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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 11th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MADAR (Somalia)

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

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/39/534; A/C.3/39/2; E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1-2)

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1. Mr. CHAI SIRIVUTH (Democratic Kampuchea) said that his delegation wished to express its unreserved solidarity with all victims of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. It supported all appropriate measures to eliminate those evils.

2. The people of Democratic Kampuchea, too, were victims of such crimes. For several years the Pretoria régime had found a follower in the Hanoi régime. The military aggression by Viet Nam against his country was accompanied by the systematic settling of Vietnamese on Kampuchean soil. The 600,000 Vietnamese settlers in Kampuchea was astonishing, given that Kampuchea's population was only about 5 million. Such colonization was inevitably accompanied by racist manifestations. By reserving the best land, the best occupations and other privileges for themselves, the Vietnamese settlers were relegating the Kampuchean people to second-class status - indeed, such treatment was a form of apartheid. The Vietnamese were systematically destroying the Kampuchean national identity. Kampuchean children were forced to study the Vietnamese language and history books in schools had been rewritten to glorify Viet Nam. Kampuchean customs, culture and religion were disappearing.

3. Viet Nam's racist policy towards the Khmer people was not new: it had developed continuously over many years. The main objective was still expansion, annexation and an Indo-Chinese confederation. Viet Nam was now seeking to suppress

(Mr. Chai Sirivuth, Democratic
Kampuchea)

the identity of the Kampuchians and transform Kampuchea into veritable Vietnamese provinces.

4. His delegation called on the United Nations to adopt concrete measures to outlaw both the Hanoi and the Pretoria régimes. His delegation therefore welcomed the draft plan of activities for the period 1985-1989 (A/39/167 and Add.1-2). All the measures proposed therein should also be applied against Viet Nam.
5. Mr. ALMERREE (United Arab Emirates) said that the régimes of Pretoria and of Tel Aviv continued systemically to apply their racist policies. The Pretoria régime was consolidating its position by its policy of bantustanization, murder and mass deportations. It continued to occupy Namibia illegally and was plundering the natural resources of that Territory while laying down new conditions for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It was also pursuing its policy of destabilizing its neighbours, all of which showed its defiance of the international community.
6. The report of the Special Rapporteur (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1-2) clearly showed that the Pretoria régime, while stepping up its activities, was attempting to veil its policy of apartheid. The economic support by foreign interests was the main reason that South Africa was able to maintain that policy. Every effort should be made at the international level to isolate that régime, especially in the economic sphere.
7. The United Arab Emirates fully supported the efforts of the Namibian people led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and called for the independence of Namibia in pursuance of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It endorsed the right of that people to use every means, including armed struggle, to attain its independence. The United Arab Emirates had instituted a total boycott of the Pretoria régime, including the prohibition of oil exports to South Africa.
8. Similar to the activities of the Pretoria régime, the Israeli régime was pursuing its racist policy of zionism in the Middle East. Since the affirmation by the General Assembly that zionism was a form of racism, many resolutions had reaffirmed that a State based on zionism must be a racist State, whatever its mask. In addition, because of co-operation between Pretoria and Tel Aviv, including the exchange of weapons of mass destruction, the Zionist State was able to carry out its policy of annexation against Arab States, including southern Lebanon.
9. Israel was pursuing a policy of genocide and destruction of property in all areas of life in southern Lebanon and the other occupied territories. The racist nature of those policies, in which entire villages were encircled and the citizens terrorized, was obvious to all, as could be seen from the events that had taken place in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Israel, by denying the people of southern Lebanon and the Palestinians their right to self-determination, was flouting international will. Its defiance of General Assembly resolutions and the Geneva and Hague Conventions with respect to occupied territories could not be continued without the economic and military support it received from some Western

(Mr. Almerree, United Arab Emirates)

States, such as the United States. The United Arab Emirates supported the Palestinians, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in their just struggle to create their own State. It also supported the people of Lebanon in their struggle against the Israeli occupiers.

10. The United Arab Emirates supported all international efforts against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and would continue to meet its obligations under the relevant conventions. Accordingly, it supported the draft plan of activities for the period 1985-1989 and endorsed the right of all colonial peoples to use any means at their disposal, including armed struggle, to gain their freedom.

11. Mr. SOERIAATMADJA (Indonesia) said that the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions adopted over the past nine years in connection with item 84 had, regrettably, still not been implemented properly. Certain countries continued to extend direct and indirect support to the racist régime, even though they had committed themselves to support the Plan of Action for the Second Decade. The "constitutional reforms" recently instituted by South Africa flatly ignored the rights of the black community and served only to perpetuate domination by the racial minority; they had provoked spontaneous demonstrations and strikes. The régime had responded with repressive measures, and many had been imprisoned, tortured or killed. Its new-found confidence was due in part to the support given by certain countries. There was obviously an urgent need to put more political pressure on the régime. The Committee, for its part, should seriously consider steps to be taken by each and every country in order to eliminate those inhuman practices in South Africa.

12. His delegation attached great importance to the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade and supported the Secretary-General's draft plan of activities for the period 1985-1989 (A/39/167 and Add.1-2) and the related recommendations of the Economic and Social Council. Indonesia and its people would always be in the vanguard of the fight against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

13. The Special Rapporteur's report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1-2) was an important step in the collective efforts to combat South Africa's heinous policies and should be given the widest possible distribution, including publication. The maintenance of financial relationships such as those described in the report only perpetuated the policies of the Pretoria régime and greatly aggravated the already grave human-rights situation in South Africa and Namibia. Since the core of the question was increasingly being acknowledged to be economic, a more effective economic embargo was imperative. He therefore appealed to the Governments of countries whose banks, transnational corporations and other organizations were pursuing their activities in South Africa and Namibia to take steps to ensure that such activities stopped. Indonesia for its part, had increased its pressure on South Africa through joint measures with other countries in the fields of trade, sports and culture.

14. His delegation viewed self-determination as a fundamental human right: that view stemmed from Indonesia's own bitter experience in a hard-fought struggle against colonialism and imperialism which had claimed the lives of thousands of its

(Mr. Soeriaatmadja, Indonesia)

citizens. Indonesia placed a high premium on the independence of all peoples and would always support the struggles of oppressed peoples to attain their own independence. It welcomed the accession to independence of Brunei Darussalam and congratulated the Government and people of that country on having joined the United Nations. It also staunchly supported the struggles of genuine liberation movements such as SWAPO and PLO.

15. South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, and Israel's illegal occupation of the Arab lands were grave insults to the entire international community. Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories including Jerusalem, was fundamental to the restoration of peace. Similarly, compliance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was essential in order for Namibia to achieve its independence. Any linkage or conditions that inhibited Namibia's accession to independence should be removed, and every effort must be made to expedite the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia's freedom.

16. Mr. CHIKETA (Zimbabwe) said that members of the Third Committee should attempt to create an atmosphere of co-operation with regard to the issues at hand. The most important victims of failure to do so would be the victims of foreign domination and apartheid.

17. Some Western countries that loudly denounced the denial of human rights in some parts of the world were not only silent with respect to South Africa's violation of human rights but aided and abetted South Africa therein. That explained their material, diplomatic, economic and military support of South Africa. The result of South Africa's refusal to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was the denial to the Namibian people of the right of self-determination. The presence of Cubans in Angola was irrelevant. The twin evils of colonialism and apartheid were impediments to world peace and co-operation, and the international community should unite to eradicate them.

18. Peace in the Middle East would remain elusive as long as the relevant United Nations resolutions were not implemented and as long as the rights of the Palestinian people were denied. Zimbabwe supported the struggle of the Palestinian people under PLO leadership to achieve self-determination and the restoration of their rights.

19. It was obvious that not all countries genuinely wished to eradicate racism and racial discrimination. The low number of countries that had acceded to 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 bore witness to that fact. Many countries did not submit reports required under those Conventions and did not attend conferences on the elimination of racism and racial discrimination. Indeed, many supported racism while speaking out against it in the United Nations.

20. Few countries would be free from the disastrous effects of a racial war. The recent riots in South Africa should surprise no one, because the so-called "new constitution" had been imposed against the people's will.

(Mr. Chiketa, Zimbabwe)

21. South Africa was attempting to overthrow the Governments of neighbouring countries so that it could replace them with puppet régimes. It was able to act in that way only because it was supported by its friends and allies. The two-pronged thrust - the so-called "new constitution" and the "agreements" with its neighbours - was intended to create the impression that a real change was taking place in South Africa. Those who truly wished to see such a change should cease their economic, diplomatic and military support of South Africa.

22. Mrs. TIRONA (Philippines) said that her country stood squarely for the elimination of racism and racial discrimination and the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Genuine political independence was not feasible without full human dignity. The long history of colonialism, particularly in South Africa, bespoke blatant violations of human rights and a conscious attempt to prevent politically independent communities from emerging. The abhorrent practice of apartheid had become a potential threat to world peace and security. The situation was equally disturbing in other regions, including Asia. Her delegation supported the recent General Assembly resolutions calling for a comprehensive political settlement based on the free and independent exercise of the right to self-determination and the protection of fundamental human rights.

23. The United Nations could serve as an instrument for world peace by standing as an example through its moral influence. The programmes it had developed over the years to achieve political independence and human dignity had been very constructive. For example, there now seemed to be a better understanding of the need to eradicate apartheid and to ensure self-determination and the enjoyment of other human rights. The international community must therefore redouble its efforts in practical ways. If there was teaching to be done, it should be done by example.

24. The Philippines was a signatory to almost all international human-rights instruments, and the legal principles contained in them were part and parcel of its basic law. Moreover, it had enacted legislation which specifically branded racial discrimination as a crime and prohibited all organizations and propaganda activities which promoted racial discrimination. The law applied to all public authorities and institutions, national and local.

25. Although her delegation endorsed the two studies on articles 4 and 7 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination referred to in document A/39/18, paragraph 588, it wished to recall that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the exercise of rights and freedoms should be subject to such limitations as were determined by law: freedom was not licence. As article 7 made clear, racial prejudice was an acquired attitude and if it was to be eradicated, the process had to begin from the roots. The immediate institution of educational and cultural measures which would promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all peoples was therefore entirely justified. The Philippines supported the study group's recommendation that an interdisciplinary approach should be taken to educating people about racial discrimination and that the link between racial discrimination and human rights should be emphasized. It also supported the view that special arrangements should be made to enable disadvantaged groups to attend educational institutions.

(Mrs. Tirona, Philippines)

26. In the context of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade (General Assembly resolution 38/14, annex), she pointed out that in 1982 the Philippines had hosted the first Asian and Pacific regional conference on the subject, and in 1983 had presided over a regional seminar on recourse procedures.

27. Although the United Nations had thus far succeeded in preventing potential threats to peace from exploding into a global conflagration, the Governments concerned must now comply with the world community's appeals. An era of consolidation and development, with renewed effort on the economic and social front, must be ushered in, but the international community's efforts could be redirected only if the goal of political independence and human dignity for all was achieved. The United Nations must demonstrate its effectiveness in dealing with racism, self-determination and the full enjoyment of human rights. It must be borne in mind, however, that it was only as effective as its Members wished to make it.

28. Mrs. RODRIGUEZ (Cuba) said that paragraphs 48, 62 and 63 of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade were of special importance in advancing the international struggle against racism and racial discrimination. It was essential to plan activities which would help to achieve the integration of ethnic minorities into society.

29. Her delegation welcomed the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/39/18) and considered that all States should support the Committee's work. Cuba was a party to the International Convention and had submitted the biennial reports required. All signatory States should similarly fulfil their commitment in order to facilitate the Committee's work. In line with its own condemnation of the apartheid régime, Cuba had also signed the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. It regretted that a number of countries still hesitated to ratify those two Conventions; ratification was especially important nowadays in order for countries to demonstrate convincingly and tangibly their commitment to the struggle against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

30. Since the Cuban revolution, and as an expression of fraternal ties linking Cuba to the African countries, efforts to eradicate colonialism and racism in Africa and throughout the world had been the cornerstone of Cuba's foreign policy and popular sentiment. Cuba had always supported the struggle of the Namibian people to free itself from the colonial and racist yoke, and would co-operate with all countries which were truly interested in achieving that objective. The sustained efforts of the United Nations to achieve Namibian independence reflected the unending concern which the international community, and in particular the African peoples, had manifested regarding colonialism, the existence of which provoked unanimous condemnation.

31. Nevertheless, the results achieved so far were not proportional to the gravity of the problem. The Pretoria racists continued to occupy Namibian territory, had imposed the abhorrent system of apartheid upon its inhabitants and continued to use Namibia as a base for aggression against Angola. The South African presence in Namibia was a threat to all African peoples and a source of international tension.

(Mrs. Rodriguez, Cuba)

32. Clearly, the sufferings of the Namibian people would have ended long ago if South Africa had not received all-round support from the United States and some of its Western allies. The report submitted by the Special Rapporteur (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1-2) uncovered the reasons for the current situation in Namibia, whose natural wealth was being consumed voraciously by the imperialist monopolies. It was no secret that certain strategic minerals were of very great value to capitalist industry. It was the transnational corporations, primarily funded by United States and South African capital, which were the main beneficiaries of the continued colonial domination of Namibia. Racism enabled the monopolies in Namibia to reap exceptionally high earnings.

33. The international community must therefore intensify its efforts to achieve compliance with United Nations resolutions on Namibia and to help to put a speedy end to South African occupation. Only thus could the conditions be created for the peaceful independence of Namibia. Until such time, SWAPO had every right to continue its struggle through whatever means it deemed necessary, and the United Nations should do everything in its power to promote the rapid and successful culmination of Namibia's struggle for emancipation.

34. The Zionists who denied the Palestinian people its rights and occupied the territories of Arab countries were using the same policy of exploitation and pillage as the South African racists. The co-operation between the imperialist countries and the Zionist authorities, as well as the all-round support provided by the United States to Israel in the context of their "strategic alliance", had been unequivocally condemned by the international community. Nevertheless, the Zionist invasion forces went on defying the world community with impunity, continued to occupy part of Lebanon and sought to impose conditions which would limit that country's sovereignty. The Cuban people and Government unreservedly supported the Palestinian people's right to return to its homeland, to exercise its right to self-determination and to establish an independent State, as well as recognition of PLO as its sole legitimate representative.

35. The conflict in Central America was a major source of international tension. The struggle being waged there for peace and self-determination was constantly being thwarted by the United States. Indeed, for most of the present century, South and Central America had been harassed by the North, which sought to tailor the political systems it found there to the demands of its huge monopolies. The most recent example of such aggression had been the United States invasion of Grenada in 1983, simply because the political and economic system it had chosen was not to the liking of the United States. The United States continued to occupy Grenada, and the population was still being deprived of its right to self-determination.

36. Cuba had also suffered constant aggression from the North over the past 25 years in the form of infiltration, economic sabotage, deployment of mercenaries, violation of airspace, economic blockade and illegal occupation of part of its territory. But the United States violated the most fundamental human rights not only outside its own borders: even within the country, the Chicano, Puerto Rican, black and native American minorities were subjected to increasingly harsh discrimination. No coercive policy, no diplomatic manoeuvre or economic pressure,

(Mrs. Rodriguez, Cuba)

no military occupation, no aggression against Nicaragua, no threat to Cuba and no false propaganda could hold back the march of time, and sooner or later, all countries would enjoy the right to self-determination.

37. Mr. GÖKTÜRK (Turkey) strongly condemned the increasingly intricate and institutionalized racist policy in South Africa and felt that the recent so-called "reforms" were yet another obnoxious step in the pursuance of apartheid. Concerted action by all Member States against that inhuman practice was imperative. His delegation hoped to see the Member States' utmost co-operation in the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

38. As one of the first countries that had preserved its existence through a war of independence, Turkey was in deep sympathy with the aspiration of the peoples struggling for their independence in Namibia. Every effort should be exerted for the implementation without further delay of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Similarly, continued occupation of the Arab lands by Israel and denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination were the crux of tensions in the Middle East, and the recognition of Palestinian rights, including the recognition of PLO as an equal participant in direct negotiations, was a prerequisite for peace in the region. Moreover, Israel must immediately withdraw all its forces from Lebanon as a first step to reconciliation, without any outside interference.

39. An early political settlement in Afghanistan, involving the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the return of the Afghan refugees to their country, would restore to the Afghan people their right to self-determination. The same should apply, mutatis mutandis, to the situation in Kampuchea.

40. He noted, however, that the terms "racist" and "racially discriminatory" could be applied to the policies of more than one or two Governments. It was a broad concept, involving elements other than colour, and played a role in exacerbating the hatred among nations and communities. Lastly, with regard to self-determination, he said that independence was the first step to closer co-operation, and he warned against the consequences of widespread xenophobia in an increasingly interdependent world.

41. Mrs. IDER (Mongolia) said that her delegation attached considerable importance to self-determination because it was a basic condition for all other human rights. Great efforts were required, however, for the full realization of those rights, especially in South Africa and Namibia, where the people continued to suffer under the cruel colonial and racist yoke. Recent studies had concluded that the racist régime had been able to defy United Nations resolutions and condemnation by the majority of States only through the aid of certain Member States.

42. Her delegation fully supported the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) in its opposition to the Pretoria régime, and SWAPO in its struggle for the independence of Namibia. Mongolia rejected any attempt to link independence with irrelevant issues such as the removal of Cuban troops from Angola. Mongolia urged the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa.

(Mrs. Ider, Mongolia)

43. She expressed her delegation's solidarity with the Palestinian people, who had been subject to massacres, and deplored the Israeli occupation and the support afforded by States to Israel's policies of genocide against the Palestinian and other peoples. PLO, as the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people, was entitled to take part on equal terms in negotiations towards the settlement of the Middle East problem. She supported the proposal made by the Soviet Union in July 1984 for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East in which all interested parties would participate.

44. The right of peoples to self-determination should also be realized in Grenada, whose independence has been crushed by United States armed forces because its social order had not been to Washington's liking. Her delegation condemned the United States-sponsored war against Nicaragua as a gross interference in the internal affairs of that country. Her delegation also felt that the Non-Self-Governing Territories, such as Micronesia, the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and Diego García, which were being used as military springboards, should be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination.

45. Miss MOOKODI (Botswana) said that her country strongly condemned apartheid and would continue to do so until that abhorrent system had been eliminated. Her delegation supported General Assembly resolution 39/2, which rejected South Africa's so-called "new constitution", designed to create further disunity amongst the peoples of South Africa and to exclude the black majority, as null and void, and therefore totally unacceptable.

46. Her delegation was grateful for all efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Namibian issue that would guarantee the people total independence, and it abhorred the continued insistence by the Pretoria régime that independence was conditional on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

47. With regard to the right to self-determination in the Middle East, her delegation supported the right of Israel to exist within internationally recognized boundaries, in conjunction, however, with the restoration to the Palestinians of their rightful land. The international community could count on Botswana's full support in the struggle to end all forms of discrimination in the world.

48. Mr. KEYES (United States of America) said that the opposition of the Government and people of the United States to racism reflected their fundamental commitment and respect for individual human rights in general. Racism was founded on the belief that group identity and its attendant traits entirely determined the character of the individual - a belief which was a particularly virulent form of the collectivist fallacy. Though racism appeared to be discrimination against a racial group, it derived its force from the denial of individuality to those within the group. The racist assumed that members of the same "breed" responded to situations with identical feelings, and to feelings with identical thoughts. Unfortunately, the racist premise could influence the attitudes of those who claimed to be the opponents of racism.

(Mr. Keyes, United States)

49. Some delegations argued that apartheid could be eliminated only by external pressure, in the form of the political, cultural and economic isolation of South Africa, culminating in an armed struggle against the system. Such arguments began from the premise that South African whites would never abandon apartheid and that South African blacks could not successfully overcome it without a violent conflict. Some of those who adhered to that strategy contended that, whatever some individual black South Africans or their leaders might say, blacks as blacks necessarily supported a strategy of disinvestment, isolation and economic sanctions; little attempt was made, however, to consult the views of black South African workers about such a strategy.

50. The United States Government, rejecting the fundamental premise of racism, did not wish to base its policies on the assumption that black South Africans were a stereotypical or monolithic group, despite their uniform opposition to the unjust apartheid system. A study commissioned by the United States State Department on the attitudes of black South African workers towards foreign investment and life in South Africa in general showed that a strong majority of them felt either unhappy or angry with life in South Africa and felt that life was getting worse for them. A majority expressed support for Nelson Mandela, ANC, or other strongly activist anti-apartheid organizations. Over half the respondents felt that armed confrontation was an appropriate course for the people of Namibia, but 67 per cent felt that peaceful protests, negotiation and organization were also appropriate. Such responses suggested a sophisticated understanding of the diverse possibilities of struggle. Although over 90 per cent felt that equity in salaries between blacks and whites was more important than sustaining more rapid economic growth, only 25 per cent agreed with the strategy of foreign disinvestment and trade boycotts.

51. The results of the study confirmed the impression of anger, frustration and militant impatience for change highlighted by recent events in South Africa; they did not suggest, however, that those passions translated into support for the disinvestment, isolationist line that some considered the only form of militancy. The efforts against apartheid must take many forms. Periodic waves of violence might cause a bigger splash, but it was the inexorably rising tide that would ultimately overwhelm. The sources of that tide lay in the daily struggle of South Africans for decent educational opportunities, decent housing, viable labour organizations and a foothold in the system for black businessmen and entrepreneurs. The potential significance of effective organization among black workers as a means to overcome the material inequities imposed by apartheid should not be underestimated.

52. The consequences of the tide of change were, inter alia, the increasing ferment within the white community, the unquenchable doubts within the churches and universities, the increasing recognition in the business community that apartheid was incompatible with a sophisticated modern economy, and the efforts of the white political structure to find some basis for sustaining itself.

53. The United States Government had sought and continued to seek effective ways to strengthen those sources of change and to reinforce their consequences. Such efforts included bringing South Africans to the United States for advanced study, supporting programmes designed to improve basic black educational skills, entrepreneurial training, and drought-relief assistance.

(Mr. Keyes, United States)

54. His delegation believed that the Special Rapporteur's report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1-2) was an example of self-righteous myopia. The report was a trivial listing of those doing business with South Africa and made no attempt to analyse and weigh the consequences, good or ill, for South African blacks or the struggle against apartheid, and made no effort to relate the list to the views of South African blacks. In his statement before the Committee, the Special Rapporteur had smugly derided the Sullivan principles. Yet it could be proven beyond all doubt that those principles had accomplished more real good for ordinary men and women in South Africa than all his invectives, lists and ritual diatribes.

55. In 1984, the number of signatories to the Sullivan principles had risen to 121, including most of the major United States employers in South Africa. Ninety-nine per cent of the Sullivan signatory companies were in compliance with the principle of desegregation of all facilities, and all complied with the principle requiring equal pay for equal work. Since 1980 the average annual pay increases for whites employed at Sullivan signatory companies had been 16 per cent, while for black employees at the same companies it had been 20 per cent. All of the companies were willing to recognize unions, and 94 per cent of the reporting companies had fulfilled the requirement that signatories pay their lowest-paid employees at least 30 per cent more than the minimum established level. During 1982/1983, there had been a threefold increase in the number of blacks participating in education and training programmes sponsored by the companies. United States companies were spending millions of dollars annually to support the education and training of blacks in the general population as well as among their own employees; since 1978, financial contributions by Sullivan signatory companies to programmes covering education and training had increased 11 times to a 1983 level of \$13.2 million.

56. Sometimes the proponents of disinvestment and isolation said that they were powerless and could do nothing except condemn. Sometimes, however, the plea that nothing could be done was just an excuse for doing nothing. Instead of using United Nations influence to push for sterile strategies of isolation and disinvestment, efforts should be made to devise a concrete approach aimed at putting pressure on investors in South Africa for changes that would make a difference in the lives of the ordinary South Africans who were on the real front lines of efforts against injustice. The Sullivan principles could indeed be improved upon if they had the understanding and firm support of a majority of States.

57. His delegation felt that, in the struggle against injustice in South Africa, violence was the way to self-destruction, and rhetoric was not enough. The United States would continue to seek ways to support the people of South Africa in their daily struggle for justice and in their efforts to change their situation without destroying the future that their children must one day inherit, in the full enjoyment of their freedom and human dignity.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.