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CONTENTS

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AGENDA ITEM 92: 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: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 92: ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERESTS WHICH ARE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION OF 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: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued)
(A/34/23 (Part III))

1. Mr. SALVATOR (Burundi) said that the accession of new members to the United Nations indicated the inevitability of decolonization, despite the manoeuvres of certain countries to maintain their interests in colonial territories, particularly in southern Africa. The accession of Saint Lucia to the United Nations would encourage those peoples which had not yet achieved self-determination.
2. The time had come to end colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination which were undergoing a final crisis in southern Africa. Their continued existence represented a violation of the United Nations Charter, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and a threat to international peace and security.
3. Certain signatories of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights maintained close links with the Nazi régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury. That contradiction was explained by Africa's immense natural wealth, which attracted the greed of countries dependent on raw materials to survive. The political, strategic and nuclear ambitions of those same countries caused them to interfere with Africa's political stability in the hope of delaying its economic independence.
4. He called for the strict application of the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, as well as Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia.
5. On 26 September 1979 in his statement to the General Assembly the President of Burundi had called upon all States maintaining links with the racist régimes in southern Africa to reconsider their policies, which manifestly contradicted the positions they adopted at the United Nations. The President had noted that the peoples of southern Africa, of Namibia and of Zimbabwe would soon be the real masters of their homelands and it was thus incomprehensible for millions of human beings to be sacrificed to foredoomed strategic and economic interests.

(Mr. Salvator, Burundi)

6. All peace-loving States with a sense of justice had realized the necessity of isolating the anachronistic régimes in southern Africa. All necessary steps should be taken to impose economic sanctions against southern Africa, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. The sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should be maintained and extended. His delegation felt morally obliged to support liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity: it was a cardinal principle of Burundi's foreign policy.

7. For years protests had been raised in the General Assembly against those foreign economic and other interests which perpetuated colonialism in southern Africa. Those same interests prevented the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The time for speechmaking was over. Effective action was now called for. His delegation made an earnest appeal to all Western and other countries to break, as soon as possible, any links which they might have with the racist régimes of southern Africa. All Member States should make every effort to facilitate the implementation of the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions -- in particular, resolution 262, (XXV).

8. His delegation's ambition to resolve the problem of southern Africa was frustrated by the paucity of the means available. If countries were only prepared to break their economic, political and diplomatic links with the champions of apartheid, then the flag of freedom would fly, at last, over southern Africa. He called for co-operation with the national liberation movements, recognized by the Organization of African Unity: the South West Africa People's Organization in Namibia, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania in South Africa. Only thus would international peace and security be safeguarded. His Government would continue to give its full support to those peoples who were striving to achieve their freedom.

9. Mr. THABIT (Comoros) said that the problem before the Committee preoccupied all peace-loving men with a sense of justice. Yet, since those countries which maintained economic and military links with the southern African régime continued to defy the Assembly's resolutions, the problem cropped up year after year. He hoped that in Southern Rhodesia the Patriotic Front would soon have the opportunity to control the destinies of its country in the name of all true sons of Zimbabwe. In Namibia, the South African racist régime continued its illegal administration and was seeking to develop an export trade based on certain raw materials. The exploitation of those resources was carried out by South African and other foreign interests, condemning the African majority to subsistence agriculture. The territory's gross domestic product rose steadily, but the benefits were reaped by foreign investors who enriched themselves at the expense of the African population.

(Mr. Thabit, Comoros)

Each year amounts equal to between a third and a half of Namibia's gross domestic product were sent abroad as dividends paid to foreign shareholders in South Africa and other Western countries. In contrast, African wages remained extremely low and accounted for only a small percentage of the national product. He quoted the Washington Post of August 1977 to give an example of the gulf in average income between the white and non-white populations. The average white earned over \$5,000 per annum, the average non-white only \$325 per annum. Only total independence under the leadership of SWAPO would end such a state of affairs and bring real peace to the people. South Africa was only able to maintain its illegal administration of Namibia, in defiance of the United Nations, due to economic and military aid provided by third parties.

10. Despite sanctions imposed by the international community against South Africa, links with that country were still maintained by certain Members of the United Nations. South Africa's foreign trade was flourishing. In 1978 South Africa had enjoyed a healthy balance-of-payments surplus, even larger than that for 1977. It was able to maintain apartheid, secure in the knowledge that the United Nations resolutions were not followed by concrete acts. The international community should end collaboration with the South African racist régime once and for all. Were it not for the activities of foreign economic and other interests the South African Government would have long since been forced to compromise. But every resolution adopted condemning the régime was accompanied by renewed activity by foreign interests, both in South Africa and in southern Africa in general.

11. Israel was another of South Africa's major trading partners, as could be seen from document A/33/22/Add.2 of 20 November 1978. Links between those two had become particularly close from 1973 onwards when, out of solidarity with their Arab brothers, most African countries had broken off diplomatic relations with the Zionist régime in Israel which had just attacked Arab countries. South Africa and Israel maintained flourishing trade links, which encompassed military supplies. Foreign investors were able to reap rich rewards in South Africa largely due to the availability of cheap labour.

12. His delegation was pessimistic about the outcome in southern Africa. If the United Nations was really concerned to uphold human rights, then foreign economic and other interests had to be prevented from benefiting the white minority and perpetuating colonial domination and apartheid.

13. Mr. MOYILA (Zaire) stressed the importance of the agenda item, which was concerned with the welfare of millions. The United Nations had affirmed on many previous occasions that the activities of foreign interests in southern Africa prevented the people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe from achieving self-determination and freedom. Attempts by the international community to implement United Nations resolutions were largely thwarted by the presence of Western investments.

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(Mr. Hovila, Zaire)

14. The pernicious effects of those links were amply demonstrated in document A/34/23 (part III). Without them, South Africa and Rhodesia would not have been able to defy the United Nations. The diplomatic, political, economic, and military links maintained by certain States with the racist régimes of southern Africa were a blatant violation of the Charter and of the United Nations resolutions. They constituted a serious threat to the right of oppressed peoples to self-determination and to international peace and security. Those links also contravened decisions taken by the OAU and the Group of Non-Aligned Countries.

15. The Committee was accustomed to hearing hypocritical statements in condemnation of the racist régimes in southern Africa, made by precisely those countries which supported them. To defend certain United Nations principles whilst violating others, such as the prompt implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, was contradictory. Those Powers which had interests in southern African and in colonial territories should practise what they preached.

16. General Assembly resolutions 2621 (XXV) and 32/35, had called upon all Governments to take legislative, administrative or other measures in respect of their nationals and the bodies corporate under their jurisdiction who owned and operated enterprises in colonial territories, particularly in Africa, which were detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of those territories, to put an end to such enterprises and to prevent new investments which ran counter to the interests of the inhabitants of those territories. It was irrelevant for those countries involved to claim that they were unable to take steps against those private firms under their jurisdiction which operated in colonial territories.

17. By deliberately collaborating with the racist régimes, those Powers fully realized that they prevented the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. To obtain their freedom, the oppressed peoples were thus obliged to make legitimate use of armed force. That course was forced upon them by the intransigence of the racist régimes, despite the United Nations goals of the maintenance of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

18. His delegation did not wish to incite oppressed peoples to rise up in violence, but fully understood that they might do so, since certain countries advocated peaceful settlements as a mere pretext to delay progress towards independence and freedom. If States with interests in the colonial territories wished to avoid conflict, they should cease all aid of any description to the racist régimes and respect the sanctions applied against them. He called upon all colonial Powers to end their policy of exploitation and to grant independence to the peoples under their domination.

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(Mr. Moyila, Zaire)

19. In South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia the continued existence of racial discrimination was entirely due to the presence of foreign investments. More and more foreign companies were operating in those territories, throughout the main sectors of the economy. In societies where all men had the same rights, investments improved the welfare of the population. But under racist régimes the advantages brought by investment were not apportioned equally.

20. His delegation did not believe that foreign investments in southern Africa aided the development of the indigenous population. The contrary was the case, since those investments enabled the racist régimes to defy the United Nations and maintain apartheid and racial discrimination. Foreign investments merely facilitated exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants, prevented them from achieving self-determination and stripped the territory of its natural resources. His delegation fully supported the recommendations by the Special Committee in resolution A/AC.109/583.

21. He called upon all Governments and United Nations organizations to assist in the implementation of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (resolution 3201 (S-VI)) and of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (resolution 3231 (XXIX)).

22. He condemned the policies of the South African and Southern Rhodesian Governments and the aid granted to them by their Western partners. He called for such aid to be brought to an end. He also condemned the activities of all foreign interests which caused suffering to African peoples and others under colonial domination. He firmly supported all measures aimed at instituting a majority government in Zimbabwe. He hoped that Namibia, including Walvis Bay, would soon achieve independence, along with all other colonial territories. He hoped that the United Nations endeavours would be crowned with success so that the peoples of southern Africa and colonial territories could live in a world free from any discrimination.

23. Mr. MADEIRA (Mozambique) said that he considered the report of the Special Committee (A/34/23 (Part III)) very satisfactory, given the difficult circumstances under which it had been prepared. It was regrettable that the item was once again on the agenda, having been considered so many times previously. Although all States declared their opposition to colonialism, racial discrimination and exploitation, in certain cases that was merely a pretext offered to the international community. The colonizers of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, Western Sahara, East Timor, Bermuda, and the Turks and Cayman Islands were present in the Committee, reiterating the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. They merely paid lip service to the ideal of decolonization.

24. It was in 1962 under General Assembly resolution 1947 (XVI) that the United Kingdom was requested to decolonize Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom's response had been deliberate indecision, which had allowed the Unilateral Declaration of Independence under Mr. Smith, establishing a régime under which

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(Mr. Madeira, Mozambique)

blacks were exploited for the benefit of whites. The international community had reacted by imposing an embargo against the rebel régime (under General Assembly resolution 2024 (XX) and Security Council resolution 253 (1968)).

25. Despite the theoretical application of sanctions, the minority régime still survived, and still traded with certain countries supposedly applying the embargo. There was a great deal of evidence which pointed to sanction-breaking. The illegal régime's trading partners did nothing to end that state of affairs. On the contrary, they supplied the colony with weapons and financial aid to ensure its survival. Hundreds of Zimbabweans were killed every day, and neighbouring States invaded. The Western countries spoke of majority rule and of peace, but strengthened the rule of the minority by their whole-hearted support and by permitting companies based in their countries to systematically plunder the riches of Zimbabwe.

26. His delegation thought that the United Kingdom had the means at its disposal to decolonize Zimbabwe; it merely lacked the political will. He hoped that the talks in London would reach a satisfactory solution for the people of Zimbabwe, or his country would be obliged to intensify its support for the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe.

27. United Kingdom firms and firms based in, or obtaining finance from, South Africa, the United States of America, France and the Federal Republic of Germany were active in Namibia. Those companies were deliberately plundering the riches of Namibia, to the detriment of the industrious Namibian people. For those countries, Namibia merely represented a rich mine, to be abandoned when its wealth was exhausted. Despite General Assembly resolutions 33/183 E and 33/183 G imposing an oil embargo on South Africa and condemning nuclear collaboration with South Africa, that country continued to import all the oil it required and had been able to intensify its nuclear activities. The imperialist conspiracy in southern Africa threatened peace and security in southern Africa and throughout the world. The pillaging of southern Africa should be brought to an end by supporting the liberation movements. Mozambique reaffirmed its solidarity with the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Western Sahara and East Timor in their just struggles.

28. Mr. PEREZ NOVOA (Cuba) said that his Government had taken a clear stand in support of the independence of all peoples under colonial domination and against all forms of racism, apartheid and exploitation. It condemned the plunder and control by transnational corporations of the natural wealth of the peoples of southern Africa, the Caribbean and other Territories.

29. The Special Committee's report showed once again that the essence of the problem under discussion was undeniably the fact that transnational interests in the Territories - identical with the interests of the colonial Powers - acted as a brake on the process of decolonialization.

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(Mr. Perez Novoa, Cuba)

30. Of all the Territories under colonial domination, those of southern Africa were in the forefront of the struggle for national liberation and international peace and security. The Final Declaration of the Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries recently held in Havana had clearly established that the cause of the permanence of colonialism and exploitation in South Africa was the continuing economic, political, military and even nuclear support given to the apartheid régime by the imperialist Powers in defiance of international agreements, appeals and resolutions. The abandonment of that policy by those States was a condition for the true independence of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

31. He endorsed the proposal by the Organization of African Unity to organize a joint international conference with the United Nations in 1980, to mobilize world public opinion and support effective economic and other sanctions against South Africa.

32. His Government unreservedly supported the Patriotic Front and SWAPO as the sole legitimate representatives of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia respectively and opposed any solutions that did not recognize those organizations.

33. There were obstacles to decolonization in other parts of the world as well: in Puerto Rico, the United States controlled the economy to the detriment of the native population and exploited its wealth for military ends that endangered the security of all the peoples of the region. The Puerto Rican people had manifested their opposition to those activities and some had been imprisoned.

34. He assured the Committee that his delegation would work for genuine and final decolonization.

35. Mr. SIKALU (Zambia) said that a number of previous speakers had put forward the rather powerful argument that the Committee should refrain from assuming that foreign economic interests were in all cases detrimental to the well-being of the inhabitants of dependent Territories, and had urged the Committee not to subject all economic activity in the Territories to blanket condemnation. His delegation could accept that line of thought for Territories such as those in the Pacific region, where, indeed, the administering Powers had a duty to take measures that would make their economies viable enough to sustain them after independence. Such economic activity should, however, be scrutinized to ensure that it was not exploited for any political interests detrimental to the people of those Territories.

36. In the southern African Territories of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, under racist minority rule, on the other hand, foreign economic activity could not be justified nor even condoned under any pretext. The facts of history were very clear: the racist minority régimes existed in order to facilitate the continued exploitation and plunder of the resources of the area as part of the grand design

(Mr. Sikaulu, Zambia)

of imperialism. His delegation categorically rejected any argument that economic collaboration with those régimes could be a positive factor for change. Western multinational corporations could only operate within the confines of the prevailing system of oppression in southern Africa.

37. The report of the Committee of 24 once again revealed an increase rather than a decline in the collaboration of foreign economic interests with the racist minority régimes of southern Africa, in open violation of existing United Nations sanctions, decrees and resolutions. There was certainly an absence of political will in a number of major Western countries to curb the activities of foreign economic interests and, indeed, to respect the inalienable rights of peoples under racist, minority and alien domination.

38. In recent years, so-called internal settlements in Zimbabwe and Namibia had been designed to impose puppet régimes and divide the African people, while in South Africa the scheme of so-called bantustanization continued unabated.

39. The Committee must continue its commendable work in exposing and condemning the complicity of foreign economic interests in perpetuating the status quo in southern Africa, and in calling upon all States to put an end to such enterprises and prevent new investments. The priority issue in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa was political emancipation of the oppressed people.

40. Mr. DEMICHIN (Bulgaria) said that the stubborn resistance put up by the forces seeking to preserve the colonial system was a dangerous source of tension and a threat to world peace, as evidenced by the repeated South African acts of aggression against Mozambique and Zambia. The illegal colonial régimes were ruthlessly exploiting their own people and had an obvious ally in capitalism, which had created the colonialist system and was doing everything possible to maintain common interests. The activities of foreign interests, the main obstacle to wiping out the remnants of colonialism, racism and apartheid, had been one of the most important issues on the Committee's agenda for the last 16 years. Despite the evident fact that the racist régime in South Africa was doomed, it continued to enjoy financial, political and military assistance from Western countries. When it had become starkly obvious that foreign economic aid would not stem the decline of Southern Rhodesia's economy, the United States and the United Kingdom had begun to seek a political settlement that would enable them to continue the exploitation of the country's natural riches. Disregarding United Nations sanctions, some Western States continued their arms deliveries to South Africa, which was using those weapons against the people of Zimbabwe and against neighbouring countries. British companies had broken the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia by supplying oil to the illegal régime, certainly with the full knowledge and consent of successive United Kingdom Governments.

41. Foreign monopolies were increasingly plundering and exploiting Namibia's natural and human resources. South Africa monopolized Namibia's fishing industry, dominated most other sectors, and, together with some Western countries, owned all its major mining companies, which accounted for about 60 per cent of exports and

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(Mr. Denichin, Bulgaria)

30 per cent of the domestic product but only 6 per cent of the employment and a proportionately small share of the total income of the native inhabitants. Those same foreign interests repatriated one third to one half of Namibia's gross domestic product annually in the form of profits.

42. At the same time, South Africa continued to receive major loans from Western States, in violation of United Nations resolutions: the International Monetary Fund, as an example, had in 1977 lent it more than the combined loans it had made that year to all other African countries.

43. Especially dangerous for international peace and security was the co-operation between South Africa and some Western States in the nuclear field, involving common exploitation of Namibian uranium deposits and aid to South Africa in building its own nuclear power plants. Such assistance was particularly dangerous since South Africa was one of the countries which had not yet signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

44. In Namibia as in Southern Rhodesia, foreign interests had attempted to influence the political future of the Territories to their own advantage by giving financial support to certain political parties and to the policy of apartheid. Yet if the racist régimes were to founder, those same foreign monopolies would not hesitate to make new alliances to ensure the continuation of the plunder by more subtle means.

45. His Government believed that only effective measures such as economic sanctions against South Africa and the strict implementation of all United Nations resolutions on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the dependent Territories by all Member States would make it possible to guarantee the peoples of southern Africa their right to self-determination and independence.

46. A similar role was played by foreign interests in the numerous small Territories in the Pacific, the Caribbean and elsewhere, where there were no restrictions on the sale of land to foreign corporations and owners, large portions of the land were used for military bases, and the indigenous population was still deprived of the right to own its land and control its natural resources. Foreign monopolies, particularly those of the United States and the United Kingdom, continued to dominate all spheres of economic life in those Territories.

47. The elimination of all vestiges of colonialism and racism remained one of the most important tasks before the international community. His delegation was therefore ready to support the Committee's adoption of a strong and well-documented resolution on the question of the activities of foreign economic interests and hoped that all Member States would do the same, showing the political will to implement it.

48. Mr. SAMIL (Afghanistan) said that the close relationship between the economic activities of a number of imperialist Western and other States and the unjust and exploitative régimes in southern Africa was a clear impediment to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

49. He recalled that, in response to the appeal of the South African liberation movement, an international campaign against collaboration, economic and otherwise, with South Africa had been spearheaded in the late 1950s by western European youth and trade union groups, and in subsequent years many Governments and intergovernmental organizations had instituted boycotts against the apartheid régime, and anti-apartheid movements had organized a campaign against banks and transnational corporations dealing with South Africa; the United Nations had supported such campaigns and measures since 1962, when it began to adopt resolutions calling for an end to diplomatic, economic, trade, military, transport, sports and cultural links with the racist régimes in southern Africa. A great majority of peace-loving countries, out of solidarity with the liberation struggle there, had taken the necessary measures implementing both the arms embargo against South Africa and respecting General Assembly resolutions calling for the isolation of the racist régimes. Unfortunately, the imperialist countries and their allies had not only maintained but increased their collaboration with the racist régimes, strengthening their economic and military capability. The annual report of the Special Committee of 24 provided a clear picture of that increased trade and financial collaboration. It was well documented that the European Economic Community continued to be the life-blood of the racists, especially of the apartheid régimes, sustaining them militarily, economically, politically and culturally. Afghanistan once again condemned the exploitation by imperialists and their allies and by transnational corporations of the human and natural resources of Namibia, Zimbabwe and all other Territories still under colonial and alien rule.

50. The current political and economic crisis in both South Africa and Zimbabwe on the one hand, and the positive achievements of the armed struggle waged by the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, SWAPO in Namibia, and the African National Congress in South Africa, on the other, had provided a unique opportunity for effective international action. Statements condemning continued Western collaboration with South Africa and the Smith régime were no longer an adequate response.

51. The imperialist countries and their allies must commit themselves to a new policy of disengagement from the racist régimes that included the following measures: the immediate halting of all new investments and bank loans in Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and all other dependent Territories; the immediate withdrawal of all government aid and an end to trade with the racist and illegal régimes; the cessation of the activities of the transnational corporations which were actively exploiting the natural resources of the Territories; and the termination of all military and nuclear collaboration. Such measures, if adopted, would undoubtedly complement the growing arms struggle of the African people led by their liberation movements, and lead to the overthrow of the racist régimes and the establishment of democratic governments. In the absence of any concrete and positive action by the

(Mr. Samil, Afghanistan)

Western Powers and their allies, all progressive forces and peace-loving countries would have to redouble their political and material support to the just armed liberation struggle in southern Africa and all other Territories. The Security Council should also convene to adopt new effective and workable measures.

52. Mr. LUDWIKOWSKI (Poland) said that recent events in southern Africa had clearly shown that the international community was facing there a growing challenge posed by the oppressive and aggressive racist régimes.

53. The Special Committee's report under consideration (A/34/23 (Part III)) showed that the transnational corporations of some Western countries continued to dominate the economies of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia in collusion with the illegal régimes and had increased their exploitation of the indigenous people and their natural resources. The transnational corporations were interested in the development of those sectors of the Namibian and Rhodesian economies from which they derived the greatest profits, in total disregard of the living and working conditions of black Africans.

54. Furthermore, their activities contributed to the strengthening of those régimes. As stated in the report, foreign interests had supported South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, both politically and financially, and had participated in and benefited from the practice of apartheid, which ensured a supply of cheap labour. It was not surprising, therefore, that there had even been attempts to influence Namibia's political future to the advantage of transnational corporations. As indicated in the report, mining companies in Namibia were seeking to safeguard their future interests by giving financial support to the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. The activities of transnational corporations thus impaired not only the economic conditions in southern Africa but also seriously hampered the ability of the peoples to develop and express their political and economic preferences.

55. His delegation considered that the elimination of colonialism should be extended to the economic sphere. Every nation had the right to choose its own path of development and to achieve full sovereignty over its natural resources. His delegation hoped that, in the light of the dangerous situation in southern Africa, the international community would adopt the most effective measures for the full implementation of United Nations resolutions, including the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. It was necessary to increase the pressure for the final elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination.

56. Mr. HOKHOVIKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the activities of Western imperialist circles and their monopolies in dependent Territories and the close collaboration of the principal Western States members of NATO with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were being pursued on an ever-increasing scale. The brutal exploitation of the indigenous population continued unabated.

(Mr. Mokhovikov, Byelorussian SSR)

57. The broad assistance and support given by Western Powers to the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa were motivated by a desire to protect the interests of imperialist circles and their monopolies. That explained the attempts by those Powers in the United Nations to hamper the adoption of additional effective economic and other mandatory sanctions against the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury.

58. The so-called "initiatives" of certain Western Powers ostensibly aimed at solving the problems of southern Africa concealed the desire of those countries to retain their interests and privileges in, and to legalize their domination of, southern Africa.

59. South Africa continued to be a bastion of Western imperialist monopolies, which maintained huge investments in that country. Hundreds of United Kingdom and United States companies, as well as those of other Western countries were based in South Africa, and their number had increased in recent years.

60. They played an important role in the development of South Africa's strategic, industrial and military potential, and had a near-monopoly of electronic data-processing technology, an important tool for South Africa's police and military apparatus. Most of South Africa's oil was imported by large Western oil companies, which also controlled almost the entire oil refining sector of the country.

61. Thus, the main Western Powers, which had "initiated" the so-called Settlement Plan in Namibia, had effective means of inducing the racist Pretoria régime to withdraw unconditionally from Namibia. If they genuinely wished to attain that objective, they should fall in line with the majority of Member States by supporting the just demand of the African countries for the imposition of a strict oil embargo on South Africa. Instead, the Western Powers did their utmost to obstruct the adoption of mandatory economic sanctions, including an oil embargo. As reported in the South African press, Western monopolies were assisting South Africa in the building of plants to produce oil from coal, the aim being to begin production by 1982.

62. The growing military co-operation of certain Western countries with South Africa, especially in the nuclear sphere, presented a great danger. Those countries had assisted it in creating a war machine, including a nuclear-missile potential. The military, technical and economic aid and the political and diplomatic support furnished by Western imperialist circles to South Africa was an important factor in permitting the apartheid régime to continue its criminal racist policy both inside the country and in its illegal occupation of Namibia, and to perpetrate constant acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign African States. That criminal policy was assisted by those who sought to split the ranks of the freedom-fighters in southern Africa and in fact opposed the national liberation movements in southern Africa.

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(Mr. Mokhovikov, Byelorussian SSR)

63. The vast mineral reserves of Namibia and the cheap labour acted as a magnet for Western monopolies. As indicated in the Special Committee's report on the item (A/34/23 (Part III), Annex II, para. 1) South Africa and other foreign interests had for years controlled the commercial sectors of the Namibian economy; in exchange for the opportunity to exploit the Territory's extensive resources at great profit and in order to protect their investments, foreign interests had supported South Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory and had participated in and benefited from the practice of apartheid, which ensured a supply of cheap labour.

64. Foreign capital controlled a sizable part of the Namibian economy; indeed, the mining industry was almost entirely controlled by transnational corporations. Since the so-called "Administrator-General" had lifted the ban on prospecting in the homelands (A/34/23 (Part III), Annex II, para. 16), there had been a rush by South Africa and other foreign companies to peg claims, leading to a further increase in the plunder of that Territory's natural resources. Large South African and Western mining companies were seeking to protect their interests in Namibia by providing financial support to the puppet "Democratic Turnhalle Alliance".

65. Purely profit motives explained the position taken by the major Western Powers in the United Nations and their so-called initiatives to settle the Namibian problem. In order to maintain their interests at the expense of the interests of the Namibian people, a puppet régime had been set up in Windhoek, while in the United Nations those Western Powers did their utmost to obstruct the adoption of effective measures against the South African racist régime and sought to establish in Namibia a neo-colonialist puppet régime.

66. In southern Rhodesia, too, the activities of transnational corporations were impeding the implementation of the Declaration. The situation was similar to that prevailing in Namibia. Foreign capital and transnational corporations of the major Western Powers continued to dominate the mining industry of southern Rhodesia and over 90 per cent of the country's output of chrome, gold and other minerals was exported to western countries. Western economic and other interests gave all-round support to the Salisbury régime. United Kingdom oil monopolies provided it with a continuous supply of oil via South Africa.

67. The activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests of the major Western countries which co-operated with the illegal Salisbury régime and exploited the natural resources of Southern Rhodesia violated the political, economic and social rights of the indigenous population and impeded their attainment of true self-determination and independence. The Western countries

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(Mr. Mokhovikov, Byelorussian SSR)

and their monopolies must be compelled to comply with the just demands of the overwhelming majority of Member States concerning the severance of all links with the Salisbury régime. It was necessary to expose the campaign being waged in those countries for a lifting of the mandatory sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia and for international acceptance of the illegal régime.

68. It was the duty of all progressive peace-loving forces in the United Nations to achieve the adoption in the Security Council of effective and comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes. There was also a need for economic sanctions and a boycott of imperialist monopolies which, in violation of United Nations decisions, bolstered those régimes.

69. The activities of economic and other interests of Western Powers were also impeding the implementation of the Declaration in small dependent Territories in the Caribbean and the Pacific Ocean. Those Territories continued to be used for military purposes, including military bases. Attempts were being made to absorb those Territories in violation of the purposes of the Charter and relevant United Nations resolutions, including the 1970 Programme of Action for the implementation of the Declaration. That situation applied particularly to Micronesia.

70. The policy of Western monopolistic interests was clearly aimed at obstructing the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples to attain self-determination and independence and the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, apartheid and racism, and at imposing a neo-colonialist path of development upon newly independent States.

71. The position of principle of the Byelorussian SSR on questions relating to the struggle against colonialism and racism was reflected in its consistent support for United Nations resolutions aimed at the full elimination of colonialism and racism. His country had co-sponsored resolution 33/40 adopted by the General Assembly on the item under consideration, and supported the resolution adopted by the Special Committee contained in its report. His delegation would also support any other effective measures aimed at the speedy implementation of the Declaration and other United Nations resolutions on decolonization.

72. Mr. FRITZSCHE (German Democratic Republic) said that the struggle for peace, détente, disarmament, freedom and social progress had produced clearly positive results. The intensified liberation struggle in southern Africa, the achievement of independence by more former colonies, and the powerful solidarity of progressive forces with those fighting for national and social liberation bore witness to the determination of peoples to put an end to the imperialist and colonialist policy of exploitation and oppression. A particularly important role had been played

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(Mr. Fritzsche, German Democratic Republic)

by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was as valid as ever before.

73. However, the provisions of the Declaration had not yet been fully implemented, and some peoples had not yet achieved self-determination and independence. They were undeniably being hindered in so doing by the activities of Western interests and imperialist monopolies, which supported the colonial racist régimes in the economic, financial, political and military fields. In the Final Declaration of their Sixth Summit Conference, the non-aligned countries had stated that the main reason for the survival of colonialism and racism was the military, technological, economic, political, diplomatic and other aid that imperialists gave the racist régimes. Such aid, often deliberately concealed, had in fact intensified. Numerous documents of United Nations organs and of the national liberation movements showed that aid from imperialist monopolies and the policy of Western countries enabled the racist régimes to persist in their terrorist and aggressive policies; that imperialist monopolies, in connivance with the racists, were continuing the brutal exploitation of African peoples and their natural resources; that, despite the mandatory arms embargo, the racist régimes continued to receive weaponry of Western manufacture and were permitted to produce their own under Western licences; and that imperialist trusts in NATO countries and in Israel were intensely involved in financing, extending and further developing South Africa's nuclear industry.

74. Those statements could be substantiated. From 1972 to 1978 certain banks, especially in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and France, had given credits and loans totalling \$US 5.5 billion to the apartheid régime. In 1978, the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia had obtained over 150 million pounds sterling in secret loans to finance its military expenditure, which now reached 650,000 pounds a day. State-guaranteed trade between imperialist Powers and South Africa had been rapidly expanding. A study of United States-South African trade estimated that the equipment supplied to South Africa served as an important source of technology, that the pattern of South African imports indicated that some of the equipment was directly employed to control the black 87 per cent of the population; and that some imports contributed directly to South Africa's military capability, both within the country and in attacks on neighbouring countries.

75. The racist régimes offered imperialist monopolies excellent conditions for capital growth. The report of the Special Committee (A/34/23, part III) showed that one third to one half of Namibia's gross domestic product was repatriated annually, in the form of profits and dividends accruing to foreign shareholders in South Africa, Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States and elsewhere, while the African standard of living remained severely depressed.

76. South Africa was producing a full range of weapons with the assistance of capital funds or licences from the West. More than 2,000 corporations, including transnationals of NATO countries and Israel, did business in South Africa. Among them were Lockheed, Rolls Royce, Dassault, Bosch, Siemens and BMW. The racists in Southern Rhodesia had secretly received new military hardware for

(Mr. Fritzsche, German Democratic Republic)

for their army. The supply of equipment and the training of technical personnel by imperialist monopolies was a key factor in encouraging the apartheid régime to obtain possession of nuclear weapons. There was no doubt that the ruling circles in Pretoria would not shrink from using them in support of their aggressive policies. The seminar on nuclear collaboration with South Africa, held in London in February, had called emphatically for an end to all collaboration with South Africa in the nuclear field.

77. The racist régimes showed little eagerness to honour United Nations decisions and resolutions, since they could rely on the support of international financial circles. However, because of increasing disapproval of the activities of transnational corporations in territories still under colonial domination, every effort was made to conceal such criminal practices.

78. Frequent reference was made to the so-called social mission of monopolies; but the activities of transnational corporations had in no case alleviated the plight of the African population, from which they continued to derive profit. The document issued by the South African Congress of Trade Unions in response to the code of conduct adopted by the European Economic Community stated that the code was not seriously intended to improve conditions for black workers in South Africa, and would not in fact do so. Its real purpose was to appease the international trade union movement with promises of reform, in order to lift the pressure for economic sanctions against South Africa.

79. There was clear evidence of complicity between Western reactionary circles and the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa, which all shared the same basic interests. All the activities of Western circles in southern Africa, such as the setting up of the Muzorewa-Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia, the call for an internal solution in Namibia and the attempt to replace Security Council sanctions by negotiations with the apartheid régime, were designed to engage the liberation movements in a lengthy negotiating process, thus defusing the armed struggle and giving the racists extra time to achieve their ends. Such models for the rescue of Namibia and Zimbabwe were merely intended to protect the profits of monopolies.

80. Attempts were often made to deny the responsibility of States for the activities of imperialist monopolies, on the grounds that the State had no influence over the practices of private concerns. Yet States were responsible for ensuring that no actions were carried out from their territories which could infringe upon the sovereignty of other States and peoples. It had been remarked in the Committee that socialist States carried out transactions with transnational corporations. It was also true that many transnational corporations and Governments had tried to inflict damage on the socialist States; but the latter were strong enough to protect themselves. However, the peoples still living under the colonial yoke were victims of the racist régimes which collaborated with transnational corporations, and for that reason there was a duty to assist in the process of their liberation from both. There must be a comprehensive international boycott against the racists. Measures by the Security Council must aim at ending collaboration with the racists in the political, economic and military fields as well as at terminating the exploitation of human and natural resources.

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(Mr. Fritzsche, German Democratic Republic)

81. The German Democratic Republic had unreservedly supported the struggle against racism, colonialism and apartheid. It maintained no relations with the racist régimes, despite the allegation that it was exporting goods to South Africa. Such false reports were disseminated because the representatives of certain transnational corporations wanted to divert attention from their support for the racist régime in South Africa, and oppose the demand for sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. His country could not be affected by slander; it had come into being with the extirpation of racism and racial discrimination, and had no room for forces which capitalized on the suppression and exploitation of other persons and peoples. On its thirtieth anniversary, Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, had said that it was a logical feature of socialist foreign policy to work closely with those fighting on anti-imperialist fronts, whether in Africa, Asia or Latin America. The German Democratic Republic would continue to support national liberation organizations such as SWAPO, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and the ANC of South Africa.

82. Mr. RAHAMTALLA (Sudan) said that every year, the General Assembly adopted resolutions aimed at halting foreign economic activities which impeded the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Yet many Member States were still completely ignoring them, and gave illogical excuses for their repeated violations. The activities of transnational corporations in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, which they defended on the pretext of the freedom of international trade, seriously threatened the implementation of the Declaration.

83. His delegation wished to emphasize the reference in the report to the plans being laid by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, to be put into operation as soon as economic sanctions were removed. The international community was being deceived over what was going on in the country; the racists were mainly concerned with concentrating the power of the minority over the economic life of the territory, and depriving the indigenous population of their rights. The scope of sanctions against Smith and his allies should be intensified if the people of Zimbabwe were to attain their aspiration of majority rule. It should be reaffirmed that no settlement in Southern Rhodesia should receive the blessing of the international community unless it obtained the consent of all parties, especially the Patriotic Front, which represented the people of Zimbabwe, and enjoyed the support of the African States. He welcomed the initiative of the United Kingdom, following the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka, to hold a conference in London with the participation of all parties; but it should be recalled that the conference was possibly the last opportunity to achieve a peaceful settlement to the Rhodesian question. If it failed, it would be necessary to intensify material and moral support for the armed struggle of the people under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. He was gravely concerned at the news of difficulties encountered by the conference, and appealed to all parties, and especially to the United Kingdom, to deploy every effort to rescue the initiative.

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84. He regretted that the situation in Namibia had deteriorated, despite the efforts made in recent years to achieve a just and peaceful settlement. The Pretoria régime had shown that it would reject any solution which deprived it of ultimate control. SWAPO had shown itself patient and flexible, and the Luanda agreement had received the blessing of African Heads of State at the Khartoum meeting in July of the previous year, despite its short-comings. But the Government of South Africa had proceeded to lay down a scenario which preserved its control over the natural resources of the territory. It was desirable to keep the door open for peaceful negotiations; but the armed struggle would be sure of gaining increasing support in case of a stalemate, and SWAPO remained the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, and the only body able to break the deadlock.

85. With regard to the damage done by foreign economic activities in southern Africa, Robert Mugabe had referred at the July meeting in Khartoum to the co-operation of Israel with the racist régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury: Israeli military equipment had been found in the hands of the racist régimes. Such co-operation was natural, since all three régimes were racist by nature, discriminating among people on the basis of colour only.

86. His delegation was confident that the abilities of the Chairman and members of the Bureau would provide valuable support for the aspirations of millions of people still suffering from imperialism, racial discrimination, apartheid and zionism in southern Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine and other occupied territories.

87. Mr. THOMSON (Canada) said that his country's opposition to apartheid was well documented. Its support for the peoples of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia was evidenced by its active involvement in the effort to promote self-determination and independence for Namibia. Canada's participation in the Declaration adopted at the Commonwealth Conference of Heads of Government on the situation in Rhodesia further demonstrated his desire to seek a peaceful transition to genuine majority rule.

88. Almost two years earlier his Government had withdrawn its trade commissioners from South Africa as a tangible expression of its opposition to apartheid. Some months afterwards a code of conduct had been issued by his Government concerning the employment practices of Canadian companies operating in South Africa. Developed in consultation with Canadian companies, labour organizations and other groups, it dealt with equality of access to employment and to training; equality of conditions of work; and recognition of the freedom of association and the right to organize for collective bargaining. Canada had also been actively involved in such projects as the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa since its inception.

89. However, the broad net cast by the implications and charges in the Special Committee's report under consideration (A/34/23 (Part III)), took no account of such steps as he had described. Instead, a number of countries were implicitly or explicitly censured for collaborative economic activities. An example was the

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(Mr. Thomson, Canada)

naming of Canada as one of the "imperialist Powers" in southern Africa at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, recently held at Havana. Canada rejected that charge.

90. Canada found the Special Committee's report less effective than it might have been. While that body's mandate called for a report on activities of foreign economic and other interests which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the "other interests" were treated only in passing. The report had become an annual catalogue of foreign economic activities presented under the supposition that foreign economic activities per se impeded the implementation of the Declaration.

91. Other generalizations in the Special Committee's report and in the resolution contained therein detracted from the seriousness of the effort expended in their preparation. While the references to huge profits might be correct in some cases, there was ample evidence that international co-operation in the case of Southern Rhodesia had resulted in substantial economic losses for those involved.

92. The resolution adopted by the Special Committee called upon Governments to take legislative, administrative or "other" measures to control the activities of their nationals and the bodies corporate under their jurisdiction operating in colonial Territories. That again was in strict contradiction to the position taken by many States that the extra-territorial application of national law was highly undesirable. The principle of opposition to extra-territoriality was an important one for host countries, such as Canada, and, with the exception of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia, his delegation believed that it was a principle which should be maintained consistently. The absence of consistency merely provided grounds for those who would question the seriousness of the problem and the way in which it was being tackled.

93. The resolution of the Special Committee contained sweeping generalizations condemning unspecified colonial and certain Western countries and other States; what the report lacked was substantiation. That might well be available to the Committee, but it was not evident from the text. Moreover, no distinction was drawn in the report between the activities of private enterprises and those of Governments. Yet there was a clear distinction between normal, private, economic relations, which Canada considered legitimate, and relations such as those condemned in the Special Committee's resolution, which could be termed collaboration in the perpetuation of illegal and racist domination. Similarly, Canada did not accept that foreign investment necessarily indicated approval of, or collaboration with, the political régime of any country. A sweeping condemnation of the practice was therefore inappropriate, and such references in the report as "pillaging by foreign monopolies" were plainly absurd.

94. Canada shared the deep concern of other States that apartheid must be abolished; that colonial régimes must give way to legitimate national interests;

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(Mr. Thomson, Canada)

and that economic justice and freedom must be available to all. To be effective, international efforts to rectify those situations must be practical and objective. Their aims must not be obfuscated by the rhetoric of sterile debate between representatives of competing economic and political systems. His delegation urged that, the Special Committee should, in its future reports, adhere more closely to its mandate; that generalizations should be dropped in favour of objective assessments; and that areas of progress should be identified and not belittled. Such an approach would more likely attract the co-operation of individuals, States, enterprises and other interests.

95. His remarks had been made in an effort to improve the effectiveness of the Special Committee's work, for while Canada could not accept the entire report, it unquestionably supported efforts towards the goals of economic and human justice in southern Africa.

96. Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) said that a discussion of the item before the Committee necessitated a reference to the very essence of colonialism. The principal aim of colonialism was the acquisition of the wealth of others and the exploitation of the inhabitants of those territories where that wealth was situated. It could not be claimed that investment in a country under colonial domination could benefit the indigenous inhabitants. The colonial Powers had always derived the maximum profits from their colonial Territories and had used every means of repression to maintain their control. That was why in certain cases the colonial Powers had violated the territorial integrity of a country, dividing it into several parts and granting independence to one of them while continuing to exploit the others. South Africa was acting in that very way in applying its policy of bantustanization.

97. Condemnation by the international community was not enough to eradicate that evil. What was needed was the political will to put an end to the situation. The international community must become aware that what was occurring in southern Africa was an evil to be combatted. It would then be easy to agree on the means of eliminating it. The economic activities outlined in the Special Committee's report on the item (A/34/23 (Part III)) were undeniably detrimental to the interests of the peoples concerned and constituted a major obstacle to their freedom and independence. So long as foreign investments in southern Africa continued to grow, the racist régime of Pretoria would continue to oppose any attempt at change. One fact was undeniable: the foreign corporations operating in southern Africa were reaping scandalous profits. All those States which exploited the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, preventing them from exercising their legitimate rights over their natural resources, violated their obligations under the Charter.

98. His delegation supported the resolution adopted by the Special Committee and reproduced in its report. However, it considered that the publicity campaign which the Secretary-General was requested to undertake did not go far enough. It should be supplemented by a campaign organized by the Governments of countries in which the transnational corporations operating in southern Africa were

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registered, in order to enhance public awareness of the harm caused by those corporations. Such a campaign should of course go hand-in-hand with the legislative, administrative or other measures that Governments were requested to take in respect of those who owned and operated enterprises in colonial Territories, particularly in southern Africa.

99. A concerted effort would make it possible to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racism. By presenting a united front to the South African régime, the international community could compel it to see reason. Condemnation and sanctions were not an end in themselves. The aim should be to prevent human beings from being exploited. As the nations of the world became increasingly interdependent, it was unacceptable that there should be peoples still living under the colonial yoke and that there should be victims of racism and apartheid; all peoples had the right to freedom and independence.

100. Mr. ERAN (Israel) speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that when he had left Israel a fortnight ago, it was still in the Middle East, and so were the Palestinians. The representatives of both Iraq and the Sudan should be asked to confine themselves to the subject on the agenda. That day there had been another example of the campaign of hatred continuously being perpetrated by the Arab States against Israel in almost every international forum, regardless of its nature and the subject on the agenda. It was a negative and destructive campaign which took no account of the positive development in the Middle East. The United Nations had now established a sufficient battery of agencies to satisfy the wishes of the Arab States, and he failed to see how the people of southern Africa were to be benefited by contributions such as those of Iraq. He called upon all those who believed in peace and the well-being of all nations to condemn such statements. Iraq had no moral right to pass a judgement on other countries. It was itself ruled by a racist régime, and having done away with the Assyrian people, was engaged in another act of genocide against the Kurdish people. It had recently sent opponents of the régime before a firing squad.

101. Other delegates who criticized those who maintained relations with South Africa should be aware of their own relations with that country, and of the reports of trade between South Africa and Arab States which continued to appear in the world press. The Economist of 6 January 1979 had reported imports of food-stuffs and building materials from South Africa to certain Arab States, and the New York Black American of 21 June 1979 had reported a two-way traffic of gold and oil between some Arab States and South Africa. On 4 February 1979, the chairman of the Citrus Growers Association in the Gaza Strip had written to the Arab paper Al Kuds of East Jerusalem, criticizing the commercial relations between South Africa and some Arab States. A rare but fortunate agreement had just been concluded between the United States, Israel and Syria, and he was sure that the representative of Syria would show consistency by condemning all those members of the Arab League who maintained economic relations with South Africa.

102. Having already referred to Israel's stand against all forms of racism, and replied in detail concerning Israel's economic and military relations with South Africa, he must emphatically deny all allegations of the existence of any link between Israel and South Africa in the nuclear field.

103. Mr. HUSSAIN (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that it was true that his country hated Israeli occupation and Zionist racism. What the representative of the Zionist entity objected to was the historic resolution of 1975, which described zionism as a form of racial discrimination. Delegates were used to hearing the representative of the Zionist entity insulting the United Nations and its resolutions. The information which he had quoted at the previous meeting was contained in the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and he could refer to other reports showing close co-operation between Israel and the racist régime in southern Africa. The Christian Science Monitor of 26 December 1978 had reported the smuggling of American civilian helicopters by Israel to Southern Rhodesia, and their subsequent conversion to military use. Israel was itself perpetrating aggression against the inhabitants of Lebanon, and was arrogantly defying the international community, which was calling upon Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories.

104. Mr. BROCHEMIN (France), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that, at the previous meeting, the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had alleged that the role of France in Africa constituted a threat to peace and security. Without attaching too much importance to that allegation, he wished to draw attention to the statement made by the Permanent Representative of France, asking the delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to explain the presence of Libyan troops in Chad.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.