



MAY 19 1987

IN/SA COLLECTION

FOURTH COMMITTEE
9th meeting
held on
Tuesday, 29 October 1985
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 9th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua)

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REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS

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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 110: 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: 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/40/23 (Part IV); A/AC.109/803, 805, 810-812, 815, 817, 819, 825, 826, 829)

1. Mr. MANZOU (Zimbabwe) said that for many years the peoples of South Africa and Namibia had known neither peace nor justice solely because of the continued existence of a racist minority régime bent on perpetuating internal repression and external aggression for its survival. The apartheid system in South Africa flourished because it was closely linked to the diversified economy of that country, which continued to be financed by the West and foreign capital. Some Western countries believed that the strategy of collaboration with South Africa in the economic field would contribute to making the racist Pretoria régime mend its ways. His delegation had always expressed doubts about the efficacy of that strategy since the influence of the transnational corporations was limited and restricted by the corporate laws of the apartheid system. In addition, the usefulness and efficacy of the so-called codes of conduct as instruments of social reform in South Africa and Namibia were doubtful because corporate legislation in South Africa was a sure guarantee that codes of conduct did not represent a threat to the core of the apartheid economy.

2. In the view of his delegation, economic pressure on South Africa was the only peaceful option left to the international community to eradicate that evil system from the face of the earth. Unless apartheid was dismantled, the economies of the flourishing democracies of southern Africa would continue to be the target of racist attacks and destabilization. Above all, its inhabitants would remain victims of aggression and the region a hotbed of tension and conflict.

3. Zimbabwe equally condemned the activities of economic and military interests which continued to undermine the aspirations of the inhabitants of other Territories still under colonial domination. Those activities impeded the struggle for freedom, and in many cases were the cause of conflicts and tension in the region. He called on those interests to dissociate themselves completely from activities detrimental to the aspirations of the populations of those Territories and to work for the full realization of their freedom and self-determination. His delegation fully supported the report of the Special Committee.

4. Mr. WANDERA (Kenya) said that his delegation wished to reaffirm its condemnation of the foreign economic and other interests which supported the illegal racist régime of South Africa and which collaborated with that country in the illegal exploitation of the human and natural resources of Namibia, in particular its marine and mineral resources. Similarly, it condemned South Africa's massive military build-up in Namibia and the continued military, nuclear and intelligence collaboration between South Africa and some Western and other

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(Mr. Wandera, Kenya)

countries, which constituted a violation of the arms embargo imposed against South Africa by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977). Kenya called on all States immediately to impose comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, and condemned the activities still being carried out by certain countries and transnational corporations with respect to investments and the supply of armaments, oil and nuclear technology to the racist régime of South Africa, thus strengthening that country and endangering world peace.

5. His delegation fully endorsed the consensus adopted by the Special Committee at its extraordinary session. South Africa's fraudulent constitutional and political manoeuvres fooled no one because the intention was merely to perpetuate the colonial domination of Namibia. In South Africa, international and domestic pressures must be stepped up for the speedy dismantling of the obnoxious apartheid system through disinvestment, the cutting off of technological assistance and the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the United Nations. Kenya denounced cosmetic sanctions and totally rejected the sham attempts of President Botha at constitutional reform, which was merely a time-buying gimmick.

6. Kenya reaffirmed that the natural resources of all Territories under colonial and racist domination were the heritage of the indigenous populations of those Territories and that their exploitation by foreign interests constituted a violation of international law. Kenya urged the United Nations to reassert its direct responsibility over Namibia and to adopt resolutions and decisions that would bring about unqualified compliance by the racist régime of South Africa and accelerate the independence of Namibia.

7. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the military activities of the colonial Powers in the dependent Territories constituted an obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and impeded the rapid liberation of those peoples because of the military repression of national independence movements. An example was the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, which was using many military contingents, and even mercenaries, to defend the economic interests of the Pretoria régime, and was attempting to suppress the Namibian liberation movement led by SWAPO. In addition, South Africa was using Namibia to launch attacks against Angola. The Pretoria régime was attempting to deal with the deep political crisis caused by those warlike activities - reflected both in the fight against apartheid, even inside South Africa, and in the intensification of the Namibian independence movement - through internal oppression and external aggression, in order to undermine the resistance of the Namibian people and destabilize neighbouring countries.

8. The racist régime of Pretoria could not unleash that war of aggression and colonialism in Namibia and its borders without the overt and covert support of certain Western Powers, especially the United States and some of its allies, which ostensibly condemned apartheid while in reality protecting the régime, opposing the application of effective sanctions against South Africa and serving as accomplices in the attacks against Angola, Namibia and other States of southern Africa. While the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations respected the arms embargo imposed against South Africa by the Security Council in its

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(Mr. Oleandrov, USSR)

resolution 418 (1977), those Western Powers continued to provide military support to the Pretoria régime. Thus, in 1981, the United States Government had relaxed the restrictions on the delivery of matériel and armaments to South Africa, and that new policy had favoured the sale of sophisticated electronic installations for use by the South African armed forces in their colonialist battle. "Constructive engagement" therefore represented a political and military alliance between the United States and South Africa.

9. In addition, the existence of nuclear weapons in South Africa, which constituted a threat to peace in southern Africa and the entire African continent, was due to the increasing co-operation of the United States and Israel in particular, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly calling for the cessation of collaboration in the nuclear field. Various press reports confirmed South Africa's capability to produce two atomic bombs per year. The nuclear reactor at the South African National Nuclear Research Centre had been designed and built with United States technology. In addition, more than 40 nuclear physicists from the United States were collaborating with the apartheid régime. Such support would enable South Africa to monitor the African liberation movements in order to continue its exploitation of Namibia.

10. The Soviet Union, as a member of the Trusteeship Council and the Security Council, had pointed out to the Fourth Committee the problem also raised by the establishment of naval air bases in such Non-Self-Governing Territories as Guam, Puerto Rico, Micronesia, Diego García, Bermuda, the Virgin Islands, and the Turks and Caicos Islands, not only because they represented an obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration, but also because they were hotbeds of tension which threatened international peace and security, as had happened with the military base on Guam, from which attacks had been launched against Viet Nam.

11. The Special Committee on decolonization, in considering the question of Puerto Rico, had verified that the Territory had been converted into a military base, thus serving as a springboard for the deployment of armed forces against Central America and South America, as shown by the military intervention in Grenada, an independent and sovereign Caribbean country.

12. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America), speaking on a point of order, said that the representative of the Soviet Union should confine himself to the item under consideration. The question of Puerto Rico was not on the agenda.

13. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), resuming his statement, said that the persistence of pockets of colonialism constituted a threat to international peace and security. One example was the situation provoked by the United Kingdom, which had undertaken military activities in the South Atlantic in order to re-establish a state of colonialism in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

14. His country supported the Special Committee's appeal to the administering Powers not to commit acts of aggression from colonial Territories against independent States. The Fourth Committee should recommend to the General Assembly that it should condemn the activities of those States which continued to collaborate with the racist South African régime in the economic and nuclear fields

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(Mr. Oleandrov, USSR)

and which were its strategic allies. All those States should fully implement the relevant resolutions, as well as the arms embargo against South Africa, and the Security Council should take steps to prevent South Africa from acquiring nuclear weapons. His country supported the call made by the African States for the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to force that country to put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia and to its acts of aggression against neighbouring States. The Soviet Union maintained its firm anti-colonialist position; it supported and would always support peoples fighting for their independence.

15. Mr. BARDAL (Mongolia) said that although the Declaration had been adopted more than 25 years previously, many countries, foremost among them Namibia, still remained under the yoke of colonialism. Despite the Declaration and the subsequent United Nations decisions calling on colonialist countries to put an end to economic and military activities in their Territories to enable the peoples of those Territories to exercise their right to self-determination, some Western States, including the United States, South Africa and their allies, refused to comply with them and delayed the granting of independence to Namibia and the so-called small Territories.

16. The colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of those States made it difficult to find a solution to the problem that would be favourable to those peoples. Economic and other interests propped up the racist South African régime and furthered the application of its policy of apartheid, as well as its occupation of and aggression against Namibia. The illegal exploitation and plunder of the natural resources of that Territory by foreign companies earned huge profits for the United States and other Western Powers, with extremely negative social and economic consequences. Evidence of that had been submitted to the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee, and in public hearings on the activities of transnational corporations. In South Africa and Namibia, there were more than 1,000 transnational corporations which not only pillaged the resources of the Territory, but also robbed the indigenous population of their human dignity and placed restrictions on their freedom and fundamental rights.

17. The racist régime, with the support of certain imperialists, committed acts of aggression and launched terrorist gangs against neighbouring States. The international community was concerned about the collaboration with South Africa on the part of the United States, Israel and other countries, aimed at giving South Africa a nuclear-weapon capability. The objective of the "constructive engagement" between the United States and South Africa was to perpetuate colonialism in southern Africa, obstruct the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on the granting of independence to the people of Namibia, and avoid recognizing (SWAPO) as its authentic representative.

18. The international community should intensify its efforts against apartheid, colonialism and the policy of collaboration with the racist South African régime. The so-called sanctions by some Western countries were a ploy designed to assist the racists, as had been demonstrated by the recent intensification by the Pretoria régime of its terror tactics, and by the murders and the extension of the state of

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(Mr. Bardal, Mongolia)

emergency to other parts of the country. It should not be surprising therefore that, in his recent address, the President of the United States had not made a single reference to the racist South African régime.

19. The strengthening of military bases in colonial Territories had militaristic objectives. Such bases served, among other things, as testing-grounds for "star wars" weapons. That constituted a violation of the Charter and of the Declaration. The peoples of Asia were therefore concerned about the increase in the military presence of the United States in Asia and in the Pacific, particularly on the atolls and on the island of Diego García, where the arms race was being accelerated.

20. The problem required an immediate solution since it affected international peace and security. The world community must remove the last vestiges of colonialism and must demand the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations relating to the immediate and unconditional cessation of all military activity in the colonial Territories, the withdrawal of all military bases from those Territories, the suspension of all military and nuclear aid to South Africa and the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Pretoria. Mongolia also supported the struggle of peoples for independence and the activities of the United Nations aimed at the full implementation of the Declaration.

21. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America) said that the United States supported the goal which had inspired the resolution on foreign economic interests (A/AC.109/840) and the decision on military activities (A/AC.109/841), namely, to ensure the right to self-determination for all peoples, free from outside interference, which might be economic, political, demographic or, in its most brutal form, military. Self-determination was currently obstructed in Namibia, Afghanistan, Cambodia and elsewhere. However, having started with the correct premise, the resolution and decision in question had gone off the right track. There could be no question that the population of Namibia overwhelmingly favoured independence and the departure of the occupying Power. However, in that special case, the authors of the drafts had conjured up a menacing picture of colonial Powers stubbornly maintaining a network of military and economic bases for imperialist purposes, perhaps as part of some crazy dream of restoring empires by reconquering newly independent States.

22. In the light of that idea, it would be useful to examine the actual condition of the three United States Territories on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories: Guam, American Samoa and the United States Virgin Islands. To begin with, the total population of those Territories was about 260,000, which was approximately three fourths the number of people who had fled occupied Cambodia and approximately one twentieth the number who had fled occupied Afghanistan. All three Territories were currently self-governing, elected their own legislatures and made their own laws. They also elected their own mayors and governors, who were not appointed by the United States. The electoral process was open to all and there was no one-party system. Voters as well as those they elected were required to be resident in the Territory in question. In fact, those Territories enjoyed a greater measure of self-determination than certain Member States. The United Nations, however, did not consider them to be self-governing

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(Mr. Feldman, United States)

because their people did not vote in United States presidential elections and were not represented in the Senate, although they were represented in the House of Representatives by a delegate who could vote in committees and chair sub-committees.

23. There were no troops in American Samoa or in the United States Virgin Islands. The United States contribution to the world network of bases, which seemed to be of concern to the authors of the draft decision, consisted only of the military facilities in Guam. However, the population of the Territory was aware that the function of the United States in Guam was to defend it against external attack and not to enforce some imagined, unpopular local order. In that regard, Guam's elected Congressman, Benjamin Blaz, a descendant of the ethnic Chamorro group which had originally inhabited Guam at the time of the Spanish conquest, had said, inter alia, that the inhabitants of Guam were the only Americans in modern times to have undergone occupation by a foreign country in time of war and they considered that to serve in the armed forces was a very noble thing because they knew what it was like not to be free. Consequently, in Guam, a military career was considered honourable, and, far from being a foreign occupying force, the military forces of the United States included many indigenous inhabitants.

24. Foreign economic interests in those Territories did not constitute an obstacle to self-determination and well-being since countries like the Ivory Coast, Singapore, the Republic of Korea, Thailand and the members of the Gulf Co-operation Council, among others, had welcomed the benefits of foreign investment. Even other countries, including China, Egypt and Mozambique had liberalized treatment of foreign investment and had begun to enjoy the corresponding benefits. Note should also be taken of the experience of many developing countries and newly industrialized countries which had formed their own multinational banks and enterprises and which, nevertheless, could hardly be considered imperialist exploiters. The United States was in a particularly good position to discuss the benefits of foreign investment because, when younger, its own growth had been sparked by investment, and even now, with a more mature economy, it still welcomed foreign investment and benefited from it.

25. With regard to the continued colonial status of Namibia and the situation inside South Africa, the United States was actively seeking, through dialogue with South Africa and Angola, implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). When the escalation of violence had begun in southern Africa and, notably, after the South African raid on Cabinda, Angola had suspended talks. In the view of the United States, those talks must be resumed in order to arrive at a solution. The United States knew that its role in encouraging the parties to narrow their differences, in particular with regard to the timing of the withdrawal of Cuban troops, encouraged all manner of irresponsible and inaccurate accusations, but that would not deter it from continuing its efforts to achieve the freedom and independence of Namibia.

26. The situation inside South Africa was not, strictly speaking, a colonial situation, although it was a legacy of the colonial era. In the search for peace and justice in South Africa, the United States was promoting policies and reforms to facilitate a peaceful, rapid transition to a society which had rid itself of the grotesque, evil system of apartheid. The destruction of South Africa's economy was

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(Mr. Feldman, United States)

not the best way to achieve that objective, however, for the economy was the basis of the livelihood of not only millions of black South Africans but also of black Africans in many neighbouring States. That would create a situation of chaos that would be taken advantage of by certain forces, which would attempt to subvert the successor to the racist régime and use it for their own ideological purposes.

27. Instead, the United States had chosen to encourage the forces of change in different ways. It was urging all United States companies in South Africa to adhere to the Sullivan Code, on pain of losing United States Government export assistance; all computer exports to agencies involved in the enforcement of apartheid and to the security forces had been banned; exports of nuclear goods or technology, except those required to implement International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards had been prohibited; loans to the South African Government had been banned, with the exception of those used to improve economic opportunities or educational, housing and health facilities that were open and accessible to South Africans of all races; and the importation of Krugerrands into the United States had been prohibited.

28. There were also assistance programmes for black South Africans, including: Government scholarships amounting to \$US 9 million in 1986, which would enable close to 200 students to study in the United States, plus approximately 20 to 30 additional scholarships financed by the private sector; scholarships for study inside South Africa amounting to \$US 8 million, which should finance about 350 to 400 students annually; entrepreneurial training amounting to \$US 4 million for small black-run businesses; labour union training amounting to \$US 1.5 million; university preparation grants amounting to \$US 1 million for secondary school students, and a programme of human rights grants amounting to \$US 1.5 million to help the victims of apartheid and their families. Those programmes represented a genuine commitment and were directed at private organizations, individuals and community groups in South Africa in order to help build up an infrastructure untainted by apartheid, something which was critical for a successful, peaceful transition to a democratic society.

29. In conclusion, he wished to reiterate what he had said in his statement at the previous session (A/C.4/39/SR.9, para. 61), namely that isolation, disinvestment and trade boycotts would be unable to weaken apartheid. Apartheid was an evil system which must and would end and one must ensure that, when it did, the people of South Africa were able to reconstruct the country quickly so that what was now one of humanity's greatest shames could become one of humanity's proudest boasts.

30. Mr. MAUNA (Indonesia) said that, despite the efforts made by the United Nations, various forms of colonialism still persisted, buttressed by the activities of certain foreign economic and other interests which adversely affected the rights and interests of colonial and indigenous peoples. The case of Namibia was a glaring example of the plunder of the human and natural resources of a colonial Territory by foreign interests. The hundreds of millions of dollars invested by transnational corporations in the Territory subjugated by South Africa had neither brought greater prosperity for the indigenous population nor contributed to the creation of conditions for the exercise of the people's right to self-determination and independence.

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(Mr. Mauna, Indonesia)

31. His delegation welcomed the proposal of the United Nations Council for Namibia that concrete steps should be taken to enforce fully all the provisions of Council Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, which had been recognized as binding by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Those steps should be reinforced by intensifying the economic boycott against South Africa and by having multinational monetary institutions suspend all relations with that country. In addition to the economic exploitation of the Territory, the latter was being militarized by the occupation régime, which was trying to impose puppet governments on the people in its unceasing attempts to forestall the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence, as contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

32. Indonesia supported fully all the provisions relating to Namibia contained in the Final Declaration of the Conference of Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held at Luanda in September 1985. His delegation endorsed the call for more strenuous efforts to secure the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa by the Security Council, and for the convening of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Namibia in 1986. It urged the Committee to endorse those proposals, as well as all the other proposals of the non-aligned countries.

33. With regard to the remaining Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean, it was important to continue to urge the administering Powers to give priority consideration to the economic and social development of the Territories under their jurisdiction and to ensure that development safeguarded the true interests of their indigenous populations.

34. On a more general level, everything must be done to bring about conditions in the Territories that would enable the peoples concerned to express their genuine aspirations in an atmosphere free from restrictions or pressures of any kind. In the process towards self-determination, the national unity, territorial integrity and economic viability of the Territories must be respected and protected, not only in the context of decolonization but also in that of an interdependent world in which developing countries were struggling to give greater meaning to their own economic independence through efforts to restructure the global economy and establish the new international economic order.

35. Mr. JASSNOWSKI (German Democratic Republic) said that the exploitation of colonial Territories for military purposes posed a threat to international peace and security and was an obstacle to the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. His delegation believed therefore that military activities in those Territories should be dealt with as a separate agenda item. His delegation attached particular importance to the seminar 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 held at Havana in April 1985 and believed that it was now imperative to adopt a relevant resolution which took the realities of the situation fully into account.

(Mr. Jassnowski, German
Democratic Republic)

36. South Africa's spiralling military expenditures in Namibia were designed to perpetuate the brutal colonial oppression and exploitation of the Namibian people and to persist in the misuse of the illegally occupied Territory as a bridgehead for South Africa's aggression against peaceful neighbouring countries. South Africa would be unable to pursue such colonial policies were it not for the support of certain Western imperialist quarters which were preventing the imposition of effective sanctions against Pretoria. The Western States, with whose help South Africa had acquired its nuclear capability, were acting irresponsibly and his delegation demanded that any collusion with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields be ended immediately.

37. The activities of the colonial Powers had increased in other Territories, in particular Micronesia and Guam, where the military presence far exceeded defence needs. His delegation supported the demand of Mauritius for the return of the Chagos Archipelago, including the island of Diego García. His delegation was also concerned at the fact that Pershing missiles were being tested in Bermuda, and condemned the stockpiling of nuclear weapons in Puerto Rico in flagrant violation of the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

38. His country condemned all military activities pursued by colonial Powers in dependent Territories as a major obstacle to the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and as a grave threat to regional and international peace. It supported all efforts to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace. It was also solidly behind the call made to the colonial Powers in paragraphs 2 and 3 of document A/AC.109/841 to take all necessary measures not to involve colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories in any offensive acts or interference against other States and to terminate military activities and eliminate military bases in Territories under colonial domination.

39. Mr. FOURATI (Tunisia) drew attention to the excellent report prepared by the Special Committee (A/40/23 (Part IV)) which presented a complete picture of the activities of foreign economic interests in territories still under colonial domination. He noted his country's special anxiety concerning the situation in southern Africa, where colonialism and racial discrimination were still of serious concern to the international community. He condemned the systematic and persistent refusal by Pretoria to conform strictly to the relevant provisions of the Charter and to implement the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and by the Security Council, and its refusal to recognize the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples of southern Africa.

40. The problems of Namibia and apartheid were closely linked, because any progress made in one of them would necessarily influence the other. Hence, the survival or disappearance of apartheid was at the root of the crisis which had for so long affected southern Africa. Apartheid should not be considered only from the point of view of the violation of human rights, but also in its real context: a colonial enclave based on racism, brute force, aggression, oppression and the exploitation of the majority of a people by a minority.

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(Mr. Fourati, Tunisia)

41. That colonial situation had been complicated by the tremendous collusion of all kinds by foreign economic interests, financial and otherwise, which, even more than the strictly political aspects of the problem, were the fundamental reason for one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. Because of their investments, those interests were helping to maintain and strengthen the Pretoria régime.

42. His delegation, considering the recent tragic events in South Africa, noted that the racist Pretoria régime, in spite of repeated condemnations by the international community, had no intention of putting an end to the repulsive apartheid system and stopped at nothing to preserve the domination and privileges of the white minority and foreign interests; the majority of the South African population, however, despite murders and arrests, was resolved to continue its struggle for freedom. The proclamation of a state of emergency in many districts was a pretext to legalize the terror practised by the South African forces of repression. The establishment of such a state of emergency revealed the anxiety of the South African régime in the face of increasing outbreaks of unrest, and the ardour of the participants. The extent of the resistance of the oppressed South African people, heartened by international rejection of the apartheid system, was worrying Pretoria, which was stepping up its aggression.

43. The moment had come for the international community to face up to its responsibilities and to adopt concrete measures to force Pretoria to put an end to apartheid and renounce violence. His country welcomed the programme of action against South Africa proposed by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Nordic countries at the conclusion of the meeting in Oslo on 17 and 18 October 1985. It was heartening to realize that countries, known to be allies of the South African régime, were beginning to exercise pressure on the defenders of the apartheid system, but those measures were not sufficient to eradicate that bastion of colonialism.

44. Only concerted international action to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa would be sufficient to achieve peaceful change in that country. Sanctions were the only way to put an end to the ambiguities, the only way to assert the authority of the United Nations and to demonstrate to international public opinion, and to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, that the Member States were willing and able to assume their responsibilities by the effective and firm implementation of the provisions of the Charter.

45. Mr. SMERAL (Czechoslovakia) said that the activities and military installations in the dependent territories were one of the most serious obstacles to the full implementation of the Declaration, since those bases and installations served the interests of the imperialist Powers in various places in the world. The colonial Powers used the dependent territories not only to repress national liberation movements, but also to carry out trials for new types of weapons, including nuclear weapons. Despite numerous decisions and resolutions adopted by the United Nations with regard to military activities, and the immediate and unconditional dismantling of military bases and installations in dependent territories, those bases in some cases had been extended instead of being reduced.

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(Mr. Smeral, Czechoslovakia)

To justify those activities in dependent territories, the colonial Powers maintained that they did not harm the life of the population and even promoted employment in the dependent territories.

46. His country was deeply concerned with the persistent occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime and the increasing number of troops concentrated in Namibia, including mercenaries, and also by the forced integration of Namibians in military activities carried out by Pretoria in Namibia. Pretoria was extending and reinforcing its military bases, particularly those close to the border with Angola; there were currently 100,000 South African soldiers engaged in Namibia. Military expenditure of the Pretoria régime had also increased: for the 1985-1986 period a military budget of 4,300 million rand had been approved, an increase of 8 per cent over the previous year.

47. Such an increase in military expenditure, which the Pretoria régime needed to strengthen the repression of the black population in South Africa and to continue the military occupation of Namibia, had been made possible by the co-operation with that régime of certain Western nations, in particular the United States. That co-operation also continued in the military sphere, despite the arms embargo against South Africa adopted by the Security Council in 1977. His country urged all the members of the United Nations to respect the embargo and emphasized the need to widen measures against South Africa and to adopt mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. The military presence of South Africa in Namibia also represented a threat to the front-line States, as indicated by the commando raids against oil installations at Cabinda, terrorist attacks against the capital of Botswana, and a recent attack by South African troops against Angola.

48. South Africa was continuing to develop its military technology and to construct nuclear installations, and there were indications that it could, or had, produced nuclear arms, which, added to what had already been said, constituted a serious threat not only to the peace and security of Africa but of the whole world. In document A/AC.109/825 it was noted that the development of South African nuclear capacity had speeded up with the continued assistance provided by certain States. His delegation also noted that some colonial Powers were carrying out extremely dangerous military activities in other Non-Self-Governing Territories such as Guam, Puerto Rico, Micronesia, Diego García and Bermuda. In Guam, for example, the navy and air force bases of the United States occupied a third of the territory. Puerto Rico was becoming more important in the military strategy of the United States, having been converted into a platform for so-called "rapid deployment forces". The continuing efforts of the United Kingdom to convert the Malvinas Islands into a great military base should also be emphasized.

49. His delegation condemned the military activities of the colonial Powers in the dependent territories and expressed its continuing support for measures to achieve the elimination of the military presence of the colonial Powers and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of their military bases and installations in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS

50. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee of the receipt of a further five communications containing requests for hearings relating to agenda item 18. He suggested that, in accordance with the usual practice, they should be circulated as Committee documents (A/C.4/40/2/Add.7 and A/C.4/40/4/Add.4-7) for consideration at a subsequent meeting.

51. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.