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SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
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Tuesday, 6 November 1984
at 3 p.m.
New York

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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 24th MEETING**

Chairman: Mr. DIALLO (Guinea)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 31 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA (A/SPC/39/L.3 and Add.1-18)

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): This afternoon the Special Political Committee will continue and conclude its hearings under agenda item 31. At its third meeting, on 21 September, the General Assembly decided, in connection with the present agenda item, which would be considered directly in plenary meeting, that organizations and individuals having a special interest in the question of apartheid would be heard by the Special Political Committee. As members are aware, at its second meeting, on 2 October, the Committee decided to set a deadline of 26 October for the submission of requests for hearings and to consider all requests received by that date at a meeting prior to the hearings. The requests for hearings, contained in document A/SPC/39/L.3/Add.1-18) were subsequently approved by the Committee.

Members will also recall that at its twenty-second meeting the Committee decided to request a verbatim record of these hearings. I appeal to all participants to confine their remarks to the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

The first speaker is the representative of the All African People's Revolutionary Party, Mr. Kwame Ture, and I now call upon him.

Mr. TURE (All African People's Revolutionary Party): The All African People's Revolutionary Party, once again living up to its responsibility to Africa and mankind, comes before this Committee. Our willingness to attend with enthusiasm is a result of our understanding of the essence of humanity. Foremost in our understanding is the necessity of the constant struggle for justice. Indeed, this understanding of the need for constant struggle is a result of, among other things, the enemy's determination to continue to exploit humanity for ever. We must therefore state that it is the persistent effort of the Committee that inspires us to make our humble contribution to its work. In the struggle for justice we are reminded by the great Ahmed Sekou Toure that at the onset of our sacred struggle

"it is necessary to get secured against the risks of discouragement by acquiring a sufficient amount of patience and perseverance".

(Mr. Ture)

This can only be appreciated where there exists the knowledge of the inevitability of victory grounded in a boundless faith in the masses.

Our struggle must advance. Our objective is crystal clear: the destruction of the illegal racist settler régime in South Africa. All their evil tricks must be exposed. We must smash all the pillars supporting them. It is for this reason that the All African People's Revolutionary Party attacks without mercy and without pity the involvement of United States imperialism in Azania. United States support can only be seen in light of the contempt the United States Government has for Africans living in the United States and for other justice-loving peoples. Of course, the ideological relationship between South Africa and the United States of America and other supporters of the unjust system, like the other racist settler régime in Palestine, is clear. We must include all forms of struggle against this unholy alliance.

(Mr. Ture)

Numerous United Nations resolutions have called for the isolation of the settler régime through sanctions, boycotts, condemnations and so forth and so on. Needless to say, South Africa and its allies, in order to render these resolutions futile, have made cosmetic changes. Thus, Mr. Reagan can perpetuate an illusion by telling us that United States companies in Azania-South Africa are offering equal opportunities in employment. Obviously those statements are made in the vain hope of lulling us into a state of contentment. But the people are not fooled. The popular will demonstrates opposition. In the United States there is a strong mobilization effort against any United States investment in South Africa. This movement, popularly called the "Divestiture Movement," is not only found on college campuses; it is also entrenching itself inside governmental structures. City and State governmental bodies, including the capital, Washington DC, have passed laws imposing divestiture within their jurisdiction. Clearly you cannot have any degree of equality in apartheid. This diabolical system must be destroyed.

We must insist that it is only through mass action that apartheid will fall. United Nations sanctions against apartheid are encouraging, but their limitations are blatant proof of the enemy's determination. We must be more determined than the enemy. Our liberation movements, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South West Africa People's Organization, are entities recognized by the United Nations. All justice-loving peoples are inspired by the United Nations decision to recognize the legitimate representatives of the people's popular and authentic struggle. Since United Nations Members blatantly flout sanctions with the racist régime, logic impels the United Nations to furnish actual material support to the liberation movements. Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, one of Africa's most noble sons, never tired of saying, "thought without action is empty". In order to avoid this pitfall our theories and principles must be reflected in concrete action to bring down this monster and its evil allies.

As we speak here, the life-and-death struggle for self-determination is raging in Azania. The conflict, however, is not confined to South Africa. Nkrumah tells us:

"Wherever there is the possibility of conflict arising out of discrimination and the refusal of human rights, the peace of the world is threatened."

(Mr. Ture)

The raison d'être of the United Nations is the preservation of world peace by ensuring justice. The racist settler régime has always been illegal. Justice-loving peoples have always struggled against it from its very beginning. Apartheid is not just the separation of the races. Fundamentally, it is the practice of genocide against a people. In this instance it is white supremacy, racism, naked white power living off the exploitation of Africans. The so-called new constitution being waved by the racists all over the world is nothing but a new means to further white domination and control. Osagyefo tells us that

"the interest of humanity compels every nation to take steps against such inhumanity and barbarity and to act in concert to eliminate it from the world".

Security Council resolution 554 (1984) and General Assembly resolution 39/2, adopted on 28 September 1984, which declares the South African constitution incompatible with the principles of the United Nations Charter and therefore null and void, represent the only responsible action that could be taken. The two Governments that abstained in the votes on them, namely, Great Britain and the United States, have only blemished their nations' history by this irresponsible act. At best, however, they can only give consolation to that doomed system, for apartheid and all its allies shall find its grave in Africa.

The All African People's Revolutionary Party will never tire of pointing out the need for political activity which educates, mobilizes and organizes the people as the only means to ensure justice. That correct principle is validated daily. The eruption in Azania since the announcement of the new constitution, especially in Sharpeville, shows that the people instinctively know that only through struggle will they write their own constitution, and until that day all constitutions are mere shams. The eruption shocked the racists, and once again Sharpeville came to represent the determination of struggling Azania in multiform brilliance.

Fighters for humanity, we call upon Osagyefo once more: "One can compromise over programme, but not over principle." The illegal racist settler régime of South Africa has never been in harmony with the principles of the United Nations. The numerous resolutions of the United Nations condemning the racist régime speak loudly and clearly. Protests against the heinous system are not new. History testifies to the struggle against this despicable contamination of our continent in every form since its invasion. We must increase our efforts to destroy this vicious, bloodthirsty system. The All African People's Revolutionary Party calls

(Mr. Ture)

upon this Committee, in the light of Security Council resolution 544 (1984) and General Assembly resolution 39/2 of 1984, to take the necessary steps to expel South Africa from the world body. South Africa is unfit to sit in council with the nations of the world while violating the very principles of the United Nations.

This act will speed up the process leading to a unified, socialist Africa. At the same time it will advance world humanity. We thank you, members of the Committee, and, as always, we stand ready for the revolution.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I now call upon the representative of African Heritage, Mr. Quentin Smith.

Mr. SMITH (African Heritage): Before beginning my prepared remarks, I would just like to say that I am rather new to this. After hearing the eloquent remarks of Kwame Ture, I would ask the Committee to bear with me. I do not have his background and experience.

On behalf of the freedom-loving peoples of central New Jersey I bring you greetings and warm wishes. First, I would like to apologize for not having had the time to prepare an eloquent speech. However, we in New Brunswick are engaged in a protracted struggle for justice and equality in our own city, and the past two weeks have been extremely busy. Much of the recent work deals with today's subject, apartheid - but we shall get to that later on.

Our concern with apartheid is based on the fact that we are part of the human family and that, hard as the powers in Pretoria might try to deny it, the blacks of South Africa too are part of this human family. As John Donne so eloquently put it: "No man is an Island, entire of it self; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the main...any man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." (Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, XVII)

So we have no choice but to be concerned and to struggle against racism, oppression and tyranny wherever they may raise their ugly heads. Apart from the philosophical rationale for our concern with apartheid, we in central Jersey have with our sisters and brothers in South Africa a common oppressor and exploiter, namely, Johnson and Johnson, whose international headquarters are based in New Brunswick, and Rutgers University. Johnson and Johnson has factories and holdings in both South Africa and Namibia worth well in excess of \$25 million. Rutgers

(Mr. Smith)

University has stock holdings of close to \$13 million with corporations that do business with apartheid South Africa. Johnson and Johnson and its partners in crime, Rutgers University, happen to be the driving force behind the so-called revitalization efforts in New Brunswick, which are not unlike the "urban renewal" of the 1960s, which was nothing more than a code word for black removal.

In his remarks the Chairman asked that we only speak to the question of apartheid South Africa. We in New Brunswick find our local struggle linked inextricably with the issues of apartheid, and for that reason I have included some local-struggle remarks in my presentation.

The "revitalization" currently taking place within the city of New Brunswick is racist, and our efforts to free ourselves would be hollow indeed if we did not recognize the oppressive role played by Johnson and Johnson and Rutgers University in apartheid South Africa.

(Mr. Smith)

Clearly understanding that solidarity is not an act of charity but mutual aid between forces fighting for the same objective, we in New Brunswick proudly stand in solidarity with the courageous and righteous struggles of the peoples of southern Africa. At this time I would like to enumerate some of the activities we have been involved in over the past three years which have demonstrated our solidarity with our brethren in southern Africa. When we began African heritage, when we began our anti-apartheid work three years ago, it became painfully apparent that the residents of the city were not well aware of the burning issues around apartheid South Africa, Namibia, the Johnson and Johnson and Rutgers University connection, and the American Government's complicity with the oppressive régime in Pretoria.

Obviously, our first task was an educational and consciousness-raising one. This was done by conducting a petition drive which forced us to inform people as to the issue, and at the end of the drive we sponsored our first forum on the issue, a rally in solidarity with the liberation struggles of the peoples of southern Africa. Copies of the petition - over 1000 signatures were gathered in the three-week period - were sent to all Senators and Congress people, as well as to executives of Rutgers University and Johnson and Johnson. Recognizing the need to continue the educational process, not only regarding southern Africa but also pertaining to the local struggle, two years ago we launched our quarterly news-letter, called The Talking Drum.

The first-page story of its first issue was the entertainers' boycott of South Africa, and we promptly displayed on the back page the list of entertainers who had defied the boycott and travelled to South Africa. We urged that their concerts, records and appearances be boycotted and picketed.

Each of the seven succeeding issues of The Talking Drum contains a story on apartheid. Other activities in which we in central New Jersey have been involved include: first, the successful effort to stop Sun City from obtaining a gaming licence in Atlantic City; secondly, participation with the Rutgers students in their efforts to get Rutgers to divest. At present this is a burning issue on campus. Already, this semester, two demonstrations of several hundred students have taken place, and another is scheduled for Friday. We have sponsored yearly forums whose purpose is to inform and inspire, and we have conducted several modest fund-raising efforts on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

(Mr. Smith)

In the New Brunswick community, on 22 September of this year, we sponsored a street rally whose theme was "New Brunswicks like Johannesburg". This rally, attended by close to 300 people, called for an end to racist revitalization and demanded that Rutgers and Johnson and Johnson stop their support of fascist South Africa immediately. David Ndaba of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) was one of the rally's key-note speakers.

Just recently we discovered that the National Council of Churches was coming to New Brunswick to hold a Governance Assembly. Coretta Scott King and Bishop Desmond Tutu are to be honoured at this gala, which begins tomorrow afternoon. This affair was to be held at the local Hyatt Hotel, which engages in racist and anti-labour practices and which was built to accommodate the guests of Johnson and Johnson and Rutgers University.

Unknown to the National Council of Churches was the fact that on 22 September we had initiated a community boycott of this infamous hotel. This week and last we have been in intensive negotiations in an effort to find a workable solution to this dilemma. We believe we have found one. First, Bishop Tutu will not be honoured at that hotel, but instead in the local Dutch Reform Church. Secondly, the National Council of Churches will make a public statement explaining that they were unaware of the boycott and that they agree with our issues concerning revitalization in New Brunswick. Coretta Scott King, along with the President of the National Council of Churches, Bishop Philip Cousins, will join us in a street rally tomorrow and speak on local issues, as well as call for divestment by Rutgers and withdrawal by Johnson and Johnson from apartheid South Africa.

Members of our local coalition will be invited to speak to the Governance Assembly and the National Council of Churches will establish a long-term relationship with the local coalition.

I have not spoken at any great length about the larger picture: the United States Government's support of apartheid and Ronald Reagan's policy of constructive, so-called, engagement. Obviously, from what I have reported, we oppose any aid and comfort being given to the apartheid State of South Africa by this or any other nation. It disturbs us to hear President Reagan refer to Russia as an evil empire at the same time as he joins hands with the most brutal, inhumane system in the world since Nazi Germany: apartheid South Africa. It disturbs us to hear our President speak of the Solidarity Union as a liberating force for the

(Mr. Smith)

Polish people but condemn the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). It dismays us to hear the United States Government speak about Soviet Jewry and yet remain silent on the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and so many of his people.

It confounds us that United States Government can abstain on a United Nations Security Council resolution that would sanction South Africa for its recent Gestapo-like raids, citing excessive language as the pretext for abstaining. Would Ronald Reagan and the Reagan Administration were so concerned about the excesses of South Africa.

In closing, I would like to state that indeed we in New Brunswick - and I believe all freedom-loving people the world over - are confident of a people's victory in South Africa, and that indeed we recognize that one day soon South Africa will be free, for as the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. once said: "No lie can live for ever, and truth crushed to the ground will rise again".

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of the Lutheran World Federation, Mr. Paul Wee.

Mr. WEE (Lutheran World Federation): My name is Paul Wee, General Secretary of Lutheran World Ministries, which is the United States Committee of the Lutheran World Federation.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for your invitation to make a statement and petition to your Committee in preparation for consideration by the General Assembly under the item "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

In order that members of the Committee may understand the relationship of the Lutheran World Federation to the United Nations, permit me to say that the Lutheran World Federation is an association of 99 church bodies from 92 countries on six continents. The churches have over 54 million baptized members. The Lutheran World Federation is in consultative status, category II, with the Economic and Social Council. It is a working partner with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and has close relations with the liberation movements which are recognized by the United Nations in providing goods and services for humanitarian assistance.

At the Seventh Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation held in Budapest, Hungary, from 22 July to 5 August 1984, a great deal of attention was focused on the situation of southern Africa in general and apartheid in particular. The Assembly had a special obligation to address this issue since over a million black

(Mr. Wee)

brothers and sisters affiliated with member churches of the Lutheran World Federation live in South Africa and Namibia. Their situation has been on the agenda of the Lutheran World Federation every seven years when assemblies are held. In Dar es Salaam, the United Republic of Tanzania, in 1977, the Assembly put on notice two relatively small racially segregated member churches of the Lutheran World Federation in South Africa and Namibia by stating that because apartheid is contrary to the teachings of the Bible and the confessions of the Lutheran Church, those churches must reject apartheid and work for change in order to demonstrate that the church is united and makes no distinctions between races. Sadly, these two churches, one in South Africa and one in Namibia, with a total baptized membership of 21,000 persons, predominantly of German origin, did not heed this call of their brothers and sisters throughout the world, did not publicly and unequivocally reject apartheid and have not worked for change in the apartheid system in order to end the division of the church on racial grounds. The Lutheran World Federation therefore suspended the membership of these churches, meaning that they cannot send voting delegates to the meetings of the Federation or serve on any of its governing boards.

(Mr. Wee)

The Assembly took supportive actions also and called on its executive committee to co-operate with those white individuals within the Lutheran community who have worked and continue to work for a positive change in their church bodies, and it further urged its member churches to assist all peoples in South Africa to resist separate development, the so-called homelands policy of the South African Government.

The Assembly also recognized that apartheid, a government-mandated form of racial discrimination, could not easily exist without overt or covert support from outside South Africa. It therefore resolved that its member churches which have close international ties with the suspended churches and have had agreements to support them with personnel or money, in consultation with the other Lutheran churches in South Africa and Namibia, reconsider those agreements and either suspend such support or find ways to assure that such support in no way assists the suspended churches in resisting the change called for by the Lutheran World Federation.

The Federation went further and urged all of its member churches throughout the world to take visible and concrete steps including the boycotting of goods and the withdrawal of investments, and to end all economic and cultural support of apartheid even as they continue to urge their own Governments, business organizations and trade unions to observe strict enforcement of military and oil embargoes and boycotts concerning culture, sports, the transfer of nuclear technology and the importation of nuclear materials, in order to isolate South Africa until such time as apartheid is totally dismantled.

The Lutheran World Federation asked each member church to actively oppose all forms of racism in its own life and in the life of each country, particularly as this is expressed in times of growing unemployment and economic concern, especially against foreign workers, ethnic minorities and refugees. And it finally asked each Lutheran World Federation member church to take action to remove all vestiges of institutional racism from its own structure.

Many of the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation had already responded to many of these calls. Member Lutheran World Federation churches in the United States, for instance, have voted to disinvest from companies which operate in South Africa, and now that process is under way.

(Mr. Wee)

These same churches funded, beyond their normal anti-apartheid activity, a special \$175,000 programme which began in September 1983 and will continue until March 1985. This programme is designed to raise awareness among their members of the situation in South Africa and Namibia and help them understand how they can oppose the apartheid system by liturgical, economic and political means. It was implemented especially during this period of time so that many candidates running for national public office would be confronted with questions regarding their positions on such things as the "constructive engagement" policy of the Reagan Administration, economic sanctions, and the like.

Indeed, Lutheran World Ministries has been particularly conscious of its obligation to confront its Government's policies whenever those policies support apartheid or can be interpreted as supporting apartheid. Our organization's governing board meets only once a year, but as early as November 1982 that board deplored the policy of the United States Government known as "constructive engagement", by noting that it renewed the training of South African Navy personnel at United States Coast Guard stations; that it received South African military personnel on official visits; that it established new South African consulates in the United States, permitted official visits by United States diplomats to the so-called homelands, and permitted the sale to South Africa of specialized equipment and aircraft which can be employed by the military and the sale of electric batons to South African distributors; and that it protected South Africa by a veto in the Security Council after South Africa's illegal invasion of Angola.

On the other hand, South Africa has again delayed implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and brought instability to the region by bombing, strafing and occupying southern Angola, by invading Zimbabwe, and by installing an undisciplined defence force in Namibia which harasses and abuses the Namibian people.

Our governing board, on the same occasion, urged the United States Government to formally dissociate itself from making the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola a pre-condition for implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

(Mr. Wee)

Since that time there have been increased manifestations of South Africa's hostility and brutality against its black residents. Three million people have been forcibly removed from their homes, thousands have been arrested, hundreds have been killed, front-line States have been invaded, occupied and/or destabilized. "Constructive engagement" has dictated vetoes or abstentions by the United States to United Nations Security Council resolutions which were designed to punish South Africa for its aggression against its own people and those of neighbouring States. Lutheran World Ministries has made its judgements on "constructive engagement" known at the highest levels of the United States Government. It has done this both independently and in co-operation with other anti-apartheid non-governmental organizations.

Member churches of the Lutheran World Federation in the United States give regular financial and board membership support to other non-governmental anti-apartheid organizations such as the Africa Fund of the American Committee on Africa, the Lawyers' Committee on Civil Rights Under Law and the Washington Office on Africa. It is a matter of concern to many non-governmental organizations in the United States that our Government has not had a meeting with representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).

(Mr. Wee)

In addition to these resolutions and programmes, which are focused on the anti-apartheid activities of their own members, the Lutheran World Federation is a partner with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in many parts of the world, including Africa. Of particular interest to your Committee is the work carried on in Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania in serving the victims of apartheid who have gone into exile. In its work among these refugees the Lutheran World Federation will spend \$3 million in 1985, even as it has for many years previously. Each year new programmes evolve in an attempt to serve refugees in a manner that will not only sustain them while in exile but also equip them better for the days when they can return home to live in freedom in their native land. The work is done in collaboration with the liberation movements recognized by the United Nations as legitimate representatives of their people.

In our own role as moulders of public opinion, the Lutheran World Federation has contact with thousands of opinion-makers weekly, and in these weekly contacts has the opportunity to share news and opinions regarding people living under apartheid. Our basic communication medium is a news service published in the English and German languages. It is called Lutheran World Information and is mailed weekly to 3,250 editors and other subscribers, both church-related and secular. The articles carried by Lutheran World Information are then reprinted by periodicals, whose subscriptions run into the millions. It is fair to say that practically every week articles relating to apartheid, colonialism and racism appear in the news service and then are multiplied by appearing in the church and secular press throughout the world.

I mention all these things simply to inform you of our continuing interest in the people of South Africa and Namibia and our activity in supporting them in their quest for freedom and independence. While we have this kind of concern for people wherever they are denied such freedom, we have a special interest in southern Africa because of the way apartheid divides people not only socially and politically but also ecclesiastically. A bishop who serves churches in some sectors of South Africa cannot travel freely in the area but is forced by the bantustanization of the country to acquire work permits and visas in order to enter those areas of South Africa which the South African Government alone recognizes as independent States.

The non-recognition of those bantustans by the rest of the world is a policy

(Mr. Wee)

that we support, but again it adds burdens to those who would travel outside of their country. Special arrangements are required for passport waivers, for example, and, while most - perhaps all - Governments grant such waivers, this places many travellers in a position of uncertainty and anxiety. The United Nations might want to consider issuing a travel document that would substitute for the worthless passport carried by those who, under protest, are forced to live in these illegal States.

Many church leaders, as you know, are among the people who are outspoken opponents of apartheid. At the same time that Bishop Desmond Tutu received the Nobel Peace Prize, a distinction he richly deserves and which causes us to rejoice, a prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban, the president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, was being charged with the crime of "publishing a report regarding the South Africa police without having reasonable grounds for believing the statement is true". This is taken from Section 27 B of the Police Act No. 7 of 1958. The trial of Archbishop Hurley is scheduled for 18 February 1985. The report which Archbishop Hurley published was made after the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference sent observers to Namibia, where they learned from a variety of sources of the intimidation, torture and brutality inflicted on Namibians by the South Africans, especially through their special unit known as the Koevoet. Churches in the international community will again be financially burdened - burdens are borne cheerfully but they are burdens none the less - in order to send observers to that trial, as they have sent observers to others where people, clergy and laity, Christians and non-Christians, have been tried either under unjust laws or in suits of gross harassment. Harassment suits, by the way, are brought to court by South Africans not only in South Africa but also in the United States, forcing anti-apartheid groups to use their precious resources of time and money to counteract the charges.

We share your often discouraging and frustrating assignment of combating apartheid, rightly described as a crime against humanity.

We find ourselves in substantial agreement with the resolutions of the United Nations and support them in our role as formulators of public opinion, agents of humanitarian assistance to refugees in exile, and people dedicated to freedom, peace, justice and reconciliation. We would urge you to continue your strong opposition to apartheid at the governmental level. It is of great assistance to us

(Mr. Wee)

non-governmental organizations to have timely publications available, if possible for wide circulation, and we urge a larger budget to make such publications available in generous quantity.

We would also urge that, in addition to non-governmental organizations being invited to anti-apartheid conferences of Government representatives, the United Nations give serious consideration to sponsoring conferences for non-governmental organizations exclusively.

Finally, Lutheran World Ministries has been on record since 1978 as supporting comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa if it refuses to co-operate with the resolutions of the Security Council. In spite of South Africa's protestations that it is co-operating in the case of Namibia, for instance, and that other United Nations resolutions lie outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations, it is our judgement that South Africa's intransigence should be answered with comprehensive, mandatory sanctions by the world community.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the representative of the American Committee on Africa, Ms. Stephanie Urdang, upon whom I now call.

Ms. URDANG (American Committee on Africa): On behalf of the American Committee on Africa, I wish to express our appreciation for the opportunity to appear at this hearing on "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

It is never possible to say enough about the horrors of apartheid. It has so many dimensions. But one of the most brutal aspects of that system, and one of the most blatant infringements of human rights that the world has ever witnessed, is the South African Government's policy of removals.

During the past 20 years, 3.5 million people have been moved by force. Almost 2 million more are currently under threat of removal. Of these, well over half live in the so-called black spots. In other words, they live on African-owned land within areas designated "white" and can thereby be distinguished from those Africans who have never been permitted to own land. One such area is Driefontein, in the eastern Transvaal. This community presents a graphic example of the way in which the Government coerces people to move. It is a process that brings untold hardship to the communities they seek to destroy and to the families which are split apart as a result.

(Ms. Urdang)

On Easter Saturday last year, Saul Mkhize, the leader of Driefontein, was murdered by a young white policeman just before he was about to address a community meeting. He was shot in cold blood. Mkhize's "crime" was his refusal to obey a Government order to move from his ancestral home in Driefontein. But from the perspective of the apartheid régime, his actions had assumed proportions much larger and much more threatening. It was as if he had been preaching armed revolution. Not only had he personally refused to move, but, through his stature as a land-owner and his ability to lead, he had organized his entire community to resist the order.

When the community was notified in 1981 by the Government that they must move, Mkhize began leading the resistance with moderation and caution. But as each appeal, each attempt to reason, was met with Government intransigence, he became more militant. All the while his feelings of foreboding grew. He knew that there were people "hunting to kill him", his wife, Beauty Mkhize said. She quoted him as saying further,

"I will be happy if I am laid to rest next to the graves of my grandmother and my grandfather because I am fighting for the place where I was born. But even if they kill me, I know that right around the world I have sisters and brothers who will help us."

On the anniversary of Mkhize's death, the policeman who killed him was acquitted of all charges brought against him. The verdict enraged the people, but it also increased their sense of vulnerability. Said one resident:

"We are like dead meat now. We can be shot at any time quite freely. We are like birds in the sky to be aimed at. If we shot a wild animal on one of the white farms, we would go to gaol for a long time, but the whites here can kill a human being and be congratulated."

Beauty Mkhize began to take an active leadership role and help fill the void that resulted from his death. The Mkhize house continues to be the hub of the community, where residents bring their problems and where Beauty Mkhize plans strategy with members of the Council and with lawyers when they visit. The problems are many, and Driefontein is a community under siege. It is being economically strangled. No new pensions, no new reference books, no new jobs as migrant workers. Disability payments and unemployment insurance applications are not being processed. For many families this is their only means of survival. And in addition, the level of general harassment and assault have risen.

(Ms. Urdang)

All African women over the age of 60 and men over the age of 65 are entitled to State pensions. The maximum pension for Africans is 57 rands a month. For whites it is 152 rand. For the many old people living in Driefontein a pension makes the difference between eating and constant hunger. Typical is the case of Harriet Nkosi. She was born in May 1900. In 1960 her husband died, and her children have since married and left home. She has nobody to support her. She went many times, she said, to the District Commissioner's office to apply for a pension. The journey begins with an hour's walk to the bus-stop, followed by an hour-and-a-half bus ride costing two rand each way. "One time they told me to go home because I was not old enough", she said in an interview. "They told me my children must help me. They told me I must go and find another husband." Her last visit was a year ago. She has heard nothing since. She has no more money for wasted journeys.

One of Driefontein's greatest fears now is that the Government will impose a chief who will secretly negotiate a removal pact. This has happened in other communities, and already the authorities are trying to promote a man named Yende to this position. To try and entrench him as chief, the Commissioner is insisting that Mr. Yende's authorizing signature appear on all reference books and labour contract applications.

Harassment has become commonplace. The Mkhize's 17-year-old son was assaulted by nine policemen shortly before Saul Mkhize's murder. He was severely beaten up and strangled with his shirt until he lost consciousness. They asked him repeatedly why his father was resisting removal. Since then there have been two cases of deaths in police custody after two youths were arrested and tortured. There have been cases of white farmers killing Africans from the area. No one has served a prison sentence for these crimes.

Once the Government has exhausted its tactics and the community steadfastly refuses to move like so much cattle, what then? The people of Mogopa have already found out. When they were ordered to move from their farm in the western Transvaal they refused to comply. The Government, confronted by organized and strong resistance, mounted a counter-attack. It re-entrenched a corrupt headman whom the community refused to recognize. Bulldozers razed the school, the church and some houses. Services were withdrawn - no pensions were paid out, no annual labour contracts were issued and the bus service was suspended.

(Ms. Urdang)

Then a removal squad arrived, complete with tractors, trucks and buses, and camped on their land. Challenged in court for trespass, the Government backed down, but temporarily. Soon the people of Mogopa received an order to leave for Pachsdraai in Bophuthatswana, a bantustan, by 29 November 1983. Hundreds of supporters - black and white church people, students, political groups and the press - arrived to wait with the people for the Government trucks. They did not come.

The Mogopa residents began to rebuild their battered community. They raised money to buy a new water pump. The men rebuilt the school. The women rebuilt the roads.

But in the early hours of the morning of 14 February this year, heavily armed police arrived in Mogopa and declared it an "operational zone" - a term usually reserved for the war zones in Namibia. No outsiders were allowed in. Lawyers, priests, diplomats and the press were all turned away at the entrance. The police, working with dogs, forcibly loaded people and belongings onto buses and trucks and took them to Pachsdraai. They arrived to a barren welcome, with their furniture broken, many possessions lost, their cattle sold at a pittance to farmers in the panic of removal. Pachsdraai was far from towns and jobs. The depleted soil was unsuitable for farming, and the hated headman was given complete control over the allocation of all resources.

The Mogopa people refused to stay in this waste land. Using their last resources, they moved to another area of the bantustan, Bethanie, which is under the jurisdiction of their paramount chief. Their life, however, is still painfully difficult. The strong community lives divided into three groups, without water, without permission to hold meetings, without grazing grounds, without plots to farm. They are among the many to experience the full meaning of removal.

The prognosis for Driefontein is no better. The Government has determined that the people of Driefontein must be split up, Zulus to be resettled in Babanango, in the bantustan of KwaZulu, and Swazis in Lochiel, in the bantustan of Kwangwane. Much has been publicized about the horrendous conditions in these bantustans, where the vast majority lives in dire poverty. The people of Driefontein are destined to be uprooted from their thriving and unified community to certain destitution.

It is unlikely that the South African régime will give way. There has been no let up to the implementation of the bantustan policies and their goal of ridding white South Africa of people apartheid cannot use.

(Ms. Urdang)

Beauty Mkhize, a critical figure in the resistance struggle, is determined not to go. When interviewed recently, she said:

"There is just one thing I want to ask the Government, just one thing: when are you going to come and force us to move? When? I want to know the exact date, because on that day you can come and shoot me and you can bury me here beside Saul without a coffin, because I am not moving. I am not leaving Saul."

The American Committee on Africa has now begun to take up the issue of removals. It is too urgent to ignore, and the international community must be alerted as broadly as possible. We see this as complementary to the ongoing divestment campaign in which we are already involved. Education about the horrors of apartheid will emphasize the need for action. And in the United States, where 350 of its corporations invest in and profit off apartheid, it is essential that more of its citizens know what apartheid really means for the men, the women and the children of South Africa.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the American-South African Peoples' Friendship Association, Mr. Bojana Jordan.

Mr. JORDAN (American-South African Peoples' Friendship Association): The American-South African Peoples' Friendship Association (ASAPFA) salutes you and welcomes this opportunity to identify itself with the legitimate aspirations for the complete liberation of the millions of Azanians still locked up in that human prison of slavery called South Africa.

From the outset we want to associate ourselves completely with General Assembly resolution 39/2 and Security Council resolution 554 (1984). Both those resolutions correctly declare the constitution of South Africa null and void, ab initio. It is necessary for us to quote just two sections of the 1961 constitution of the Republic of South Africa to substantiate our political indictment. Articles 30 (d) and 46 (c) read:

"No person shall be qualified to be a senator or a member of the House of Assembly under this Act unless he is a white person and is a South African citizen."

Pretoria has revised that constitution, but the 26 million black majority still has no place in the new Parliament.

With brevity it can be said that the entire constitution is a sham and it represents the apartheid system of oppression. Likewise, under the law, 87 per cent of the richest part of the land has been given to the minority settlers and 13 per cent, comprising the most barren and poorest land, given as "homelands" for the 80 per cent blacks. What else than the ongoing mass rebellions can be expected from that constitution and the system it perpetuates? The bitter-sweet struggle of life and death of the Azanians to repossess their land will continue until freedom is achieved.

The complete and wanton disregard for the life and human rights of the blacks in that country has been well illustrated by two cases during the last 20 months. A white youth who battered a black man to death was ordered to serve 50 days in prison on week-ends. According to the trial testimony, 20-year-old Van der Merwe had bragged to his girlfriend that he just felt like killing a "hout-kop" - a blockhead - which he did. The judge could "understand" the action, because the white youth was upset because his parents were considering a divorce. Last summer a Johannesburg judge acquitted a white man who had killed a black man for attempting to steal 49 cents milk money. The judge said that the white killer

(Mr. Jordan)

deserved a medal for civic service, since a rash of money thefts in the neighbourhood had ceased since the killing. If that is not the law of the jungle under a racist constitution then what is?

Liberation movement leaders in Azania-South Africa - have expressed their hatred of racism in no uncertain terms. They have issued positive statements explaining their position and remedy for racism. Mangaliso Sobukwe, President-Founder of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), has said:

"The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which all belong, and that is the human race. In our vocabulary, therefore, the word 'race', as applied to man, has no plural form."

PAC documents go on to state:

"We wish to emphasize that freedom of the African means freedom of all in South Africa, the European included."

ASAPFA recognizes the need for knowledge of and concern about the racist South African Government on the part of all Americans and all the people in the world. After having studied and analysed the genocidal conditions in South Africa, ASAPFA would like to propose a United Nations conference in the spring - a conference made up at least partly of educators to discuss ways and means by which we can provide good, factual and Afrocentric information to schools, abroad as well as in the United States, divestment groups, boycott groups, and all other manner of anti-apartheid organizations. The purpose of that conference would be to ascertain what groups need in the way of educational materials, how these materials can be obtained, who can or should prepare them, and how they can be disseminated.

It seems to us that the following points illustrate the need for such a conference: first, those of us represented here and many others want to help put an end to apartheid; secondly, the Azanian-South African people themselves will be the liberators; and, thirdly, how the rest of us can help. Obviously with money, moral support and other forms of material assistance. However, liberation from the yoke of racism will happen faster and the Azanians will have a better opportunity for a decent life if they are allowed to solve their own problem in their own way, without interference from outside. The Azanians can win their freedom and they can build a prosperous and just society, but only if they are not hampered by interference from colonialist and commercial forces.

(Mr. Jordan)

The only way to prevent colonialist and commercial forces from working against the process of justice is to create pressures in their countries which will discourage such action. In other words, the people of many countries must put pressure on their Governments and commercial interests - pressure that will dampen the adventuresome spirit that several of them have shown in similar situations in the past. Boycotts, both cultural and commercial, divestment, movies, speeches and school curricula - all have to be utilized to that end. They have been utilized, but not as efficiently as they could have been. To be effective in any of the aforementioned activities, we must convince people not to support apartheid and to do everything they can to ensure that their Governments and businesses do not support apartheid. This is a selling job. All salespersons know that one must have a good product, and we do. But to sell that product people must have good information about it - in this case, the truth about apartheid.

(Mr. Jordan)

The Centre against Apartheid has been doing a good job within its capabilities and means; however, we must go beyond that level. ASAPFA proposes a structured meeting in the spring of 1985 at the United Nations, with representatives from all groups working towards ending apartheid. At that meeting we should ascertain the kinds of information needed by the groups, plus those needed by educational institutions. We must ask the people doing the work, "What do you need to make your work more effective?" Then we must plan how to accomplish the task. How can we get Afrocentric views on the problem of apartheid, and how do we prepare that information for popular consumption? Also, who is to do the work? We must have some centralization or we shall duplicate work. Our goal is too important and immediate for us to be wasting time duplicating each other's efforts. We have much to do and little time in which to do it.

The Centre is the logical agency to co-ordinate and oversee an apartheid information project, but the Centre needs input from those of us who are trying to sell, and it needs more resources. If we bring together all those groups which want to end the madness of apartheid, we can collectively get on with fighting our common foe. Members of ASAPFA will gladly help the Centre in planning a conference such as the one we propose.

In this manner we suggest: let us organize through that conference and effectively end apartheid in the world.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the Revolution in Africa Action Committee, Ms. Julie Nalibov.

Ms. NALIBOV (Revolution in Africa Action Committee): On behalf of the Revolution in Africa Action Committee, I should like to thank the Special Political Committee for extending this opportunity to us to speak on the question of apartheid and South Africa's relationship to the United Nations. We extend our full support and solidarity to the national liberation movements representing the true aspirations of the people of South Africa and Namibia - the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The masses of South Africa, with their courageous resistance to the new constitution, to the sham elections, to the ever-worsening social and economic conditions, and to continued white minority rule have clearly shown that there can be no true peace in southern Africa until apartheid is demolished and self-determination is won by the African people.

(Ms. Nalibov)

The recent award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu reflects the international community's recognition of the heightening struggle of the people inside Azania-South Africa. It is a victory in that it helps focus the world's attention on the plight of the people of southern Africa and the growing resistance there today. But we must be clear that not until the land is returned to the people and they themselves are able to establish a free and independent society, determined by their own needs, will there be peace and justice in Azania-South Africa and in Namibia.

We recognize and congratulate the United Nations for its stand in relation to the new constitution. Security Council resolution 554 (1984) and General Assembly resolution 39/2 have declared South Africa's constitution null and void.

The United States has its policy of so-called constructive engagement, the aim of which is to subvert the liberation movements and to give legitimacy to the illegal white minority régime. Its cynical words have been belied by the United States stance in the Security Council: it alone abstained in the previously mentioned vote.

The oppressed people of Azania-South Africa have left no room for doubt about the constitution - a constitution which denies all rights to 73 per cent of the population, institutionalizes apartheid and literally makes millions of Africans foreigners on their own soil. That constitution aims at creating parliamentary bantustans for the so-called Coloureds and persons of Asian origin.

In the face of the most brutal repression by the racist régime, in the face of tear-gas, whips, clubs, tanks and automatic weapons, and in the face of police who have gained international notoriety for their propensity for attacking and murdering small children, the people have once again risen up - in Sharpeville, in Soweto, in Sebokeng, in Natal, in townships all over South Africa.

We understand what the people of South Africa are saying. We call for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations. We call for the international economic and military sanctions against South Africa to be upheld. And we condemn the United States for its consistent violation of those international sanctions.

As the Revolution in Africa Action Committee, we are committed to continuing to build support in this country for the liberation movements, for ANC, PAC and SWAPO through educational forums, through protests, through cultural boycotts and divestment campaigns and, importantly, through the raising of material aid, and we

(Ms. Nalibov)

are committed to exposing the United States policy of "constructive engagement" and the United States Government's role in economically and politically backing the illegal white settler régime of South Africa.

Down with apartheid. Down with United States intervention in southern Africa. Long live the African resistance. Victory to ANC, PAC and SWAPO. Long live international solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the National Association of Black Journalists, Mr. Frank Dexter Brown.

Mr. BROWN (National Association of Black Journalists): On behalf of the New York Association of Black Journalists and of the Front-line State Media Project, I should like to express our solidarity with the people of South Africa who are struggling for national liberation and self-determination against the illegal and oppressive rule of the racist South African régime.

As journalists dedicated to publishing the truth, exposing injustice here in the United States and around the world, we applaud the South African people, led by the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), in their struggle against increasing fascism in their land; and we commit ourselves to assisting our brothers, sisters and comrades in their quest for liberation. By filling the air waves, newspapers, magazines and television with information about the conditions inside South Africa we will help to inform the people of America about the liberation struggle in South Africa.

We meet today during a very critical period. This very minute, as has been the case during the past two months, the country of South Africa is in a state of revolution; the masses of the people have taken to the streets to vent their anger against the racist régime's growing repression; the youth and elderly are in the streets boycotting schools and jobs and taking strong actions against apartheid. But in so doing many have had to lay down their lives. More than 100 persons have died in the streets of South Africa since September, and the blood continues to flow.

(Mr. Brown)

None of us can sit idly by here and watch these genocidal acts of the fascist régime. We democratic people cannot just sit back in silence. We must respond. Journalists, especially black journalists, have a role to play in informing the American public, for certainly we must play an active role in the struggle. We must study and report on the current uprisings in South Africa, and we must spur on our people to respond to these vicious acts of the South African régime, especially now that the Reagan Administration has chosen to make the United States the foremost ally of the fascist South African régime.

It is obvious that the struggle of the fighting peoples of South Africa and Namibia is irreversible, because it is part and parcel of the fight of all humanity for peace, justice and global security, and their fight is one with the fight that we are waging here in the United States - that Afro-American people are waging - as together we struggle against unemployment, hunger, homelessness, desperation, colonialism - and in South Africa of course that is apartheid. Our struggles are also the same because the corporations and banks that are the source of the economic depression affecting low-income people, African people here in the United States, are the very same institutions that are financing the repressive apartheid régime. These same corporations are the ones that pay the bills of the apartheid régime, that finance the régime and allow that régime to continue to spread its misery to the South African people. Therefore, the peoples of the United States and South Africa are joined together by history, moulded by struggle and share a common destiny with the peoples of Africa in general and southern Africa in particular.

Today over 500 United States companies operate in South Africa, with between 10 and 15 accounting for some 75 per cent of all direct United States investments, which total close to \$15 billion per year. At the same time, United States companies control the most vital sectors of the South African economy, including 38 per cent of the motor-vehicle market, 44 per cent of petroleum products and 70 per cent of the computer market. More than 125 American banks and financial institutions have participated in loans and trade financing for South Africa. And what must be of the greatest concern to the American people is the growing military collaboration between the United States and the South African régime, particularly in the last four years. This is an item that we must be more informed about. This relationship serves the militaristic drives of both countries. The minerals for the United States nuclear-war machine come mainly from the southern African region, as does 90 per cent of its manganese, which is essential to steel-making, 90 per cent of the cobalt used in cutting tools and jet engines, 89 per cent of platinum metals and 90 per cent of the chromium used in making stainless steel. At

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the same time, United States corporations provide for South Africa the goods and technology to arm the police and the military, which repress the black majority. All of this hardware and technology is used to extend South African repression. It costs the South African régime, the South African racists, \$5 million a day to maintain the South African police and over \$2 million to maintain South African police and military operations within Namibia.

Today the situation in southern Africa grows more urgent and immediate measures are required to halt the mass destruction which is taking place now. We must respond to this, and we must respond by further informing our people. We must stand strong and be vigilant; we must write about the growing collaboration of the so-called policy of constructive engagement that the Reagan Administration enforces; we must be courageous enough to call that policy what it really is - an outright plan of genocide, a plan in total support of fascism, a plan based on the total extermination of the people of South Africa and all the peoples of southern Africa. It is a plan of imperialism.

These are frightening times, and we must make sure that people are informed. We come together at a time when the people of the United States are involved in a process that will have far-reaching effects on the people of the world, for if the current Administration is given four more years to continue its current policy, the amount of pain and anguish and suffering that we see now can only increase. At this very moment in fact the Reagan Administration is proposing plans possibly to implement policies to invade countries of the front-line States. Foreign policy strategists have come out and called for the invasion of Angola and other democratic States in the region. We cannot allow this to happen. This Administration has already also told us of its plans to find and imprison progressive forces within the United States, freedom-loving forces in this country that support liberation struggles around the world. Under the legislation of so-called terrorist bills they would prohibit any support for the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Where are the people who are terrorized regarded as terrorists? Where else does this happen, when people are awakened in the middle of the night, snatched from their beds in front of their children and stolen away and imprisoned? Why is it that these are the people who are being regarded as terrorists?

We cannot allow this to happen any longer, and we as journalists - particularly journalists from all over the world - have a very important role to

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play in this movement. The real story must be told and it must make the headlines of our newspapers, it must make the nightly news; information must be exposed. When the Security Council found the apartheid régime null and void two weeks ago in a vote of 14 to zero, with one abstention, this was a major story in this country, or at least should have been a major story, but the press in this country did not carry the story; it was not documented. The traditional press chose not to make it a story; it was not fit to print in their view. Again this cannot continue. The journalists must put the information out there so our people can again become part of the movement.

When Mr. Jesse Jackson and many other progressive leaders struggled long and hard during this election campaign to talk about South African intransigence, to call for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions, to call for boycott and divestment, the traditional press in this country did not carry that information. During this campaign, in fact, they have ignored it completely and totally and the call of these progressive forces has gone unnoticed. All this says is that the progressive forces of the United States press have more work to do - and we must redouble our efforts, for we cannot let them silence us. They cannot stop our voices, for we are not afraid. In fact I guarantee that by next year the National Association of Black Journalists and progressive forces throughout this country will put southern Africa, South Africa particularly, on the front pages of the black press of this country. We will make sure that it is exposed on the radio and the television stations that at least are open and progressive in terms of information, and all the black stations in this country will carry the information. We will see a major increase of information on what is happening in South Africa and Namibia and throughout the front-line States, for black journalists of this country, who are over 10,000 strong, are now committing ourselves to exposing what is happening in the region. The pain and anguish as well as the victories of our brothers and sisters and comrades in South Africa and throughout the front-line States will not go unreported; we will document what United States groups are doing to fight the régime through boycotts, through calls for divestment and through the extremely important call for the implementation of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions as called for by the United Nations.

For the sake of the people of South Africa, for the sake of the people of this country, for the sake of peace throughout the world, we must raise our voices and our pens and let the story be told, for if we do not, we shall be in compliance with the grossest crime in the world.

(Mr. Brown)

Peace and national freedom are at the centre of human survival. To defend these objectives on a world scale they must be fought for and defended in South Africa as well as in the United States. The fight in solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia as well as with the peoples of all the front-line States, and against racism, apartheid and colonialism, is fundamental to securing world peace and preserving and advancing democracy.

Our struggles are connected: that of us Afro-Americans and that of our brothers and sisters in South Africa, as waged by the African National Congress. Our problems are similar. Thus, to assist in the struggle, and in support of our people in southern Africa, we call for greater support and more information about this struggle.

Amandla! Victory is certain.

The CHAIRMAN: I call next on Ms. Yvonne Ismail of the Peoples' Organization for Progress.

Ms. ISMAIL (Peoples' Organization for Progress): On behalf of the Peoples' Organization for Progress, I should like first to thank His Excellency Mr. Alpha Ibrahima Diallo, Mr. Ibrahim Noor and Mr. David Ndaba for making this opportunity possible. I am extremely honoured to be able to speak before such a distinguished audience. I have grown to understand that one's commitment to fight injustice is far greater than the individual. Much of that understanding has come through working with the Peoples' Organization for Progress. Our organization is dedicated to the principles put forth by great men of peace all throughout history. We believe that it is our duty to aid in the just struggles of individuals, organizations and peoples, regardless of whether they take place in our own community, in other parts of the United States or in other countries.

On the basis of that belief we have engaged in the co-ordinated struggle to dismantle the deplorable system of apartheid. This system of State-run discrimination is abhorrent and in opposition to the notions of democracy and humanity to which Americans subscribe. We further believe that if more people were aware that their money is being used to support the immoral Government of South Africa and if they were assured that the reinvestment of those funds can occur without endangering pension funds and without any loss of revenue, there would be widespread support in many areas for divestment of state, local, university and union funds. Such divestiture would seriously weaken the position of the South

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African Government and would help to strengthen those working for change in South Africa.

For this purpose, the Peoples' Organization for Progress has set up a southern Africa task force that is vigorously working to maximize support for legislation, now pending in the New Jersey State Assembly, calling for divestment of state funds from United States corporations that do business with South Africa. It is our contention that making large numbers of people aware of the situation, educating them about the relationship between their investments and the oppression in South Africa, and organizing and assisting groups advocating divestiture could effect significant change, change that will play a key role in the inevitable freedom of black South Africans from the unacceptable conditions they are forced to live with.

The Reagan Administration has seen fit to align itself with the racist South African régime, giving it much financial support, regardless of the atrocities that régime perpetrates against the oppressed masses there. I suggest that this alignment is a clear and embarrassing indication of the ruthless mentality that dictates United States foreign policy, a policy that is guilty of committing international crimes of its own. The invasion of Grenada is a classic example of the direction this Administration is heading in. Certainly, if the citizens of the United States are made conscious of these crimes from an informed and objective standpoint, we can cause a transformation through legislation that will eliminate the means for any Administration to misuse the power of the people.

I think it is important that we understand the significance of the historical similarities between the black South Africans and blacks here in the United States. Clearly, the brutal institution of slavery, the era of Jim Crow, the civil rights movement and the present struggle to retain whatever rights we have gained through hardship are a direct parallel to the anti-apartheid movement, so much so that our struggle has become one and the same: the struggle to free Africans all over the world. Recalling the life of El Hajj Malik El Shabazz - Malcolm X - I remember that his travels to different countries made him realize that many third-world people suffer from a common enemy: racism, an enemy with absolutely no regard for basic human rights. His intention was to bring the case of the black man in the United States before the World Court, to cite this Government for criminal and inhuman treatment of 22 million black people. That quest was tragically ended by his brutal assassination. Just as Malcolm X died to make the

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world aware of the suffering of the oppressed people in his country, so did Steven Biko of South Africa give his life for his fellow countrymen. We understand that the commitment of these two great men was indeed one and the same. Both men made the ultimate sacrifice and did so willingly. So have countless numbers of African people given their lives. The recent uprisings in South Africa, sparked by the sham elections that gave nominal representation to the Indian and Coloured minorities as a ploy to separate them from the black majority, have claimed many lives. Just this week, several black South Africans have been murdered, injured or arrested by the white racist police. But the determination of a people to be free is a mighty one.

As the mother of four sons, my heart goes out to the young black men and women in South Africa, and I commend them for their valiant fortitude. They courageously faced impossible odds, fighting against guns and other sophisticated artillery with nothing more than rocks and sticks. We know they will be victorious in spite of these odds. Just as David slew Goliath, so will they slay the racist giant of apartheid. We urge them to continue to strive upward on the road to liberation. We say to them that our spirits are with them, and so are the spirits of the ancestors. We will remain with them as long as the struggle lasts.

We also commend Bishop Desmond Tutu for his fearless crusade against apartheid. His winning the Nobel Peace Prize was a great triumph for justice. It was also reminiscent of the same honour being awarded to Martin Luther King; again, we are reminded of the connection between our struggles. Bishop Tutu has said that he is a man of peace, but not a pacifist. He has invited whites in South Africa to sit down and discuss peaceful means of bringing fairness to all the people, but has warned them of the consequences of armed resistance. The African National Congress has spent many years in peaceful protest, unfortunately to no avail. It is now evident to them and to the masses of blacks that they must take their freedom by any means necessary. The great abolitionist Frederick Douglass once said, "Power concedes nothing without struggle".

We call for the release of Nelson and Winnie Mandela as well as all other South African political prisoners. The unlawful gaoling, merciless torturing, and cold-blooded murder of political prisoners will no longer be tolerated. We come before this Committee to charge the Government of South Africa with the worst crimes that can be committed by any group, large or small. No longer will we stand

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by to watch its blatant aggression against the rightful owners of that region. I contend that the war to end injustice and oppression wherever it exists cannot be stopped by the imperialist Powers, who are determined to maintain their domination over the masses of the people. Greed, lust for power, and indifference to suffering are not the principles our world should be governed by. We must join forces to end the reign of wickedness and monitor ourselves by fair and mutual ideologies that will bring about peaceful coexistence among all peoples.

The Peoples' Organization for Progress assures this Committee that we will continue to work on the side of right. Our goal is to educate more and more people so as to build up the stock of positive minds and able bodies to resist the battle against peace. Martin Luther King commented that "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere". On behalf of the Peoples' Organization for Progress, I affirm that we must end apartheid.

The CHAIRMAN: I call next on Ms. Paula Finn, of Art against Apartheid.

Ms. FINN (Art against Apartheid): It is my pleasure to speak this afternoon on behalf of Art against Apartheid, which is a nation-wide movement of visual, performing and literary artists who regard the situation in South Africa as a monumental injustice and a most serious threat to peace in our time. I have come here today to this hearing with South Africa on my mind.

Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Johannesburg, the events, the places - the struggle in South Africa has begun to seep into our nation's consciousness, and we are horrified by the lack of regard for human rights, the separation of families, the constant dislocation, gaolings, outright slaughter, apartheid, the immoral system of racial separation. We are horrified, and we are encouraged to act here now, as the South African people - men, women and children - are laying down their lives, refusing to be governed by a system of tyranny, without vote, without land, without any vestige of security or personal freedom. Black South Africans and their allies have chosen to live in human dignity or to die trying. And, if we are to face posterity with our humanity, we must join their fight.

The word on the radio, in the poem, in the newspaper, in the song, between families, neighbours and friends; the image of the picture that is worth a thousand words - we believe that the media is crucial. We have chosen this to be our work. Our goal has been to raise the consciousness of North Americans about the inherent evil and practical effects of apartheid through the media of art and culture. In each community, in each gallery, in each community centre, we have worked and been reassured of the power of art to explicate, to educate and to engage the viewer in the experience of others as that experience is both so similar and so different from our own. We have met with young and old persons who did not know what apartheid was and who went away changed by the knowledge. We have met with many, many more who, knowing much or little about the situation in South Africa, have wanted to help make a change. We have seen the poets reach into the hearts of audiences and bring forth tears, anger and recognition through new understanding - and that understanding has become a groundswell of popular support.

For the organizers working on the Art against Apartheid campaign, today marks over a year's worth of meeting, talking and planning to activate artists and arts organizations to join in a movement to bring the word on South Africa into our communities. Today marks a year's worth of growth and the expansion of a vision.

(Ms. Finn)

The Art against Apartheid campaign grew out of a collective working in the foundation for the community of artists in the spring of 1983. That collective of primarily visual artists worked to produce a special anti-apartheid issue of the foundation's news-letter. The issue's success indicated a commitment on the part of many United States artists to work in an educational capacity - as cultural workers - against the United States Government and corporate support of the apartheid régime. It also indicated the need to develop an ongoing structure for reaching an ever broader audience. Too many people do not know about apartheid and the seriousness of its devastating effects on the lives of the peoples of southern Africa, much less about the complicity of some Western Powers in perpetuating that racist régime.

In our own field artists are being lured to perform and exhibit there despite the international boycott, giving credence and legitimacy to that which is morally and intellectually abhorrent. Too many who would lend their voices in support of the South African people's liberation struggle have no platform, no vehicle, for getting their words to the public. We have tried to create that platform. We continue to try to be that vehicle, as Art against Apartheid grows to become every artist who would dare to speak out.

We are speaking out, over 500 voices strong, in protest against the genocidal system of apartheid and the support of Western Governments for that system. We are speaking out in celebration also, because there is resistance and it lives and grows and we will win. We are speaking out for those voices silenced, censored, banned and isolated in their own land. We are joining a chorus of freedom fighters who will not be stopped, echoing the voices of those who have come and gone before, and nurturing the voices of the children who will be born in a free South Africa, who will demand nothing less than that freedom and the culture of the liberated heart.

I come to this Committee as an educator, poet, organizer and witness to the need and the demand for more, much more, educational work in the grass-roots communities on the issue of apartheid; as a witness to the desire of the thousands of small constituencies across the country to propel their legislators, their governments into the arena of those who say that apartheid cannot survive, of those who dream a dream of international brotherhood.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the representative of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, Mr. Richard Harvey.

Mr. HARVEY (International Association of Democratic Lawyers): Please accept the profound appreciation of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers for this opportunity to address this highly important Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.

Our Association was founded in 1946, under the motto "Peace through law", in order to promote co-operation among judges, professors and practitioners of law in the defence of peace and support for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. As the largest association of lawyers in the world, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers has given the strongest support possible to the development of those principles of international law which guarantee the right of peoples to self-determination.

Our members in over 100 countries throughout the world are active in promoting support for the national liberation movements, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). We seek to draw the attention of the world community to the criminality of the white settler minority régime and to expose the three-fold nature of that régime's crimes: first, the crime of aggression committed against subjects of international law such as Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia and other front-line States, as well as against peoples protected by international law such as the peoples of South Africa and illegally occupied Namibia; secondly, the régime's crimes against humanity committed under the guise of "laws" promoting discrimination and the political, economic, social and racial oppression of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia; thirdly, the régime's war crimes committed through acts contrary to the Geneva Conventions and Protocols, the denial of prisoner-of-war status and the execution of combatants of the ANC and through repeated armed attacks on civilian populations of neighbouring sovereign States.

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers held its Twelfth Congress in Athens, Greece, from 14 to 19 October 1984. Over 600 lawyers from 83 countries gathered under the theme "The New International Democratic Order" to consider actions necessary to promote the right to peace, the right to development and humanitarian law.

(Mr. Harvey)

In this context, the crimes of the white settler minority régime in South Africa were of the utmost significance since that régime consistently violates all such rights. Our Association demonstrated its solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa by giving its highest award - the Pierre Cott Award - to Nelson Mandela, the gaoléd leader of the African National Congress. We thus recognize the paramount importance of the struggle against apartheid and of the "right of the oppressed peoples and their national liberation movements to resort to all the means at their disposal, including armed struggle, in their resistance to the illegitimate racist minority régime of South Africa". I quote from numerous General Assembly resolutions, the most recent of which is resolution 38/39 A of 5 December 1983.

Our Association firmly believes that those States which collaborate with apartheid bear a unique responsibility to the international community for the crimes which their support makes possible. In this respect, we note that article 1 - common to all four Geneva conventions - imposes upon all contracting parties the obligation to "respect and to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances". The régime's allies are thus bound to ensure that South Africa complies with "the imperious obligation of civilization" set forth in the Geneva conventions.

The General Assembly of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, held in Athens on 18 October 1984, passed two major resolutions condemning the policies of the apartheid régime and its Western allies, in particular the United States and Israel. The text of our resolution on South Africa is as follows:

"The General Assembly of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers,

"Recognizing that the struggle against the apartheid régime of South Africa and for the liberation of Namibia remains a major preoccupation for humanity throughout the world,

"Convinced that the sovereignty, peace, security, social and economic development of the States in the region can only be guaranteed by the liberation of Namibia and the elimination of the apartheid régime,

(Mr. Harvey)

"Condemns the open collaboration of the United States, other Western countries and Israel with the South African régime and, in particular, the 'constructive engagement' policy of the Reagan Administration, which has encouraged the régime to pursue its aggressive policies both internally and externally;

"Denounces the continuing policy of destabilization of southern African States by the apartheid régime, a policy maintained even where the régime has entered into specific agreements with such States;

"Demands the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against that régime;

"Salutes the historic role of the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, the African National Congress of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia in their legitimate struggle for the overthrow of colonialism and apartheid, and for national liberation, recognizing that the people of South Africa and Namibia have a legal right to pursue that struggle by all means and the right to demand and obtain support from all States;

"Appeals to the international community to provide all forms of assistance to the front-line States and to the member States of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference, which have borne the brunt of the violence of apartheid in their legitimate and legally protected support for the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia;

"Welcomes the formation of the United Democratic Front, which has led the campaign in South Africa against the new racist constitution and all apartheid legislation, on the basis of the Freedom Charter; and

"Calls on all members of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers to intensify their activities against all forms of collaboration with the apartheid régime of South Africa and in support of the total liberation of South Africa and Namibia, in accordance with the Programme of Action against Apartheid adopted by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid on 25 October 1983."

I shall also quote the following from our resolution on Namibia:

"The General Assembly of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers,

(Mr. Harvey)

"Recalling numerous resolutions and decisions of various international bodies, particularly those of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council, which condemn the illegal occupation of Namibia and demand the immediate withdrawal of the South African Administration and decolonization of that Territory;

"...

"Strongly condemns the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist South African régime and her persistent refusal to comply with the demands of the Namibian people and the international community to withdraw her colonial administration and to grant unconditional independence to the Namibian people;

"Condemns the massive military build-up of the Territory of Namibia and all those Western countries that help the racist Pretoria régime to arm and maintain those forces;

"Condemns the open collaboration between the United States of America, Israel and other Western allies and the South African régime;

"Furthermore condemns the linkage of Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the People's Republic of Angola and recalls that the presence of Cuban troops is due to South African aggression against that State, that it is in accordance with the right of self-defence laid down in the United Nations Charter - Article 51 - and that this question pertains exclusively to the sovereignty of the two States involved;

"Condemns the wanton exploitation of Namibia's natural and human resources by the multinational corporations, perpetrated in violation of the international status of the Territory and of the decisions of the Security Council outlining the legal consequences for States, in particular those which have economic interests in Namibia, of the illegal character of South Africa's occupation of the Territory - resolutions 270 (1970) and 283 (1970).

"This exploitation is also in defiance of the stipulations of United Nations Decree No. 1 on the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, and it violates the right of the Namibian people to dispose of their own natural resources;

"Demands that South Africa henceforth stop using the international Territory of Namibia as a spring-board for her aggression against neighbouring independent African States;

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"Calls upon States that maintain relations with the apartheid régime, and especially those States of the Western hemisphere that are permanent members of the Security Council, and demands that they make use of all available means of international pressure, including the imposition of sanctions based on Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to force South Africa to refrain from raising obstacles to the application of resolutions 386 and 435 of the Security Council stipulating the organization of free elections in Namibia under the supervision of the United Nations;

"Appeals to the international community to live up to its responsibility over Namibia and to provide all forms of assistance to the Namibia people through their authentic liberation movement, SWAPO;

"Supports the national liberation struggle, including armed struggle, of the Namibian people as led by SWAPO..."

May I, in closing, make the obvious point that the decisions made outside this room today will have more far-reaching consequences for the peoples of southern Africa than any statements made inside this room. It is not the internal affairs of the United States which concern us but, rather, the external policies of aid and comfort which the Reagan Administration has pursued in its blatant support for the apartheid régime.

At this moment that régime's Foreign Minister is being courted as an honoured guest on his visit to Israel, while in South Africa itself our sisters and brothers are being killed in their hundreds, maimed in their thousands and arrested in tens of thousands as they boycott the criminal régime. In the face of the heroic defiance of the United Democratic Front and its supporters, the Reagan Administration dares to claim that the majority of South Africans oppose the international campaign for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the régime.

(Mr. Harvey)

United States policies have injured the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and they constitute an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the front-line States. Perhaps no State is as isolated and as threatened by the apartheid menace as the Kingdom of Lesotho, recently the victim of an illegal embargo imposed upon it by the Pretoria régime.

Whatever the outcome of the voting today in the United States, the peoples of Lesotho and of the entire region of southern Africa have the right to our unswerving solidarity and support. Our Association will redouble its efforts to ensure that the only embargos in southern Africa are those imposed by the peace-loving peoples and Governments of the world against the criminal apartheid régime.

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers calls on the world community to provide all necessary material and moral support to the people of South Africa and to their national liberation movement, the African National Congress. Their struggle is our struggle. The crime of apartheid must be eliminated and punished, and those who aid and abet that crime must be made to pay the heavy debt of reparations which they owe to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

The CHAIRMAN: I call next on Ms. Adrien Wing of the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

Ms. WING (National Conference of Black Lawyers): We are most gratified to be able to participate in these hearings of the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly on the topic of the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

The National Conference of Black Lawyers was founded 16 years ago in the heart of the black power movement in the United States. We were founded to address ourselves to the racism and oppression that are being waged against our people, racism and oppression that continue to this very day with the policies of the Reagan Administration. Since its founding, the National Conference of Black Lawyers has extended its fight, not only on the national level but on the international level also. Since we are children of the African Diaspora, we have committed ourselves to supporting the liberation struggles of our black brothers and sisters in both South Africa and Namibia. We have committed ourselves to using our legal and political skills in defence of the liberation movements and those

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activists here in the United States who are under attack for their support of those movements. We have committed ourselves to publicizing and attacking the policies of the Reagan Administration concerning South Africa, for, as we all know, Reagan himself has characterized the racist Pretoria régime as a friend and ally of the United States.

It is only fitting that we should be gathered here on the day of a United States election to discuss the policies of the apartheid régime. For it is common knowledge that Pretoria draws strength for intensifying its internal repression from the diplomatic, economic, military and political support given to it by the Reagan Administration.

In the past year, under the pretext of reform, the Pretoria régime has intensified its policies against the black majority in South Africa and the people of Namibia. More than 2,000 people were detained in August and September alone. Massive school boycotts of more than 200,000 students have been met with police violence, tear gas, rubber bullets, whips and billy clubs, with which hundreds have been injured or killed.

Much of the current unrest has come about as a result of the implementation of the new constitution, which continues to deny to the black majority any role in Government and which grants only limited participation to Indians and Coloureds. When representatives of the United Democratic Front announced plans to boycott these sham elections, they were arrested and ordered detained for six months without charge under the preventive detention provisions of South Africa's draconian security legislation. The granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi has been gaoled for her opposition to the new constitution, just as her grandfather was gaoled nearly a century ago for his opposition to the pass laws.

Also in the past year, under the pretext of urban reform, the Pretoria régime has effectively nullified various court decisions which would have provided limited relief under the pass law legislation. The Government has enacted various Koornhorf bills which effectively further curtail the limited rights of Africans in urban areas.

The Government has also increased its repressive tactics against members of the liberation movements who have dared to act against the régime. As we all know, in 1983, three members of the banned African National Congress were executed for political offences. Others have been given unusually long prison sentences. In

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other cases, the State has attempted to link the activities of peaceful, lawful opposition groups to banned organizations.

In terms of Namibia, the Pretoria régime continues to refuse to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978). With United States backing, Pretoria has linked the question of Namibia's independence to the wholly separate and irrelevant issue of the withdrawal of invited Cuban troops from the independent nation of Angola. The régime has attempted other preposterous strategies to subvert the Namibian independence process, including questioning United Nations impartiality in the administration of elections, fashioning internal settlements, such as the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the Multi-Party Conference, stepping up attacks on Angola and other neighbouring nations, and attempting to predetermine the constitution or electoral process. Meanwhile, the policies of internal repression against the Namibian people continue to escalate.

With the assistance and connivance of the United States Government, the apartheid régime has escalated its repression against the peoples of the sovereign States of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and other front-line States. Through the policy of constructive engagement, the Reagan Administration has attempted to bring the apartheid régime back into the accepted circle of Western allies. No sooner had this Administration come into power than its United Nations Ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick, formally received South African military officers and personnel, whose true identities she later attempted to deny knowing. South African Foreign Minister Botha has come to Washington, where he met with Alexander Haig, Chester Crocker and other Government officials. The Reagan Administration was crucially instrumental in helping South Africa secure the largest loan in that country's history - \$1.1 billion - from the International Monetary Fund in 1982. That amount almost equalled the cost of South Africa's military campaign in Namibia that year.

In the United States itself, friends and allies of the Pretoria régime have stepped up their efforts to gain support for apartheid from the American people. Entertainers and sports figures continue to be wooed with large sums of money to entertain in Sun City. Harassing, non-meritorious lawsuits have been filed against the liberation movements. The Denton bill in the United States Congress constitutes a pervasive piece of anti-terrorist legislation that will be used against all those who support the cause of liberation and self-determination in

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South Africa and Namibia. Corporations are currently encouraged to maintain their presence in both South Africa and Namibia.

The gloomy picture that I have drawn of ever-intensifying repression by the apartheid régime, with support from the Reagan Administration, must be countered with concrete and specific programmes by those of us who are dedicated to ending apartheid.

In the area of entertainment and sports, efforts must be broadened to increase the number of entertainers and sports figures who will refuse to go to South Africa to perform. Roberta Flack of the United States refused a contract of \$2.5 million, and tennis star John McEnroe turned down \$1 million.

In the area of economic relations, efforts must be increased towards ending economic ties with the apartheid régime. Bank loans must be stopped. The call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions must be broadened. Divestment campaigns must be waged on every campus and by shareholders in every corporation doing business in South Africa.

(Ms. Wing)

In the legislative area, we must increase support for progressive federal, state and local legislation seeking to lessen economic support for the apartheid régime. We must introduce and reintroduce legislation in every local municipality and county calling for the cutting of economic ties.

Military and nuclear collaboration must cease. Educational campaigns need to be waged in every elementary school, high school and university class-room to educate the public not only to be anti-apartheid, but to be pro-liberation movement. Current and future educational materials and projects must be given a wider distribution. All non-governmental organizations must increase their activities on the local, national and international level.

We at the National Conference of Black Lawyers rededicate ourselves here today to working together with other non-governmental organizations to undertake actions in the coming year to express our solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia. We promise to put legislative and legal pressure on the Reagan Administration. We promise to raise funds and contribute on behalf of legal efforts being waged against the Pretoria régime. We promise to participate in legal and political conferences, to write legal analyses and to work in support-group coalitions. We are ready and willing to represent legally the liberation movements in the United States, whether it be against the State Department, a local pro-apartheid group, the City or State of New York, or any organization that dares challenge the right of the liberation movements to represent the peoples of the region.

We are ready to defend legally any political activist who is victimized or harassed here in the United States for his support of the liberation struggles. We are also willing to provide legal help for southern Africa support groups which need advice concerning incorporation, tax, constitutional, real estate, criminal or other matters. We know that, if the Reagan Administration is re-elected today, in the next four years it will increase its surveillance of all those who support the liberation movements, utilizing the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Internal Revenue Service and other federal and local agencies.

The process of national liberation, self-determination, independence and black majority rule is inevitable, despite the best efforts of the Botha and Reagan Administrations. Although the road ahead is sure to continue to be hard, history is on our side.

(Ms. Wing)

I had the opportunity to stand in Luanda on a recent anniversary of independence. One day soon, I know that I will stand with my husband and son in Windhoek as we celebrate the birth of free Namibia. I fully expect that I will stand with all who are present here one day in Pretoria itself, as the National Conference of Black Lawyers joins with the international community in celebrating the end of the apartheid régime and the destruction of the last bastion of institutionalized racism on the African continent.

Until that time, a luta continua; victory is certain.

The CHAIRMAN: I call next on Ms. Vicki Erenstein of the National Lawyers Guild.

Ms. ERENSTEIN (National Lawyers Guild): The National Lawyers Guild thanks the Special Political Committee for this opportunity to register its views on the policies of apartheid, and to bring to the attention of the world community the views of a sector of the United States people which condemns the policies of the Reagan Administration in its support for the apartheid régime in Pretoria.

Our organization consists of 7,000 lawyers, law students and legal workers who are committed to work in the service of our people to expand social and economic rights and to eliminate racism in our own country, to end the threat of war, and to support movements for self-determination and an end to colonialism and racism throughout the world.

Today, a news report of the latest murders and other acts of mass repression by the Pretoria régime against blacks who are resisting apartheid shares the front page with news of the United States presidential election. The juxtaposition of these two items brings into focus the fruits of almost four years of the Reagan policy of constructive engagement, or "extending the hand of friendship, co-operation and support" to Pretoria.

As an organization within the legal profession, we wish to denounce before this body the lawlessness of the official United States policy, which is nothing more than complicity in the crimes of apartheid and aggression committed by the South African régime.

The international outlaw status of South Africa is widely recognized, as is the legitimacy of the struggle to overthrow it. South Africa is the only State in the world today that practices an officially-declared policy of racism. As declared by the General Assembly,

(Ms. Erenstein)

"the racist régime of South Africa is illegitimate and has no right to represent the people of South Africa". (resolution 3411 G (XXX), para. 6)

Apartheid constitutes a crime against humanity, as reflected in the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, as well as under customary international law and treaty law. The General Assembly has determined that apartheid is a threat to peace and international authority. South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally, and to deprive the Namibian people of their right to independence, in violation of the opinion of the World Court and universal public opinion. Pretoria has also committed, and continues to commit, criminal acts of aggression and destabilization against the front-line States and Lesotho.

Within South Africa the official policy of a "total strategy" against the opponents of apartheid has unleashed the full apparatus of State terrorism against the black majority. Thousands of soldiers have been deployed to occupy black townships. There has been an escalation of killings of workers and students, arbitrary arrests, detentions without trial, bannings, torture and the use of the death penalty against political prisoners. The Internal Security Act of 1982 has consolidated the existing "security" laws, and has introduced the new offenses of subversion and incitement as additional weapons against those who are struggling against apartheid.

The new constitution established a racist tri-cameral parliament which excluded from participation the black three-quarters majority. This new parliament is a part of the régime's plan to achieve its "final solution" of liquidating the black population by, among other means, stripping blacks of citizenship rights and deporting the majority to bantustans while permitting some to remain to provide cheap labour. These measures have been universally recognized as being illegal.

(Ms. Erenstein)

The massive protests in South Africa against the new constitution and the effective boycott of the Indian and Coloured elections by 83 per cent of the eligible voters are the best evidence of the illegitimacy of these measures. In the face of increasingly effective protests and strikes the régime has mounted an unprecedented repression against all democratic organizations and their leaders, in particular the United Democratic Front. We congratulate the United Democratic Front upon its successes and reaffirm the legitimacy of its activities.

We also wish to make special mention of the African National Congress (ANC) and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and its military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). We recognize the absolute right of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and their liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO, to resort to all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, to resist the apartheid régime and to end the illegal occupation of Namibia. We believe captured South African and Namibian freedom fighters must be accorded prisoner-of-war status under the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the additional Protocol I of 1977 relating to the protection of victims of international conflicts.

Four years of Reaganism and its policy of "friendly collaboration" with apartheid have afforded Pretoria not only its largest trading partner but also its strongest accomplice in its crimes against its own people and against neighbouring States. President Reagan has recently stated that southern Africa is an area of "vital interest" to the United States. In pursuit of its vital interests the Reagan Administration has acted as a press agent and broker for South Africa in its efforts to confuse public opinion and to convey the impression that apartheid is reforming itself at home while seeking peace abroad. Its object is to assist South Africa in breaking out of its international isolation and in evading the censure and sanctions imposed by the international community, to promote South Africa's hegemony in southern Africa and to delegitimize the liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO. In pursuit of these goals the Reagan Administration has effectively withdrawn its support for Security Council resolution 435 (1978), on Namibia; it has advanced the concept of linkage of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola to the issue of Namibia's independence, supported a \$1 billion loan to South Africa to help defray the cost of South Africa's militarism and withheld diplomatic recognition of Angola while implying approval of the illegal South African presence in Angola. The Reagan Administration has lifted a part of its embargo on military

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material, resulting in massive exports of equipment for military uses to South Africa, and it has worked among its allies to create a general climate of acceptance for South Africa.

The Reagan Administration was the only Government in the world which hailed the new racist constitution as positive and the recent elections by racial classification as providing "hope for change". The rhetoric of the Reagan foreign policy has sought to redefine the terrorist criminal South Africa as a peace-maker and reformer while redefining the freedom fighters of ANC and SWAPO as terrorists and criminals.

The United States support for South African aggression against neighbouring States and the imposition of non-aggression pacts under duress will bring neither legitimacy to South Africa nor peace to the region. Agreements made under duress are null and void as a matter of law. And, as was so aptly stated by the Heads of State of the front-line States on 29 April 1984, "peace is incompatible with racism and colonialism".

The Reagan Administration's all-round support for and collaboration with the criminal policies of Pretoria brands it as much a criminal as its partner in crime in South Africa. To cover its own criminal complicity with apartheid the Reagan Administration has proposed legislation which will enable it officially to label liberation movements such as ANC and SWAPO as terrorist and to impose criminal penalties upon those who would give them support within the United States. The official Reagan policy on apartheid may be summarized as one of support for the twin crimes of apartheid and aggression as well as one of intimidation and potential repression of the anti-apartheid forces within the United States.

While there is a grave danger that the present United States Government's support for the policies of apartheid will continue, there is no doubt that the forces within the United States that are opposed to apartheid will increase. This Committee is well aware of the large-scale efforts in the United States to pass divestment and other anti-apartheid legislation, to demand the release of political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia, to support the cultural boycott of South Africa and to give political and material support to ANC and SWAPO. Those efforts will increase and gain new successes. They will necessarily place pressure upon the United States Government to withdraw its support for apartheid. Our

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organization pledges to continue and intensify its efforts, along with hundreds and thousands of other organizations in the United States, to end United States collaboration with apartheid. It is our firm belief that without United States support for the crimes of the Pretoria régime the peoples of South Africa and Namibia would gain their freedom and the front-line States would be able to live and develop in peace.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Arabic): We have heard the last speaker under agenda item 31. The Rapporteur will prepare a report on this subject for submission to the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.