



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 3rd MEETING

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

ELECTION OF A VICE-CHAIRMAN

1. Mr. OULD SIDI AHMED VALL (Mauritania) nominated Mr. Ramadan (Egypt) for the office of Vice-Chairman.
2. Mr. Ramadan (Egypt) was elected Vice-Chairman by acclamation.

REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS

Question of Western Sahara (A/C.4/37/2)

3. Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) said that the question of the so-called Western Sahara was no longer a question of decolonization but an intra-African problem for which the Organization of African Unity had already found a process of settlement. His delegation therefore felt that there was no point in granting a hearing to any petitioner on the subject and firmly opposed the request for a hearing in document A/C.4/37/2.
4. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no further objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the request.
5. It was so decided.

Question of East Timor (A/C.4/37/3 and Add.1)

6. The CHAIRMAN said that he had received a letter dated 14 October 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations expressing his Government's reservations about both requests for hearings. The text of the letter would be circulated as a Committee document.
7. It was so decided.
8. Mr. MAUNA (Indonesia) said that Indonesia's position had been stated in a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Committee to the effect that East Timor had exercised the right to self-determination in accordance with United Nations resolutions and in so doing had become the twenty-seventh province of Indonesia; therefore any consideration of the question by the Committee was inappropriate would serve no useful purpose and would constitute interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia. Indonesia therefore strongly objected to having such requests for hearings granted.
9. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no further objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the requests.
10. It was so decided.

Question of Namibia (A/C.4/37/4)

11. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to consider the communication concerning the question of Namibia (A/C.4/37/4). If he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the request.

12. It was so decided.

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations (A/C.4/37/5)

13. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to consider communication in document A/C.4/37/5. If he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the request.

14. It was so decided.

15. The CHAIRMAN observed that the request for a hearing in document A/C.4/37/5 was related to issues that had been the subject of recent intensive consultations in the Committee under item 99. He would therefore take it, if he heard no objection, that the Committee wished to hear the petitioner in question at its next meeting.

16. It was so decided.

17. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that another communication had been received requesting a hearing on one of the items on the Committee's agenda. He suggested that, in accordance with the usual practice, the communication should be distributed as a Committee document for consideration at a later date.

18. It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 98: 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 NAMIBIA AND IN ALL OTHER TERRITORIES UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION AND EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (A/37/23 (Part III and III/Add.1), A/37/333, 405; A/AC.109/690, 701, 702, 703)

19. Mr. RAMADAN (Egypt) said that although for two decades the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been studying the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Namibia and other Territories under colonial domination, and despite efforts to put an end to colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa, over 3 million people scattered in 20 countries were still unable to exercise their right to self-determination; foreign economic and other interests, in collaboration with South Africa, were continuing to exploit the natural and human resources of

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southern African and especially Namibia, exploiting thereby denying the indigenous peoples their sovereign rights over their natural resources, and were making enormous profits which were repatriated. Yet so far the General Assembly's efforts to force transnational corporations to limit their activities had been confined to a few almost identical resolutions.

20. The States which were failing to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions claimed that they could not intervene in the activities of their nationals and legal entities, in Non-Self-Governing Territories, that those activities did not affect the policies of those countries, and indeed that they were contributing to an improvement in the working conditions of the indigenous peoples. Those allegations were totally divorced from reality: if the political will had existed, the adverse conditions of the indigenous peoples would long ago have disappeared. The countries collaborating with South Africa were enabling the régime to defy the international community and encouraging it to perpetuate its denial of the right of the peoples of southern Africa to independence and self-determination, its aggression against front-line States and its illegal occupation of Namibia.

21. The working paper prepared by the Secretariat (A/AC.109/702) provided valuable information about the role of foreign interests in Namibia. As to the report prepared by the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations (A/37/405), his delegation felt that the Centre's mandate should have been limited to those corporations that were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in accordance with the title of General Assembly resolution 36/51. The Centre needed to distinguish between economic activities in Namibia, which were in violation of Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia and other decisions of the international community, and activities in other Non-Self-Governing Territories which were helping peoples to accede to independence in accordance with Article 76 (b) of the Charter and the twelfth preambular paragraph of General Assembly resolution 36/51.

22. It was regrettable that a number of transnational corporations had not co-operated with the Centre. The Centre must make an analytical study of those corporations which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration. It was essential that the sanctions against South Africa should be implemented and that the racist régime should be forced to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, implement the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and abandon apartheid. Member States must take the necessary measures to implement General Assembly resolution 35/118, containing the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration. His delegation denounced South Africa's continuing exploitation of the natural and human resources of Namibia, and the continuing co-operation with the South African racist régime in the nuclear field, especially by Israel, which enabled it to produce uranium, plutonium and other military supplies. Pressure must be put on the States co-operating with the Pretoria régime and they must be made to understand that military tactics and violence had not been successful.

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23. He reaffirmed the position of the people and Government of Egypt in support of the peoples struggling to achieve their independence, especially in southern Africa. Egypt would continue to provide moral and material support to those peoples.

24. Mrs. BERMUDEZ (Cuba) said that imperialism had placed the world in the most dangerous situation of the last four decades. It sufficed to recall the invasion of Lebanon and genocide of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples perpetrated by the Israeli Zionist régime; the state of dangerous tension in southern Africa caused by the South African racist régime's refusal to put an end to apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia, and its continued aggression against Angola and other neighbouring independent States; the disastrous events in the South Atlantic; the threats and manoeuvres being made to impede the inevitable process of economic and social change undertaken by the Nicaraguan people and other peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean; the inability of the people of Western Sahara to achieve real decolonization; and the attempts to maintain covert colonialism in Puerto Rico, the United States and the British Virgin Islands, Gibraltar, East Timor, Guam, Micronesia and many other Territories.

25. Micronesia had been a colonial dependency of the United States for over a century, yet its economic development was at a standstill. Representatives of Micronesia had indicated in the Trusteeship Council that the economy of the islands was in a far worse state than before the period of trusteeship. It was evident that the United States was defending its own political, economic, strategic and military interests in affirming that it was not possible for the Micronesian people to be independent, because of economic difficulties.

26. A similar situation existed in Guam, where economic interests were closely linked with military interests. It was clear that, since Guam was the site of one of its largest military bases, the United States had no inclination to promote the exercise of the inalienable rights of the people of Guam.

27. The United States and British Virgin Islands were clear examples of the economic domination of transnational corporations and their subsidiaries. In both Territories tourism was another source of wealth which was exploited for the exclusive benefit of the administering Power.

28. Puerto Rico was an inexhaustible and cheap source of natural and human resources for the United States; moreover, a wide-ranging system of military bases and installations gave the United States strategic control of the entire region.

29. The Saharan people had not yet been able to exercise their right to independence and self-determination; the Moroccan occupying forces, allied with extracontinental Powers, were removing the phosphate and other mineral deposits, to the detriment of the Saharan people and the future of their economy.

30. Serious events had occurred in the South Atlantic because of the senseless use of force by a colonial Power which feared the loss of a base of great strategic

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value for control of the region, and the loss of the economic potential of whaling and other activities. The United Kingdom and its allies had acted to maintain the colonial occupation of the Malvinas Islands although they belonged to Argentina. Her delegation hoped that, when the item was considered in the General Assembly, the sides would be urged to resume negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General so as to achieve a just solution.

31. As to the independence of Namibia, every time the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), supported by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the front-line countries, had seemed near, the South African racist régime had found a new ruse to sabotage it, for example by making Namibian independence conditional on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, which was merely a strategy devised by the Pretoria régime and its allies to continue dominating and exploiting Namibia and to impose an unacceptable neo-colonial solution.

32. The information assembled by the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations (A/37/405), despite the limited information supplied by the corporations and the lack of co-operation on the part of South Africa, showed that Namibia was the Territory where the largest number of subsidiaries of transnational corporations operated, mostly in mining and related industries. Certain mining subsectors, especially uranium and diamonds, were largely under the control of one or a few transnational corporations. The De Beers/Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, the Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investments Company, Rio Tinto Zinc and 10 other corporations based in South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States and other Western countries had obtained profits approaching \$1 billion in 1979 from their activities in Namibia. Of the 88 companies operating there, 35 were based in South Africa itself and 53 in countries of the so-called Western contact group; not one belonged to a socialist or a developing country. It was hard to believe that South Africa and its allies were really prepared to forego such enormous profits.

33. It was hardly those Cuban internationalists who went to Angola as teachers, doctors, builders and soldiers to promote the well-being and security of the people who were taking away uranium, diamonds, and other natural resources; it was not they who were invading neighbouring independent countries and amassing wealth through colonialism. It was clear that only South Africa and its allies were benefiting from the continuation of the illegal occupation of Namibia and they were clearly acting against the interests of the peoples.

34. The fallacious theory was frequently advanced that the activities of major international concerns in colonial Territories contributed to the economic, political and social development of those countries. The figures showed the opposite, and the United Nations itself had concluded that the activities of foreign monopolies, supported by colonial Powers, actually retarded the development of those Territories and impeded the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In strict observance of the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration and the many General Assembly resolutions on the subject, the Committee should redouble its efforts to put an end to the economic exploitation of colonial Territories by foreign monopolies.

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35. The non-aligned countries, at their sixth summit conference held at Havana in 1979, had reiterated their support for peoples still under colonial or foreign domination and the victims of racism, racial discrimination, apartheid and exploitation, and had reaffirmed the inalienable right of those peoples to full sovereignty over their national resources. The ending of the harmful practices of foreign monopolies in the colonial Territories was an essential condition for ensuring the genuine process of decolonization to which the peoples aspired and to which the United Nations was committed.

36. Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) said that he refused to enter into polemics with the representative of Cuba despite her provocative comments, but felt that he had to offer some clarifications. First, Morocco was not a colonizing Power. Second, Morocco had claimed its Saharan territory many years before the Spanish had discovered phosphates there in 1963. Third, Morocco, as a point of information, was the leading world exporter of phosphates and now had 75 per cent of the world reserves, the phosphates in Western Sahara being equal to only about 13 per cent of Morocco's reserves. Lastly, when a nation claimed its own land, as Morocco did its Saharan territory, it did so not for the sake of the wealth found in that territory but because it was part of its homeland.

37. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic) observed that foreign economic interests were continuing to exploit the resources of Namibia, and to repatriate vast profits, thus hampering the aspirations of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence. Those same interests were supporting the South African régime and allowing it to consolidate its hold over the Territory and further entrench its racist system there.

38. Colonialist States had shown that they had no respect for the many United Nations resolutions calling for an end to colonial domination and to the operations of foreign economic and other interests that were detrimental to the peoples of the colonial Territories. Even in the colonial countries, the public was aware of the deplorable results of such exploitation of the wealth of others. Colonialism was the heart of the problem, for its only aims were enslavement, exploitation and plunder. The feeble arguments of the colonialists, that foreign economic interests aimed to bring well-being and prosperity to the indigenous people of the Territories had been proven hollow.

39. South Africa was enabled to defy the world community, thanks to the diplomatic protection it received, especially from some Security Council members, and to economic support from Western transnational corporations which were given ample opportunities to exploit the resources it controlled. The Western industrialized States encouraged the activities of their transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia and gave fundamental support to South Africa's economy and infrastructure, especially through the transfer of technology.

40. For example, the principle investors, the United States and the United Kingdom, had invested over \$13 billion in South Africa and Namibia. More than 350 United States corporations were operating with assets of over \$2 billion in South Africa, and

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over 6,000 more were linked to South Africa through trade; the total United States investment had reached \$7 billion in 1980, representing 20 per cent of United States interests abroad. South African imports from the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) were 43 per cent of its total imports, and EEC took 39 per cent of South African exports. Israel by its own admission was South Africa's chief trading partner: bilateral trade between the two had gone from 10 million rand in 1970 to 127 million rand in 1980.

41. Foreign economic interests continued to usurp the wealth of Namibia and were now engaged in oil-prospecting in the Territory. The illegal administration had done nothing to improve the lot of the Namibian people: the average black per capita income was \$325, compared with the average white per capita income of \$5,000.

42. His delegation condemned the activities of foreign economic interests in colonial Territories, which created economies in those Territories that were contrary to the interests of their inhabitants, hampering their development and their ability to choose their own destiny. It further condemned those Governments whose policy it was to continue to exploit such Territories, especially Namibia.

43. Syria condemned all forms of military and nuclear co-operation with the South African régime which if it continued would be a source of tension in the region and lead to an explosive situation. At the 1981 International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Syria had supported the call for mandatory sanctions. All States must, even if the Security Council failed to do so, take individual and collective action to impose a general and complete embargo on South Africa, and they would have to give serious thought to extending such an embargo to those Western countries which collaborated with the régime.

44. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria) said that few would contend that the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial Territories were beneficial for the oppressed peoples, yet it came as no surprise that the most vocal proponents of that doctrine came from quarters most directly involved in plundering the natural and human resources of those Territories and supporting the racist Pretoria régime. The collusion between South Africa and the major Western States and their transnational corporations had long been established.

45. The United Nations had abundant information that from 1974 to 1981 the transnational corporations had steadily increased their exploitation of the resources of South Africa and Namibia. By September 1981 the number of Western transnational corporations active in South Africa had reached 3,000, and 80 per cent of the foreign investment there was in the hands of Western corporations, based mainly in the United Kingdom, the United States and Federal Republic of Germany. American investment had increased by an average of \$100 million a year since the mid-1960s and American companies controlled the most important branches of the South African economy: 33 per cent of the motor vehicle market, 44 per cent of the petroleum market and 70 per cent of the computer market. Such large-scale foreign investment strengthened the apartheid régime and

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its economy, while the transfer of technology and technical expertise was making the economy self-sufficient.

46. The General Assembly had consistently emphasized the role that must be played by United Nations specialized agencies to isolate that régime and make it comply with United Nations resolutions; thus, the disclosure that the International Monetary Fund was about to grant South Africa a large loan could only arouse indignation.

47. Even more disquieting were the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Namibia. There, over 200 Western corporations and over 90 based in South Africa were engaged in plundering its extremely rich natural resources, in defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions and of Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia. Namibia's resources were being rapidly depleted: the process was irreversible and could even prevent people of the Territory from building a viable economy after attaining independence.

48. Imperialist contentions that transnational corporations played a positive role in colonial Territories and South Africa had been rejected by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which had shown that companies invested in South Africa and Namibia because the apartheid system suited their interests. A SWAPO representative had rightly said that the supposed benefits the corporations claimed to provide were not the issue: the issue was rather that by operating in Namibia they were giving South Africa more strength to suppress its people and deny them the right to self-determination.

49. South Africa and Namibia were of great strategic importance for the United States, and South Africa's war machine was being used to control, threaten and destabilize sovereign African States which had chosen a road of development not to the liking of the imperialist circles. With the collaboration of the main Western States and Israel, Pretoria had succeeded in creating its own nuclear capability, adding a new and very dangerous dimension to the situation in the region. Emboldened by the all-out support it was receiving from the United States, South Africa was stepping up its ruthless aggression against the Namibian people and against the African States in the region particularly Angola. At the same time the United States was manoeuvring politically to undermine the United Nations plan for a Namibian settlement by introducing issues totally irrelevant to the plan.

50. Bulgaria firmly believed that sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter should be immediately imposed on South Africa in order to force it to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

51. Foreign economic and other interests stood in the way of decolonization of all Territories, regardless of their size. The small Territories were being used for the strategic military interests of imperialism: a case in point was the intention of the United States to dismember and annex the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in violation of Article 83 of the Charter. As explicitly stated in the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration, annexed to

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General Assembly resolution 35/118, military activities and arrangements by colonial and occupying Powers in the Territories constituted an obstacle to the full implementation of the Declaration.

52. The CHAIRMAN suggested that the list of speakers in the debate on item 98 should be closed on Tuesday, 19 October at 6 p.m.

53. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.