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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 5th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GBEHO (Ghana)

later: Mrs. KING-ROUSSEAU (Trinidad and Tobago)

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

ELECTION OF THE **RAPporteur**

1. Mr. 3ARILLARO (Italy) nominated **Mr. Akyol** (Turkey) for the office of **Rapporteur**.

2. Mr. Akyol (Turkey) was elected **Rapporteur** by acclamation.

AGENDA ITEM 105: 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 (A/41/23 (Parts III and IX), A/41/341 and **Corr.1**; **A/AC.109/850**, 852, 854, 855, **858** and **Corr.1**, **860**, 862, 863, **865**; **A/CONF.138/4-A/AC.131/179/Add.1**, **A/CONF.138/7-A/AC.131/203**; **E/C.10/1986/9**)

3. Mr. BARTKEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that during the General Assembly debate, many delegations, echoing the Declaration on decolonization, had emphasised the need to make every effort to put an end to apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia. At their meeting in Harare (Zimbabwe), the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries had contributed significantly to the implementation of the Declaration by reaffirming their conviction that the colonial system would not end as long as colonialism continued to exist in Namibia, New Caledonia, Puerto Rico, the Malvinas Islands, Micronesia and other Territories. Mainly through the efforts of the Special Committee on Decolonization, 59 colonial territories, representing 80 million people, had attained independence over the past 25 years.

4. The major obstacle to decolonization was the very nature of imperialism, which was politically, economically and strategically motivated. According to the as yet very incomplete information furnished by the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations, transnational corporations had more than 2,000 subsidiaries in the colonial and dependent Territories, among them approximately 900 American corporations and 600 British corporations. It was incumbent upon the United Nations to denounce the plunder by those corporations, whose activities served to aggravate the current threat to international peace and security.

5. The United Nations had substantial information showing that the activities of foreign economic interests were the source of unemployment, hunger, social problems, and the impoverishment and economic and political subservience of the indigenous people. In order to retard the decolonization process, the administering Powers were doing their utmost to impose and legitimize new forms of colonial and semi-colonial dependence, which they called "integration", "commonwealth", "association", and so on. Those manoeuvres had been condemned in many international forums.

(Mr. Bartkevich, USSR)

6. The case of southern Africa **was** particularly **distressing**. The **inhuman system** of **apartheid**, the illegal occupation of Namibia and **Pretoria's acts** of aggression against neighbouring African States **were** made **possible** only by the material **basis** provided by the imperialist monopolies and **transnational** corporations operating in South Africa and Namibia. Despite the many United Nations resolutions, the advisory opinion of the International Court of **Justice** of 1971 and Decree No. 1 of the United Nations **Council** for Namibia, 335 foreign corporations, (among them 197 South African corporations, 73 **British** corporations and 33 American corporations), continued to plunder the natural resources of Namibia. That was why the Namibian economy **was** typically colonial: **imbalanced**, precarious and dependent upon imports. **As** much as 60 per cent of Namibia's GDP was repatriated abroad by foreign companies as profits before **taxes**, and of the remaining 40 per cent, a large part was used as operating expenses of the foreign economic interests. White per capita income in 1980 had been **approximately** R 3,000 while the corresponding figure for all Blacks had been about R 125. Foreign banks provided the funds enabling Pretoria to maintain its army of occupation in Namibia. In particular, **Barclays** Bank had **purchased** South African Defence Bonds and served on the South African Defence **Advisory** Board.

7. With a view to solving the Namibian **question**, the Soviet Union had turned to the principles of peace, **détente** and defence of the legitimate **rights** of **peoples**. Its **policy** was also consistent with its recent proposal concerning the creation of a comprehensive **system** of **international** peace and security. In that connection, Mr. Shevardnadze, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, had recently recalled that the time had long since come to enable the United Nations to **exercise** all its **rights** and powers effectively, above all with **regard** to the fate of the Namibian people and the Trust Territory of Mictoneeia. In Mr. Shevardnadze's view, **both** of those problems were **as** old as the United **Nations**. The Soviet Union therefore **eternally** condemned the activities of foreign interests in Namibia and other colonial and dependent Territories. It supported the **African** peoples who demanded an immediate withdrawal of foreign capital from Namibia and the cessation of any form of economic co-operation with the **racist** South African **régime**.

8. The Seminar on International **Assistance** and Support to Peoples and Movements **Struggling** against **Colonialism**, Racism, Racial Discrimination and **Apartheid** had urged all States to **adopt** legislation with punitive measures against individuals and institutions dealing with South Africa and Namibia, and had appealed to States, especially those that exercised jurisdiction over the **transnational** corporations **acting** in South Africa and Namibia, to accede to the relevant regional and international instruments.

9. The Soviet Union saw the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council as the **most** effective means to permit the implementation of the decolonization Declaration in Namibia. With the international community **as** a whole, it called on the United States and certain of its allies to end their policy of **"constructive** engagement" in South Africa. In conclusion, it endorsed the recommendations submitted by the Special Committee of 24 in document **A/AC.109/881**.

10. **Mrs. King-Rousseau** (Trinidad and Tobago) took the **Chair**.

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11. Mr. DJOKTC (Yugoslavia) said that, despite the hold achievements of the United Nations in the sphere of decolonization, some peoples had yet to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

12. Safeguarding their economic and other interests prompted colonial Powers and transnational corporations to perpetuate an unacceptable situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Eighth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held at Harare had condemned the exploitation, including the military exploitation, of the natural and human resources of those Territories, which not only seriously impeded the decolonization process but also threatened the security of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and of neighbouring States. His delegation rejected totally the argument that the activities of those foreign interests enhanced the living conditions of indigenous populations, for in its view they represented the gravest form of exploitation of colonial countries and peoples and transformed them into theatres of confrontation between super-Powers.

13. Namibia was a case in point, for its tremendous wealth was being exploited for the benefit of foreign corporations and the white minority in South Africa, despite the decision taken by the General Assembly in 1966 to terminate South Africa's mandate over the Territory, the 1971 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice, Decree No. 1 on the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia and Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

14. The non-aligned countries had condemned the activities of foreign economic interests which impeded the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and were incompatible with the relevant United Nations resolutions. There was abundant proof that foreign investments in South Africa and Namibia enabled the apartheid régime to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia and to use the Territory for acts of State terrorism, aggression and destabilization against independent States, particularly Angola.

15. At all the conferences held in 1966 on the subject of South Africa and Namibia, including the special session of the General Assembly held in New York in September, the international community had unanimously and resolutely demanded the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa as the only means of weakening the apartheid régime and compelling it to comply with the requests of the international community. Other Non-Self-Governing Territories which did not have Namibia's wealth but were strategically important were being maintained in a situation of dependence by the great Powers, which established military bases and installations there. Like the other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia demanded strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, so that the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories might achieve freedom and independence.

16. Mr. JASSNOWSKI (German Democratic Republic) observed that the United Nations had undertaken, on the basis of the Charter and especially since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to help oppressed peoples to shake off the yoke of colonialism and to exercise

(Mr. Jaaenowsk 1 German Democratic Republic)

their right of **self-determination** and independence. Some Non-Self-Governing Territories remained, however, and all obstacles on the road to their **independence**, namely the activities of foreign **economic** and other interests, **must** be removed. No argument about the alleged weakness of those Territories **and the need to protect** them could justify the plunder of their resources, which **was** designed solely to enrich the colonial **Powers** and was the basis for maintaining the Non-Self-Governing Territories in a situation of dependence and subjection. **The right Of** self-determination was the first fundamental right of peoples on which all other political, economic, social and **cultural rights** were based.

17. In Namibia, the **largest** remaining colony, **the exploitation was all the more** harsh because it used racist methods. As long as the **question of** Namibia remained unresolved, **regional** and **international** peace and security would be threatened. The Western States, through their transnational corporations, were collaborating with the **apartheid régime** and hindering the progress of peace and justice in South Africa. Neither their verbal condemnations of **apartheid** nor the cosmetic measures they took could conceal that **reality**. The imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Pretoria called for at the special **session** of the General Assembly on Namibia represented the only way to solve the problems **of the region** peacefully.

18. His country, like the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, strongly condemned any **collaboration with the racist régime**, supported all steps by the United Nations to **demonstrate the responsibility** of those States which had jurisdiction **over** transnational corporations **operating** in South Africa and **Namibia**, and **hoped** that the committee **responsible** for drafting a **code** of conduct for transnational corporations would **complete** its work soon. Such a code would make it possible to control the activities of those **corporations** in all colonial Territories.

19. Mr. GAIKWAD (India) **said** that he wished to call **particular attention to** the situation in Namibia, **which** was a direct and brutal consequence **of** the colonialist and interventionist policies **pursued** by the Pretoria **régime** with the tacit support of Governments and foreign **economic** interests. United Nations resolutions and the genuine aspirations of the Namibian people **notwithstanding**, **the** Pretoria **régime** was using Namibia **to** launch acts of aggression against Angola, **Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique**, Zambia and Zimbabwe, in order to cripple and even destroy the economic structures **so** carefully crafted **by** those free States.

20. Military **service** was now compulsory in Namibia and the South African armed **forces** were trying to recruit and train **willing** Namibians. Mercenaries and soldiers of fortune, seeking a fleeting moment of glory, were pursuing ambitions that they did not understand. The human resources of the Territory were being depleted as Namibians were forced to seek refuge and honour in the front-line States, which were barely able **to assume** such a burden.

21. Since the previous session of the General Assembly, the **Security Council** had met **on** more than one occasion to consider South Africa's **tactics** of terror and **turmoil**. However, **clinging** to the straw of an indulgent veto, South Africa's **régime** had **been** spaced the retribution of the international community.

(Mr. Gaikwad, India)

22. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, for its part, was not indifferent to the **situation** and at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government, held at **Harare** the **previous** month, had set up a **Africa** Fund with the following **objectives**: to strengthen the economic and financial **capability** of the front-line States to fight the Pretoria **apartheid régime**, to **support** the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia in their unrelenting **struggle** against racist and **colonialist** oppression, and to assist the front-line States in enforcing sanctions **against** South Africa and in coping with any retaliatory economic action by the racist **régime**.

23. Concerted action was needed, but no one could deny the fact that the **provisions** of the arms embargo against South Africa imposed nine years **previously** by Security Council resolution **418** (1977) had been circumvented by **domestic** legislations that were riddled with **loopholes**. It was **high** time that the United Nations imposed a plan of security for southern Africa comprising the following **provisions**: improved implementation of the provisions of Security Council resolutions **418** (1977) and 558 (1984) including the elimination of all **loopholes**; conversion of resolution 558 (1984) **into** a mandatory embargo on **arms** imports from South Africa; concerted **international** support for the front-line States; revocation of all agreements concluded with South Africa in the military sphere and all licences **granted** in that **connection**; adoption of internal legislation by United Nations Member States to ensure compliance with the **embargo**; termination of transfers of military and paramilitary technology to South **Africa**; and precise evaluation of the **success** and impact of the embargo, leading to its reinforcement where **necessary**.

24. The Indian Parliament had for its part unanimously adopted in **August** 1986 resolutions condemning Government which gave moral and material support to the racist **régime** of South Africa. The **two Houses** had jointly urged all Governments to **impose comprehensive**, effective and mandatory sanctions against **South Africa**. That was an urgent appeal by the elected **representatives** of a population of 780 million **people**, whose **history** had acquainted them with the horrors of colonialism and **racist** oppression. It was also a reflection of a **collective** conviction that the situation could still be saved if the international community could at last **summon** up the courage to act.

25. **MBRAVO** (Angola) said that the Fourth Committee once more had before it the item on the activities of foreign economic, military and other interests which were impeding the implementation of General Assembly **resolution** 1514 (XV) in Namibia and in other colonial Territories, particularly the island Territories of the Pacific, the Indian **Ocean** and the Atlantic. Consideration of that item was especially important during the **current** International Year of **Peace**.

26. Twenty years had elapsed since the United Nations had terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, and eight since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the only acceptable basis for a just settlement of the **question** of Namibia. Unfortunately, the Pretoria **régime**, with the connivance of its NATO allies, continued to turn the southern region of Africa into a theatre of

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(Mr. Bravo, Angola)

war by **maintaining** its illegal occupation of Namibia, whose territory it was using as a base for **murderous** acts of **aggression** against the front-line States, particularly Angola.

27. There **was** no doubt that the **spectre** of violence and insecurity in southern Africa **was** a direct consequence of the economic, military and other activities of **those** who, in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia and Security Council **resolution 418 (1976)**, were helping the anachronistic **apartheid régime** to exploit the natural and human resources of Namibia. Thus the countries of origin of the transnational corporations operating in South Africa and Namibia were aiding and abetting the **policy** of State **terrorism** practised by South Africa inside and outside **its** frontiers.

28. His delegation wished to **stress** again that the absurd concept of "linkage" made no **sense**. In its **resolution 539 (1983)**, the Security Council had rejected all attempts to link the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces, **whose presence in Angola was in accordance** with the provision of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations and **was a question** which fell **exclusively** within the **sovereign** authority of that country. In fact, as the **Angolan Minister for Foreign Affairs** had stated at the **special** session devoted to Namibia, the **issue** was not the linkage between the **independence** of Namibia and the **presence** of Cuban forces in Angola, but the illegal occupation of Namibia and the war of aggression against Angola by virtue of the criminal **activities** of South Africa.

29. It **was obvious**, given that tragic situation, that **it was impossible** to continue fighting **apartheid** with mere condemnations **combined** with the **adoption** of a plethora of **resolutions**. His delegation hoped that all the States Members of the United Nations **would** prove equal to the task expected of them and **would** make every effort to eliminate the odious **apartheid régime**, the principal **source** of all evils in the southern part of the African continent. The adoption of **comprehensive** mandatory sanctions, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, **was necessary**, and would be in accordance with the appeal made by OAU and the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa.

30. His delegation **vigorously** condemned all the economic, military and other **activities** of the colonial and **neo-colonial Powers** in Namibia, Micronesia, Bermuda and other colonial Territories. **Those selfish activities** were impeding the **realization** of one of the most elementary rights of the human person, the right to self-determination and independence, and were undermining the authority and prestige of the United Nations. The United States and the United Kingdom, through the voice of Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, had in 1941 adopted the Atlantic Charter, to which South Africa, among others, had acceded. The way in which the South African racist troops occupied Angola and the two States behind the Atlantic Charter **were supporting** the **policies** and practices of Pretoria **showed** the extent of their **commitment** to the principles they had proclaimed.

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31. Mr. NAVARRO RIVAS (Nicaragua) said he was taking part in the discussion on foreign economic and other interests because, just like the peoples still under colonial and neo-colonial domination, the Latin American people had been the victim of one of the most brutal exploitations to benefit foreign interests that history had ever known.

32. To give an overview of the situation, 25 years after the United Nations had adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and 20 years after the General Assembly had terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, one might say that many countries had freed themselves from colonialism and imperialism and had recovered what belonged to them: sovereignty, dignity, natural resources and the right to determine their own destiny, but that there were still peoples that had been denied the most elementary rights and countries in which discrimination between inhabitants on the basis of the colour of their skin was institutionalized. Southern Africa's ordeal was a daily reminder to the human conscience that as long as apartheid existed, no human being could say that he lived in a civilized world.

33. If the South African racist régime maintained its illegal occupation of Namibia it was because of the collaboration of its powerful allies, which drew enormous economic advantages from the system and ruthlessly exploited natural resources which legally belonged to the Namibian people. In July 1986, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia had adopted a Programme of Action urging all States to recognize the validity of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia and to ensure its observance by prosecuting the companies which violated it. Similarly, the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, who had met at Harare, Zimbabwe, had reaffirmed that the activities of foreign inter-states were incompatible with the Declaration, United Nations resolutions and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 1971.

34. South Africa, to maintain its hold over Namibia and its natural resources, employed more than 100,000 soldiers and used the Territory of Namibia as a base for aggression against the fraternal front-line countries, and particularly the People's Republic of Angola. That attitude was encouraged by Governments which, while joining the universal clamour for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Pretoria, nevertheless continued to support South Africa and to oppose sanctions, abusing their power of veto in the Security Council. In that connection, his delegation strongly supported paragraph 11 of the Programme of Action concerning Namibia adopted in July 1986, which appealed to the United States and the United Kingdom, both permanent members of the Security Council to reconsider their position in the light of the serious situation in southern Africa.

35. As for foreign military activities, the Latin American region was witnessing an alarming militarization of the Territories under foreign occupation, which, far from promoting a climate of security and stability, was aggravating tensions and the critical situation in the region. The use of Non-Self-Governing Territories under foreign domination or pressure as a springboard for aggression against other countries, and the maintenance of military bases and installations to intimidate the populations of the countries in question and neighbouring peoples were intolerable factors which threatened international peace and security.

(Mr. Nava: ro Rivas, Nicaragua)

36. It was a well known fact that the United States Government **was planning to use** the territory of Puerto Rico to train mercenaries **in the service** of the CIA, who would be sent to kill Nicaraguans. **Nicaragua** denounced those plans to use one Latin American territory in acts of aggression **against** another. It recalled that Puerto Rico had **also** served as a springboard for the invasion of Grenada. **That was why** his delegation fully supported paragraph 226 of the **Harare Declaration** reaffirming the need to **eliminate** all forms and manifestations of colonialism and **confirming** support for the inalienable **right** of the Puerto Rican people to **self-determination** and to independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the **resolution** adopted by the Special **Committee** on decolonization on 14 August 1985. **Similarly**, Nicaragua itself held the **view** that the massive military and naval presence of the United **Kingdom** in the **Malvinas** Islands, in South **Georgia** and in the South Sandwich **Islands**, and the maintenance of **a strategic** airport in the region, caused great concern to the **countries** of Latin America and **greatly** affected stability in the region.

37. Nicaragua was an obvious **illustration** of the fact that the process of liberation was **painful**, sometimes slow, but inevitable. Nicaragua was therefore sending a **message** to the peoples of the world still **struggling** for their independence to tell them that nothing could hold back the **course** of **history**; victory would be theirs and justice would prevail.

38. **Mr. McLEAN** (Canada) said that he need scarcely remind the Committee that Canada, **a** country with a **fortunate** past in **terms** of its evolution from colony to **nation** State, fully **supported** the process of decolonization and looked forward to **its** successful conclusion. **Decolonization** had been one of the main **successes** for **ies** of the United Nations, and the road ahead was much shorter than **that** already travelled. Canada had always **strongly supported** Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and had provided significant **development** assistance to the **Namibian** people and **other** colonial **peoples**. His country firmly believed that such assistance promoted economic viability and accelerated the process of self-determination.

39. As far as **Namibia** was **concerned**, the major **stumbling-block** impeding **progress** towards the independence of that unfortunate hold-over from the colonial **era** was the Government of South Africa. **As many were aware**, Canada and other States represented in the Fourth Committee had increased **pressure** on that **Government**. Indeed, in the past few days, Canada had introduced additional **measures**, in particular a ban on the importation of **agricultural** products, uranium, **coal**, iron and **steel** from South Africa, pursuant to the agreement reached with its **Commonwealth partners** to bring about not only the end of **apartheid**, but the freedom of Namibia.

40. There should therefore be no doubt about Canada's position on the **question**. **Nevertheless**, his delegation continued to be disappointed that the **debates** in the Committee were sterile and repetitive. **In addition**, it could not readily accept the blanket condemnation of foreign economic interests in colonial **Territories**, the demand for **the immediate** withdrawal of colonial Powers **from** all their military **bases** and installations, or explicit or implicit support for armed **struggle** in the

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(Mr. McLean, Canada)

process of self-determination. His delegation was very concerned over the danger of the Fourth Committee becoming a caricature of the hopes expressed in 1945. The United Nations should be seeking ways to make its deliberations as objective and pertinent as possible, but at the present time, instead of decisions being taken, they were being avoided, and when there was a crisis, the debates were endless. It was most important to rationalize the Committee's work and to harmonize it with that of the Special Political Committee.

41. His delegation could not accept the hypothesis that all foreign economic activities, notably those of Western countries with colonial Territories and those of transnational corporations, were inherently evil. That did not square with the facts. Indeed, Canada believed that transnational corporations could have a beneficial impact in terms of development and the transfer of technology. As many developing countries were aware, it was in the Canadian transnational corporations, private and public, that much of the Canadian expertise that was being made available to developing countries in such areas as transportation and communications was to be found. Fundamentally, his delegation believed that it was time for the Fourth Committee to get back to basics. If the members of the Committee might not find more common ground, the Committee might in fact hinder rather than help the process of decolonization.

42. Canada had other reservations about the approach taken in some of the documents before the Committee. For example, with respect to overseas economic activities, consideration appeared to be given to only one group of countries, Western countries, some of which were actually named - a practice to which Canada had objections in principle. But, several delegations had cited, and FAO had well documented, the plunder of fish, resources off Namibia's shores by a country which was not, and was unlikely to become, a member of the Western Group. It should be pointed out that, to a large extent, it was the Western countries that were looked upon to assist the developing countries, not least those which remained in a colonial situation. Canada itself - and it was not unique among Western countries - was devoting particular energy to promoting economic recovery in Africa. The achievements, even the sacrifices, of Western countries were worthy of considerably more attention than had been given to them in the documents before the Committee. Canada would therefore like future documents and resolutions to give a more rational and realistic appreciation of what was being done to alleviate the economic difficulties of the developing world, including countries still under colonial administration, whereas all too often such documents were excessively ideological and unbalanced. His delegation was convinced that the item was an important one which needed and deserved better treatment.

43. Mr. HELLER (Mexico) said he regretted that in the past year no progress had been recorded in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, even though, in the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, particular attention had been paid to the need to renew efforts in that area. The problems that continued to be caused by foreign economic and other activities and interests impeding the implementation of the Declaration demonstrated irrefutably the long road that still lay ahead. Those activities had the inevitable consequence of

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(Mr. Hellcr, Mexico)

strengthening the bonds of dependence and subordination. That was clearly proved by the **case** of **Namibia**, whose natural **resources** were **overexploited** for the sole **purpose** of satisfying the needs of the **metropolitan** country, not in **order** to promote the economic development of the Territory, but was the clear duty of **any** administering Power. Yet the struggle for independence made genuine **sense** only in the context of a minimum of economic **independence**.

44. Attention should **also** be paid to a **question** which gave no less **cause for concern**; the military activities of the **administering** Powers in Non-Self-Governing **Territories**, which they were using **as** test-sites for all **sorts** of weapons (in particular nuclear weapons, the harmful effects of which were well known), or even as springboards for attacks on other **countries**. **His delegation** wished to state once again that it vigorously condemned the acts of **aggression** which the **Pretoria régime** was persistently perpetrating against the front-line States from the Territory of Namibia. They **were** a flagrant violation of the **principles** of the Charter of the United Nations, endangering peace and security in the region. Moreover, the **racist** South African **régime**, with the direct or indirect support it **was** receiving, was **persisting** in its illegal occupation of Namibia.

45. **His Government** wished to reiterate the need to impose **comprehensive** mandatory sanctions against the South African Government on the **basis** of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the question. That **was** the only way to bring to an end South Africa's policy of apartheid and to guarantee Namibia's **accession** to independence.

46. Mr. HYDAR (Malaysia) said that with the benefit of hindsight, the **multidimensional significance** of the concept of independence had been **recognized**. In addition to the transfer of political power, it involved an important economic aspect. Political independence should be **accompanied** by equitable and fair international economic relations. Therefore, it **was** appropriate for the Non-Self-Governing **Territories** to **insist**, in their pursuit of independence, that their strategic economic interests **should be** taken into account.

47. In that respect, the **situation** in Namibia was of particular concern to **his Government**, which wished to **express its whole-hearted support** for the **resolution** adopted by the Special Committee on 11 **August** 1986. Malaysia abhorred all the activities of transnational corporations and foreign economic **interests** that resulted in the further **impoverishment** of the Namibian people, depriving them of their fundamental right to **justice**, equality and freedom.

48. The **continued** occupation of Namibia by South African military forces **constituted** a **serious** violation of human rights, the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the **provisions** of Security Council resolution **435 (1978)**, the **internationally-recognized basis** for a settlement of the **question** of Namibia. South Africa **was unjustifiably** persisting in linking the implementation of that **resolution** to a **withdrawal** of the Cuban troops stationed in Angola. It **was** therefore justifiable for the non-aligned **countries** to have strongly condemned the recent establishment of the provisional government and the massive **militarization** of the **Territory** of Namibia, which South Africa was **using** as a springboard for acts of **aggression** in the region.

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(Mc. Hydar, Malaysia)

49. His country continued **its firm support** for the Namibian people in its struggle for independence under the **leadership** of SWAPO, and was **sure that resolution 435** (1978) was still the only **possible basis** for the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. His country called upon the members of the Contact Group to **increase their efforts** to that end, and he affirmed **its** unwavering support for the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions **against** South Africa.

50. A **similar** situation existed in South-East Asia, where Viet Nam, flouting international opinion, continued **its** military **occupation** of Kampuchea, thereby preventing the people of that country from **regaining** their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

51. It **was essential** to **resist those** who, while **claiming to respect** the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, were in fact trampling underfoot the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. **Malaysia** urged **all the countries** and peoples of the world to unite in their **efforts** to eradicate the **last traces of colonialism**, racial discrimination and **apartheid**.

52. Mr. AL-FANAH (Oman) **said** that the racist **régime** of South Africa **was** continuing **its** illegal occupation of Namibia and **its** shameless exploitation of the Territory's natural and human **resources**, in violation of all the United Nations **resolutions** on the subject, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

53. Oman denounced any intervention in the internal **affairs** of Namibia, and did not **recognize** the Government **resulting** from the anti-constitutional elections which had taken place there. His country supported the **efforts** of the international community - particularly the United Nations Council for Namibia - to eradicate **apartheid** and achieve **swift** independence for Namibia, and it approved the declarations by the World Conference on **Sanctions against Racist** South Africa, held in Paris in June 1986, and the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held in Vienna in July of that year.

54. All obstacles preventing the implementation of the **Declaration** on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and **Peoples** should be removed and, in particular, there should be no attempt to establish a **"linkage"** between the cessation of the occupation of Namibia and completely **extraneous issues**. It was time for the Namibian people to exercise **its** right to self-determination and independence; it **was** time that **its** sovereignty over **its** own territory and resources was respected. The policy of the **racist régime** of Pretoria - to accumulate weapons, particularly nuclear **weapons**, in order to carry out acts of aggression **against** neighbouring **States** - could only **serve** to increase the **troubles and tension** in the region, thereby jeopardizing **international peace** and security.

55. **As a non-aligned** developing country, Oman had many **links** of friendship and co-operation with African **States**, and **insisted** that the principles **embodied** in the Charter of the United Nations and the rule of international law **should be respected**.

/...

56. Mr KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia) said that **monopolies** played a steadily **increasing** role in the **strategy** pursued by the imperialists against dependent **territories**; that **was the case** not only in the economic **sphere** but also in political, ideological and military spheres. They could rightly be called the strike force of modern **colonialism**. Sixty per cent of the GDP of Namibia was taken out of the country by foreign companies; it **was** estimated that, because of such looting, the **Namibian diamond mines**, which were the largest in the world, would be exhausted in **20 years'** time. A clear **illustration** of the typically colonial character of **the Namibian economy** **was** to be found in the **agricultural** sector, where **black**, who **formed more** than 95 per cent of agricultural **workers**, were confined to a subsistence **economy**; their **share** of commercial agricultural production did not exceed 2.5 per cent. The ratio between the **salaries** of whites and those of blacks **was** 12 to 1; in northern regions, it was 25 to 1.

57. The **States** which opposed **sanctions** were the very **ones** which had **jurisdiction** over the economic circles exploiting Namibia. In order to justify their **actions**, they claimed to be the real defenders of the **victims** of **discrimination** and refused to acknowledge that the sanctions were intended **solely** to improve conditions **for** the **Namibians**.

58. The **activities** of **transnational** corporations had **similar** negative effects in Puerto Rico, **Micronesia**, the **Cayman Islands**, the **Turks and Caicos Islands**, **Montserrat** and the **Virgin Islands**.

59. **As well as** looting the dependent territories, foreign monopolies also impeded their **social** development. The reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia showed that most Namibians were not protected by labour legislation and had **access**, at best, only to second-rate medical services. Often, colonial Powers did not even acknowledge the right to work, and unemployment rates in the dependent territories were **high**.

60. Foreign economic **interests** continued to operate in newly-independent States. A declaration of political independence did not necessarily mean the eradication of colonialism, which continued to impede the development of some independent **countries**. Asian, African and Latin American countries were completely **justified** in demanding that **those** responsible for their difficulties should help to bring about **a more** equitable distribution of the world's wealth. However, the **forces** of imperialism opposed the process of **decolonization** and economic reconstruction by exerting ever-increasing pressure on developing **countries**; they **wished** to prevent them from implementing progressive social and economic reforms **so** that private capital would remain free to act. **Moreover**, the imperialist **States** tried to create a gulf between developing **countries** by playing one off **against** the other.

61. It **was** clear that the **colonial Powers** were acting in contravention of Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations. Czechoslovakia supported all initiatives to eradicate the negative **influence** of **transnational** capital, both in Non-Self-Governing Territories and in **developing countries**. It insisted that the **decolonization process** should be **extended** to the economic sphere, in conformity with the Declaration on the **Establishment** of a New **International Economic Order**. To that end, Czechoslovakia had joined those who, during the **session** of the **Special**

(Mr. Kulawiec, Czechoslovakia)

Committee on decolonisation, had proposed **the establishment** of a working group to analyse the entire problem and make proposals which would guide economic **decolonization** in the desired direction. The activities of the **working** group would be more effective if representatives of administering Powers were to participate in them in a constructive manner. In that connection, **his** country regretted that the United Kingdom had decided not to participate in the work of the Special Committee in the current year.

62. **His** delegation would support any draft **resolution** which revealed the true nature of the activities of foreign economic interest in the colonies and which demanded the adoption of **measures** against the **activities** of **colonialist** and neo-colonialist forces seeking to perpetuate the exploitation of **colonies** in the modern world.

63. Mr. AL-SUDANI (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of the Zionist entity had **made** racist accusations against the Arabs in his statement to the Fourth **Committee**. That **was not at all surprising** since the **Zionist entity** was **racist** by its very nature, having come **into** being by depriving the Palestinian people of all **its** rights. All the public opinion polls carried out there reflected the Zionists' hatred for the **Arab** population.

64. The Zionist entity was pretending to condemn **apartheid** merely to encourage the **African** countries to restore their diplomatic relations with it. Yet, Africa was fully aware of the **extensive** co-operation going on between the Zionist entity and the **apartheid régime** - which **were** ideological partners - in economic, military, nuclear and other matters, because such co-operation **had** been amply exposed. Indeed, the **representative** of the Zionist entity had not **denied** the existence of ties between the two **régimes**. He had simply pointed out that the volume of trade between them was **smaller** than that between South Africa and certain other **countries**.

65. The representative of the Zionist **entity** had accused Iraq of exporting oil to South Africa. He (**Mr. Al-Sudani**) challenged him to substantiate that statement. Iraq, whose oil production had been reduced to half its former level because of the **war**, had no difficulty in marketing its **oil** at OPEC prices throughout the **world**; and neither did it need nor did it intend to **sell** any to the **Zionist régime** or the racist **régime** of South Africa. The accusations made by the representative of the Zionist entity were based upon **information** that could be summed up as follows: on two different occasions in November 1978, an oil tanker loaded in an Iraqi **port** had **sailed** to **Singapore** where it had delivered **its cargo** in December 1978 and in January 1979 **respectively**. Those facts were established by the customs manifests of the Port of Singapore, which were in the possession of the Iraqi Government.

66. **Lastly**, as had **already** been the case at the **previous** General Assembly, the representative of the Zionist entity had accused Iraq of buying arms from South Africa, an allegation that the Iraqi delegation once **again** refuted **categorically**. At a **loss** for new **fabrications**, the Zionist entity had found nothing better to do **than** to go on repeating the **same** old **story**.

67. Mr. MORTIMER (United Kingdom), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, pointed out to the representative of the Soviet Union that it was not the United Kingdom which was denying the population of the Falkland Islands the right to self-determination and independence as embodied in resolution 1514 (XV), but the General Assembly itself, indeed, unlike the other resolutions on the dependent territories, the resolution concerning the Falklands contained no reference to that right. However, it was not too late to rectify the situation and ensure that the inalienable right of the population of the Falkland Islands to self-determination and independence was at long last recognized in the resolution to be adopted on the matter that year.

68. Mr. CHACON (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, emphasised that the sanctions imposed on South Africa by his country were stronger than those applied by any other country, including the front-line States. Furthermore, he wished to stress the fact that a liberation movement such as the one in Angola would be unable to survive without the support of the local population. The United States earnestly hoped that the civil wars in Angola and Nicaragua would be brought to an end through national reconciliation and dialogue accompanied by a withdrawal of all the foreign troops and military personnel stationed in Angola and Nicaragua, most of whom were from the Soviet bloc.

69. Turning to the question of Puerto Rico, he said that that Territory had been withdrawn from the list of dependent territories pursuant to decision 748 (VIII) as adopted by the General Assembly in 1953, and was therefore not on the Committee's agenda for consideration. Any attempt to address that question would constitute interference in the internal affairs of the United States, in violation of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter.

70. Mr. IBÁÑEZ ECHEVERRÍA (Argentina) reserved the right to exercise his right of reply in due course.

72. Mr. NAVARRO RIVAS (Nicaragua), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, pointed out to the representative of the United States that there was no civil war in his country and that it was mercenaries paid by the United States who were responsible for the strife in Nicaragua. As a result of the interventionist policy pursued by the United States, his country was being forced to exercise its legitimate right of self-defence to ensure its survival. It was not a civil war which had caused the death of 30,000 people in Nicaragua (which, as a proportion of the population, would correspond to a death-toll of 2 million people in the United States), but rather the United States policy of aggression and militarization. Only by putting an end to its interventionist policy in Nicaragua and by supporting the solutions put forward by the Contadora Group would the United States contribute to the promotion of peace and demilitarization in the region.

REQUESTS FOR HEARING

72. The CHAIRMAN said that two communications containing requests for hearing on the question of Namibia had been submitted to the Committee in documents A/C.4/41/4/Add.1 and 2. In the absence of any objection, she would take it that the Committee agreed to accede to those requests.

73. It was so decided.

74. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that she had received two communications containing **requests** for hearing on the **question** of Namibia. **In** accordance with established practice, **she suggested that the** communications in question be circulated **as** Committee **documents** for consideration at a later meeting. In the **absence** of any **objection**, she would **take** it that the Committee agreed to that suggestion.

75. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.