

**United Nations**  
**GENERAL**  
**ASSEMBLY**

**FORTY-SECOND SESSION**

**Official Records\***



**FOURTH COMMITTEE**  
**5th meeting**  
**held on**  
**Monday, 5 October 1987**  
**at 10 a.m.**  
**New York**

**SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 5th MEETING**

**Chairman: Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus)**

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**87-55867 0581S (E)**

11p.

**Distr. GENERAL**  
**A/C.4/42/SR.5**  
**13 October 1987**  
**ENGLISH**  
**ORIGINAL: SPANISH**

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS (A/C.4/42/3/Add.1, A/C.4/42/4/Add.2, A/C.4/42/6/Add.3 and 4)

1. The CHAIRMAN said that requests for hearings had been received relating to the question of Western Sahara (A/C.4/42/3/Add.1), New Caledonia (A/C.4/42/4/Add.2) and Namibia (A/C.4/42/6/Add.3 and 4). If there were no objections, he would take it that the Committee agreed to grant those requests.

1'a). It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 109: 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/42/23 (Part III)); A/AC.109/897, 900-902, 905, 908, 909, 912, 914 and 916; A/AC.131/241, 243).

2. Mr. GEBREMEDHIN (Ethiopia) reaffirmed the solidarity of the recently established People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia with all oppressed peoples struggling for the ideals of freedom, independence and social justice. Ethiopia had always attached great importance to the Committee's work, drawing satisfaction from its achievements and its commitment to the peoples remaining under colonial domination. In flagrant violation of the Charter and the Declaration on decolonization, foreign economic and other interests were continuing to obstruct a peaceful solution of the remaining colonial problems. However, the march of history could not be arrested. The international community had increasingly expressed its anger at the efforts by colonial powers to impede the struggle for independence.

3. Southern Africa was the most glaring example of that situation. As stated in the draft resolution before the Committee, the sole factor responsible for the sufferings of the peoples of southern Africa was the economic interest of transnational corporations. Racist South Africa and other foreign interests were continuing to violate Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia, since the Territory's rich natural resources were being used against the Namibian people, as a means for sustaining the racist régime's military and administrative presence. However, South Africa had strong friends who had defended it before the international community, in the Security Council. That had not only impeded the independence process but had also prolonged the sufferings of the Namibian people by barring collective action by the international community, and had encouraged the Pretoria régime in its choice of violence.

4. The Namibian case exemplified the conflict between the stated values and their deeds of those countries which called themselves defenders of human rights and democracy. In fact they were guided only by their economic and strategic interests. By means of under-the-table arrangements, South Africa was trying to

(Mr. Gebremedhin, Ethiopia)

flout the selective sanctions that had been imposed on it, to prove that those sanctions were not working. Indeed, it was expected that South Africa's exports would increase in 1987. That, however, was not due to the ineffectiveness of sanctions, but rather to the lack of honesty of some countries. For that reason, in August 1987 the Ethiopian delegation had proposed the inclusion of the word "genuine" before "divestment" in the draft resolution before the Committee. Selective sanctions were a step in the right direction, but were insufficient to make South Africa change its policy. Those who were opposed to comprehensive sanctions argued that they would hurt the very people about whom the international community was concerned. However, the latest call by the Congress of South African Trade Unions in favour of comprehensive sanctions showed clearly that the very victims of apartheid and illegal occupation deserved more credit than those countries which continued to plunder the human and natural resources of Namibia in violation of all international decisions.

5. Mr. BUI XUAN NHAT (Viet Nam) said that although considerable progress had been made in the process of decolonization, there were still challenges which required greater international co-operation, especially since the colonial countries, administering Powers and transnational corporations had been seeking every possibility to impede the struggle of the international community to bring about the speedy granting of independence to colonial peoples. Although more than 25 years had passed since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), more than 3 million people in some 20 dependent Territories were still being deprived of their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

6. The Charter of the United Nations established the duties of the administering Powers with regard to the economies and natural and human resources of those Territories. It also provided that those Powers should create the necessary conditions so that the peoples of the Territories could speedily achieve independence. Nevertheless, not only had those provisions not been implemented, but the administering Powers had also prolonged their colonial rule, brutally repressed the peoples of those Territories, who were struggling for their inalienable rights, set up puppet régimes in order to disguise their domination and exploited the natural, material and human resources of the Territories; together with the transnational corporations, they had sought to transform the economies and societies of those Territories to serve their selfish and colonial interests. That situation had become even more serious since the administering Powers, faced with growing pressure from the international community and the struggle for independence by the colonial peoples, had been using new, more sophisticated and sinister forms of domination and neo-colonialism. Not only had they trampled underfoot the inalienable rights of the colonial and dependent peoples, but they also posed a threat to international and regional peace and security because they had turned those Territories into springboards for their acts of aggression and destabilization against neighboring countries and were even building nuclear bases in order to carry out their global strategy. It was unacceptable that the colonial Powers continued to consider the Territories under their administration as their own property to be exploited and plundered.

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

7. In southern Africa, apartheid - the most odious form of colonialism and racism - still existed. The racist régime continued to deny the inalienable rights of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia to self-determination and life as human beings. With racism and apartheid as its State policy, the South African administration had resorted to mass arrests and brutal acts of repression, torture and murder against the South African and Namibian peoples and those fighting for freedom, national independence and social progress. In open defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions on the question, South Africa continued its colonial occupation of Namibia, exploited its natural and human resources and used the Territory as a springboard for its acts of aggression against the independent States of southern Africa, especially Angola and Mozambique.

8. South Africa was able to continue its policy of apartheid, occupation and aggression because of the all-round support which it received from the imperialist countries and the transnational corporations. In its report on the activities of foreign economic interests operating in Namibia (A/AC.131/243), the United Nations Council for Namibia showed that the economy of the Territory was typically colonial and was controlled mainly by the Western and South African transnational corporations. The profits derived from their activities were returned to the countries of origin of those corporations, a fact which demonstrated the falseness of the rhetoric of the Western countries about improving the living standard of the Namibian people and defending their interests. The result was an unbalanced economy, which was totally dependent on imports, since the earnings of those corporations were not used to promote the development of the Territory. The same situation also prevailed in other colonial, Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories.

9. Viet Nam supported the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and permanent representative, and urged the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It condemned South Africa and its Western allies for their delaying tactics aimed at impeding the implementation of the resolution and for giving South Africa all-round assistance and support through the policy of "constructive engagement" and "linkage" and their abuse of the right of veto to prevent the Security Council from adopting comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

10. It was alarming to note the increased nuclear capacity of South Africa resulting from its illegal acquisition of Namibian uranium and the assistance it received from Israel and other countries because that posed a serious threat to peace and security in the region and throughout the world. Viet Nam joined the world community in condemning such activities and called for an immediate end to that dangerous programme.

11. Colonial domination continued in various forms in other Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, where foreign corporations totally controlled the economies. The administering Powers had sought every means to delay the granting of independence and legitimize the forms of neo-colonialism which they imposed on dependent peoples under the guise of "association", "Commonwealth" and other forms of "integration".

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

12. In Micronesia, the administering Power, acting in violation of the Charter, the General Assembly resolutions on decolonization and the Trusteeship Agreement of 1947, had been trying to prolong its occupation of the Territory by changing its legal status and turning it into a strategic bridgehead for stockpiling and testing nuclear weapons. The expansion of military bases in territories such as Bermuda, the Malvinas, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Micronesia not only obstructed the implementation of the right of people's to self-determination but also posed a grave threat to the security of the neighbouring countries and to international peace.

13. The Charter clearly established that the right to self-determination could not be limited by factors such as territorial size, geographic location, population size or others. As a country which had achieved independence and freedom through an arduous struggle against imperialism and colonialism, Viet Nam ardently supported the just struggle of the peoples of Namibia, the Western Sahara, Puerto Rico, New Caledonia and other Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories to achieve self-determination and national independence. Only genuine political independence could pave the way for attaining economic independence and, in turn, economic independence guaranteed national political independence.

14. Viet Nam supported the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee (A/42/23 (Part III)), but regretted that certain administering Powers had not fulfilled their responsibilities under Article 73 (e) of the Charter. He hoped that that situation would change and that those countries would agree to co-operate with the Special Committee and participate in its work.

15. Mr. MARIN BOSCH (Mexico) said that in 1987 there had been no major advance in the process of decolonization. In the case of certain Non-Self-Governing Territories there was even a deadlock. As was evident from the report of the Special Committee and the reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the colonial Powers still sought to protect indefinitely their political, economic and strategic interests in those Territories.

16. The case of Namibia was a clear example of a deadlock: the racist regime of Pretoria maintained its intransigent and defiant attitude, encouraged by the position of certain members of the Security Council which refused to carry out their responsibility to the international community and to history. The repeated calls by his delegation for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions were a response to that intransigent attitude. Since the so-called constructive diplomacy had failed to put an end to the racial oppression and the occupation of Namibia, the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, particularly, Articles 41 and 42, should be implemented.

17. The imposition of sanctions was the last peaceful means available to the international community to uphold the purposes and principles of the Organization, which since 1966 had been responsible for the fate of the people of Namibia. The sovereignty and self-determination of the international community were inevitably linked to the future of Namibia.

(Mr. Marin Bosch, Mexico)

18. In the meantime, it was urgent for the United Nations to protect Namibia's rich resources. As an active member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mexico had supported, and would continue to support, all efforts to give effect to Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, including the initiation of legal proceedings against corporations operating illegally in that Territory. Mexico also firmly supported the General Assembly resolution calling upon the United Nations Council for Namibia, as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, to take measures to establish its administration in Namibia, and it believed that the Council should step up its campaign for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

19. While the situation in other Non-Self-Governing Territories could be described as less critical, its gravity should not be overlooked nor the urgency of finding just and lasting solutions. Exploitation and economic imbalances characterized the economies that were under colonial control, and the newly-independent countries which had to face an unjust international order all shared a terrible legacy. The use of colonial Territories for military or supposedly strategic purposes was also a serious cause for concern. It was completely unacceptable to set decolonization within the context of East-West confrontation.

20. All practices that prevented the process of decolonization from coming to term and jeopardized the future of the peoples of dependent Territories must be stopped. The United Nations must redouble its efforts to bring about, within an appropriate political, economic, social and cultural framework, the independence of peoples who, on the eve of the twenty-first century, were still suffering the ravages of colonialism.

21. Mr. JASSNOWSKI (German Democratic Republic) said that resolutions adopted by the General Assembly had repeatedly underscored the right of all peoples to social and economic self-determination. The Declaration on decolonization had established the fundamental principles for eliminating colonial oppression and exploitation. Much had been achieved in the endeavour to implement that Declaration; yet there were still 19 Territories on the United Nations list of dependent Territories, and it was not exhaustive.

22. It was the Committee's task to ensure that the term "colonialism" became a concept of the past and to translate into reality the ideals of the United Nations Charter and of resolution 1514 (XV) in even the smallest Territory still under colonial domination. The posture of the administering Powers, their refusals to co-operate with the United Nations bodies responsible for decolonization, led to the conclusion that it was necessary to act with even greater determination.

23. For many years, colonial Territories had been exposed to unscrupulous exploitation by foreign corporations, banks and companies. In the past, those companies had come only from the colonial Powers concerned; currently, the subsidiaries of transnational corporations from many Western countries were operating. The administering Powers had had ample time to improve the standard of living of the population of the Territories and help build up efficient economies, yet nothing of the sort had been done.

(Mr. Jassnowski, German Democratic Republic)

24. The activities of transnational corporations had always been entirely profit-oriented. It had been established, for instance, that every dollar invested in Africa brought a return of 3.5 dollars. The activities of transnational corporations in Namibia were an obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization and were helping to maintain colonial oppression, thus co-operating with the apartheid régime. In return, the South African racists, by extending the apartheid system to Namibia, offered the corporations propitious conditions for making huge profits. There was no labour law establishing the rights of the majority of workers. There were no maternity grants or pensions, and workers could be dismissed without notice. The unemployment rate was as high as 50 per cent in the towns; 60 per cent of workers received wages far below subsistence level (A/AC.131/243); two thirds of the workers were migratory and were allowed to stay in the industrial areas or on the farms of their white employers only as long as they were needed for work (A/AC.131/242). Those examples sufficed to demonstrate that none of the transnational corporations were interested in the well-being of the Namibian people or in their preparation for independence.

25. The German Democratic Republic condemned any form of co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa, because such collaboration was a major obstacle to Namibia's attainment of independence. It welcomed the decision by the more realistically-minded transnational corporations to bow to growing international pressure and withdraw from South Africa, although the particularly unscrupulous ones were willing to follow Pretoria and support, through even greater investment, the puppet government it had installed.

26. His Government supported United Nations activities aimed at putting an end to colonialism, such as the elaboration of a code of conduct for transnational corporations, or the reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on decolonization regarding the activities of transnational corporations in colonial Territories as well as the report on transnational corporations collaborating with South Africa which was annually updated by the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the Commission on Human Rights. Where Namibia was concerned, it was clear that comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa were the sole peaceful means for forcing it to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without pre-conditions.

27. The end of colonialism would be a step towards a world free of wars and military conflicts. Until that came about, all had an obligation to support the United Nations bodies dealing with decolonization and to point out, and above all to prevent, all activities by colonial Powers that impeded the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization.

28. His country viewed with concern the growing militarization of Territories under colonial domination, since it thwarted the striving of peoples for peace and security. It also showed that colonies had become part and parcel of the long-term imperialist military strategy.

(Mr. Jassnowski, German Democratic Republic)

29. In that connection, it should be noted that certain nuclear-weapon States exercised control over some colonial Territories in ways that contravened the Charter. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was a clear instance of a policy that trampled underfoot the vital interests of the population. Several islands had become testing grounds for ballistic missiles and the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative. In some other dependent Territories, such as Bermuda, Puerto Rico and Guam, nuclear weapons were being stockpiled, contrary to the will of the people. As in the past, South Africa was using the illegally-occupied Territory of Namibia for military purposes. More than 100,000 soldiers and mercenaries, equipped with the most sophisticated material in a system of 76 military bases, were oppressing the people of Namibia and using the country as a springboard for military aggression and subversive and destabilizing acts against Angola and other neighbouring countries.

30. On 4 November 1977, the Security Council had adopted resolution 418 (1977) imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, which had been extended by Security Council resolution 558 (1984). Regrettably, certain Western States were continuing to supply the racists with weapons, licences and equipment. The recent annual report of the Special Committee against Apartheid provided examples that revealed the hypocrisy of all the States which, on the one hand, condemned the armed struggle of national liberation movements and, on the other, supplied arms to the Pretoria régime, thus stirring up violence.

31. Mrs. MULAMULA (United Republic of Tanzania) observed that Article 73 of the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) affirmed the right of colonial countries and peoples to independence. While it was true that many countries had attained independence since the adoption of that resolution, remnants of colonialism persisted and many peoples were still subject to oppression, exploitation and discrimination.

32. The question of Namibia was still on the United Nations agenda simply because the apartheid régime refused to implement various General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. More than 20 years had elapsed since the United Nations had revoked South Africa's mandate over Namibia and created a special organ, the United Nations Council for Namibia, with a view to safeguarding the inalienable rights of the Namibian people.

33. The intransigence of the apartheid régime was a result of the support afforded to the racist régime by certain Western countries which co-operated with it. The racist régime had been manufacturing one excuse after another, the latest being the linking of Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, with a view to delaying the independence of Namibia. The United Republic of Tanzania unequivocally condemned and rejected that linkage policy and the support being extended to the racist régime by the policy of so-called "constructive engagement", which had emboldened the apartheid régime to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia.



(Mrs. Mulamula, United Republic  
of Tanzania)

34. In addition to using Namibia as a springboard for launching attacks on neighbouring countries, the apartheid régime continued to give active support to the RENAMO and UNITA bandits in Mozambique and Angola respectively. Her delegation requested the current United States Administration to abandon its policy of "constructive engagement", which had failed to produce the desired effects, since the interests of the Namibian people would be better served if appropriate measures were taken immediately to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

35. Various studies had indicated that the plunder and exploitation of Namibia's mineral resources by huge transnational corporations was helping the racist régime to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia. Those corporations repatriated huge profits and little or nothing was reinvested in Namibia. In that connection, her delegation commended the economic measures taken by the United States Congress, the Nordic countries, the European Economic Community and other countries and groups of countries against the racist South African régime. In its view the only way to eradicate apartheid and to speed up Namibia's independence was by imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime. She also praised the measures taken by various United States and other corporations and by non-governmental organizations which were disinvesting from South Africa and Namibia.

36. The argument that economic sanctions did not work was simply an excuse. The front-line States were aware of the adverse effects that sanctions against South Africa would have on their own economies, but they were prepared to suffer for a short time instead of suffering indefinitely. They therefore appealed to the international community to consider imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

37. Her delegation reaffirmed its unequivocal support for the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, for its heroic struggle against the racist régime and it asked members of the Security Council to take appropriate measures to ensure the speedy decolonization of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

38. Mr. NAVARRO (Nicaragua) said that Nicaragua was taking part in the debate because the item under consideration was closely tied to Nicaragua's own history. While it was true that the Latin American countries had been the first to cast off the chains of colonialism, the region's natural and human resources continued to be exploited ruthlessly.

39. Like the regions of Africa and Asia, Latin America had had the misfortune to possess rich lands which had attracted colonial and neo-colonial predators; however, the people had rebelled, had rid themselves of foreign domination and had regained their sovereignty, their natural resources and dignity.

(Mr. Navarro, Nicaragua)

40. The most flagrant example of colonial or neo-colonial domination was to be found in southern Africa, where the apartheid régime and its illegal occupation of Namibia persisted thanks to the support of South Africa's powerful collaborator. In order to facilitate exploitation of Namibia's wealth Namibia's labour force was controlled by the apartheid system, and the policy of "bantustanization" had had the effect of segregating all aspects of the Namibian population's daily life. Mining, agriculture and fishing, which accounted for 90 per cent of Namibia's exports, were controlled by foreigners who exported the profits generated by such activities. Furthermore, the existing system had made Namibia totally dependent on South Africa so that if Namibians were one day to secure their independence, they would inherit a territory that was economically captive, making it difficult for the territory to grow and develop.

41. In Namibia there were more than 200 United States subsidiaries and corporations whose headquarters were located in western European countries; those corporations were robbing the Namibian people of its wealth and violating Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia. The only freedom that existed in Namibia was the freedom of foreign economic interests to exploit and to enrich themselves. In order to secure that exploitation, use was made of racist occupying troops or puppet armies which took their orders from the mother country. There were more than 100,000 South African troops in Namibia - representing 10 per cent of the Namibian population - seeking to contain the people and the efforts of the South West Africa People's Organization to secure liberty.

42. In addition, the territory of Namibia was being used as a springboard for launching military attacks on the front-line States, particularly the People's Republic of Angola. Those attacks were encouraged by the Governments which paid no attention to the universal clamour for sanctions against Pretoria and prevented the Security Council from taking effective steps under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. In that connection, his delegation supported paragraph 11 of the Programme of Action on Namibia adopted in Vienna in 1986.

43. Latin America had been unable to rid itself of the last vestiges of colonialism and it had seen a growing militarization of some colonial territories. The island of Puerto Rico was the operational centre for continuing huge military manoeuvres in the Caribbean and in Central America for the purpose of intimidation and as a trial invasion. In addition, everyone knew that that colonial territory was to be used for training mercenaries who were in the pay of the Central Intelligence Agency and who would then be let loose to murder the Nicaraguan people. In that same context, his delegation called for a reduction of the military presence in and around the Malvinas, which was greatly affecting stability in the region.

44. Mr. GETUGI (Kenya) said that although the item under consideration had been on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1960, the many statements made and resolutions adopted by the United Nations did not seem to have made any impression on the racist leadership of South Africa. Despite that drawback, Kenya called upon the international community to redouble its efforts to dismantle apartheid and to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia, and it welcomed the bold step taken by a few white South Africans who, despite opposition from the racist régime, had held consultative talks with their fellow countrymen and leaders of the African National Congress in Dakar in 1987. That action confirmed the policy of peace, love and unity adopted by His Excellency Mr. Daniel Arap Moi, President of Kenya. The Dakar talks had proved that the black population of South Africa did not hate the white population but simply abhorred their racist policy. Kenya urged the Security Council to enforce comprehensive, mandatory, economic sanctions against South Africa notwithstanding the fact that the black population of South Africa would bear the full brunt of such a move.

45. His delegation took note of the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly (A/42/23 (Part III)), which depicted the full extent of the current exploitation of Namibia's natural resources by South Africa and by foreign multinational corporations, both in the mining sector and in the arable lands, which continued to be the major factor impeding Namibia's independence. The revenues accumulated from the investments were repatriated instead of being reinvested in Namibia. Kenya condemned the activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests that were collaborating with the racist South African régime in exploiting the natural and human resources of Namibia and reaffirmed that those resources were the inviolable and incontestable heritage of the Namibian people and that their exploitation and depletion constituted a violation of the United Nations Charter and the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971.

46. Kenya condemned South Africa for its massive military build-up in Namibia and the continued military, nuclear and intelligence collaboration between South Africa and certain western countries, since those acts violated the arms embargo imposed against South Africa by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977).

47. Kenya called on the United Nations to reaffirm its direct responsibility for Namibia and to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without any amendment. It totally rejected all attempts by racist South Africa to link Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Finally, it recognized and supported the South West Africa People's Organization as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.