

56. Similarly, in an article on Southern Rhodesia which had appeared in *Le Monde diplomatique* in May 1973, it was stated that the average monthly wage of the Africans employed in agriculture was 10 Southern Rhodesian dollars and that of those employed in industry was 40 Southern Rhodesian dollars, while the equivalent figures for Europeans were 230 and 315 Southern Rhodesian dollars respectively. Moreover, the sum spent on the education of the Africans was scarcely one tenth of that spent on education programmes for the children of the settlers.

57. The blatant activities of the economic interests in the Non-Self-Governing Territories constituted a monstrous crime which gave rise to all kinds of aberrations such as racial discrimination, *apartheid*, genocide and so forth.

58. It had been pointed out by a member of the United Kingdom Parliament that it was the investments of United Kingdom capital in South Africa that made it possible for that country to maintain the system of *apartheid*. Another Member of Parliament had declared that the economic activities of the United Kingdom constituted a real investment in the *apartheid* system by the United Kingdom.

59. In the recent World Congress of Peace Forces, held at Moscow in October 73, it had been pointed out that the colonialist and racist régimes based on terror and the barbarous exploitation of millions of people were a monstrous anachronism. Those régimes had the full support

of international imperialism, which managed to keep them in power by recourse to the most shameful methods, including economic aggression.

60. His delegation was convinced that the economic expansion of the foreign monopolies operating in the colonies must be brought to an end. In accordance with the recommendations of the Special Committee (*ibid.*, para. 7), the Fourth Committee should reaffirm, in its draft resolution on the item, the right of the colonies to self-determination and independence and to the use of their natural resources for their own benefit; it should condemn the support that the capitalist Governments were giving to the activities of the economic interests which were so basely exploiting the natural and human resources of the Territories and should do its utmost to ensure compliance with the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and decisions concerning South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. His delegation thought that more information was needed on the activities of the monopolies in the colonies and Non-Self-Governing Territories in accordance with the recommendation of the Special Committee that the Secretariat's Office of Public Information should endeavour to keep world public opinion as fully informed as possible of the facts concerning the pillaging of natural resources and the exploitation of human resources by the colonialist régimes.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

2060th meeting

Thursday, 15 November 1973, at 11.15 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Leonardo DIAZ GONZALEZ (Venezuela).

A/C.4/SR.2060

AGENDA ITEMS 70, 71 AND 72

Question of Namibia (*continued*)* (A/9023/Add.2, A/9024, A/9061, A/9065, A/9066, A/9225 and Corr.1, A/C.4/764)

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration (*concluded*)** (A/C.4/764)

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*)*** (A/9023/Add.1, A/9061, A/C.4/764)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS

1. The CHAIRMAN reminded the members of the Committee that, at its 2037th meeting, the Committee had decided to grant the request for a hearing from the representatives of the World Peace Council (A/C.4/764).

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Romesh Chandra, Mr. Emilson S. Randriamihasinoro and Mr. Gordon

* Resumed from the 2054th meeting.

** Resumed from the 2058th meeting.

*** Resumed from the 2045th meeting.

Schaffer, representatives of the World Peace Council, took places at the Committee table.

2. Mr. CHANDRA (Secretary-General of the World Peace Council) thanked the Committee for having acceded to the request of the World Peace Council for a hearing during the important discussions currently taking place (A/C.4/764). It was a special privilege for the World Peace Council to come once again before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly to report on the work that the Council and other non-governmental public organizations were doing in support of the resolutions of the United Nations on the urgent problems of the liberation struggles against colonialism and racist régimes.

3. During the current session, members of the Fourth Committee would not be able to hear, as they had at the previous session (1986th meeting), the voice of one of the most outstanding men of the age—that valiant and indomitable fighter for the liberation of his own people and for the peace and independence of all peoples of Africa and of the world, Amílcar Cabral.

4. The World Peace Council was proud to have had the privilege of having amongst its leaders a man who had

contributed so greatly to the cause of all humanity. It was under his leadership that the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde had been united and had scored great victories in their struggle for independence. It was under his leadership that the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) had become known throughout the world for its remarkable political and military struggle, for its armed combat, for its national and international political and diplomatic actions, for national reconstruction and for the building of a new social life in the liberated areas of the country.

5. The World Peace Council knew well that the fighting spirit of Amílcar Cabral continued to permeate the struggle of his beloved people. All over the world, the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was today recognized by an increasing number of Governments and by peoples everywhere.

6. The spirit of Amílcar Cabral lived on wherever men were fighting for national independence, for justice and social progress, and his name had become a banner for all peoples who were fighting to build a new life in Africa and the other continents.

7. At its session at Santiago de Chile in 1972, the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council had decided to award the Joliot-Curie Medal, its highest distinction, to Amílcar Cabral; the Medal would be given to his party and his people.

8. Somehow, the spirit of Amílcar Cabral could be seen in the work of the Fourth Committee. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, proud and independent, was entering the family of the free nations of the world. For the members of the World Peace Council, their comrade, Amílcar Cabral, lived on in all aspects of the Council's work, to the development of which he had contributed so much in recent years.

9. From its very foundation, the World Peace Council had given a prominent place in its principles and its programme of work to the struggle for the liberation of all Territories under colonial domination. In particular, the struggle for the liberation movements of the Territories under Portuguese administration had commanded the continued and constant attention of the Council. The World Peace Council was proud to have been among the organizers of the Conferences of Solidarity with the Peoples of Southern Africa and the Portuguese Colonies, held in different parts of the world, in Africa, in Europe and in capitals of countries whose Governments directly or indirectly supported the Portuguese colonialist régime.

10. The World Peace Council had had the privilege of receiving at its headquarters at Helsinki the Chairman 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, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim. The results of that visit and the important decisions taken by the Council had been given in detail in chapter II of the report of the Special Committee (A/9023 (part II), chap. II, annex I). That visit by Mr. Salim, as well as the previous visit of Mr. Nur Elmi, representing the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, had marked the new

relations which currently existed between the World Peace Council, on the one hand, and the Special Committees dealing with decolonization and *apartheid* and the United Nations Council for Namibia, on the other.

11. The work of the Special Committees, of the United Nations Council for Namibia and of the Fourth Committee had benefited from the fact that the representatives of the liberation movements were now able to participate in the work of those bodies in an observer capacity. When speaking before the Fourth Committee at the twenty-sixth session (1946th meeting), a representative of the World Peace Council had pointed out how unreal any discussions on the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples were in the absence of the liberation movements. Since 1972, the participation of the liberation movements in the work of the United Nations had put an end to that anomalous situation and there was no doubt that the discussions and decisions were now far more realistic and effective. It was impossible to discuss the problems of colonial Territories and peoples without the participation of the liberation movements, which alone could speak for those peoples.

12. One of the most significant and concrete results of the development of the solidarity movement with the liberation struggles had been the establishment of the Special Sub-Committee on Decolonization, Racial Discrimination and *Apartheid* of the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council. At some of the meetings of that Sub-Committee, delegations from the Special Committees on *Apartheid* and Decolonization had taken an active part. At the present time, the Sub-Committee was planning to hold in 1974 an international conference of non-governmental organizations on colonialism and *apartheid* in southern Africa. The World Peace Council asked the United Nations to give its full support to that Conference.

13. World public opinion had become a vital factor for the implementation of United Nations resolutions on colonialism and *apartheid*. The violation of those resolutions by some Governments and by economic, financial and other interests could be combated most effectively by arousing public interest in the countries concerned and in the world as a whole. The World Peace Council had dedicated a great deal of its efforts to that task. The cause of the liberation movements was the cause of the World Peace Council.

14. The World Peace Council's co-operation with the United Nations and with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had grown immensely and there had been an increasing appreciation of the fact that the activities of the World Peace Council for the mobilization of public opinion was of great value in the task of securing the implementation of the resolutions and declarations of the United Nations and OAU.

15. The World Congress of Peace Forces had met in Moscow only a short time before, from 25 to 31 October 1973: more than 3,000 delegates from over 120 international organizations and 1,100 national organizations from 143 countries had attended. Outstanding representatives of the Special Committee, the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and the United Nations Council for Namibia had also been present at the Congress. The statements made by

those distinguished leaders, as well as by the personal representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Farah, the Deputy Secretary-General of OAU, Mr. Peter Onu, and the leaders of the liberation movements, had focused the attention of all delegates on the key issues of decolonization and *apartheid*, on which the Congress had adopted decisions and a programme of action.

16. Endorsing the programme of action of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa held at Oslo in April 1973 (A/9061, annex, sect. IV), the Congress had called for the recognition of the State of Guinea-Bissau and had appealed to all Governments to extend diplomatic, economic and other assistance to the Government of that new State. It had also called for the setting up of committees of solidarity with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in as many countries as possible.

17. The Congress had also called upon all Governments and organizations to support the liberation movements in the Territories under Portuguese administration, to give priority to a special publicity campaign through all mass media and to inform world public opinion of the progress of the struggle being waged under the leadership of the liberation movements.

18. The Congress had paid special attention to the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and had welcomed the intensification of the armed and political struggle in that country. It had called upon the peace forces of the world to seek direct contact with the liberation movements of Zimbabwe in order to obtain information on the progress of the liberation struggle and to develop active bilateral relations and render concrete assistance.

19. With regard to Namibia, the Congress had extended its full support to the liberation struggle being carried out under the banner of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and had called upon all Governments and international organizations to send concrete material assistance to SWAPO to enable it to intensify the armed struggle effectively in order to liquidate South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

20. It had also given its full support to the struggle for national independence of the people of the Seychelles and the Comoro Islands, the coast of Somaliland, Reunion, the Canary Islands and so-called Spanish Sahara.

21. It had also supported the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico against United States colonial oppression and for their national independence, welcomed the resolutions adopted on Puerto Rico by the Special Committee (see A/9023 (part I), para. 84) and the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers in September 1973, and called upon the United Nations General Assembly to ratify those resolutions and on all Governments and organizations to implement them.

22. The World Peace Council wished to suggest to the General Assembly that it approach all non-governmental organizations enjoying consultative status with the Economic and Social Council with a view to encouraging them

to intensify their activities in support of United Nations resolutions on the liberation struggle of the colonial countries and peoples.

23. It was absolutely necessary that consultative status be accorded to the large number of organizations which were actively supporting the United Nations position on decolonization, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

24. The World Peace Council wished to emphasize its continued and constant support for the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration, Zimbabwe, Namibia and all other colonial Territories.

25. The United Nations could count on the support of the World Peace Council at all times to build up public opinion in support of those resolutions.

26. The World Peace Council earnestly hoped that it would be able to discuss with the Fourth Committee the steps which it could take in fulfilment of its commitment to support the work of the United Nations in that vital sector.

27. Mr. SCHAFFER (World Peace Council) said that the plot by a powerful section of the United Kingdom Conservative Party to secure the removal of sanctions and the recognition of the Smith régime had failed, since the United Kingdom Parliament had endorsed the continuation of the sanctions, which, although there were many breaches, were inflicting a heavy blow on the illegal racist régime and were evidence to the oppressed majority that the world had not abandoned them. In the current year the Conservative Party Conference had supported the continuation of sanctions by an overwhelming majority. Although the sympathy for the Smith régime in those circles had certainly not diminished, the situation was changing.

28. However great the difficulties might be, Africa would develop its resources and would manage to defeat colonialist exploitation and to impose its own terms, as the Arab countries had done. It was becoming clear that the Smith régime was increasingly conscious of its isolation.

29. Some United Kingdom newspapers had given details of the massacres committed in Mozambique and had published information on the slave conditions of the black workers in South Africa.

30. The true facts were reaching an increasingly wide public and the national conscience was being aroused. Impetus had been given to the campaign to prevent Portugal using arms supplied by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for its colonial wars and there was increasing understanding of the situation prevailing in Namibia, illegally occupied by South Africa, and of the failure to fulfil the undertaking given to the Secretary-General that freedom of speech and political activity would be allowed.¹

31. The World Peace Council could only offer its humble and inadequate support to those who were waging the

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1973, document S/10921, para. 14.*

struggle against their oppressors. However great might be the difficulties and sacrifices, men and women struggling for freedom would be victorious. The Portuguese colonialists would learn the lesson that the United Kingdom had had to learn: namely, that a people determined to be free could not be denied. Such was the inexorable march of history. The World Congress of Peace Forces, which had brought together more than 3,000 delegates from nearly every country of the world, had taught another lesson: that national liberation and the struggle for peace could not be separated and that, so long as people were oppressed, peace would always be in jeopardy.

32. Mr. RANDRIAMIHASINORO (World Peace Council) said that he was glad to note that the United Nations had attached great importance to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and that at the current session of the General Assembly a number of new initiatives had been proposed. The struggle against the colonial policy of exploitation was still one of the chief matters of concern to the peace-loving peoples. Nevertheless, even after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), more than 28 million people were still under colonial domination and it was obvious that mankind could not allow the colonialist régimes to continue. In southern Africa, the alliance between Salisbury, Pretoria and Lisbon was trying to exploit the area and was subjecting the people to all kinds of oppression, including murder. It was also endeavouring to reconquer the independent African countries in order to subject them to other forms of exploitation.

33. It was only through the help that they were receiving from certain Powers, especially the members of NATO, that Portugal was trying to internationalize its colonial war, that Ian Smith was able to go on defying world public opinion and that South Africa, like Israel, was able to increase its military power in order to continue its expansionist policy. Ample evidence was to be found in the huge Western investments made in the Cunene River Basin project and the Cabora Bassa dam project, as also in the fact that the United Kingdom was still in the Seychelles.

34. The aim of the colonialists in all such cases—in the Seychelles, in the so-called Spanish Sahara and in many other places—was to keep a foothold to enable them to maintain their military presence in Africa with a view to preventing the peoples from exploiting the resources which were their legitimate property.

35. Faced with such a situation, it was necessary to work out a system of vigorous measures to outlaw the racist and colonialist régimes. Similarly, a system should be established whereby effective action could be taken against the Powers which violated the sanctions, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel and others. It should be made absolutely impossible for those régimes to consolidate their power through the help that they were receiving.

36. Furthermore, all possible assistance should be given to the liberation movements. Material assistance, however, was not enough: the movements should be granted legal status and the respect that was accorded to the true representatives of peoples. In addition, co-operation between non-

governmental organizations and the United Nations should be strengthened, so that world public opinion would be able to play a predominant role in the elimination of colonialism.

37. The World Peace Council would continue to do its utmost to keep world public opinion informed of the United Nations decisions. Nothing could hold back the march of history and the efforts of the liberation movements would finally be crowned with victory.

38. Mrs. JIMENEZ (Cuba) thanked the World Peace Council, which by its anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neocolonialist stand had made a most important contribution to the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence by giving world public opinion a better understanding of the tragedy of those peoples. She accordingly asked that the statement made by Mr. Chandra should be reproduced *in extenso*.

39. Mr. LAHIRI (India) thanked the representatives of the World Peace Council for their statements. The participation of the Special Committee and the Special Committee on *Apartheid* in various meetings held under the auspices of the World Peace Council showed that co-operation between that Council and the United Nations was increasing. That was of great importance inasmuch as the World Peace Council brought together a number of organizations and that made it easier to reach public opinion. His delegation therefore supported the Cuban representative's proposal that Mr. Chandra's statement should be reproduced *in extenso*.

40. Mr. LUDWICZAK (Poland) thanked the representatives of the World Peace Council and repeated his delegation's conviction that the Council was performing work of the utmost importance. The Council had made a most valuable contribution to the struggle of the peoples for independence and it would continue to be a crucial factor in the task of keeping world public opinion informed regarding that struggle.

41. Mr. MONTOYA (Peru) said that his delegation, too, was grateful to the representatives of the World Peace Council, whose presence in the Committee constituted a reaffirmation of the fact that the problems to which colonialism in all its forms gave rise were causing universal indignation.

42. Mr. RASOLONDRAIBE (Madagascar) thanked the representatives of the World Peace Council. What they had said confirmed the fact that the United Nations was not working in a vacuum in its efforts to eliminate colonialism and racism. He therefore supported the Cuban representative's proposal to reproduce Mr. Chandra's statement *in extenso*.

43. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania) thanked the representatives of the World Peace Council for the information they had given the Committee. The United Republic of Tanzania had always maintained friendly relations with the World Peace Council and was convinced that its efforts would be crowned with victory.

44. Mr. RIFAI (Secretary of the Committee) informed the Committee that the financial implications of the proposal

for the reproduction *in extenso* of a statement were \$100 a page.

45. Mr. NEKLESSA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thanked the representatives of the World Peace Council for the proposals they had made, which would undoubtedly help the anti-colonialist organs of the United Nations in the fulfilment of their mandate. He welcomed the co-operation of the United Nations with the World Peace Council, a body which directed movements in favour of peace. Evidence of that co-operation was to be found in the participation of the Special Committee, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on *Apartheid* in various conferences held by the World Peace Council. He was convinced that, at the present stage of the struggle against colonialism and *apartheid*, unity of action by all the anti-colonialist forces of the world was of the utmost importance.

46. He supported the proposal that Mr. Chandra's statement should be reproduced *in extenso* and expressed the hope that a detailed account of the statements made by the representatives of the World Peace Council would also be published in the press releases of the Office of Public Information.

47. The CHAIRMAN said that, in the absence of any objections, he would take it that the Committee endorsed the Cuban proposal.

It was so agreed.

Mr. Chandra, Mr. Randriamihasinoro and Mr. Schaffer withdrew.

AGENDA ITEM 73

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/9023 (part III), A/9061)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

48. Mr. GENDA (Hungary) said that General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) affirmed the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence. However, it was no accident that the Fourth Committee found it necessary to consider, as a separate item, the question of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which were impeding the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). One of the reasons why the Declaration had not yet been successfully implemented was that the colonialists and the administering Powers had not fulfilled the duty incumbent upon them under the United Nations Charter. In the same way, the economic interests of the colonial Powers and other States were one of the main obstacles to the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism. The large international monopolies which co-operated with the colonial Powers were depriving the

African peoples of their right to enjoy the benefits of their own natural and human resources and, instead of contributing to the political, economic and social development of those peoples, they were concerned only to protect their own interests.

49. His delegation thanked the Special Committee for the comprehensive data it had provided in chapter IV of its report (A/9023 (part III)), which made it clear that, regrettably, the colonial Powers and other countries were continuing to exploit the natural and human resources of the Territories, in particular, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration.

50. By their action the foreign monopolies were inflicting immeasurable suffering and sacrifices on the peoples of those Territories. It was clear that the monopolies had never used any of their enormous profits for the economic or social benefit of the inhabitants. On the contrary, part of the profits was sent to the countries of origin of the foreign companies and part was used to help the racist régimes.

51. The Special Committee reaffirmed in chapter IV of its report that United States, Western European and South African monopolies had contributed huge sums to the budgets of the racist régimes of southern Africa. In the case of Angola and Mozambique a special tax was paid to support the Territory's military budget and was used to wage a colonialist war against the national liberation movements.

52. In exchange for that aid, the racist régimes were establishing more favourable conditions for the activities of the foreign monopolies and were guaranteeing them cheap labour. Consequently, the wages of Africans in the colonies were six to eight times lower than those paid to non-Africans. When it suited the foreign monopolies, the African workers were driven away and forced to leave their lands, as had happened in the case of the Cabora Bassa dam and Cunene River Basin projects. If the slightest resistance was shown, the colonialist régimes crushed it by brutal police measures.

53. It was clear from what he had said that the activities of the foreign monopolies were one of the main obstacles to the exercise of the right of the peoples of the colonial Territories to self-determination and independence. His delegation vigorously condemned the support rendered by the colonial Powers and other States to the monopolies which were exploiting the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories, and it categorically demanded that the right of the peoples of the Territories to enjoy their own wealth should be assured. His delegation would support any measure designed to put an end to the economic activities impeding the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

54. Mr. HAMERNÍK (Czechoslovakia) said that the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the colonies and Non-Self-Governing Territories, together with the military activities of the colonialist Powers, were the main obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. For the imperialist monopolies, the colonies and

Non-Self-Governing Territories were sources of cheap raw materials and agricultural products and so they sought to consolidate their positions in the Territories by political means. Despite the many resolutions of the United Nations, the activities of those economic interests had not only not diminished but were increasing, thanks to the collaboration of the illegal racist régimes.

55. In chapter IV of its report (A/9023 (part III)), the Special Committee had restated its concern at the fact that colonialist States and their economic monopolies had still not implemented General Assembly resolutions 2621 (XXV) and 2979 (XXVII) but had indeed stepped up their exploitation in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration.

56. The main goal of the imperialist monopolies was to obtain maximum profits and favourable conditions for their activities. Those profits, which were obtained by exploiting the human and natural resources of the colonies, were invariably sent back to the metropolitan areas and were never used for projects which could bring benefit to the indigenous population. Quite the contrary, if any part of the profits remained in the colonial Territories, it would be used exclusively for capitalist investments designed to perpetuate the exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants.

57. His delegation was convinced that the activities of the capitalist countries in the colonies and Non-Self-Governing Territories were creating a dangerous situation, especially in southern Africa, where there was close contact and mutual support between the racist and colonialist régimes and the imperialist monopolies. That symbiotic relationship had been brought out in many United Nations documents and in the statements of the representatives of national liberation movements who had spoken in the Committee. His delegation thought that steps should be taken to compel the colonialist countries to implement General Assembly resolutions 2621 (XXV) and 2979 (XXVII) and other earlier resolutions. Such actions should put an end to all the economic activities of the foreign interests in the colonies and Non-Self-Governing Territories until such time as their indigenous peoples had exercised the right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It would be most fitting to impose a tax on the profits of the monopolies; that would permit a uniform increase in the standard of living and the economic potential of the Territories until they attained independence.

58. His delegation was ready to support any other proposals which would lead to the attainment of the stated goals and benefit the peoples of the remaining colonial Territories.

59. Mr. MULWA (Kenya) said it was fitting that the Special Committee should have recommended the holding of a separate debate on the item under consideration, since that would allow the exposure of the various multinational corporations which continued to support the forces of oppression in southern Africa. A small clique of white racists was able to maintain an atmosphere of racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa mainly because of the economic support they received from certain countries. All States condemned racism and colonialism

when they spoke in the United Nations, but in reality many of them were helping the forces of oppression by trading with their racist régimes, investing in southern Africa or even arming the régimes directly or indirectly.

60. The sanctions against Southern Rhodesia had failed to topple the rebel régime of Ian Smith, largely because South Africa and Portugal had disregarded them. It was not possible to extend the sanctions to South Africa and Portugal—a move which would make the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia more effective—because of the veto of the proposal by the Government of the United Kingdom in the Security Council at its 1716th meeting on 22 May 1973.

61. The United Kingdom and the other Western Powers which supported the minority régimes of southern Africa did so in order to protect their economic interests. They justified their activities by arguing that investments in southern Africa would result in the industrialization of the region and that economic growth in South Africa would create a shortage of labour, which in turn would enable the Africans gradually to take over jobs at present reserved for whites. Those arguments might appear plausible, but the problem of racism would not be solved as long as the policy of segregation and oppression pursued by South Africa remained unchanged.

62. *Apartheid* was a set of laws and a mechanism designed to provide and maintain cheap labour. The few pay increases which the Africans had received had been granted in such a way as to maintain the differential in the wages paid to whites doing the same work. That illustrated that the colour bar in industry, far from decreasing, was gaining in strength.

63. The conclusion was inevitable that the multinational corporations based in the United Kingdom, the United States, France and the Federal Republic of Germany were helping to strengthen the racist and colonialist régimes of southern Africa. The profits they obtained were never used for the benefit of the Africans: they were either returned to the home country or shared with the oppressive régimes, which received arms and military equipment to liquidate the national liberation movements.

64. Nor was it possible to accept the argument of some Governments that they could not control their companies which traded with the minority racist régimes of southern Africa. It was clear that the Governments had not attempted to stop those companies from trading with the racist régimes. His delegation called on the Western countries whose multinational corporations were trading with the racist régimes of southern Africa to ensure that their nationals and companies refrained from all dealings with Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

65. The situation in Namibia was slightly different from that in the rest of southern Africa: the Western countries which allowed their nationals and corporations to carry on economic activities in the Territory ought to be aware not only that they were helping South Africa to continue to defy the United Nations but also that their trading activities in that country were illegal. It was impossible to entertain

the argument of some Western Powers that they did not encourage their nationals to trade in Namibia when, at the same time, they set up consulates specifically to take care of their nationals in the Territory. Even if it was accepted that a consulate in Namibia had no connexion with the Embassy in Pretoria and that it was answerable directly to its Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the fact that its establishment had been authorized by the South African Government rendered it illegal. The consulate could only be justified if it had been set up with the authorization of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

66. Some of the Western countries seemed to believe that a free Namibia would not allow them to mine the uranium and diamonds they needed. He assured them that an independent Namibia, like many other independent African States, would continue to carry on trade with various countries of the world and would do so with a better understanding.

67. Portuguese domination in Africa had been possible because of the active support of the Western countries. Foreign monopolies and other economic interests from the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa had contributed enormous amounts of money to the budget of the Portuguese Government in the form of royalties and taxes, including in the case of Mozambique a special tax for supporting the colonial war against the liberation movements. The international monopolies had a particular interest in southern Africa, since the low labour costs there enabled them to obtain profits higher than they could obtain in any developed country. The wages paid to Africans in the Territories under colonial domination were much lower than those paid to non-African workers. As a result, the activities of the international monopolies, which exploited the indigenous people and thereby impeded the implementation of the liberation process, were very lucrative.

68. With regard to the international monopolies operating in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia, his delegation called upon the Western countries, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, to take immediate action to put an end to that exploitation.

69. It also called upon Member States to act individually in their own countries against companies which continued trading with southern Africa, either directly or through subsidiaries. The United Nations must constantly publish the names of companies and countries which continued trading in that region of Africa.

70. The Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin project in Angola did not benefit the indigenous people but had, on the contrary, brought an influx of foreign immigrants, with the result that Africans were displaced to poor and arid regions. Those projects represented merely a concerted effort to intensify the oppression of the already suffering Africans. His delegation therefore asked the Committee to condemn the construction of the two projects, which would serve only to entrench the privileged position of Portugal and its foreign allies, constituting a major obstacle to the elimination of colonialism and racism.

71. Another factor closely linked to economic activities in southern Africa was the military assistance afforded to the South African Government by France, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, in spite of repeated appeals from the United Nations and OAU. Those countries were evidently supplying arms to South Africa not for defence purposes but in order to hold down the African population and prevent any changes which might diminish the profits on their investments. It was ironic that the United Kingdom and the United States, which had fought against slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were now the leading beneficiaries of neo-slavery.

72. His delegation recommended the Fourth Committee to continue considering the question as a separate item and commended Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee for its excellent work, as evidenced by the report it had submitted to the Special Committee (A/9023 (part III), annex). It also recommended that the United Nations should create an effective machinery through which the activities of those companies could be publicized in their own countries, so that the masses would become aware that the suffering of the Africans in southern Africa was due to such activities. Similarly, Member States should mount a boycott against any companies in their countries which carried on activities in southern Africa and had thereby shown that they supported the racist and colonialist Powers.

73. Lastly, his delegation called upon the oppressed peoples of southern Africa to continue the struggle in the certainty that the peace-loving countries would go on supporting them in their efforts to break the yoke of colonialism and racism, and he had no doubt that they would succeed. Concerted efforts must be made to achieve unity in that struggle. The more divided the struggling peoples were, the longer the struggle would take. Unity and the desire to overthrow the oppressive régimes should outweigh all other considerations and all differences.

74. Mr. LUDWICZAK (Poland) said that the basic elements of the question of foreign economic interests in colonial Territories remained the same as ever: failure to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly; systematic expansion of foreign economic interests in the colonial Territories without consideration for the welfare, and indeed to the detriment, of the indigenous peoples; exploitation of the human and natural resources of the Territories in violation of the inherent rights and legitimate interests of the colonial peoples; intensification of economic policies detrimental to the true interests of the Territories; steady support of colonialist policies; and an increased threat to the national liberation movements and to the independent African countries. What was changing was the dimensions and intensity of those elements.

75. The conclusions in chapter IV of the Special Committee's report, (see A/9023 (part III), para 6) constituted an indictment of the foreign economic interests engaged in the process of economic exploitation. Those conclusions underscored the consolidation and intensification of that process and the role of foreign economic interests in the maintenance and strengthening of the colonial and racist régimes. They also disclosed the mechanism of the relationship between those régimes and certain NATO countries

and other Western countries. They showed clearly that without the active collaboration and support of a large number of multinational corporations, based in certain NATO countries, the colonial régimes would never have been able to maintain and reinforce their racist domination and defy the decisions of the United Nations, nor acquire the potential which constituted an obstacle to the exercise of the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and posed a threat to international peace and security.

76. The economies of the colonial Territories of southern Africa were dominated by foreign economic interests and white minorities. Foreign capital was invested almost entirely in those sectors of the economy which produced exports and yielded the highest possible profits. Those profits were not used for the economic development of the Territories and the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the indigenous peoples. The activities of such foreign economic interests impeded the progress of those Territories towards self-determination and independence and the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

77. In many countries of the world and in many organs of the United Nations, there had been growing concern about the negative and destructive consequences of the activities of multinational economic interests, not only in the colonial Territories but also in the political and economic life of many countries. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, steps had been taken to nationalize and control foreign capital so as to restrict those negative consequences. The peoples of the colonial countries, however, found it more difficult to struggle against those foreign economic interests, which had the support of the racist and colonialist régimes. Therefore the United Nations and the world community must make efforts to condemn and put an end to the destructive activities of foreign economic interests.

78. The General Assembly had adopted resolution 2979 (XXVII), in which it condemned the policies of the colonial Powers and other States which continued to support those foreign interests engaged in exploiting the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories and also condemned the policies of those Governments which had not yet prevented their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from participating in the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects.

79. His delegation felt that the time had come for firm action to resolve that problem. The present situation with regard to the activities of foreign interests in colonial Territories could not continue. The countries involved should assume the responsibility of complying with the provisions of that resolution.

80. His delegation endorsed the recommendations of the Special Committee in the various chapters of its report with regard to the programme of action adopted by the Oslo Conference (A/9061, annex, sect. IV), which had also been approved by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and by the World Congress of Peace Forces.

81. Action must also be taken to make possible the application of the principle of colonial peoples' sovereignty over their natural resources. The United Nations must act with more determination in order to prevent the immoral and inhuman exploitation of the natural resources of those Territories, in accordance with the relevant affirmation contained in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Such economic exploitation was contrary to the recognized principle of sovereignty over natural resources, and therefore the agreements entered into by foreign economic interests for the exploitation of natural resources in colonial Territories constituted no obligation whatever for the future Government of an independent State.

82. His delegation, which firmly upheld the right of the peoples under colonial domination to independence and self-determination, would support any draft resolution that advanced the solution of the problem now before the Committee.

Organization of work

83. The CHAIRMAN proposed that the Committee should begin on 19 November the general debate on the remaining items, that is to say, items 13, 23, 69, 74 and 12, 75 and 76.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.