

2160th meeting

Tuesday, 4 November 1975, at 3.15 p.m.

Chairman: Mrs. Famah JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone).

A/C.4/SR.2160

AGENDA ITEM 90

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 and Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa (*continued*) (A/10023 (part III), A/10058)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. SALADO VILLACIN (Cuba) said that, in violation of General Assembly resolutions, particularly resolutions 2621 (XXV) and 3299 (XXIX), the colonial Powers and certain other States permitted their companies to plunder the resources of the colonial Territories. That situation constituted a challenge to the United Nations and was contrary to the obligations assumed by Member States, in accordance with the Charter, to promote the self-determination and independence of colonial peoples.

2. It was not surprising, therefore, that those States whose transnational corporations operated in the colonial Territories had not supported General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX), embodying the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which reaffirmed the duty of all States to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid*, racial discrimination, neo-colonialism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation and domination, and the economic and social consequences thereof.

3. His delegation was greatly concerned that the role of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial Territories had not diminished. The transnational corporations continued to dominate and exploit the economy of those Territories; high profits continued to accrue to the colonial Powers and to benefit the minorities which exploited the indigenous population. Those activities were closely linked with the perpetuation of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination. Major corporations in the United Kingdom, the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and other States members of NATO helped to strengthen the colonial régimes and the minorities in southern Africa.

4. A similar situation prevailed in the Pacific and the Caribbean regions, where the direct relationship between the activities of foreign economic interests and the perpetuation of colonialism was due to the same causes. The same was true of Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, the Turks and Caicos Islands and Puerto Rico, the latter being the most glaring example of the way in which foreign economic interests, with the collusion of the colonial Power, ruthlessly exploited the colonial Territories, with the clear aim

of frustrating the aspirations of the indigenous peoples for self-determination and independence.

5. The question was dealt with fully in chapter V 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, concerning agenda item 90, (A/10023 (part III)), which, in his delegation's view, deserved the support of the Committee. In that connexion, recommendations (1) and (2) of the Special Committee (*ibid.*, para. 7) were particularly important. The Committee should adopt a draft resolution which incorporated the Special Committee's recommendations condemning the role of the transnational corporations in the colonial Territories.

6. Mr. HRČKA (Czechoslovakia) said that the Committee's debates on Southern Rhodesia and Namibia had made it unnecessary for further evidence to be adduced of the adverse effects of foreign economic and other interests on the process of decolonization, particularly in southern Africa.

7. Although the successes of the national liberation movements had altered the forms of involvement of imperialistic circles in the economies of their former or current colonial Territories, the basic exploitative relationship remained unchanged. The racist minority régimes could hardly survive without the support of foreign economic and financial interests. In South Africa, the true objectives of foreign economic interests were not concealed and the well-known rhetoric about democracy was especially cynical.

8. The Special Committee's recommendations confirmed the importance of the problems currently under consideration. The main purpose of colonialism had always been, and still was, in essence, the unbridled economic exploitation of other peoples and the racist and colonialist régimes endeavoured to establish the best conditions for such exploitation. Yet the open collaboration of foreign firms with the colonial and racist régimes was not the only aspect of the adverse influence of foreign monopolies; there was a much deeper interrelationship.

9. One of the main reasons why the Committee was considering the item was in order to establish the fact that foreign firms—whatever their views on decolonization—took advantage of the situation in the colonial Territories. They earned profits that were two or three times the yield of capital investments in other parts of the world, and, in disregard of the interests of the colonial peoples and without their consent, they were exhausting the richest resources of the Territories and taking advantage of social and political discrimination against the indigenous population.

10. The conclusions of the Special Committee (*ibid.*, para. 6) indicated that it was difficult to find a case where, for example, foreign companies paid African workers wages equal to those of similarly qualified workers of European origin. Such discrimination, which was made possible by the racist and colonial régimes, was one of the principal reasons for the high yield on foreign capital investments.

11. The exportation of raw materials and the constant outflow of profits could never benefit the colonial Territories, whose economic development was unbalanced because the indigenous peoples could not participate in it. The presence of foreign monopolies seriously infringed the rights of the indigenous peoples to the natural resources of their Territories.

12. In that connexion, he noted that the representatives of several Western countries in which such firms were registered and from which they appointed their managerial staff sometimes claimed that, because of existing legislation, the Governments of Western States could not take effective action against companies which were impeding the process of decolonization or prohibit the economic activities of individuals abroad. But that argument was unconvincing, given the interrelationship of the administrative, economic and military sectors in the countries concerned. He also noted that United Nations resolutions had not only condemned the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial countries, but had also called upon the Governments of the States concerned to take legislative and other measures to put an end to such activities.

13. The Special Committee's report emphasized that one of the conditions for further progress in decolonization was that the activities of foreign monopolies which supported the colonial and racist régimes should cease. His delegation fully supported the Special Committee's recommendations and considered that the General Assembly should, in its resolution on the item, once again call attention to the fact that certain economic, financial, military and other interests of capitalist States were providing the colonial and racist régimes with assistance which impeded the full elimination of colonialism and racism, particularly in southern Africa, and condemn the exploitation of the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories, as well as the failure to implement the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and the General Assembly resolutions relating to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

14. Czechoslovakia was ready to support all effective steps designed to uphold the inalienable right of the peoples of colonial Territories to self-determination and independence, and to accelerate the elimination of colonialism and racism on the basis of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

15. Mr. MONTEMAYOR CANTU (Mexico) said that the inclusion of the item under consideration in the agenda of the General Assembly for the past several years reflected the conviction of Member States of the immense negative influence exercised by foreign economic interests on the process of decolonization and on efforts to eliminate *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. The conclusions of the Special Committee appearing in chapter V of its report (A/10023 (part III)) showed that the

principal motive of the foreign companies in perpetuating their operations in the colonial Territories was the enormous profits they derived from exploiting indigenous labour, which they were able to do with impunity because of the support of the local racist régimes and their confidence that they could rely on the approval and assistance of their own Governments. Thus, the natural resources of the Territories under colonial domination had been greatly diminished and ran a serious risk of being exhausted. In almost all cases, non-renewable natural resources were being rapidly extracted by foreign companies and transnational corporations, which would probably withdraw from those Territories when there was nothing left to exploit.

16. The representative of one country which had economic interests in the colonial Territories had informed the Committee that his Government had found that it could not prevent such activities. If such was the case—and he feared that it was—then the international community was witnessing the official acknowledgement of the birth of a new power, namely, that of the transnational corporations. It should be recognized, however, that the international responsibility of States lay with their respective Governments and that, in the case of democratic systems, that responsibility resided in the executive power. For that reason, his delegation believed that no internal legislative measure could exempt a country from fulfilling its international obligations, nor could it be used as an excuse to violate United Nations resolutions.

17. Chapter V of the report of the Special Committee gave a full account of the foreign companies operating in the various Territories under colonial domination and his delegation believed that it would be practical, in order to make it clearer which economic interests were impeding the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV), to include in the draft resolution that the Committee would adopt, possibly as an annex, a list of the main companies that continued to operate in those Territories. His delegation fully supported the recommendations in the Special Committee's report (*ibid.*, para. 7), particularly recommendation (9).

18. In 1974, the General Assembly had, by an overwhelming majority, adopted resolution 3281 (XXIX), which contained the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. Mexico's position on the item under consideration was based on article 16 of that Charter.

19. Mr. VASILYEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that there was increasing concern with regard to the activities of transnational corporations, whose turnover sometimes exceeded in value the gross national product in many countries in which they operated. There was evidence that they interfered in the political and economic life of those countries, and sought to exert pressure on Governments, parties and the press.

20. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth special session (see resolution 3201 (S-VI)), and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, adopted at the twenty-ninth session (see resolution 3281 (XXIX)), stressed the principle of the full

sovereignty of States over their natural resources and all economic activities, including the right to nationalization. The Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted at the sixth special session (see resolution 3202 (S-VI)), underlined the need to formulate, adopt and implement an international code of conduct for transnational corporations to prevent interference in the internal affairs of the countries where they operated and their collaboration with racist régimes and colonial administrations.

21. The struggle against the unscrupulous activities of the imperialist monopolies in the colonial Territories was hampered by the liberal support they received from the racist and colonial régimes, which provided them with favourable conditions and accorded them special privileges with regard to the granting of concessions, the export of capital, the transfer of profits and exemption from customs duties. The monopolies were also provided with cheap labour, often under conditions of slavery.

22. In those circumstances, the efforts of the United Nations and the international community must be directed towards eliminating the racist régimes as well as towards putting an end to the activities of imperialist companies which thwarted the process of decolonization and helped the racist régimes to survive.

23. The General Assembly had drawn attention to that issue, in particular in its resolution 3299 (XXIX), and, in a number of resolutions, had envisaged measures to curtail the activities of foreign companies in the colonial Territories. Yet, as the Special Committee had noted in the conclusions in chapter V of its report (see A/10023 (part III), para. 6), the colonial Powers and the States whose companies and nationals were engaged in such activities had continued to disregard United Nations decisions on the question, and had stepped up their policies of economic domination in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and other colonial Territories. As was pointed out in that report, foreign companies in Namibia repatriated about one third of the Territory's gross domestic product. Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd. and the Tsumeb Corporation, Ltd. accounted for almost 90 per cent of total mineral production. The report also indicated that, in Southern Rhodesia, over 80 per cent of the mining enterprises were controlled by certain Western Powers, and foreign economic interests had enabled the Smith régime to circumvent the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. In that connexion, he drew attention to the special report prepared the previous year on the case concerning the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company, Ltd. (RISCO).¹

24. The Special Committee had noted with concern that the Salisbury-Pretoria axis was still supported by big monopolies controlled from certain Western countries, and that the financial and technological participation of those countries, particularly States members of NATO, in the exploitation of the colonial Territories was strengthening the oppressive minority racist régimes in southern Africa.

25. The conclusion that the activities of foreign companies were one of the major obstacles to the implementation of

the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples could also be applied to Angola. Foreign companies continued to operate in that Territory, where, under the control of Western countries and South Africa, they shamelessly exploited the human and natural resources of the Territory. The imperialist interests of international monopolies sought to retain control of Angola's mineral wealth and to prevent the people from becoming the owners of their own land. For that very purpose, plans were being prepared for the dismemberment of Angola and there was direct interference in the internal affairs of the Territory. The acts of aggression committed by South Africa, whose forces had recently crossed into Angola, were one more link in the chain of conspiracies whereby reactionary forces sought to prevent the people of Angola from attaining genuine independence. His delegation firmly supported the request for a termination of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Angola and the withdrawal of South African forces and foreign mercenaries from that Territory.

26. The documents of the Special Committee, as well as the international press and discussions in the Fourth Committee, all confirmed the predatory nature of the activities of imperialist monopolies in the colonial Territories. The close ties existing between the foreign monopolies and the colonialist and racist régimes corroborated the conclusion that the activities of monopolistic capital constituted a major obstacle to decolonization. In his delegation's view, attention should now be concentrated on the exposure of the predatory methods to which the monopolies resorted and on the adoption of decisive measures to put an end to such activities. The General Assembly should call for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism and racism and the cessation of the plunder by foreign corporations of the wealth of the colonial Territories and the brutal exploitation of the indigenous population of those Territories.

27. His delegation accordingly supported the recommendations of the Special Committee (*ibid.*, para. 7), which represented a constructive programme of action, and it was ready to co-operate with others in the Committee in formulating decisions on the question.

28. Mr. DUBUC (Venezuela) said that, at its 2155th meeting, the Committee had adopted two draft resolutions on Southern Rhodesia (A/C.4/L.1092 and Corr.1 and A/C.4/L.1093), which reflected the concern of most Member States over the repeated violations of Article 25 of the Charter by some countries and called for the application of all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter, and that, in the debate on Namibia, specific facts had been adduced which proved that transnational corporations were continuing to exploit the Territory's natural resources. His delegation endorsed conclusion (4) in the report of the Special Committee (see A/10023 (part III), para. 6). The activities of transnational corporations, which spread their tentacles throughout the world, were closely linked with colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. Developing countries were familiar with the way in which such activities hampered their economic liberation. Venezuela could speak with authority on the subject and had, in a responsible way, nationalized its iron and petroleum industries. The Commission on Transna-

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Special Supplement No. 3.

tional Corporations and the Information and Research Centre on Transnational Corporations had a great task before them. Venezuela, as a member of that Commission, would collaborate energetically in the search for machinery to restrain the economic power of transnational corporations.

29. Situations such as those which prevailed in the Territories under colonial domination were an obstacle to international peace and security. The third-world countries were united in the defence of their natural resources. The adoption of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States was a *sine qua non* for the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

30. Mr. KAMARA (Senegal) said that the history of decolonization showed that the greatest obstacles to that process had been found where there were sources of profit; economic exploitation had proved to be a much greater incentive than strategic interests or political advantages. Since the international community had embarked on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, General Assembly and Security Council resolutions had not been fully respected because they attacked economic interests. That fact had been clearly brought out in the statement on Namibia made by Canon Burgess Carr to the Security Council at its 1827th meeting, on 5 June 1975. All the efforts made so far had had little effect on the attitude of certain great Powers, which continued to disregard the will of the international community by failing to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, by stepping up their policies of economic domination in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and other colonial Territories, and by taking no legislative, administrative or other measures to put an end to or to restrain the activities of foreign interests which were exploiting the resources of the Territories concerned.

31. The situation in those Territories was fully described in chapter V of the Special Committee's report (A/10023 (part I.I)). It was characterized by exploitation and economic domination on the part of transnational corporations, supported by certain great Powers. The corporations made huge profits, most of which were repatriated, and paid the Africans low, discriminatory wages. The entire employment framework of Southern Rhodesia was exploitative towards Africans. In Namibia, the actual *per capita* income in 1970 had been estimated at about \$167 for non-whites and \$2,834 for whites; in 1973, when the Territory's gross domestic product had increased by more than 60 per cent, the ratio of white to non-white earnings had remained unchanged. Bad working conditions had been aggravated in Namibia by the system of *apartheid* and the institution of "homelands". Working methods which were calculated to secure the greatest productivity, and thus the largest profits, had resulted in frequent mining accidents, including the 1972 Wankie mine disaster in Southern Rhodesia, in which 427 people had been killed. Although the mining companies in Namibia claimed that mining accidents were on the decrease, their own statistics for

1973 showed a total of 737 killed and over 29,000 seriously injured.

32. As a result of the accidents and the violence caused by brutal exploitation and oppression, the independent African countries bordering South Africa had decided gradually to withdraw their nationals who were working in that country. That decision had been suggested by OAU as a way of weakening South Africa's economic system. OAU was at the same time studying ways of helping the countries concerned to deal with the possible consequences of such a withdrawal. In order to counter-balance the decision of the African States, an agreement had recently been signed between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia whereby the latter would provide South Africa with at least 20,000 labourers a year.

33. The quest for easy profits meant that the most profitable sectors of the economies of colonial Territories were developed at the expense of others more beneficial to the indigenous population.

34. In Namibia, the economy was dominated by South African economic interests. Other countries concerned in decreasing order of importance according to the number of companies involved were the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Canada. Although cattle ranching and karakul farming were of importance, the sectors in which the heaviest investments had been made were mining, which had absorbed about 60 per cent of investments in 1972, fishing and the processing industry. Namibia's mineral wealth included the Rössing uranium mine, which had aroused considerable discussion in view of South Africa's avowed intention of acquiring atomic weapons and the likelihood of it exercising pressure on nuclear-weapon countries in the future, since chapter V of the Special Committee's report had referred to the inevitable dependence of such countries on the Rössing mine (*ibid.*, annex, appendix II, para. 46). According to the information available, South Africa had already established its own system of uranium enrichment.

35. The most urgent question, however, was the purchase by the Pretoria régime of nuclear power stations. Such a development rightly disturbed the African States, since it appeared likely that South Africa was strengthening its striking power against them. During October 1975 there had been a number of conflicting statements from official sources in the Federal Republic of Germany with regard to the possibility of that country exporting nuclear power stations to South Africa. The African countries could only draw the attention of the Federal Republic of Germany to the fact that such assistance to the Pretoria régime in such a field would be universally censured.

36. In Southern Rhodesia, former British South African companies had been registered in the Territory in order to become Southern Rhodesian companies and thus deceive world opinion although their parent companies continued to invest in the new subsidiaries. The Southern Rhodesian mining industry, which covered a range of different minerals, was controlled by foreign economic interests, attracted by the large profits obtainable from mining investments. The RISCO case was typical of the stimulating effect of the profit motive on the activities of such

companies, despite all formal bans. In 1973, RISCO had initiated an expansion programme to double its annual output of steel and, according to reports which had not been completely confirmed, foreign companies from Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and the United States had agreed to finance the scheme. The countries referred to should undertake investigations and, if necessary, take appropriate measures under the relevant United Nations resolutions. Full details about the RISCO affair had been published in the April/May/June 1975 issue of the United Nations publication *Objective: Justice*.

37. In his delegation's view it was because some great Western countries continued to violate United Nations resolutions by exploiting or assisting in the exploitation of the natural resources of the Territories under racist domination that such régimes were far from collapsing. In Southern Rhodesia, the partial application of economic sanctions had had some effect in certain sectors, such as the tobacco industry, but the serious difficulties experienced by Southern Rhodesian industry had arisen mainly as a result of unfavourable markets for certain products, such as sugar in 1973-1974 and nickel in 1972. In Namibia, falling copper prices had led to the cancellation of plans for a major copper mine in the Territory. It was true that, in January 1975, four of the United States companies prospecting for off-shore oil off Namibia had announced their decision to withdraw from the Territory as a result of great pressure from church groups, and that one spokesman had said that his company's decision was attributable to the lack of a foreseeable resolution of the issue of sovereignty, which had recently been accentuated. Nevertheless, the mining sector continued to show large profits: according to unofficial information, the value of production had increased from R127 million in 1966 to R250 million in 1973, diamonds accounting for about 56 per cent of the total. Furthermore, in 1973-1974, the Pretoria régime had received in the form of taxes on foreign investments in Namibia, R43.2 million from mining companies and R9.9 million from non-mining companies, which together accounted for 57 per cent of the taxes directly collected by South Africa in the Territory.

38. It had become clear, however, that even Namibia's mineral resources were not inexhaustible. A Commission of Inquiry into the Diamond Industry of the Republic of South Africa, which had been set up by the South African Government to study the situation, had predicted that the combined production of Namibia and South Africa would be reduced by 8.5 per cent per annum and would decrease to 22 per cent of its current level by 1990.

39. It was, however, idle to expect the South African régime to collapse because of such difficulties, particularly since it was receiving not only military but also technological assistance from the NATO countries. All members of the international community must be persuaded to desist from directly or indirectly promoting the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and all other Territories under colonial domination. It was only in that way that the economy of such Territories could withstand the impact of measures which might weaken it at the same time as they weakened the ruling régime.

40. In conclusion, he expressed his delegation's full support for the Special Committee's recommendations and conclusions.

41. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria) said that the conclusions reached by the Special Committee in the excellent study of the activities of imperialist multinational corporations in the colonial Territories contained in chapter V of its report were that such corporations still continued to impede the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as well as the efforts of the international community to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. They continued to dominate the economies of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and had increased their exploitation both of the indigenous people and of their natural resources. By developing only those economic sectors from which they derived the greatest profit, the corporations had reduced the Territories to the status of sources of raw materials for the colonial Powers and other imperialist States.

42. African workers were forced to serve as a source of cheap labour; they had no social security benefits and were paid far less than non-African workers doing the same job. The infant mortality and illiteracy rates among Africans supported the Special Committee's conclusion that brutal exploitation by monopolies had plunged the broad masses of the people in southern Africa into a state of dire misery.

43. The Special Committee's report also showed that 80 per cent of the mining enterprises in Southern Rhodesia were controlled by certain Western Powers, which had encouraged Ian Smith to evade the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, while in Namibia, mining, commercial fishing, farming and animal husbandry were under the exclusive control of transnational monopolies, with the result that South Africa and the foreign monopolies repatriated about one third of the Territory's gross domestic product. The interrelationship between the imperialist monopolies and the colonial régimes was demonstrated both by their active collaboration in suppressing the trade-union movement and by the pressure the monopolies exerted on their respective Governments to support the policies of the colonial régimes, which granted them highly favourable conditions.

44. The findings of the Special Committee showed that in other colonial Territories, such as those in the Caribbean and Pacific areas, the monopolies also continued to deprive the indigenous people of their rights over their natural resources.

45. In Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, the economic and social structure was controlled exclusively by certain monopolies based in Western countries and the Special Committee had concluded that financial and technological participation by those countries, particularly by members of NATO, was strengthening the minority régimes in southern Africa. In short, a wealth of facts proved that the régimes in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia received massive support from the multinational monopolies and that the aims and objectives of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism were best served in those Territories by the transnational corporations.

46. As previous speakers had already stated, the culprits were the very large Western companies listed in chapter V of the report, which had provided the colonialist and racist régimes with every form of assistance, including military aid, and had contributed vast sums to their budgets in the form of royalties and taxes. They had not, however, contributed a single penny to raising the living standards of the indigenous people or to helping them in their struggle for national liberation. They had in fact proved themselves to be the arch-enemies of the inalienable right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence and of the principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to the Charter of the United Nations.

47. As recent events had shown, the transnational companies were also plundering Angola and, in collusion with the South African authorities, were doing everything in their power to delay the independence of that Territory. The latest move had been the invasion of Angola by South African forces.

48. The principles and decisions set out in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States were of particular importance in the cases of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, since those documents fully endorsed the right of the peoples in colonial Territories to full permanent sovereignty over their natural resources and all economic activities, including the right to nationalization, and to claim full compensation for foreign exploitation of their resources.

49. His delegation endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained in the Special Committee's report. One of the most important conclusions was that the colonial and other Powers concerned had continued to disregard United Nations decisions and that, in the colonial Territories themselves, no legislative, administrative or other measures had been taken to restrain the activities of the foreign interests which were depriving the colonial peoples of the resources which they needed for a viable independence. In the view of his delegation, the General Assembly must, at its current session, take effective measures to curb the detrimental impact of the transnational monopolies on colonial peoples and their national liberation movements, on the clear understanding that the activities of such monopolies constituted a major obstacle to the attainment of political independence. The United Nations must reaffirm the right of colonial peoples to dispose freely of their natural resources and must combat the activities of the monopolies in colonial Territories as consistently as it combated colonialism and racial discrimination in order to achieve the total liberation of colonial peoples.

50. Mr. DOLZHINTSEREN (Mongolia) said that his delegation agreed with the conclusions drawn by the Special Committee in chapter V of its report to the effect that the activities of foreign monopolies in the colonial Territories in southern Africa continued to impede the process of decolonization and the elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. As stated in the report, for example, over 80 per cent of the mining enterprises in Southern Rhodesia were controlled by foreign companies, while in Namibia,

Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, Ltd. and Tsumeb Corporation, Ltd. together accounted for nearly 90 per cent of the total production of non-ferrous metals.

51. It was well known that those foreign companies and transnational corporations, which had close links with the racist régimes, invested considerable capital in the economies of the colonial Territories with a view to deriving huge profits through the merciless exploitation of human and material resources. The Special Committee's report clearly indicated that the foreign monopolies extracted wealth from Namibia equivalent to about one third of its gross domestic product, while a vast number of Africans were unemployed and lived in poverty. In southern Africa, over 50 per cent of the children died before the age of 10 years because of the lack of medical care and facilities, and over 90 per cent of the population was illiterate.

52. His delegation was also concerned at the fact that, in the Caribbean and Pacific areas, foreign monopolies continued to deprive the indigenous peoples of their rights to the wealth of their countries.

53. His delegation was particularly concerned because Western transnational corporations had recently been actively involved in banking and other institutions. They continued to develop only those economic sectors which provided the highest profits. For example, they developed agriculture and animal husbandry purely for the purpose of exporting agricultural and animal products to Western Europe, the United States and South Africa. It was quite obvious, therefore, that they sought primarily to ensure control over the economies of the colonial Territories. The United Nations should firmly condemn such activities.

54. By encouraging the flow of foreign capital to the colonial Territories, the racist régimes sought protection and assistance from those foreign monopolies in order to strengthen their colonial domination. In turn, the Western monopolies not only supported the racists but also supplied them with part of their profits. In that connexion, his delegation deeply regretted that no effective steps had yet been taken by the Governments of certain Western countries against companies and monopolies operating in the colonial Territories, with a view to preventing them from co-operating with the racist régimes. It was therefore particularly important for the international community to exert strong pressure on those Powers whose monopolies co-operated with the racists in violation of numerous United Nations resolutions, and to put an end to any links with the racist and colonialist régimes in southern Africa.

55. His delegation also attached great importance to undertaking public information activities, so that the international community might know the true facts concerning the ruthless plundering of the natural resources and the brutal exploitation of the indigenous population of colonial Territories by foreign monopolies.

56. His delegation fully supported the provisions of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (see General Assembly resolution 3202 (S-VI)) and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (see General Assembly resolution

3281 (XXIX)), which acknowledged the permanent sovereignty of peoples of colonial Territories over their natural resources. It also supported the Decree on the Natural Resources of Namibia adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia.²

57. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the United Nations would adopt the most effective measures to achieve the full implementation of its decisions. All the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee should be fully reflected in the corresponding decisions of the General Assembly.

58. Mr. GLAYEL (Syrian Arab Republic) said that it was timely for the Committee to take up the item under consideration immediately after adopting draft resolutions on the right of the indigenous people of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia to control their natural resources. The discussion on the item would bring out the fact that foreign interests were attempting to maintain their domination over the peoples in colonial Territories and to impede the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

59. In 1973, the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, as it was then known, had issued a report on the implementation by States of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid*,³ showing the different aspects of co-operation by States Members of the United Nations with the racists in South Africa. Similar details were provided in chapter V of the report of the Special Committee (A/10023 (part III)). No internal legislation had been adopted to limit or to put an end to the activities of foreign interests in the colonial Territories and the highest authorities of the countries concerned had confirmed those activities. The third world had long suffered from that type of exploitation; when the colonialists discovered that colonialism was failing, they then used the transnational corporations to maintain their domination on the pretext that they had a right to exploit the natural resources of those Territories and to train the indigenous people for the future. The people of the colonial Territories needed no such primitive lessons, which were an obstacle to progress. Their labour was being exploited and their natural resources pillaged. Despite the difficulty in obtaining information, the facts were clear and demonstrated that the foreign interests were improving their own position while the indigenous peoples suffered from such ills as high mortality rates and limited education facilities. The people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the other colonial Territories had to fight for their rights and, like the Palestinians, were victims of exploitation.

60. Despite efforts by the United Nations, the situation remained unchanged. Further efforts should therefore be made to obtain independence and enable the people to dispose of their own resources as they saw fit. His delegation wondered what purpose resolutions served if States Members of the United Nations continued to violate them. The Committee should, however, reaffirm General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI), 3202 (S-VI), 3299 (XXIX) and 3328 (XXIX), but at the same time

adopt new measures to ensure their implementation. The people of the colonial Territories should be allowed to exercise their right to their natural resources and to enjoy progress and freedom from those who claimed to be civilizing them.

61. Unlike some other countries, the Syrian Arab Republic supported the liberation movements, and it urged the international community to face the challenge of ensuring respect for the United Nations Charter. The people of Palestine, too, had long suffered from colonialism, racism and zionism and had had their patrimony usurped. Today, they were seeking to regain their rights. As history had shown, victory would be on the side of the subjugated peoples.

62. Mr. SAM (Ghana) said that his delegation's participation in the debate on the item under consideration stemmed from its continued concern over the evils which some of the activities of foreign economic and other interests, including military interests, brought upon countries and peoples under colonial domination. Some countries attempted to distort the discussions in the Committee by seeking to give the impression that their aim was to condemn all economic activities in colonial Territories. His delegation was not opposed to the principle that foreign investors should obtain reasonable returns on their investments. What it abhorred were the practices whereby the people of colonial countries were used as beasts of burden and slaves, without any rights whatsoever. It could not agree that foreign interests had the right to use Africans to produce huge profits for them while at the same time denying them the wages which their white counterparts in the same Territories received for the same type of work. It was morally reprehensible that foreign businessmen should act in collusion with the illegal and unrepresentative racist régimes in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

63. Chapter V of the report of the Special Committee showed that an agreement had recently been signed between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia for the recruitment in Southern Rhodesia of Africans to work in South African mines (*ibid.*, para. 6, conclusion (5)). The question which arose was how many of those unfortunate people of Zimbabwe would return alive and unbroken to their families after their indentured labour. Racial discrimination and ruthless repression of Africans were comparatively new in Southern Rhodesia. If such a disregard for the lives of Africans could be allowed to exist there, it would not be difficult to imagine the number of African deaths that would occur, through intentional and criminal negligence, in mines in South Africa, where the religious, political and social philosophies of the minority racist régime were infinitely more deeply embedded in convictions of racial superiority. The agreement to transport labourers from Southern Rhodesia to South Africa would provide the illegal Smith régime with unexpected access to invaluable foreign exchange and would give it an opportunity to deprive the African National Council of Zimbabwe of the assistance of the able-bodied young men whom it needed in its struggle to obtain genuine independence for Zimbabwe. Another even more horrible aspect of the agreement between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa was the fact that, although the majority of workers would return to Zimbabwe, they would be prematurely

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 24 A*, para. 84.

³ Document A/9168 of 4 October 1973.

decrepit and unemployable and would become a source of unwanted social and political troubles for the newly-independent country of Zimbabwe. That would enable the Western press, as usual, to ignore the causes of such problems and point to the situation as further proof of the imagined incapacity of the Africans for self-rule.

64. The situation in Namibia was not much different, as was indicated in chapter V of the report of the Special Committee (A/10023 (part III), annex, appendix II, paras. 83 and 85). The illegal occupation régime in Namibia was attempting to exhaust the vast natural resources of the Territory before the indigenous people obtained their independence. In so doing, it had the willing support and active co-operation of economic interests and international corporations based in States Members of the United Nations. All attempts by the United Nations to obtain the co-operation of those States had been rejected and their representatives had always claimed that their democratic constitutions and practices made it impossible for them to prevent their nationals and corporations from acting in collusion with the illegal régimes in committing crimes against the indigenous peoples. Yet those same countries had not hesitated in the past, and conceivably would not hesitate in the future, to place an embargo on certain countries, even independent countries, when they felt so inclined.

65. The activities of foreign interests also included military operations. The agreement between the United Kingdom and the United States of America on military installations on the island of Diego Garcia was another example of the ubiquitous subordination of the interests of peoples under colonial domination to those of foreign

economic and other interests. The people of the Seychelles had been placed in a position in which they could not escape a nuclear holocaust in case the Powers concerned decided to fight another of their world wars.

66. His delegation was not unmindful of some of the advantages that foreign activities brought to colonial countries and peoples. However, while they assisted in opening up the country and providing jobs, they also had an unfortunate tendency to keep the peoples of the Territories subservient and largely uneducated. The loss of confidence and the colonial mentality that they produced among the indigenous people were such as to thwart most attempts to attain self-determination and independence. His delegation therefore strongly urged the Committee to recommend to the General Assembly that it support the conclusions of the Special Committee and, in particular, reiterate its call for action under paragraphs 5 to 11 of its resolution 3299 (XXIX) and take more effective measures to ensure their implementation without further delay.

Organization of work

67. The CHAIRMAN suggested that the Committee should begin its debate on the remaining items on the agenda on 7 November and that members interested in speaking on a specific Territory or item should do so on an agreed date. She therefore requested members, when putting their names on the list of speakers, to indicate, as far as possible, the specific items on which they might wish to speak.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

2161st meeting

Wednesday, 5 November 1975, at 3.20 p.m.

Chairman: Mrs. Famah JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone).

A/C.4/SR.2161

AGENDA ITEM 90

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 and Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa (continued) (A/10023 (part III), A/10058)

GENERAL DEBATE (concluded)

1. Mr. KUDIWU (Zaire) congratulated the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to

Colonial Countries and Peoples on chapter V of its report (A/10023 (part III)), which once again highlighted the violations of United Nations sanctions and underlined the well-known fact that the racists and colonialists were not acting alone in oppressing and exploiting people who, nevertheless, had the same rights as all other human beings. It had been stated that the activities of foreign economic and other interests also served the interests of the majority of the inhabitants of the Territories concerned; however, the thousands of Zimbabweans and Namibians imported to work for the South African racist minority were paid only 40 per cent of the wages due them, the remaining 60 per cent being transferred directly to the Southern Rhodesian rebels, who thus amassed illegally a considerable amount of foreign exchange. Furthermore, as everyone knew, the black worker in his state of servitude had no right to