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Chairman: Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 28: POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 28 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN: Members of the Committee will recall that the General Assembly decided, in connection with agenda item 28, which will be considered directly in plenary meeting, that organizations and individuals having a special interest in the question of apartheid would be permitted to be heard by the Special Political Committee.

At its 2nd meeting, on 5 October, the Committee decided to set a deadline of 24 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, which were distributed in document A/SPC/44/L.2 and Add.1 to 11 - were subsequently approved by the Committee. At its 10th meeting, on 31 October, and its 11th meeting, on 1 November, the Committee approved a total of 12 additional requests submitted by members of the Committee.

I propose that, following the practice of previous years, the Committee request a verbatim record of these hearings. If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: I appeal to all speakers to confine their remarks to the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

The first speaker on my list is Ms. Beatrice von Roemer, of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Ms. von ROEMER: On behalf of the 88 million working people represented by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), I wish to thank the Special Political Committee for giving us the opportunity to speak once again on one of our foremost concerns - the situation of trade unions in South Africa.

The past year has seen a continuation and intensification of the Pretoria régime's war against the independent black trade unions through legislative attacks, detentions and restrictions on trade unionists, attacks on trade-union offices, the banning of meetings, and even grotesque defamation campaigns. As a result of the Labour Relations Amendment Act, which has been in force since the fall of 1988, trade unions have become involved in costly litigation with employers in the Supreme Court. We have also noted an increase in employer-Government collaboration and a marked increase in police involvement in industrial disputes.

The two major trade union federations - the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) - and a number of independent unions are continuing their peaceful protest campaign against the Labour Relations Amendment Act. A workers' summit was held on 26 and 27 August to discuss further steps. In the face of severe police-imposed restrictions on their discussions, the presence of 100 heavily armed policemen, and videoing of the proceedings, the trade unions courageously adopted a set of strongly worded resolutions. Noting that

"the apartheid régime is committed to a brutal strategy of repression to smash the progressive forces including the trade union movement"

and that

"the Labour Relations Amendment Act is part and parcel of this overall strategy of repression against the labour movement",

(Ms. von Roemer)

they resolved that their members would continue to intensify their struggle against all forms of repression, exploitation and oppression from whatever source, and would continue the campaign to have the Labour Relations Amendment Act scrapped, until their demands were met. They also pledged to campaign for the release of all detainees and political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and an immediate end to the execution of patriots. They declared, for the South African Government and the whole world to know, that

"This régime is still determined to undermine and destabilize our right to speak and meet, and our right to organize."

Following the summit, the police raided the headquarters of COSATU and of NACTU, as well as the home of Jay Naidoo, General Secretary of COSATU. The ICFTU General Secretary, in a message to F. W. De Klerk, called the raids "a gross violation of internationally recognized standards" and stated that

"such police interference with the democratic trade union movement, which represents the aspirations of the majority of workers of South Africa, can only further prejudice the hope for a negotiated solution to bring an end to apartheid".

Four weeks later the Supreme Court ordered the police to return photographs, videos and documents taken from the home of Jay Naidoo and from COSATU headquarters, on the grounds that the search warrant was defective. The police returned the material, only to reconfiscate it after producing a new search warrant.

Several union offices were also raided in September, when NACTU and COSATU announced the launching of a two-week boycott of white business and an indefinite national overtime ban to back demands for amendments to the Labour Relations Act.

(Ms. von Roemer)

Undeterred by all this harassment, the unions continued their campaign, staging slowdowns, work stoppages and demonstrations. On 14 October more than 150,000 workers took part in marches in 17 towns and cities around South Africa, demanding changes to the Labour Relations Amendment Act. Workers also staged a two-day stay-away to protest at the racist elections. It was estimated that 3 million workers stayed away from work on election day, representing about half the working people in South Africa and nearly 100 per cent of organized labour. This massive participation in the defiance campaign showed that the independent black trade union movement is at the centre of the anti-apartheid opposition.

During the election week 739 people were arrested, and on election day 252 people were in detention under emergency regulations. Several meetings by trade unions were banned. Three members of the National Union of Mineworkers were shot dead by security personnel at Gencor's Kinross gold mine two days after the stay-away action, and the union said the shootings were an attempt to intimidate workers who took part in the pre-election protests.

While some companies have agreed not to use the Labour Relations Amendment Act against the black workers, others have been only too happy to do so. One of the first multinational companies to use its provisions to smash strikes was the British rubber company, Dunlop. It obtained court action to stop a strike by the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA) based on a provision of the Act prohibiting workers from striking more than once over the same issue in the space of 12 months. Plessey, a British electronics company, enforced the union-bashing act by locking out more than 400 workers when the Electrical and Allied Workers Trade Union refused to accept unrealistic wage offers. Management gave the locked-out workers an ultimatum to accept their wage offer by a certain date or face dismissal. South African security police visited the homes of a number of these workers and threatened to detain them if they did not return to work.

(Ms. von Roemer)

At Toyota's Prospection Plant in Natal, 4,000 workers were sacked in August when the company obtained an urgent court interdict declaring the strike illegal.

These are but a few examples of companies taking advantage of the apartheid labour law by resorting to lockouts and dismissals and colluding with the South African security police.

The régime's onslaught on the independent black trade union movement also takes bizarre extra-legal forms, such as the smear campaign which started a year ago and has now reached unprecedented proportions. An avalanche of smear pamphlets, fake letters and bulletins containing ludicrous accusations against union leaders has been unleashed in order to create rifts in the black labour movement. Fake letters under union letterheads have also been sent to anti-apartheid organizations and unions overseas in an attempt to undermine support for sanctions and block funds for unions in South Africa. According to an article in the Weekly Mail,

"common themes and terminology in the pamphlets indicate the drive is being closely co-ordinated and the vast number of copies distributed suggest it has extensive financial backing".

The South African elections have brought new talk of impending "reform". It is important to keep in mind that in its election manifesto the National Party stressed its continued adherence to the concept of group rights, "ideally culturally defined" - and what is that but the core of apartheid policy? Universal adult suffrage obviously is not in the cards and was in fact explicitly rejected by the National Party during the election campaign.

At the same time, it is clear that sanctions against the Pretoria régime, while still far too limited, have had an effect. The ICFTU continues to press for mandatory comprehensive sanctions and is currently concentrating on an embargo on South African coal. We have also drawn attention to a factor which until recently

(Ms. von Roemer)

has been largely neglected in the campaign for disinvestment, namely, the operations of South African multinationals outside South Africa. A number of these companies are buying themselves into well-established foreign companies which are not subject or vulnerable to anti-apartheid pressures. In a number of countries South African enterprises have established fake companies in order to avoid payment of taxes and to sidestep sanctions. The ICFTU has published a list of South African transnational corporations operating abroad under the title "Apartheid for Export?", which I would be happy to furnish to any interested delegation.

As has been said over and over again in this building, apartheid cannot be reformed; it can only be abolished. We in the ICFTU will continue to stand firmly behind our brothers and sisters in South Africa until the day when such an obvious truth need no longer be repeated.

The CHAIRMAN: I call now on Mr. Richard Harvey, who will speak on behalf of Mr. Lennox Hinds of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.

Mr. HARVEY: On behalf of Lennox Hinds, the permanent representative to the United Nations of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), I thank the Special Committee for allowing us the opportunity to appear here once again to share with its members the views of our Association on the present policies of the apartheid Government of South Africa.

Our Association was founded more than 40 years ago with the motto "Law in the service of peace", and today we have member organizations in more than 95 Member States of the United Nations, comprising many hundreds of thousands of lawyers, judges, law professors and students from all continents in the world. The IADL has struggled constantly for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and we have actively opposed the crimes of apartheid, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms.

(Mr. Harvey)

Our Association has always been steadfast in its condemnation of apartheid as a crime against humanity and we remain absolute in our conviction that apartheid is not susceptible of "reform" or "liberalization". We therefore respectfully welcome the Harare Declaration of the Organization of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, in which the people of Africa have reiterated that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists the peoples of the continent as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of peace, human dignity and justice, and that permanent peace and stability can be achieved only when the system of apartheid has been liquidated and South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

Apartheid cannot be relegated to the status of a mere regional conflict. The South African régime has made war on the whole of southern Africa, both directly through its terrorist commandos and indirectly through its puppet surrogates in UNITA and RENAMO. These forces have murdered and maimed thousands of civilians and non-combatants in their campaigns of terror and destabilization of the front-line States. To those States and their peoples, who have suffered so much for their courage in supporting the liberation struggles of southern Africa, our Association pays a special tribute.

Moreover, the apartheid régime's brutal subjugation of the Namibian people and the ruthless exploitation of their natural resources will not be ended without vigilant determination on the part of the entire international community. To this end a number of delegations have been sent by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers to observe the transition period leading to Namibia's independence. Indeed, our permanent representative is currently in Windhoek with lawyers from several other countries, including a member of the South African Democratic Lawyers Association. They are investigating and will report on whether

(Mr. Harvey)

voters have been permitted to register without duress; whether political parties have had freedom to campaign; and whether South African forces have so interfered with voters by violence and intimidation that free and fair elections cannot be conducted. Our Association will be issuing a full report on completion of this mission, including recommendations on whether the election should be certified as free and fair.

Far from being a regional matter, the international and domestic policies of the apartheid régime are an international responsibility. The régime itself recognizes this and is therefore conducting a vigorous public relations campaign to provide ammunition to its allies in the attempt to pass off a few gestures as demonstrations of its alleged good faith in desiring real change in South Africa. However, Mr. De Klerk is as much a defender of apartheid as were his predecessors. As recently as June of this year he endorsed renewal of the fascistic state of emergency, which has prevailed for over four years.

(Mr. Harvey)

In flat defiance of world-wide demands for clemency, he presided over the judicial murder of ANC militant Mangena Jeffrey Boesman. Under his rule, the abhorred policy of forced removals continues unchecked, and as recently as 26 October his police force arrested some 180 blacks for living in the supposedly liberal city of Johannesburg in defiance of apartheid's segregation laws.

Under this new President, some 3,500 political prisoners remain in the régime's gaols and five of the many on death row are currently on hunger strike in the infamous Kroonstad gaol. Moreover, among the thousands who have been detained without trial in recent years, many hundreds have been released only to find themselves "unpersons", prisoners within their own homes, banned from leaving the towns they live in, barred from attending any political gatherings, gagged by restrictions which prevent them from writing or being quoted in any publication, and shackled by dusk-to-dawn curfews with no semblance of privacy from warrantless invasions by the security forces.

How should the international community respond to such events as the release of Walter Sisulu and the other comrades of Nelson Mandela? This event was used by the British Government to justify opposing the Commonwealth's otherwise united demand for intensified economic sanctions. And that is exactly what the régime hoped for. However, we believe that the answer to our question is simple: the international community should not listen to the unsubstantiated promises of Mr. De Klerk but should instead listen to Walter Sisulu and to his fellow survivors of the bestial prison conditions of Robben Island. They do not suggest that this is the time to weaken international pressure for the final eradication of apartheid; on the contrary, they call for that pressure to be intensified. While we rejoice to see the flags and emblems of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party displayed proudly and publicly in defiance of laws

(Mr. Harvey)

which are almost 30 years old, we must intensify our demands for the unbanning of those organizations. We must remember that it is not the régime which has permitted those flags to fly, it is the mass democratic movement within South Africa which has unbanned its own vanguard organizations.

We believe that it is vital for the strengthening of that mass democratic movement that the international community step up the pressure on apartheid to stop the execution of patriots; to release Nelson Rohihlahla Mandela and every single remaining political prisoner and detainee; to lift the inhuman restrictions on the régime's opponents; to repeal the laws which make it a crime to support democratic organizations such as the African National Congress; and thus to demonstrate to the world that the violent crime of apartheid will no longer be tolerated. Until these minimal steps are taken, those who call on the ANC to abdicate its unquestionable right to use all means, including the weapon of armed struggle, to eradicate apartheid, must be recognized for what they are: hypocritical apologists for an unpardonable crime.

We firmly believe that this crime of apartheid can and will be eradicated and that this will take place soon. We do see the possibility of a peaceful and speedy transition from that criminal state to a united, democratic, non-racist and non-sexist South Africa. We fervently hope that this transition will be hastened by the régime itself renouncing its violent policies. Our Association will be constantly vigilant during and after the Namibian elections to see whether South Africa's forces permit the Namibian people to take and maintain democratic control over their own country without outside interference, for if their present attempts to subvert the electoral campaign of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) are translated into an effort to create a post-election form of UNITA or RENAMO in the Namibian context, then the world will indeed know how much it can

(Mr. Harvey)

trust Mr. de Klerk's assertion that he has a mandate for change in South Africa itself.

In this period, the United Nations, its agencies, Member States and non-governmental organizations all have a vital role to play in supporting the position of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and in giving every assistance to the African National Congress to bring about the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society. Let the thirtieth anniversary of the banning of the ANC be a day for celebrating the end of apartheid in all its manifestations.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Arnold Braithwaite, of the United States Peace Council.

Mr. BRAITHWAITE: I thank the Special Political Committee for inviting the United States Peace Council to make what will be a very brief statement. I could have included more in my remarks, but I was aware that other speakers here would go into many of the details of the horrors that are taking place in southern Africa. I also wish to state that unofficially I represent an organization, the Friends of ANC, SWAPO and the Front-Line States, which has been working very hard in the past two years in solidarity with and in support of the struggles of the peoples of southern Africa.

The complete freedom of the oppressed people of South Africa will never - I repeat, never - be achieved by apartheid's reforming itself. Karl Marx once wrote to his son-in-law, Paul Lafargue, that, "We can win reforms from the bourgeoisie but we can never entrust to them the ultimate solution of our problems."

In the case of South Africa, as already mentioned, despite the intensive struggles led by the African National Congress (ANC), the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other

(Mr. Braithwaite)

anti-apartheid organizations within the country, the system seems totally incapable of reforming itself. To be sure, some concessions have been wrested from Pretoria, for example, the freeing of Walter Sisulu and five other comrades; the huge rally held a few days ago which for the first time was not brutally broken up by the South African police; and the quadripartite accords forced upon South Africa as a result of its battlefield defeat at Cuito Cuanavale. There are other examples, which I will not go into now, of the intransigence of this régime.

But basically, the intrinsically sadistic nature of apartheid has not substantially changed. The emergency decrees enacted four years ago are still in effect, resulting in the arrest and detention of tens of thousands of persons, including thousands of children. Numerous people have been massacred by the police and security forces. At the moment 268 political prisoners are awaiting execution.

One of the most savage acts - and it is difficult to figure out which act of this régime is the most horrible - was to arrest at random and condemn to death six youths, one at least of whom was not present at the demonstration in which a policeman was killed. Although there was absolutely no proof that any of the six shot the policeman, they were condemned on the basis that they shared a "common purpose" with whoever did do the shooting.

(Mr. Braithwaite)

Let me say this about the strange theory of "common purpose", not only in South Africa but in my own country. Some years ago two innocent people were picked out of a crowd at a demonstration in Plainfield, New Jersey, at which a policeman was killed. They were also condemned to die, but a national protest movement eventually won their freedom. I think international protest movements have so far prevented the South African régime from executing the six that were arrested on this "common purpose" pretext.

Speaking of "common purpose", every schoolchild knows that the United States Government, representing the interests of the transnational corporations, shares a "common purpose" with the Government of South Africa, namely, to preserve the domination of the minority white Government so that American corporations can derive huge profits from their South African operations. But let me also emphasize that the anti-apartheid forces in the United States share a "common purpose" with the courageous anti-apartheid strugglers in South Africa to wipe from the face of the earth the most barbaric racist system in the world.

Thus, we have the ignoble common purpose to preserve and the righteous common purpose to eliminate. The righteous common purpose will prevail, I have no doubt of that: first and foremost, the courageous warriors of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other anti-apartheid organizations which, in the belly of the beast, are standing up to the monster will see to that. And they will be joined by the workers and supporters of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and international anti-apartheid movements. Unity among those groups is stronger than ever.

Here in my country many positive developments in the anti-apartheid movement are taking place. Those developments will eventually lead to an end to the failed

(Mr. Braithwaite)

and reactionary United States policy on South Africa. Since its inception 10 years ago the United States Peace Council has linked the struggle for peace with the anti-apartheid struggle - and I would add here that the Peace Council I represent is celebrating its tenth anniversary on 10 November in Boston. It also links the struggles with the struggle against the racism and reaction of our own country. Now, peace activists, students and trade unionists are joining with African-American and other minority organizations in the anti-apartheid movement. Massive boycotts against Shell, Mobil and other corporations doing business with South Africa are forcing some of them to divest themselves of their interests in South Africa. Of course, we know that many of the pull-out arrangements are just subterfuges to deceive the anti-apartheid movement into thinking there is a real removal of those firms from South Africa. We know that in many instances they are creating dummy corporations in South Africa with South African names to give at least the impression of a separation from any connection with the United States corporations. However, in so doing they are at least forced to make some gestures in their failed attempts to pacify the anti-apartheid movement. I assure you that pressures will continue until all links to South Africa are truly divested.

We in the anti-apartheid movement see three overriding issues that must become the centre-piece of our work in the next year: one, ensuring free elections in Namibia - this has already been discussed by the previous speaker; two, imposing mandatory comprehensive sanctions against South Africa; and, three, United States diplomatic recognition of Angola and an end to all aid to UNITA.

We believe the resolution of those issues will most favourably alter the terrain of the struggle against apartheid and lead to its imminent extermination.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mr. Romesh Chandra of the World Peace Council, and I now call upon him.

Mr. CHANDRA: The World Peace Council and the national movements represented in it from 145 countries of all continents have a long record of struggle against the criminal policy of apartheid and in support of the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. We are proud of the fact that among the topmost leaders of the World Peace Council, as members of its highest body, the Presidential Committee, are the Presidents and General Secretaries of the liberation movements the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia, Oliver Tambo and Sam Nujoma and Alfred Nzo and Toivo ya Toivo.

We are therefore most appreciative of this opportunity to address the United Nations on the entire question of ways to hasten the final and total elimination of the apartheid policies of South Africa. I would like to thank you personally, Mr. Chairman, for your own continued dedicated and devoted work for the mobilization of Governments and peoples in support of the United Nations efforts for the eradication of apartheid.

Your own work, Mr. Chairman, and that of your country in the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid has been of immense value at all times. Permit me to use this occasion to congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid, working under the capable and dynamic chairmanship of His Excellency Major-General Joseph Garba, for all it has done over the years for the cause of the freedom of the oppressed people of South Africa. I would also add our tribute to the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, today headed by Assistant Secretary-General Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, for the splendid work it has carried out over the years.

A new international climate prevails today. World public opinion has succeeded in ensuring that today ever-greater possibilities exist for advances in

(Mr. Chandra)

all fields towards the goals of the United Nations. At this very session of the General Assembly many have noted that there is a fresh atmosphere of dialogue and discussion, constructive efforts towards mutual understanding and co-operation. It is necessary to see this reality, but of course, at the same time we must not turn a blind eye to the differences and difficulties, the hurdles and vested interests, that slow down the progress towards peace and security and the solution of all the major global problems that face humankind.

There is every reason for optimism, for confidence in the power of the people both to save this world from nuclear, ecological and economic annihilation and to change this world. But there is no justification for complacency. There are those who, while correctly hailing the new international climate, fail to understand that there is no automatic advance for the peoples of the planet towards the goals of a durable peace, of a world without nuclear weapons and without violence or hunger or poverty, without racism and colonialism of all kinds, without exploitation and domination, without the murderous pollution of the environment, without violation of human rights. There is no automatic advance; everything is dependent on the actions of the international community. The new international climate gives new opportunities for more effective actions by peoples, provided they adopt the new methods and styles of work required by the new climate.

Today, as we speak here, the movement for the liberation of South Africa and Namibia and for the ending of apartheid has reached new heights. The mass democratic movements' actions in South Africa in defiance of all apartheid restrictions in different areas, in the hospitals, on the beaches and everywhere else, have stirred the whole world. Solidarity actions have grown as never before. Sitting here at this moment at the United Nations we can almost see before our very eyes the 80,000 and more citizens of South Africa who took part in

(Mr. Chandra)

the great rally of the African National Congress in Johannesburg two days ago. With Walter Sisulu and all the others released after so many years in prison, the people of South Africa declared their will and determination to continue and intensify their struggle.

(Mr. Chandra)

They called for the following: first, the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and without any restrictions; secondly, the lifting of all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons; thirdly, the removal of all troops from the townships; fourthly, the ending of the state of emergency and the repeal of all laws such as, and including the Internal Security Act designed to circumscribe political activity; and, fifthly, an end to all political trials and political executions.

The Organization of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on South Africa, meeting in Harare on 21 August this year, had rightly asserted that these conditions were essential for any further progress or any negotiations and that these must be carried out by the South African administration. The World Peace Council, and I believe all non-governmental organizations standing for the end of apartheid, fully endorse these demands of the people of South Africa. We hail the successes of the liberation movement. The release of the seven leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa has been won by the peoples and by the world-wide solidarity movement, by the United Nations, by the OAU and several Governments.

We deplore the position taken by a couple of Governments which are trying to distort the reality and are calling directly or indirectly for weakening sanctions against the racist régime. We deplore the fact that in these very days there have been new agreements between the State of Israel and the South African racist régime which would help the South African racist régime to strengthen its military power. We call today for the intensification of the solidarity movement as the liberation movement intensifies its struggle. We call once again for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions and the strengthening and extension of sanctions already imposed by all Governments. There is every reason to believe that the struggles of the people of South Africa and the ever-stronger solidarity actions of the United Nations and the

(Mr. Chandra)

peoples, will succeed in compelling the South African Government to carry out the steps outlined above.

The conditions are different today. We can confidently hope that these conditions for negotiations which have been put out by the liberation movement, by the OAU, and which I hope will be endorsed by the United Nations, will open the way to a more rapid advance towards liberation and the eradication of apartheid.

The world is changing. Here also there is a change but this change does not mean the lessening of struggle; this change means an intensification of struggle because we are nearer victory. Negotiations for the creation of a free, non-racial, democratic, united South Africa must begin. But they cannot begin in an imprisoned South Africa. They cannot begin while prisoners remain in the concentration camps of South Africa. They cannot begin as long as the troops are out. They cannot begin as long as the main organizations are illegal and as long as the emergency continues. Therefore we hope that the United Nations will fully endorse the OAU resolution on the essential conditions for such steps towards negotiations.

We look forward to the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and are confident that it will strengthen the way to freedom, endorsing the principles in the famous freedom charter of the African National Congress.

National movements represented in the World Peace Council in 145 countries are today acting resolutely to bring nearer the day of liberation in South Africa. We are certain of victory and have always been for many years. What is different today is that we see that victory much nearer than before provided that we are not misled by those who seek to preach complacency and seek to suggest that now there is nothing for us to do but that automatically there has been a change of heart that will lead to the ending of apartheid.

(Mr. Chandra)

We co-operate with all other organizations in mobilizing world opinion in support of the OAU resolution and in support of the liberation of South Africa. During the last few months in every continent these committees associated with the World Peace Council have been holding demonstrations and meetings to support the liberation movement. They do so on the understanding that at this time the best support we can give is to support their call, the call of the liberation movement itself, for these conditions which have been endorsed by the OAU. We do not say what we have been saying for years beyond saying that there can be no amendment to apartheid: there can only be an end, but we are nearer that end and if the correct methods are used - and they are being used by the liberation movement - and if others do not seek to stand in their way but seek to support what the liberation movement wishes, then we can certainly hope that there will be quick results.

What will the negotiations be about if these conditions are fulfilled? The negotiations will be for the ending of apartheid and not for the continuation of apartheid under new conditions. They are not for some cosmetic changes, as people say, but these preliminary conditions are the ones that I hope the United Nations will endorse. They are the ones laid down by the liberation movement, and the Organization of African Unity.

I want to say one word about Namibia on the eve of the elections. During this period non-governmental organizations - including my organization, the World Peace Council - have extended their full support to efforts by the United Nations for the liberation and independence of Namibia and for the implementation of United Nations resolutions, but we have had to warn time and time again of the efforts being made by the apartheid régime, by the South African colonial masters of Namibia, to subvert United Nations resolutions and to prevent their implementation. We have seen the police and army of South Africa in action, the Koevoet terrorist groups

(Mr. Chandra)

acting throughout these days to prevent free and fair elections. We heard only yesterday that under one pretext or another some efforts were being made to bring in South African forces and even to delay the elections. We are confident that this will not happen but it is necessary to remain alert to what is happening and to remember well that the process of freedom for Namibia has been a long one. It is a process that has come about as a result of the wisdom, action and courage of the South West Africa People's Organization and its leaders and all the support given to it by so many Governments all over the world, by the United Nations and by public organizations. But it is necessary to say this at this moment because, irrespective of what might happen in the coming days, there is need for ever greater vigilance and for the continued action of the United Nations to ensure that the whole process of independence is carried out in accordance with the wishes of the people of Namibia and to foil the efforts that might be made by interested Governments and, above all, by the racist régime to subvert this process which has been carried out so ably over these years by the United Nations.

I have the honour to be the Chairperson of the non-governmental organizations' Special Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization and during this year it has had the privilege of organizing two special seminars in co-operation with the Special Committee against Apartheid and with the support of the Centre against Apartheid - the last was one on education against apartheid and was held in Geneva in September. Here again we had the privilege of having with us important educationists and important journalists and we spoke on all types of education. The main point stressed was that there is every reason at all times to educate the peoples about the truth and the reality in regard to the apartheid question today. The direction in which we are going, the successes which have been won are successes but they are not the end. Success does not call for the lessening of the struggle but calls for the intensification of the

(Mr. Chandra)

struggle in new ways, with new methods and with new confidence but without the understanding that something has now changed in the hearts of certain rulers in South Africa and that they will now automatically move towards the ending of apartheid.

(Mr. Chandra)

That is not so. It is a lie. But what is clear is that there is every possibility of using the advantages gained and the successes won to go further rapidly towards the ending of apartheid.

We earlier held a seminar in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, in co-operation with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the Soviet Union, to deal with the whole question of southern Africa: the question of South Africa, Namibia and the front-line States. Here again we were able to see the changes which are taking place, but at the same time to combat resolutely those who, deliberately or through a lack of understanding, have been trying to preach that at this time perhaps we need not do very much in this field of public action because automatically we are going to move forward towards a new world in which all countries will be independent, that we should bide our time, applaud a little but not bother to mobilize opinion. We have fought these wrong concepts in regard to the liberation struggle and we have successfully built up an understanding all over the world, among Governments and peoples, that this is not the time for relaxation.

I am confident that the resolutions of the General Assembly and later the agreement which I believe is bound to be reached at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly will help to bring nearer this day of liberation. We have for many years - all of us here - many Governments, many public organizations, been proud to march shoulder to shoulder with the liberation movements. We have always said that apartheid is bad and must end and so on. Today there is a difference in what we are saying, and it is necessary to understand this. What we are saying today is different in this sense: that we are nearer to victory. Therefore there is a need for not only saying what we have said and doing what we have done until now but doing it more intensively and with greater confidence, with greater optimism, with greater certainty, and without

(Mr. Chandra)

complaisance. The road to the independence of South Africa, the road to the ending of apartheid, is opening up before us, but it is a road on which there are still many pitfalls, many mines. We must move forward together with the liberation movements, behind the liberation movements, to that end. That would be a major contribution, not only to the liberation of South Africa and Namibia. It would be a major contribution to peace in the world, the independence of other countries, the creation of a climate of goodwill and the solving of all global problems.

The liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia fight for the whole world, and that is the reason why the whole world fights for the independence of South Africa and Namibia.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the next speaker, Mr. Arthur Kamell, of the Westchester People's Action Coalition.

Mr. KAMELL: The Westchester People's Action Coalition (WESPAC) is a grass-roots peace and justice centre located just 25 miles from where we sit now, in White Plains, New York. We represent approximately 3,000 families. We were formed 15 years ago after the Viet Nam war to organize locally around issues of global concern. Although our initial and continuing emphasis has been on disarmament, we recognized from the start that without justice there can be no peace. We therefore not only have been actively involved in the movements opposing United States intervention in Central America, the Middle East, Africa, the Philippines and the Pacific but are also engaged in the struggle against racism and militarism, which produce homelessness, poor health and inadequate education here at home. Our aim has been to organize locally in order to move our Government to help create the conditions in which people can freely determine their own future, free of military and economic pressure.

(Mr. Kamell)

A landmark of our anti-apartheid work was the recent decision by the Westchester County Legislature to withdraw \$40 million from Citibank. The withdrawal was a protest of the Bank's unconscionable endorsement of apartheid in extending for 10 years its \$660 million loan to South Africa. WESPAC played a leading role in the county's decision.

We had the privilege of speaking before the Special Political Committee last year on the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa, and, although superficial changes have taken place, one need only look to our statement of a year ago to realize that little of substance has occurred. We, as part of the international anti-apartheid movement, then called for the unconditional release of all detainees and political prisoners; the unbanning of all political organizations; withdrawal of troops from the townships; the repeal of the state of emergency and all repressive legislation; and the cessation of all political trials and executions.

Not one of these steps has been taken by the South African Government. Rather, in this period, and particularly since President De Klerk assumed power, political prisoners have been hanged on Pretoria's gallows despite international appeals for clemency, and many more hundreds of opponents of apartheid have been detained without charge or trial.

South Africa would have the world believe that it was changing because thousands of people were neither whipped nor beaten nor tear-gassed when they rallied peacefully last week in Soweto. But we should not assume that because a peaceful protest against apartheid was not repressed substantive and just change has come to South Africa. The state of emergency still exists. Press censorship still exists. Over 3,500 political prisoners, some on death row, are still held in South African gaols. Detainees still languish in prison, subject to torture, not

(Mr. Kamell)

having been charged with any crime at all. Some out of desperation have been driven to hunger strikes to call attention to their condition. Last week 180 blacks were rounded up, arrested and removed from their apartments in Johannesburg because the apartments were in a "white" area, and, just three days ago, The New York Times reported that forced and violent removals of families to the artificially created and politically unrecognized homelands were still going on.

We would have been naive to expect anything more from President De Klerk, who, as a leader of the Nationalist Party, endorsed, as recently as last June, renewal of the state of emergency. It is also President De Klerk who refuses to accept anything so fundamental as "one person one vote"; majority rule is a democratic concept unacceptable to the current South African Government. As President Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress has stated, President De Klerk's Government appears to be interested only in "apartheid with a face lift", the preservation of group rights and the preservation of white superiority within the structures of apartheid. History will not allow that.

It is quite apparent that the South African Government will not change without pressure and is making every effort to ward off international economic sanctions. Unfortunately, within the past two weeks it achieved an unwarranted victory when it concluded an agreement with the international banks extending their loans for several more years. It is also apparent that, by having breathed new life into apartheid, the international community cannot reliably look to voluntary action by the banks to exert pressure for change but must find it at the popular and governmental levels.

We therefore join with the leadership of the world-wide anti-apartheid movement in urging that all Governments, individually, collectively, and particularly through the United Nations, impose comprehensive and mandatory

(Mr. Kamell)

sanctions on South Africa, including the imposition of financial sanctions, the cutting off of all trade credits and a prohibition on the conversion of short-term to long-term loans. We also call for the strict enforcement of the oil and arms embargoes and strict monitoring of the implementation of sanctions.

On our part, we pledge to continue to organize and to pressure our Government to expand and enforce sanctions in order to play an effective role in bringing peace - but peace with justice - to southern Africa.

The CHAIRMAN: I call now on Mr. Joseph D. Reilly, who will speak on behalf of United States librarians.

Mr. REILLY: I am honoured to have the opportunity to address the Special Political Committee on the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa on behalf of progressive librarians from across the United States. Librarianship is about access to and dissemination of information. And the bottom line for librarianship in apartheid South Africa is that there exists a legal framework which has complete control over "freedom ... to seek, receive and impart information and ideas", as described in article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the vote on which, as we all know, the apartheid régime abstained in 1948.

Distressingly, the response of library organizations at the national and international level has been negligible. Resolutions against racism are passed and endorsed, only to be compromised by other resolutions that seemingly support free and complete access to information. I should like to clarify this point. Some librarians feel that by endorsing and upholding a boycott we would be acting as censors, and librarians are extremely sensitive about anything that could be construed to be censorship. But there is an unacceptable contradiction here, aptly pointed out by one of my esteemed colleagues, Zoia Horn. She says:

"Racism continues to exist because it is possible to control, manipulate, distort and deny information to both the victims of racism and the racists."

It is clear then that, when motions calling for boycotts of apartheid's libraries are defeated, the various bodies and committees within library organizations, such as the American Library Association and the International Federation of Library Associates, do not intend to protect "freedom ... to seek, receive and impart information and ideas". Again, to quote from Zoia Horn:

(Mr. Reilly)

"Publishers, book dealers, data-base purveyors, understandably want no restrictions on selling their products. Their motive and their concern is with profits."

To provide a recent example of this, Robert Wedgeworth, Dean of Columbia University's Library School, which is arguably the best in the world, and former President of the American Library Association, made a shameful trip to apartheid South Africa last May on behalf of the Association of American Publishers under the pretext of surveying the availability of educational materials in South Africa. One need not look for hidden meaning in his intentions, because Mr. Wedgeworth's press release openly stated that a proposal had

"been made and supported by U.S. publishers that profits from sales to South Africa might be placed in a trust fund to support scholarships or other aid to black South Africans".

In addition to the racist and colonial mentality demonstrated by providing educational materials to a nation whose struggling people have gone through great pain to redefine education on their terms, what we really have is justification by the greedy for expansion into a market they have no right to be in

I might add that, interestingly enough, Mr. Wedgeworth sits on the Board of the Wilson Library Publishing Company, one of the world's chief sources of monographic, audio-visual and electronic formats of library materials. Additionally, it has come to our attention that Mr. Wedgeworth, while in South Africa, also acted on behalf of the International Federation of Library Associates (IFLA). As is well known, IFLA, on whose executive Board Mr. Wedgeworth also sits, has been a source of great consternation to progressive librarians combating the apartheid régime. Time after time IFLA has been asked to remove members of the pro-apartheid organization, the South African Institute of Library and Information Science (SAILIS) from its body. And, repeatedly, IFLA has refused to do so. As

(Mr. Reilly)

evidence of SAILIS's racism and support for the most fundamental pro-apartheid positions, I now quote from a letter I received last May from Mrs. S.S. Wallis, the current President of SAILIS. She wrote:

"Apartheid does not enter the library world whatsoever; all information is freely available to anyone who requires it. The only 'apartheid' I know of is practised by European and American libraries who refuse to supply South Africa with information. Most libraries throughout the country are available for use by all people, especially those in the larger cities and towns. Unfortunately there are still pockets of small public libraries governed by local authorities of small country areas which supply service to all races but in separate areas. ... It would seem that very few countries are aware of the total multiracialism of our country, particularly amongst librarians, probably because of biased and sensational press reporting."

I quote at length here to demonstrate how out of touch with reality SAILIS, as an institution, is in 1989. These absurd descriptions of library service in apartheid South Africa completely contravene my research, Mokubung Nkomo's research, research conducted by the University of Witwatersrand and, most important, the testimony of South Africans themselves. It is those libraries associated with that racist library organization that we are attempting to force out of IFLA. And IFLA will not budge. At its recent annual meeting in Paris, IFLA would not even take up the matter for discussion. A revealing memorandum from IFLA's Secretary-General, Paul Nauta, states that

"IFLA in the first instance is a professional, and not a political organization".

This is unacceptable, and we are asking the United Nations to help us persuade IFLA to remove those South African libraries which belong to SAILIS from its membership.

(Mr. Reilly)

Finally, it is important to note that we are not merely interested in a destructive process in our efforts to aid the liberation struggle in South Africa. What we seek is to displace apartheid institutions, isolate them completely and, in their place, recognize and give total support to organizations of the people. In the field of librarianship there are, happily, other structures in direct conflict with apartheid libraries. Chief among these is the library at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, run by the African National Congress. Inside South Africa excellent progress is being made in organizing people's resource centres, such as the Worker's Library in Johannesburg. Church organizations are also involved in this process. The Ecumenical Centre's Resource Centre in Durban is a key source of information for the surrounding community. There are several others. But their existence is fragile, subject to random police raids, to sabotage and to a serious lack of the basic resources necessary to operate. Our task is to identify ourselves with those democratic bodies, give them institutional recognition and support, and do what is necessary to give them "freedom ... to seek, receive and impart information and ideas".

The CHAIRMAN: I call now on Miss Karen Talbot of the International Centre for Peace and Justice.

Miss TALBOT: I am honoured to address the Committee today on behalf of the International Centre for Peace and Justice and Worldview Digest, of which I am the Director, on the critical issue of ways to hasten the eradication of apartheid.

During my remarks I will be including brief statements by several United States members of our Advisory Board. Each of these people represents a large and important constituency in the United States: William Winpeinger, President of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, one of the largest and most powerful trade unions in the United States; Molly Yard, the President of

(Miss Talbot)

the National Organization of Women (NOW), the largest women's organization in the United States; Detroit City Council President Erma Henderson; Dr. Carlton Goodlett, widely-known publisher and former President of the National Newspaper Publishers' Association - The Black Press; and Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel prize winner for peace and chemistry.

(Ms. Talbot)

My remarks also reflect the opinions of all our advisers and associates, including such people as Ms. Sonja Davies, Labour Member of Parliament in New Zealand, James Lamond, Labour Member of Parliament in the United Kingdom, Hermod Lannung, international President of the World Federalists, Edith Ballentine, Secretary-General of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and many others.

We are all focusing our attention on the rapidly moving developments in South Africa. We have a heightened level of hope that perhaps we are now witnessing the beginning of some cracks in the reprehensible, criminal anti-human bulwark of apartheid, that at long last we are close to the time when apartheid will come tumbling down like the Walls of Jericho.

But what has brought about these small but significant cracks in the edifice of the racist system? What will shake the very foundations like a giant earthquake for justice and human dignity in South Africa? Is it the goodness of heart of F.W. De Klerk, who speaks of reforming apartheid?

No, we are all aware that any change of heart on the part of Mr. De Klerk and the apartheid rulers has been brought about and will continue to be brought about in the first place by the heroic and determined resistance of the black majority of South Africa under the leadership of the liberation movement and the mass democratic movement. It has been brought about by the campaign of defiance, by the glorious non-violent protests and marches and by the massive strikes led by the one-million-member Congress of South African Trade Unions. That invincible force, that valiant opposition to apartheid, is stronger than ever, and is growing stronger daily.

(Ms. Talbot)

Any "change of heart" by the Pretoria régime is due also to political and economic pressure by the international community. The release from prison of African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) leader Walter Sisulu and seven others - six of whom are also ANC leaders and activists - came about in part because of the threat of new economic sanctions, especially vis-à-vis South Africa's loans, that was expected to be forthcoming from the meeting of Commonwealth Heads of State or Government.

It was international economic pressure added to the domestic resistance that forced Mr. De Klerk to allow the recent series of marches and rallies. Similarly, it was international pressure and the determination of the liberation movement, as well as military reversals, that brought South Africa to the negotiating table regarding Namibia.

We now hear much talk about apartheid being reformed. But as the leaders of the ANC, Archbishop Tutu and others have emphasized, there must be more than words. There must be real action by the South Africa Government, and there must be real negotiations with the legitimate leaders of the black majority. As Walter Sisulu said at the recent gigantic ANC rally in Johannesburg,

"To date we see no clear indication that the Government is serious about negotiations. All utterances are vague."

We all know there can be no amending, patching up, prettifying, reforming or recasting apartheid; it must be totally eradicated.

The basis for assessing the real seriousness of Mr. De Klerk is the achievement of a political settlement through negotiations based on justice and peace for all, a solution long preferred and sought by the liberation movement and the majority of the people of South Africa, a political settlement that will transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

(Ms. Talbot)

The measuring stick that must apply if such negotiations are even to take place is certain principled prerequisites called for by the liberation movement, the leaders of the struggle in South Africa and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), meeting in Harare. These have been mentioned many times today, but it does no harm to mention them again. They are: the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, with no restrictions imposed upon them; the lifting of all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons; the removal of all troops from the townships; an end to the state of emergency and the repeal of all legislation such as, and including, the Internal Security Act; and the cessation of all political trials and political executions. Those principles are absolutely essential to moving ahead towards negotiations and the end of apartheid.

In view of South Africa's recent "concessions" various moods are being expressed about "giving Mr. De Klerk a chance". In fact, in that context there has been what is viewed by some as a notable change in the policy of the United States Administration of President George Bush. Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen has given South Africa until June, when its parliamentary session ends, to make changes. At that time, if those changes have not transpired, the United States will take action. It is not altogether clear what changes the Bush Administration is seeking or what action will be forthcoming in the absence of those changes. There has yet to be an expression of support for the OAU's Harare principles for negotiations, for example.

Many on Capitol Hill have been critical of the Bush Administration stand. Senator Edward Kennedy, for example, has said there should be "no grace period" given to the South African Government. He has said that

"trade and financial sanctions already passed by the United States Congress in 1986 have worked and more sanctions are in order now".

(Ms. Talbot)

Indeed, even Assistant Secretary of State Cohen conceded when pressed that sanctions have played a role in stimulating "new thinking within the white power structure of South Africa".

Mr. Bob Hawke, Prime Minister of Australia, speaking in conjunction with the Commonwealth summit, said that sanctions should be increased to "maintain the pressure". He said that sanctions had proven to be effective and should be strengthened.

Archbishop Tutu and others have said that the rescheduling of the \$8 billion in loans to South Africa may have already taken the pressure off for the time being, unfortunately.

In talking with members of the United States Congress I was told of the strategy in Congress regarding increasing sanctions. As we know, the House of Representatives in 1986 passed a strong bill introduced by Representative Ronald Dellums of California for total comprehensive sanctions. The Senate, at that time a Republican-dominated Senate, passed a much weaker version of the bill, which resulted in a compromise considerably less than the total sanctions package of the House.

Again in 1988 the House of Representatives passed a bill having an almost unprecedented 142 sponsors, calling for comprehensive sanctions. The vote then was 244 to 132 in favour of the comprehensive sanctions bill, but it failed to get passage in the Democratic-controlled Senate. In order to achieve passage of a stronger sanctions bill in the Senate, the support of only 10 more Senators is required. In any case, this probably cannot now happen until January, and there is a strong sense of bipartisanship in giving President Bush a chance - as well as giving Mr. De Klerk a chance. The feeling prevails that those 10 Senate votes can be won over if De Klerk has not acted by March towards establishing a non-racial State.

(Ms. Talbot)

We non-governmental organizations and grass-roots movements know the power of public opinion. We in the International Center for Peace and Justice, along with many others, are calling for a grass-roots mobilization to let the Senate know the will of the people for instituting comprehensive sanctions now. We are not content just to accept what is seen as tactically possible in the Senate. We know that people-pressure must be exerted to help determine what is possible.

(Ms. Talbot)

We are urging everyone to contact their senators to co-sponsor and support Senate Bill 507 and to pass it with no crippling amendments. It was the mass movement that helped bring about support for the Dellums bill in 1986. Similarly, it is action by the people that will guarantee that sufficient pressure is brought to bear for the total elimination of apartheid and not just for cosmetic changes.

Members of the advisory board of our Center have asked me to include their statements. Mr. William Winpisinger of the International Machinists' Union said in his statement:

"We must let the new administration of South Africa know that the world is tired of the abomination of apartheid, which is tantamount to slavery and the denial of democracy to the great majority of South Africa. It is time to step up the pressure, not to let up the pressure."

Detroit City Council President Erma Henderson said in her statement:

"People around the world salute and welcome what seems to be progress against apartheid, raising our hopes that total victory is near. People everywhere should be even more involved, including in the sending of gifts and tokens of love, support and appreciation to the children of South Africa, who need clothing, food, education and encouragement. That is the best message that can be sent to the powers of racist South Africa, and should contribute to world-wide friendship and peace."

Nobel Laureate Dr. Linus Pauling said:

"I strongly believe we should increase the pressure to bring apartheid to an end now."

Molly Yard, President of the National Organization of Women (NOW), the largest United States women's organization, said:

(Ms. Talbot)

"It has long been the policy of NOW to struggle for an end to apartheid. The existing United States sanctions do not go far enough. They must be strengthened. NOW is firmly committed to that goal."

Those are the thoughts of but some of the United States members of our Advisory Board.

To conclude, we are clear that the action and pressure of the people of South Africa and of the world have brought about whatever progress has been achieved. If that is so, it is only continued pressure that will bring total victory and a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. We in the United States - one of the countries that has provided major support for apartheid South Africa - feel a special responsibility to keep the pressure on. We in the International Center for Peace and Justice are also committed to giving all-out support and publicity to the very effective efforts of the United Nations, the Centre against Apartheid, and the Special Committee against Apartheid.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Ms. Anita Jansson, who will speak on behalf of the Nordic anti-apartheid movements.

Ms. Anita JANSSON (Nordic anti-apartheid movements): I thank you, Sir, and the Special Political Committee for giving me the opportunity to convey the views of the Nordic anti-apartheid movements on the issue of apartheid and the responsibility of the international community.

I come from an activist solidarity group in Sweden called the Africa Groups, but here I represent the Nordic anti-apartheid movements of Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland. Together, those activist groups and umbrella organizations represent about 2 million people in the Nordic countries, and they play an important role in the Nordic support for the struggle against apartheid and for the front-line States through information campaigns, sanctions campaigns, the collection of money and material, and so on.

(Ms. Jansson)

I would like to begin by stating some things about the present Nordic sanctions against South Africa. These are among the most comprehensive in the world and include a total trade ban on goods; a total ban on the delivery of oil to South Africa; a total cut of air-links; a total ban on loans and credit; a ban on new investments in South Africa; and a prohibition of licence and patent deals.

Those actions were taken after intensive pressure from the anti-apartheid movements in our countries, demands that have been supported, for example, by trade unions and churches as well as the public in general. The Nordic anti-apartheid movements consider those steps as very important and as a major victory for the anti-apartheid work being done in the Nordic countries. They have shown that actions against apartheid are possible, although our respective Governments at first deemed some of them impossible.

On top of the economic sanctions, there are very strict visa regulations for South African citizens and, through campaigning, virtually all sports and cultural links with apartheid South Africa have been cut. There has also been an almost total ban on performances in Nordic countries by artists on the United Nations black list.

There exist, however, some major loopholes in the Nordic programme of action against apartheid. Trade in services is not yet banned; trade via subsidiaries in third countries is not banned; and most important, there are still Swedish and Danish companies operating in South Africa. The Nordic anti-apartheid movements are at present campaigning to have those economic relations included in the sanctions programme as well.

The Nordic anti-apartheid movements strongly support the call for increased sanctions against South Africa by individual countries and comprehensive, mandatory sanctions by the United Nations. The reasons for that are that increased sanctions

(Ms. Jansson)

are still demanded by the oppressed majority in South Africa, represented by the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the mass democratic movement; that no action so far on the side of the South African régime nor any of its vague promises has meant any serious step towards the end of apartheid; and that recent developments in South Africa show that sanctions work.

The Nordic anti-apartheid movements are extremely upset over the willingness of certain circles in the international community to sell out the struggle against apartheid. The British and American Governments, among others, have raised voices for the freezing or even scrapping of sanctions, using as excuses mere superficial actions by the South African régime, such as the recent release of eight old opposition leaders.

Some countries seem to pay no attention whatsoever to the call for support by the South African people. Recent figures indicate, for example, that the Federal Republic of Germany has taken the lead in trade with South Africa. The Federal Republic of Germany has also sold blueprints of a submarine to South Africa in a severe violation of the United Nations arms embargo. Other countries that have increased trade significantly are Switzerland, Hong Kong, Belgium and Luxembourg.

The technical committee of South African debt creditors has in secrecy provided the apartheid régime with billions of dollars to continue upholding the apartheid system. They have done so by agreeing to reschedule South African loans. We find that outrageous. Such actions aim only at creating a situation of "business as usual" with the apartheid régime, leaving the principal demands of the South African people unmet.

The South African régime is not becoming humanitarian - it is being forced to make concessions. The recent permission granted to hold demonstrations and even a

(Ms. Jansson)

huge ANC rally are actions taken to stave off demands for increased international sanctions and to save the face of the régime by allowing such things, which are happening more and more anyway in South Africa, where the people have decided to unban the ANC itself and to defy other restrictions. The release of the eight leaders was necessary in order to curb demands for sanctions at the Commonwealth Conference and was probably also directly or indirectly included in the rescheduling deal.

(Ms. Jansson)

Talks by the régime of a five-year plan to incorporate black people in the parliamentary system have the same purpose: to stave off threats of more sanctions and also to promote the lifting of existing sanctions. The kind of incorporation of blacks into the parliamentary system that the régime envisages is, however, far from a system of "one person one vote". It is based on the preservation of race groups and of white supremacy through a proportionally heavier say in the decision-making, parallel to the present tricameral system.

Thus what we see now in South Africa is changes, small improvements, but changes that are taking place in the context of the rescheduling of loans - which was vital for the survival of the present régime - in the context of the Commonwealth Conference, where demands for sanctions were strongly anticipated, and in the context of an oncoming special session of the General Assembly on South Africa in December.

Some of us may remember that just a couple of months ago, before and during the white-only elections in South Africa, opposition was brutally curbed, leaving over 20 people dead and hundreds detained.

Some of us may also remember that 700 former detainees, released only after a massive hunger strike and strong international pressure, are still under severe restriction orders. Over 3,000 persons are serving prison sentences based on political motives, and 88 people are at this moment on death row on political grounds. All major democratic organizations are still banned from political activities, and censorship of the mass media is still very strict.

The Bantustan system is still in full force, damning millions of people to extreme poverty and denying them South African citizenship. For those of us who remember and see such things, the message is clear: apartheid and oppression are still rampant in South Africa.

(Ms. Jansson)

The Nordic anti-apartheid movements fully support the Harare Declaration adopted by the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Given what has been mentioned above, the Nordic anti-apartheid movements strongly call for increased sanctions against the apartheid régime leading to comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council.

The resolution of the South African conflict and the total eradication of the apartheid system is of utmost importance not only to South Africa itself but to the whole region. In 1988 alone, apartheid destabilization cost the neighbouring States over \$10 billion, or 43 per cent of their actual gross domestic product. In the period of 1980-1988 the cost was over \$62 billion. In the same period a total of 1.5 million people - two thirds of them small children - lost their lives due to South African destabilization in the region.

Every day that apartheid continues to exist means further losses of life among children both in South Africa and in the region. That places a heavy burden of guilt on those who can stop apartheid but do not take serious action.

The small concessions hitherto made by the régime is clear evidence that sanctions work. Until the conditions stated in the Harare Declaration are fulfilled, that is, until there exists a new negotiated constitution which is adopted by the South African people in a context where all political leaders and all democratic organizations freely can participate, until then the pressure on the apartheid régime must remain and increase.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to thank all who have spoken this afternoon. I hope their statements will be useful to delegations in their consideration of agenda item 28, concerning the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, which will be considered in plenary meeting in the course of the next week.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.