



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 4th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GREHO (Ghana)

CONTENTS

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 (continued)

REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

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

1. Mr. TANOH (Ghana), referring to the report submitted by the United Nations Council for Namibia to the General Assembly at its fourteenth special session, said that the economic and social conditions in the Territory were alarming since transnational and South African corporations, in violation of Decree No. 1, were continuing the accelerated exploitation of Namibia's natural resources, thus jeopardizing its people's economic future. The transfer of profits generated by the illegal operations of the mining and financial interests represented 60 per cent of Namibia's gross domestic product and the social and political implications of that plunder were obvious. He welcomed the initiative undertaken by the Commission on Transnational Corporations at its April session to carry out a study on the responsibilities of States whose transnational corporations operated illegally in Namibia, since those States were direct beneficiaries of the illegal transfer of the wealth of Namibia.

2. The Namibian people, through the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative, had given their categorical assent to Security Council resolution 435 (1978). South Africa, however, was continuing its illegal occupation of the Territory, resorting to practices such as the recent inauguration of an "interim government" and relying on so-called policies of "constructive engagement" and "linkage" which exemplified the support accorded to it by its traditional Western allies.

3. The racist régime's territorial ambitions and aggression against its neighbours, particularly Angola, were no accident of history, but represented an attempt to ensure the survival of apartheid as a political and economic phenomenon. Hence the elaborate military machinery used to extend its borders and brutalize the opposition into rigid conformity or sudden death. That situation, which was reminiscent of nazism, found tragic and horrible symbolism in the active collaboration of giant industrial and financial combines with the racist régime. The profits derived from exploitation of the Namibians and their resources by transnational corporations were fueling the machinery of repression that apartheid imposed on the black majorities of Namibia and South Africa.

(Mr. Tanoh, Ghana)

4. That year in Paris the overwhelming majority of mankind had opted for the path of peace by advocating the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. That action represented the most effective means to bring the racist régime to the bargaining table as a first step in undoing its stranglehold over Namibia and dismantling the aberration known as apartheid. Those who opposed that united action of mankind through the application of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter must bear the moral burden for the havoc created by Pretoria against the black majority of Namibia and South Africa and the escalation of a conflict that could lead to war.

5. With regard to other aspects of the item, he believed that the Committee should evaluate the form and substance of the political arrangements that governed the transition of Non-Self-Governing Territories to independence. That evaluation needed to be undertaken in the context of the standards and principles that had guided the Committee since the approval of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). He expressed concern about the future of the island Territories situated in strategic zones of the South Atlantic and Pacific whose sparse population and limited natural resources made them vulnerable to political arrangements and associations with larger Powers which could compromise the full exercise of their sovereign rights. In an era of nuclear arsenals, the tragedy of the peoples of the Bikini and Enewetok atolls must not be repeated, and the Committee should not facilitate political arrangements that allowed the dumping of nuclear waste in any part of the Territories aspiring to self-governing status. The proliferation of military bases to establish so-called "arcs of defence" or to facilitate the rapid deployment of conventional forces had brought in their wake suspicion, insecurity and fears of intervention. The Committee must pre-empt the eventuality of the small nation States being drawn into military blocs and alliances and into foreign geo-political strategems. He viewed in that light the unfolding situation in the Malvinas, Micronesia and other Territories faced with historic questions as to their political future.

6. Mr. OUYAHIA (Algeria) said that the surge for liberation in the third world had led to significant advances in the cause of emancipation as a result of great sacrifices of the peoples who were determined to regain their freedom and the constant support of the United Nations, which had undertaken to pursue the struggle for the final elimination of colonialism. While the results of that endeavour gave some grounds for satisfaction, it should not be forgotten that the phenomenon of colonialism persisted in many regions of the world and that collective action must be pursued in order to secure the liberation of the peoples who were still suffering in an illegal, anachronistic and unacceptable situation.

7. In the course of the previous century, the Powers of the day had extended colonialism to the southern hemisphere as a means of accelerating their own economic development and strengthening their military and strategic capability. With the new universal order proclaimed after two world conflicts and the awakening of the downtrodden of the earth, the era of colonial domination had been believed to be over. Even so, equality persisted; the principles of equality and the right to freedom were being interpreted in terms of inequality and the activities of foreign

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(Mr. Ouyahia, Algeria)

economic interests and military activities in the colonial Territories, derived from that logic, were obstructing the achievement of the inevitable objective of independence. Paternalistic voices were being heard, calling for an exogenous interpretation of the interests of the colonial peoples. Historical examples were resorted to in search of justification. It was said that chaos and collapse would result if the established order were changed. Yet currently, as previously, the irrefutable reality of the facts, must be recognized, as was demonstrated by the situation prevailing in Namibia and South Africa.

8. Despite all the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and its related bodies, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the plundering of its resources had continued. At the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, the bitter reality had just been noted that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remained a dead letter. In South Africa, the black people who had contributed to the defeat of nazism had not been able to enjoy the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Charter because for 40 years they had been subjected to the infamous apartheid legislation. The Pretoria régime persisted in the service of a minority who espoused a cult of racism and a policy of terror, illegal occupation of Namibia and exploitation of its resources, forced exploitation of labour confined to ghettos and economic and military aggression against their independent neighbours.

9. It was clear that the racist régime of South Africa would not have been able to persist in challenging the international community without the economic co-operation of certain Western countries, as was demonstrated by numerous documents of the United Nations. Those documents offered irrefutable proof of the significant role that was being played by certain transnational corporations in the plundering of Namibia's resources, and the alarming extent of the military and nuclear co-operation of certain countries with Pretoria. That collaboration, in disregard of the sanctions recommended by the international community under Chapter VII of the Charter, was undermining the foundations of international law and the authority of the United Nations.

10. His delegation was deeply concerned about the exploitation of the natural resources of other Territories and the establishment of economic structures which could make their dependence on the colonial Powers irreversible. It was also disturbed by the use of certain island Territories of the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean for military purposes, particularly nuclear tests, in violation of the relevant decisions of the United Nations and of the wishes of the indigenous peoples.

11. Algeria reaffirmed its position that any economic or other activity which hindered the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and the effort to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa and in all colonial territories represented a direct threat to the rights of the inhabitants and was in addition a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and all relevant resolutions of the United Nations. It also reaffirmed that the

(Mr. Ouyahia, Algeria)

natural resources of all territories represented the inviolable heritage of the peoples of those territories and, in that connection, reaffirmed the total applicability of Decree No. 1; it also supported the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia, particularly the legal action against the Urenco corporation which was illegally exploiting Namibian uranium. Finally, it reiterated its condemnation of all military activities, which were contrary to the rights and interests of the colonial peoples, and, in particular, were contrary to their right to self-determination and independence.

12. Mr. CHAGULA (United Republic of Tanzania) said that much time had passed since the General Assembly had adopted resolution 1514 (XV). At that time many countries, including his own, had been under the yoke of foreign domination; currently, many years later, as the twentieth century was drawing to a close, the continuing colonial domination of territories and colonies represented an unjustifiable anachronism.

13. Some islands in the Caribbean and in the Pacific were still under foreign domination purely to serve the economic and military interests of the Administering Powers. In the Caribbean, the islands which were still under foreign domination had become important centres for international trade and finance, as well as tourism and real estate.

14. The case of Namibia was even more regrettable because of its legal status following the termination of the South African mandate by the General Assembly more than 20 years earlier. Since then, the racist régime had continued its illegal occupation of Namibia in total defiance of numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. For that reason SWAPO had taken up arms some 20 years earlier to mount an armed struggle against the racist régime of South Africa for its illegal occupation of the Territory, a struggle which continued to the present time.

15. The Pretoria régime had subjected the Namibian people to its policy of apartheid, a system of discrimination based on the colour of skin and had forced them to live in "protected villages" in order to obtain cheap labour easily and to control their movements.

16. The United Nations Centre for Transnational Corporations had revealed that the presence of over 1,100 foreign enterprises in South Africa and an even larger number in Namibia had contributed substantially to the maintenance of the policy of apartheid to and the illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime. The presence of foreign economic interests owned by transnational corporations in colonial territories and, in particular, in Namibia, had impeded the attainment of independence by those territories.

17. The rate of exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia, a territory endowed with rich mineral deposits of uranium, diamonds, copper, lead, tin and zinc, was financed, exploited and marketed by the transnational corporations which obtained enormous profits due to the extremely cheap labour provided through the system of apartheid.

(Mr. Chaqula, United Republic of Tanzania)

18. The western European transnational corporations gave the racist régime of South Africa unimpeded access to external finance, markets and technology. Computers, electrical equipment and military hardware were also being supplied.

19. The presence of so many transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia had one simple explanation and that was the availability of cheap black labour, conveniently tailored by the racist régime to meet the demand for workers in mining, agriculture, industry and the domestic sectors. One of the tactics used by the racist régime to maintain low wages in comparison with those paid to whites was the importation of migrant unskilled labourers from neighbouring countries who, together with their South African and Namibian counterparts, were subjected to inhuman living conditions without their families, sometimes for periods of not less than 30 months.

20. Because of that cheap labour, the South African racist régime, in collaboration with the transnational corporations from western Europe, had accrued enormous profits most of which had been repatriated back to their metropolitan capitals without any consideration for the welfare of the Namibian people. The plunder of Namibia's natural and human resources, which represented the rightful heritage of the Namibian people, contravened United Nations resolutions and decisions, particularly Decree No. 1 of 1974, which had prohibited the exploitation or use of those resources without the permission of the United Nations Council for Namibia. According to reports, the uncontrolled exploitation of Namibian natural resources was continuing while the living standards of the Namibian people remained below the subsistence level. His delegation deeply deplored such continued exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia against the will and interests of the Namibian people.

21. It had been argued that the transnational corporations had helped to create jobs in South Africa and Namibia and that their withdrawal would cause hardship and suffering to the Namibians and black South Africans, but that contention was clearly based on the self-interest of those who were amassing high profits from the operations of such corporations. The argument that the transnational corporations had been one of the factors which had brought about favourable changes in the system of apartheid distorted the actual situation in southern Africa. Only 5 per cent of the black work-force in South Africa and 10 per cent in Namibia benefited directly from urban employment while the rest of the population was forced to live in bantustans under very harsh conditions. It was also doubtful whether the transnational corporations had exerted any influence on the racist government machinery. Nor could it be denied that the greatest beneficiaries in that unequal relationship had been the transnational corporations themselves and the racist régime of South Africa and not the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

22. A prerequisite for the abolition of apartheid and the granting of independence to Namibia was the abandonment of the destructive policy of "constructive engagement" pursued by the current United States administration and the linking of Namibian independence to extraneous and irrelevant issues such as the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. It was common knowledge that the disastrous policy of

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic of Tanzania)

"constructive engagement" had encouraged the racist South African régime to be more intransigent in defying the will of the international community that Namibia should be granted independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

23. The United Republic of Tanzania reaffirmed that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remained the only internationally acceptable plan for the independence of Namibia. It was therefore regrettable that the racist régime had subsequently resorted to every kind of delaying tactic, the latest being its demand for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. In the course of those delays, the racist régime had imposed an internal settlement by installing a provisional puppet government in Namibia. All such activities had been aimed at delaying the attainment of true independence by Namibia as long as possible.

24. For all those reasons, the only peaceful and effective option for the abolition of apartheid and the granting of Namibian independence was the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against the racist régime. Such a step had nevertheless been blocked by some Western countries, particularly two permanent members of the Security Council, the United States and the United Kingdom. It was regrettable that President Reagan, Prime Minister Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl continued to thwart economic sanctions against South Africa. Such a position was in sharp contrast with their actions against Poland, Libya, Nicaragua and Iran, when they had imposed economic sanctions without any hesitation. Paradoxically, those same leaders had made an exception in the case of South Africa under the pretext that sanctions would hurt the black Africans in South Africa. Such sentiments had been rejected by the Namibians and black South Africans and by the neighbouring front-line States, who had argued rightly that it was better to suffer for a short time rather than indefinitely under the yoke of apartheid.

25. The Tanzanian delegation therefore commended all those States which had passed legislation against new investments and, in particular, those which had suspended commercial links with South Africa. It urged the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany to reconsider their position and join hands with the rest of the international community in adopting appropriate measures to bring pressure to bear on the racist régime of South Africa and attain the elimination of apartheid.

26. Concerted international action was needed if apartheid was to be completely dismantled. His delegation urged the Security Council to face up to its responsibility and to impose comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa without any delay, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It owed it to posterity to resort to the only effective and peaceful means left for the eradication of apartheid and the establishment in South Africa and Namibia of a free, united and democratic society based on universal adult suffrage before the situation there exploded.

27. Mr. REDDY (India) said that it was not a matter of accident or routine that the Committee's deliberations traditionally started each year with a discussion on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Non-Self-Governing Territories, for the lure of lucre had led to the mobilization of markets and the ravaging of resources which had contributed to establishing the hegemony of the conqueror over the conquered. The tenet of equal rights and self-determination of peoples was inherent in the very first Article of the United Nations Charter. Three Chapters of the Charter - Chapters XI, XII and XIII - defined the responsibilities of the United Nations in regard to colonial territories. The Indian delegation therefore believed that the Committee could not evade its direct responsibility for the unhappy situation prevailing in Namibia, the tragedy of which was overwhelming. There were options available to the United Nations which required only the will to exercise them.

28. At the special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, the Indian delegation had submitted a 10-point plan of action which, if implemented, would enable the question of Namibia to be removed from the agenda with honour and pride. Firstly, the General Assembly should seek the guidance of the International Court of Justice to determine the nature and the extent of the illegality of the activities of foreign interests in Namibia. In view of the impoverishment of Namibia brought about by the exploitation of its finite natural resources by foreign economic interests active there, the future lawful government of an independent Namibia should receive damages from foreign economic interests operating within it. Such compensation should not necessarily be deferred until the time of Namibia's independence, but should be payable at once to the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until its independence, as required by the declaration formulated by the General Assembly at the special session.

29. For 16 years, the General Assembly had condemned the activities of foreign economic interests which delayed progress towards self-determination and enabled colonialism to linger on. Apart from depleting and displacing natural resources, such interests also depleted and displaced the traditional values of the societies in which they operated, imposing on them a synthetic consumerism which turned distant lands either into an enclave for international tourism whose spoils accumulated far away, or, if the country was liberal in its laws, into a retreat for international bankers whose efforts offered little to the resident population. A land rich in a particular raw material soon found that the demand and price for it were regulated by an unseen market abroad and that its own access to necessities from abroad was regulated by that same market.

30. The history of colonialism had thus shown that external economic activities functioned on two distinct planes: the one was economic self-interest, whereby the greatest profit was obtained with the least effort, while the other was an accessory and accomplice to State control and even tyranny. Economic entrenchment presupposed political power, which translated into military muscle and manoeuvre. That was bad enough at a time of conventional arms. The contemporary truth of colonies used as laboratories and hideouts for weapons of mass destruction added a wholly lethal dimension to the grim scenario. In conclusion he paid tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, on the eve of the anniversary of his birth, thanks to whose wise teaching India was today proud to be free.

31. Mr. CARNEVALI VILLEGAS (Venezuela) said that during the last two decades there had been a most profound transformation of international relations due to the process of decolonization. The provisions of the United Nations Charter and their ambitious political and practical implementation, set out in resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly, had enabled the United Nations in the years since 1960 to perform a task whose results were a matter for pride but would have been unattainable without the master key of decolonization, which was the joint action of the great majority of free nations in favour of the subjugated peoples.

32. Venezuela, a free and democratic nation whose commitment to freedom was deeply rooted in its history and political institutions and which was convinced that there could only be peace, brotherly co-operation and prosperity in a world of free and sovereign countries, had supported the process of decolonization from the beginning, taking an active part in the Special Committee and in the United Nations Council for Namibia.

33. Although cases of decolonization still pending were few, they were important, as was shown by the recently completed special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, a Territory where the complicity and support afforded by certain Western Powers to economic interests illegally established there represented a serious disruption of joint action by the international community and was encouraging the Pretoria régime to persist in its contempt of the United Nations.

34. Venezuela condemned the exploitation of Namibia's natural resources, including its marine resources, because it violated international law and, in particular, Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. The framework of international responsibility was clearly reflected in article 16 of the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States (General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX)).

35. The colonial domination of Namibia, which was absurd, selfish and maintained at the price of the exploitation, suffering and humiliation of a whole people, was due to the lust for gain of certain foreign corporations, combined with the fear of certain Western Powers at the prospect of the possible loss of that rich source of strategic minerals.

36. The denunciation of those facts by the United Nations Council for Namibia had helped to mobilize international public opinion. Venezuela greeted with growing interest and optimism the positive reaction of many nations in that regard, which sometimes found expression in measures to put pressure on the South African racist régime and, indirectly, on the transnational enterprises operating in Namibia. The action undertaken by the Council to file suit against those foreign interests in some European countries deserved every support and encouragement from the international community.

37. In recent decades, decolonization had proceeded rapidly in the Caribbean region which, for geographical, cultural and economic reasons was very important to Venezuela. However, his country was concerned at the continued existence of

(Mr. Carnevali Villegas, Venezuela)

colonial situations in some territories in the region and, in particular, at the decision by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland communicated in a note dated 30 January 1986 and addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee, to cease taking part in the work of that Committee.

38. Information from the administering Powers on economic and social developments in the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration was an important factor in determining the political viability of their becoming independent States. Economic activities in colonial Territories should be aimed at strengthening and diversifying their economic structures in the interests of the indigenous population and of the overall development of the Territories under the supervision and responsibility of the administering Powers. The activities of foreign economic interests which led to the creation of dependent, one-product economies should be viewed as impediments to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 1514 (XV)), and administering Powers which deprived colonial peoples of their legitimate rights to their natural resources, or subordinated those rights to selfish interests, were violating solemn obligations assumed under the Charter of the United Nations.

39. His country therefore requested that the customary flow of information from the administering Powers should be maintained and that the latter should allow official missions of the Special Committee of 24 to visit the Territories under their administration in order to review their social, economic, cultural and political situation in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

40. Mr. RAHMAN (Bangladesh) said it was ironic that, as the world hurtled towards the twenty-first century, ghosts from the eighteenth century had taken possession of the interests that were impeding the decolonization process and were leading them to perpetuate colonialism and the exploitation of man by man.

41. Time and again, his delegation had echoed the international community in condemning the activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests that exploited the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories, condemning strongly the investment of foreign capital and the collaboration of certain Western and other countries with the racist minority régime of South Africa in the nuclear field, holding the fact that the natural resources of Namibia, including its marine resources, were the exclusive heritage of the Namibian people, making any exploitation of those resources particularly uranium deposits, illegal and, finally, condemning those Western and other countries, as well as transnational corporations, that continued to invest in South Africa and supplied the racist régime with technology and other materials that enhanced its political strength and economic resilience.

42. His country therefore supported the recommendations of the Special Committee contained in document A/41/23 (Part III) and all relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, in particular General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

(Mr. Rahman, Bangladesh)

43. In the International Year of Peace, progress must be made in efforts to free Namibia and other subjugated Territories. Bangladesh therefore proposed that all transnational corporations operating in Namibia and other Non-Self-Governing Territories and engaged in the unauthorized exploitation of resources should be asked to refrain from such activities through appropriate national legislation and in the event of their continuing pillage, should be penalized by a special levy to be imposed by the countries that hosted such corporations, so that in the course of time, it would become uneconomic and unprofitable for such corporations to continue such activities.

44. Under the present circumstances, South Africa's illegal régime in Namibia could not alleviate the economic sufferings of the people by making new investments or providing jobs, since the cycle of poverty there was due to an inequitable system of government, disproportionate exploitation of resources and large-scale looting by foreign interests. Bangladesh therefore rejected any economic programme devised by the South African régime. If left to themselves, the Namibian people would be the best architects of their own development, and the dismantling of all interim arrangements in Namibia should be a priority for the United Nations. The international community should devise means of making it costlier for foreign interests to continue their heinous activities in that Territory.

45. Mr. TALAAT (Egypt) said that, in recent years, the United Nations had in its resolutions and decisions expressed the desire to preserve the natural resources of colonial peoples and Territories in the interests of present and future generations, and that the development of those resources was the responsibility of the administering Powers until Territories attained their independence.

46. The commitment made by all Member States, which was not only a legal but also a moral one, to comply with those resolutions and decisions, had been violated by some countries and interests which were pillaging the natural resources of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and using the cheap labour they found there to their own advantage. Not only were those illegal actions a blatant violation of international law but they also posed a challenge to the aspirations of the international community, as expressed in the Charter of the United Nations, and jeopardized the interests of those Territories and their aspirations for freedom and independence.

47. The clearest example of such an unjust situation was to be seen in southern Africa, where the actions of the Pretoria régime in Namibia constituted a violation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). That resolution had terminated the Mandate of South Africa in Namibia and given the United Nations responsibility for the Territory, yet an atmosphere of violence and terror created by South Africa in fact prevailed there currently.

48. Foreign interests were collaborating with the Pretoria régime to reap immediate profits, thus helping to deprive Namibia of its natural resources completely disregarding the wishes of present and future generations and delaying and impeding Namibia's accession to independence. His country condemned those

(Mr. Talaat, Egypt)

foreign interests and urged all States in which those interests had their main offices to take effective measures to put an immediate end to that collaboration. The United Nations Council for Namibia, which in 1977 had adopted Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, had recently adopted measures which required the full support of all Member States, which must help the Council to fulfil its mandate. His country took the opportunity to reiterate its firm support for the Council and commended the efforts it was making despite the difficulties it faced.

49. The plunder would not stop in Namibia until an end was put to the illegal occupation of that Territory, rich in agricultural, mineral, animal and marine resources, which the Pretoria régime refused to relinquish. That régime must be forced to do so, however, by means of comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. All peace-loving countries must make efforts to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia, the last bastion of colonialism, which the tide of history was leaving behind and in which, sooner or later, the illegal occupation must end.

50. In addition, there was no denying that in some cases administering Powers could direct the activities of interests operating in the Territories under their jurisdiction, so that the results of those activities did not run counter to the aspirations of the colonial population. The international community could play an important role in that regard by defending the interests of those populations until they attained their independence.

51. Lastly, he thanked the Special Committee for its efforts on behalf of colonial countries and peoples and for sharing the information available to it on decolonization.

52. Mr. JOFFE (Israel) said that, although the Committee was meeting to discuss the decolonization of Namibia, racial discrimination and apartheid, and although most delegates were devoting themselves to those problems, some Arab and other delegations never missed an opportunity to slander and attack his country. During the general debate in the plenary, Mr. Shamir, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel, had voiced Israel's rejection and condemnation of apartheid as a political, social and economic system, its belief that violence was not the path to reform in South Africa, and its hope that the Government of South Africa would initiate negotiations that would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of all South Africans, regardless of race or colour. Certain Arab States proclaimed their solidarity with black Africa in an effort to gain the African States' support for their Middle-Eastern policies, however. In return, they expected the Africans to reciprocate by condemning Israel and repeatedly claimed that there were significant economic and military ties between Israel and South Africa.

53. The accusation that Israel was supporting the apartheid régime (and thereby contributing to the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa) was no ordinary distortion of the truth. It was propagated by the worst offenders against the rights of black people in history. Added to historians' estimates of the dimensions of the former Arab slave trade, there was the fact that Arab slave

(Mr. Joffe, Israel)

trading was still going on in the heartland of the Arabian peninsula and in the Sudan where, according to The New York Times of 4 May 1986, Arab tribesmen of the Maralheen tribe of northern Sudan had killed thousands of southern Dinka tribesmen and had abducted hundreds of their children and wives and sold them as slaves in Arab countries.

54. Regarding the accusation that Israel was conducting massive trade with South Africa and enjoyed unique co-operation with that country, he had in his possession a partial list, which he would make available to any delegation which wished to see it, of 119 shipments of crude oil from Arab countries to South Africa between 1980 and 1986. In that period, at least 27 million metric tons of oil, estimated to be worth more than \$7.7 billion, had been shipped to South Africa from the ports of the Persian Gulf. Those shipments had originated in Saudi Arabia, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait and Iran. Although those countries denied the charges, new information from the Shipping Research Bureau indicated that in the period 1983-1984, most tankers had sailed directly from a country in the Gulf area to South Africa. During the same period, only one ship had sailed from Rotterdam to the same destination.

55. Regarding Israel's so-called "nuclear collaboration" with South Africa, he drew the Committee's attention to United Nations document A/CONF.137/CRP.2 of 15 May 1986, which had been distributed at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held at Paris in June 1986. Israel was not among the countries mentioned in the report in the context of nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

56. He noted that, although Iran and Iraq were at war, there was one thing on which they agreed: business with South Africa was profitable as long as it was kept secret. In that connection, as reported by the Middle East News Agency, the Euromoney Trade Finance Report and the May 1986 newsletter of the Shipping Research Bureau, both countries had entered into strategic barter arrangements with South Africa for a net value of close to \$2 billion. It had been reported in Africa Confidential of 10 April 1985 that the South African State-owned armaments company ARMSCOOR had sold weapons to Iraq, information which Iran had later circulated among members of the United Nations. African newspapers such as the Ghanaian Times of 10 July 1985 had called the transaction a flagrant breach of the United Nations boycott of South Africa.

57. Clearly, Israel was being judged by a double standard. Singling it out in that respect was simply a form of political warfare. Apartheid was too great an evil to be cynically manipulated for a campaign of defamation and slander, particularly when that campaign was being used as a tool of obsessive hatred against Israel. Racism was indivisible and so was the battle against it.

58. He called for a united effort to wipe out apartheid, anti-zionism, anti-semitism and all the other forms of racism and intolerance that plagued the world.

59. Mr. MORTIMER (United Kingdom), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that while the United Kingdom shared with the majority of the international community the determination to eradicate apartheid and the oppression it caused, it differed with them as to the means of doing so. The United Kingdom held that it was necessary to continue the dialogue and contacts with South Africa in order to promote and bring about fundamental changes in South African government policy, and believed that neither economic isolation nor ostracism would help to achieve that.

60. In September 1985, the United Kingdom had joined with the members of the European Community in applying, at the national level, an agreed list of restrictive measures against South Africa, measures which had been regarded as necessary and which, it was hoped, would serve as a political warning to the Government of South Africa that it must make fundamental reforms in its policy. With that same end in view, the United Kingdom had only two weeks previously joined with its colleagues in the European Community in imposing a ban on new investments in South Africa and on imports of iron, steel and gold coins from South Africa.

61. Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking in the right of reply, said that, despite the claim that there were no relations between Israel and South Africa, he could provide information obtained in the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Congress to the effect that Israel had played an important role in enhancing South Africa's nuclear capability, that South Africa was equipped to produce two nuclear bombs a year, that there were currently 20,000 Israeli workers in South Africa, and that South Africa had an Israeli-owned hi-tech complex. According to a study by Tel Aviv University, Israel maintained an active military relationship with South Africa and there was close collaboration between the two countries. According to participants at a seminar held in London in January 1986, Israel was an important channel for South Africa's trade co-operation with other countries.

62. Mr. AL-SUDANI (Iraq) said that he would exercise his right of reply to the statement by the representative of the Zionist entity at a later meeting.

63. Mr. ABDALLAH (Oman) said that he would exercise his right of reply at a later meeting.

64. Mr. AL MURAD (Kuwait), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his country's position regarding the implementation of the oil embargo against South Africa was perfectly clear. Kuwait had chaired the Group of Experts set up to consider measures to ensure the effective implementation of the mandatory embargo on the supply of oil to South Africa in accordance with General Assembly resolution 37/69 J, on which Israel had abstained. On one occasion, Kuwait had suspended oil sales to a company which had violated contractual provisions related to the embargo. Kuwait did not engage in any kind of transactions with South Africa, nor were there any branches in Kuwait of firms which conducted trade operations with South Africa.

65. Mr. TANOH (Ghana), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, emphasized that his country had taken decisions based on principles related to current economic and political conditions in the Middle East. Regarding the Israeli representative's reference to the article published in the Ghanaian Times of 10 July 1985, he reserved the right to comment on the matter at a future meeting.

REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS

66. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to two communications containing requests for hearings on the question of Guam (A/C.4/41/5 and Add.1). If he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to grant the requests.

67. It was so decided.

68. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received two communications containing requests for hearings in connection with Namibia. He suggested that in accordance with the usual practice, the communications should be distributed as Committee documents and considered at a subsequent meeting.

69. It was so decided.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

70. The CHAIRMAN announced that he would not allow the general debate and the consideration of decisions to extend beyond Tuesday, 7 October.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.