subsidiaries in South Africa.

28. His delegation shared the profound concern expressed by the Special Committee at the fact that the Governments of countries where the headquarters of those companies were

located failed to take legislative, administrative or other measures to put an end to or to restrain the activities of those companies which were in breach of General Assembly resolutions (*ibid.*, para. 6 (i)).

29. His delegation reaffirmed the inalienable right of peoples of colonial Territories to self-determination and independence. It firmly supported their struggle to regain effective control over their natural resources and the right to enjoy and dispose of them freely in their own best interest. It agreed with the Committee's conclusion that the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating at present in colonial Territories were a major obstacle to the political independence of those Territories (*ibid.*, para. 6 (14)). It deplored the exploitative and discriminatory nature of the activities of those foreign economic interests and urged the Governments concerned to take urgent measures to put an end to such activities. Member States had an obligation to intensify pressure on the colonialist and racist régimes and to provide assistance to the national liberation movements. His Government reiterated its pledge to continue to act in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations until the cherished goal of complete decolonization was realized.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.

2112th meeting

Friday, 15 November 1974, at 10.50 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2112

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Al-Sayed Omar Sakkaf, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia

1. The CHAIRMAN, speaking on behalf of the members of the Committee, expressed his sympathy to the Government and people of Saudi Arabia and to the family of Mr. Al-Sayed Omar Sakkaf for the loss they had suffered.

On the proposal of the Chairman, the members of the Committee observed a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. Al-Sayed Omar Sakkaf, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia.

2. Mr. GHAZZAWI (Jordan) said that Mr. Al-Sayed Omar Sakkaf had been a great diplomat and had served Saudi Arabia with distinction. On behalf of the representative of Saudi Arabia, who was absent, he thanked the Chairman for his expressions of sympathy on behalf of the Committee, which his delegation would undertake to convey to the Saudi Arabian delegation.

AGENDA ITEM 68

Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa (*continued*) (A/9623 (part V))

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

3. Mr. ARTEAGA (Venezuela) said that the item under consideration was not only significant for peoples struggling to free themselves from colonial subjugation, but also had implications for all peoples of the world wishing to develop their natural resources in keeping with their own interests and without foreign interference of any kind. While it was known that colonialism had its roots in the exploitation of the natural wealth and human resources of the Territories under its domination, there still existed colonial Powers determined to continue denying peoples their freedom and the full benefit of their natural resources, thus delaying their accession to real independence.

4. The experience of a considerable number of States Members of the United Nations which had been victims of economic exploitation by the colonial régimes on the one hand, and the growing struggle of the developing countries to exercise absolute control over their natural wealth and to ensure the proper appraisal of their raw materials on the other hand, combined with the desire to set up an international economic order based on relations of strict equality between all States, had led to the adoption of a series of measures designed to remedy the current world economic situation. Of particular importance was the adoption of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI)) and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New Interna-