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

AGENDA ITEM 83: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/41/3, A/41/550, A/41/551, A/41/552, A/41/571, A/41/181-E/1986/53 and Corr.1; A/41/607)

AGENDA ITEM 84: ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO THE RACIST AND COLONIALIST REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA (continued) (A/41/3, A/41/573, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1987/8 and Add.1; A/41/181-E/1986/53 and Corr.1, A/41/341-S/18065 and Corr.1)

AGENDA ITEM 88: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (continued) (A/41/433 and Add.1; A/41/133-S/17760, A/41/282, A/41/607)

AGENDA ITEM 89: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/41/508, A/41/512, A/41/561 and Add.1; A/41/93, A/41/167, A/41/177, A/41/178 and Corr.1; A/41/181-E/1986/53 and Corr.1, A/41/326-S/18049, A/41/341-S/18065 and Corr.1; A/41/607)

1. Mr. KHALIFA (Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities) said that in the last few years the assistance given to the South African régime had had an adverse effect on the enjoyment of human rights by the non-white population and had made the eradication of apartheid more difficult. It was a widespread error to consider the South African economy a free-enterprise system. The ruling party in South Africa had long been dominated by Afrikaaners whose antagonism toward English-speaking whites who controlled most business dated back to the Anglo-Boer War. But the two factions were bound together by a fascist pact which guaranteed the existence of an Afrikaaner state power. Consequently, black unrest and revolt was directed not only against the political system, but against the economic system, that is, the system as a whole.

2. The 1960 Sharpeville incidents had ushered in the awakening of the revolt. The liberation movement which started in Sharpeville had been crushed, but suppression of the Soweto uprising in 1976 had taken eight months and cost nearly 700 lives. That suppression had produced a Soweto generation and that generation was there for future uprisings. The political structure of South Africa, deprived of the black labour which was the backbone of the slave economy and forced to bear the burden of the millions of rands needed to reinforce the costly laws of repression required for the survival of the system, would inevitably crack.

3. Moreover, it was that increasingly active majority which provided the consumer power that would be needed if the economy was to expand. The Government's own statistics showed that in five years, 80 per cent of all consumer purchasing power would be in the hands of the blacks. That prospect was already recognized by the business corporations and they were beginning to steer away from the South African

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economy not always for reasons of morality, but out of shrewdness, as tensions rose, risk multiplied and the Government became less and less able to govern. Those developments demonstrated the fallacy of the argument that investing in South Africa was a healthy exercise that would resolve the problems of the blacks.

4. Naturally, business had attempted to distance the economic system from the political system of South Africa, but public opinion could no longer be swayed by those arguments. As a result of those new factual and psychological developments, such tactics as "constructive engagement" and the Sullivan principles had been permanently discredited. The Sullivan principles, based on alleged concern for the plight of black workers, had been applied to only a small elite of workers used for propaganda purposes; they had been applied to some 22,000 workers in a country with a labour force of 22 million. Constructive engagement had been unmasked in the United States by the churches, universities, political parties and in other circles as a corrupt and hypocritical exercise.

5. Now everyone, including the most ardent champions of Pretoria, was trying to back off and detach from the racist régime, reduce their aid and impose limited restrictions. The most significant aspect of the present situation was that any relationship with South Africa was shameful and had to be justified. It was encouraging to find the United States Congress looking for ways to break out of that country's commitment to South Africa and resolutely passing a resolution which imposed restrictions on relations between the two countries, thus responding to the popular will and living up to the legacy and tradition of the American people's dedication to the cause of freedom.

6. The European Community, in a well-known resolution adopted by its member States, had decided in June that it had become urgent to adopt a wait-and-see attitude. The situation with regard to the Commonwealth was equally strained. Other countries had long ago taken steps to bring their policies into line with public opinion. At a meeting held at Oslo, Norway, in October 1985, the Foreign Ministers of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway had adopted the Nordic Programme of Action against South Africa. Canada had taken modest steps to end incentives to export to and invest in South Africa. Australia had taken similar steps. France, in May 1985, had issued a strong warning to South Africa and set an 18-month deadline for the withdrawal of all French investments from that country. That French initiative had culminated in a recent Security Council resolution calling for voluntary economic sanctions against South Africa.

7. Certainly those signs of change did not amount to much, but they did indicate that an international campaign was gathering strength. It should be reinforced for the sake of world peace since only economic pressure could bring the South African régime to its knees and spare the world a serious conflict and a bloodbath into which all countries, great and small, could be dragged.

8. Despite Prime Minister Botha's claim that sanctions were not effective, a state of emergency was declared in South Africa on 20 July 1985 which triggered the financial collapse of that country. In consequence, the major banks decided to proceed with a phased reduction of their activities in South Africa. The country's

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financial system was still suffering from bank withdrawals and the subsequent four-month moratorium on foreign debt payment imposed in September 1985. South Africa's dependence on foreign capital was the result, inter alia, of its need to cover outflows of domestic savings. The undisputed fact was that the highly developed South African economy could not easily withstand sanctions. The moral of the story was that while South Africa could be militarily secure for some time, economically it was extremely vulnerable. And since apartheid was based on the unholy alliance of politics and business, the only way to bring about political change was to undermine one of those two pillars, and the economy was clearly the better choice.

9. If sanctions were defined as economic and military action aimed at coercing States to conform to a specified policy, South Africa was already imposing sanctions on the front-line States. Over and above those sanctions, it should be borne in mind that South Africa had engaged in direct aggression in the form of attacks on the capitals of Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe. Even countries with which South Africa had reached agreements, like Mozambique, had been the object of attacks.

10. Undoubtedly, even with the imposition of sanctions, South Africa, like Rhodesia, could hold out for a long time but sanctions undermined business confidence and, with mounting black insurgency, would finally produce the desired effect. However, in order for sanctions to be effective, they must cover all fields of activity. The defenders of South Africa were promoting the notion that sanctions would hurt blacks more than the whites. When they claimed that economic sanctions would do more harm to the blacks, they were thinking merely of equivocal, hesitant and fragmented sanctions. Nevertheless, the cost for the blacks was very small compared with the cost of the existing human suffering and degradation and the dangerous consequences of a widening conflict. It was essential to impose a total embargo and also to monitor the application of sanctions, with machinery that varied from country to country.

11. The opinion of 77 per cent of the blacks polled by Gallup in 1985 was favourable to sanctions, although they would suffer the consequences. Furthermore, the aim of sanctions was not to cripple the economy of South Africa but to persuade and exert pressure on the system so as to produce the inevitable collapse of the régime, through negotiation and peaceful means, and not through violence.

12. The list of companies contained more than 4,500 names and covered 30 States. It was not exactly a black list because it was based on indications and assumptions and consequently was subject to correction. Obviously, it was not a simple task to carry out an inventory of firms and banks investing in South Africa or assisting it in the military or economic sphere. There could be no guarantee of the accuracy of all the names in the list.

13. Trade was tantamount to assistance and it could not be denied that trade relations provided crucial support for the apartheid régime. In 1985 the International Labour Conference had requested Governments to adopt measures, on a

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product-by-product basis, to halt their trade with South Africa. It was disquieting that some countries were continuing to increase their trade relations with South Africa. According to reliable sources, the Federal Republic of Germany, Taiwan and Israel had increased their commercial presence in South Africa. The case of Japan was unique: while it prohibited direct investment and bank loans to South Africa, the volume of trade between the two countries had doubled in 10 years and had increased in 1984 to \$3.4 billion. The sanctions announced in September 1985, which included a ban on the sale of computers to the military forces or the police of South Africa and on imports of gold Krugerrands did not actually affect essential trade between the two countries.

14. In view of the latest turn of events, lists had become very important and as a result some firms had contacted him in order to have their names taken off the lists. The present list was the result of his personal efforts with limited assistance from the Secretariat due to the volume of work and the difficult financial situation. A more detailed and extensive list was required, a task which necessitated the co-operation of two full-time economists working in close relation with the Special Rapporteur and under his instructions.

15. It was no longer a question whether apartheid would be abolished but when it would be abolished. While the blacks lacked political influence, it could not be expected that they would be pleased by piecemeal concessions. None of the reforms came anywhere close to majority rule and moreover there were parties, such as the Conservative Party, which opposed such reforms in a manner which seemed to indicate a resurgence of nazism in South Africa.

16. However, the struggle of the blacks had become more mature, was widely supported and was already capable of giving battle for its survival. Immediate support must be given to those who believed in their just cause and in democracy, which was also a good policy. The cases of Rhodesia and Algeria might also be cited. Last April the Holy See had published a document on Christian freedom and liberation in defence of the right of peoples to fight against injustice. The document also contained a strong defence of the right of oppressed people to resort to armed force in order to put an end to an obvious and prolonged tyranny. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights included the right to hold free elections through universal suffrage. That and other instruments allowed States to give at least peaceful assistance to peoples who were seeking those rights.

17. In case he should again address the Committee within the next two years, he hoped he would be able to submit a shorter list or, better still no list at all.

18. Mr. LY (Senegal) pointed out that his country, in pursuance of the principle of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence, had supported and would continue to support firmly the oppressed peoples fighting for independence and the recovery of their legitimate national rights. That policy included the solidarity and support of Senegal for the heroic struggle of the people of Namibia under the direction of SWAPO. Senegal rejected any internal solution of the problem of Namibia and in particular the installation by Pretoria

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of a so-called "provisional government", which the Security Council and the international community considered as null and void.

19. Senegal reiterated its unequivocal support for the Palestinian cause and reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to achieve its legitimate aspirations. The convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East, with the participation of the PLO, would facilitate a just and definitive solution to the tragic Palestinian problem, which contained the seed of a more general conflict in the Middle East.

20. It was unnecessary to prove that apartheid was an institutionalized form of the most inhuman racial discrimination. Any delay in the dismantling of the odious system of apartheid would result in more losses of human lives. The system by definition and in essence could not be reformed. The only peaceful solution possible was to impose sanctions on the Government of South Africa, which was continuing to defy the Security Council and to destabilize the neighbouring countries, in violation of the principles of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

21. He welcomed the economic sanctions imposed on South Africa by EEC, some members of the Commonwealth, the Nordic and other countries, including the United States. It was necessary to maintain and accelerate that general trend in favour of sanctions against Pretoria. At the same time, the international community must carry out, in a concrete way, its duty of solidarity towards the fighters of SWAPO, ANC, PAC and the front-line States.

22. It was also necessary to carry on the fight against racism and discrimination in all their forms. For that purpose, it was important that the international community, and especially the United Nations, should redouble their efforts for the effective implementation of the activities and programmes planned for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/41/551).

23. The report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade provided a basis for discussion and evaluation. His delegation proposed that the relevant programmes should be given the necessary resources and that consequently States, organizations and private individuals able to do so should contribute to the Special Fund for the Programme for the Second Decade.

24. With regard to the study on the effects of racial discrimination on the children of minorities and in particular migrant workers (A/41/552), he stressed the need for a more detailed and extensive examination of that question. The conclusions and recommendations of the study on the role of private group action to combat racism and racial discrimination (A/41/550), should be adopted.

25. He stressed the importance of the ratification and universal acceptance of the various instruments on racial discrimination and apartheid. For its part, Senegal had received the congratulations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination for the manner in which it had applied the International Convention and for the respect it showed for human rights.



26. Mr. RICHTER (German Democratic Republic) said that racism, an anachronism in the twentieth century, was a threat to world peace and had to be fought on a global scale. The apartheid régime of South Africa was the bastion of racism; it was not sufficient to reform it - it must be liquidated. The violation of human rights by the Pretoria régime had reached the dimensions of genocide. His country was in full agreement with the declaration of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries that there could be no peace, stability or security in southern Africa until the apartheid system was completely dismantled. A comprehensive system of international security must therefore be established.

27. The German Democratic Republic expressed its solidarity with all those fighting against neo-colonialism, the imperialist threat and imperialist intervention, and provided practical political, moral, material and humanitarian assistance to the peoples of southern Africa and to their liberation movements, as could be noted from document A/41/550.

28. The United Nations must further develop the international instruments for the elimination of racism. In that connection, great progress had already been made by the adoption of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, to which his Government had acceded at the earliest possible moment. On 15 September 1986, it had also ratified the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports.

29. As a member of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, his country had always advocated international co-operation against all forms of racism, as well as the mobilization of world public opinion against Nazi, Fascist, neo-Fascist and all other forms of totalitarianism.

30. Racism had many faces. For example, in a so-called free democracy, 1 million American Indians were eking out a miserable existence on reservations. Hostility to foreigners, immigrants and migrant workers in that part of the world was also a problem. Such large-scale manifestations of racial discrimination could not be overcome merely by appealing to the tolerance of individuals. What was required was the creation of social conditions that ruled out any form of racism and racial discrimination. His country would continue to give its full support to the Programme of Action of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

31. Mrs. KALININA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking on agenda item 89, said that the practice and ideology of apartheid, which were incompatible with human rights and fundamental freedoms, must be eliminated. The spirit of hatred and exclusiveness, the propaganda of racism and racial superiority, the denial of rights and the enslavement of peoples had extremely dangerous consequences for mankind. Soviet policy in that regard was reflected in the words of M. S. Gorbachev, speaking to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when he advocated a restructuring of relations between States and peoples on the basis of friendship, mutual respect and co-operation founded on

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equality. The premises of such co-operation were laid in the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments, which received the full and continuing support of the USSR.

32. The profound crisis in the policy of State racism in South Africa had shaken the very foundations of the system of apartheid and had established conditions propitious for the termination and complete elimination of the system and for the establishment of a democratic republic providing full equality of rights in South Africa. The voices of the leaders of South Africa's indigenous population must be heeded when they demanded an end to all political, military and economic co-operation with the racist régime, pursuant to the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly calling for an end to the system of apartheid in South Africa. His country also called for the release of Nelson Mandela and the other victims of racist repression.

33. The Zionist State policy, condemned by the United Nations as a form of racism and racial discrimination, led to acts of aggression and expansion and to contempt for the inalienable rights of the Arab peoples, in particular the Palestinian people. Israel must comply with the demands of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly and bring to a halt all acts of aggression and expansion, recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people and eliminating racism and racial discrimination.

34. In the Soviet Union, the culture and dignity of different nationalities and races were equally respected in all spheres. Soviet legislation prohibited any curtailment of rights and the establishment of privileges on the basis of race or nationality. Propaganda which preached national or racial exclusiveness, hatred or persecution was punished as a criminal offence.

35. The Committee should draw up and adopt effective measures against apartheid and racism, in accordance with the wishes of the vast majority of the world's peoples.

36. Ms. SEAH (Singapore) said that, although the United Nations had kept alive concern for the problems relating to racial minorities and discrimination based on sex, culture, religion and political beliefs, the progress made thus far had been slow and left much to be desired.

37. Many countries that proclaimed their adherence to United Nations resolutions on the elimination of racial discrimination were at the same time applying policies at home that were contrary to internationally recognized norms of conduct. Nations must take practical and concrete measures to put their own houses in order first. That prerequisite had been expressed in General Assembly resolution 2784 (XXVI) of 6 December 1971, which stated that national and international action against racial discrimination in all its forms were interdependent and indispensable components of a better future for all mankind.



(Ms. Seah, Singapore)

38. Her country's laws protected each individual's rights irrespective of language, race or religion. Instances of communal and racial prejudice had not assumed serious political proportions because the Government's policy was to avoid all favouritism.
39. She reaffirmed Singapore's support for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, which could learn from her country's experience in racial politics. The only way out for the Pretoria régime, if it was to stop the unrest from continuing and affecting the entire population of South Africa, was to dismantle its apartheid system without delay.
40. Her country condemned the violation of the principle of self-determination of the Namibian people by South Africa in defiance of United Nations resolutions. The occupations of Kampuchea and Afghanistan were classic examples of the abusive behaviour of some powerful States that settled political disputes by resorting to force in flagrant violation of the principle of self-determination of peoples. As a result, the occupying forces of those countries must be required unconditionally and totally to withdraw.
41. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco) said the General Assembly had a special obligation towards all peoples, and above all towards those who suffered flagrant violations of their most fundamental rights. That obligation, however, seemed to be in grave danger as a result of financial decisions jeopardizing many of the activities of the Committee, the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies or groups of experts which met regularly to ensure the progressive development of respect for human rights. The status of human rights the world over must be closely monitored by the international community. The financial blow dealt to human rights activities in 1986 was all the harder to absorb because the terrible, increasingly violent, events which had occurred in South Africa necessitated more active mobilization of the international community with a view to avoiding the catastrophic outcome that would be inevitable unless a concerted solution was found to that explosive problem.
42. It should be borne in mind that the struggle against discrimination in South Africa dated back to January 1912, which witnessed the birth of a then-peaceful movement, the African National Congress, which had assembled 3,000 delegates, representing all races in 1955 to draft a freedom charter for the establishment of a non-racial free, democratic society. One of the participants, Nelson Mandela, a Council member who would later be elected President, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. The freedom charter, which provided an ideal framework of understanding for all South Africans, was trampled upon by an ever more oppressive system, which unleashed an era of terror and destruction, beginning with the Sharpeville massacre.
43. The South African people had finally had to recognize that violence could only be met with violence. The oppressed people, fed up with arbitrary detentions, illegal expropriations, arbitrary taxation of their children's school system, repeated, legitimized discriminatory acts, had decided to rebel. Since 1985, there

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had been an unprecedented increase in violent clashes between the white authorities of Pretoria and the blacks, who made up 73 per cent of the population. The régime had sparked world-wide indignation when it proclaimed a partial state of emergency, and then a state of emergency, throughout South African territory in June 1986.

44. The appeal for the imposition of comprehensive sanctions was not new. Those countries which still harboured doubts about the application of comprehensive, mandatory economic sanctions against the system of apartheid must realize that sanctions were the last resort against rampant violence that was threatening to plunge the country, in the not too distant future, into an armed conflict of such proportions that it might well extend beyond the borders of South Africa. Countries could not remain indifferent to that conflict and the bloodbath likely to accompany it. Not only must economic sanctions be imposed because the international community was demanding them, but also, and above all, because those sanctions had the support of the South African blacks living in the cities.

45. In a survey conducted by the Agency for Social Inquiry and by the Institute for Black Research at the University of Johannesburg, it had been found that 73 per cent of the blacks living in the main industrial centres of South Africa in 1985, endorsed partial or total disinvestment by foreign companies. They saw it as a means of applying pressure to force the dismantlement of the system of apartheid, which refuted the theory that urban blacks, concerned over the possibility of unemployment, supported foreign investments. In the first place, those sanctions would have a greater impact on whites, since foreign companies employed twice as many whites as blacks. In the second place, most blacks considered the consequences of disinvestment as the price that had to be paid if there were to be any change in the political situation.

46. The migrant workers who were victims of racism in certain countries were also a cause for concern. Xenophobia had reached new heights and had taken a heavy toll. Migrant workers were exploited, mistreated, persecuted and actually had to consider themselves lucky that they had not been tortured, treated like cattle in a freight car, murdered in their own neighbourhoods, or stalked all day long by police eager to enforce laws that would make scapegoats of foreigners, or keep them under surveillance. In Western Europe, however, the European Commission had recently approved the text of a declaration against racism and xenophobia which was to be signed jointly by the European Parliament and the representatives of the States members at a meeting of the Council. Morocco appealed to all countries which had benefited and continued to benefit from the contribution of migrant workers, to condemn all forms of intolerance, hostility and the use of force against migrant workers.

47. The illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia, the aggressive policy of the Pretoria régime and its refusal to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) continued to be condemned and criticized by the international community, which could not tolerate the situation and should do its utmost to seek the implementation of the resolution.

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48. Self-determination must also be demanded for the Palestinian people, who had been dispossessed of their lands in 1947 and had to endure discrimination, exploitation and intolerance in the occupied Territories. There could be no peace until Israel fully recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, especially their right to return to their homeland and establish their own State.

49. The implementation of the principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be universal and should be extended to all peoples of the world, irrespective of time, place, race, creed or colour. The international community should take a stand against all forms of aggression, military occupation, mercenary incursions into neighbouring countries and any deliberate assault upon the exercise of the right of self-determination by all countries and Territories. The principle of self-determination was, more than a political principle, a genuine universal, right which must be fully respected.

50. The austerity measures adopted by the United Nations must not affect human rights activities. It would be a terrible blow to the activities of the Second Decade if the already modest resources allocated to it were further reduced. The world human rights situation remained alarming, and therefore, anyone who could effectively contribute to the activities of the United Nations should spare no effort to prevent the situation from worsening as a result of budgetary constraints. It was worth noting that only 0.7 per cent of the Organization's budget was earmarked for the promotion and protection of human rights. Cutbacks in those resources would seriously affect what had taken so much work to accomplish in the last few years.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.