SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

14th meeting
held on
Friday, 3 November 1989
at 3 p.m.
New York

Official Records

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

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

# The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

#### AGENDA ITEM 28 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN: Members will recall that we approved the list of speakers whom we are to hear today.

The first speaker is Mr. David H. Barron of the Jefferson Educational Foundation.

Mr. BARRON: Mr. Chairman, before I make a few remarks I should like to ask that a document that I have brought with me and which is too lengthy to refer to verbally today be included in the transcript of my remarks as part of my testimony. I have submitted copies of my remarks and the accompanying document.

For many years the United Nations has concerned itself with South Africa — with its policy of apartheid based on race classification and with its role as mandatory Power over the former German colony of South-West Africa. Over the past several decades United Nations resolutions and actions have stigmatized South Africa as a pariah nation, an outlaw nation flouting the rules of international morality.

There have been calls for sanctions of various kinds. Some 30 years ago the United Nations invoked an embargo on arms sales to South Africa. It undertook to nullify the League of Nations Mandate by whose authority Pretoria ruled South West Africa.

And beyond this the United Nations funds and encourages organizations of South Africans who seek to overthrow the present Government by any and all means, including terrorist attacks which kill and maim innocent civilians of all races. When the South African military responded to these atrocities by striking at terrorist bases in neighbouring countries, South Africa was roundly condemned, even as the United Nations condemned Israel for sending its forces into Uganda to free

the passengers of one of its airliners hijacked and held hostage in Entebbe with the connivance of Idi Amin.

I have no intention today of arguing that South Africa is altogether blameless. I do not take the position that its social arrangements are ideal; that its handling of racial, tribal and cultural differences among the groups that make up its population have been wise or just, although some - we should allow - have been well-intentioned. But I am convinced that it is neither wise nor just to view South Africa as a "devil nation" or to indulge the phantagy that its Government is a cabal of demons innately and irreformably bent on evil-doing. In fact, such a Manichaean view is not only quite irrational; it is, paradoxically, racist.

It is also unhistorical, because it supposes that in addressing the problems of southern Africa we are dealing with a static and immobile reality. It ignores the context in which various South African racial policies were initially formulated, later modified and, in many cases, scrapped entirely. One thinks, for example, of the "Pass Laws", which were invariably decried by anti-apartheid activists as one of the most hateful features of apartheid. These have all been repealed, yet the vehement South Africa haters in the international community cannot bring themselves to utter one word of commendation.

Speaking of the international community - a designation inspired more by hope than by observation - I think a few words must be said about the United Nations, an Organization whose name, again, seems to express a pious wish rather than a candid assessment of the facts. In its many years of issuing moralistic evaluations of the behaviour of States, the United Nations has discovered only two that have been guilty of the sin of racism - or racialism, as our British cousins like to call it. Those two nations, as is well known, are Israel and South Africa.

# (Mr. Barron)

What is racism? An examination of the way it is used suggests that it is one of those rubber words that are so useful in the rhetorical arsenal of demagogues. At one end of the semantic spectrum the word racism can be used to describe the sense of fellowship and kinship people tend to feel with those who share their history, culture and language; a feeling they do not have for those who do not. At the other end of the spectrum racism can refer to a blind, homicidal hatred of groups deemed to differ from one's own people, clan, nationality or race.

Between these two extremes, of course, there is a wide range of attitudes that include friendly traditional rivalries between subgroups in the same nation-State, attitudes of suspicion and mistrust towards those with a different appearance or different customs, and so on. The simple sense of special affinity with those who resemble us or share our language, folk-ways and group historical memory, if it is a sin at all, is surely a venial sin and is, in any case, universal. Just as surely, a genocidal loathing of particular alien groups, a desire to subjugate, to humiliate, even to annihilate, is a very grave sin indeed.

To reduce this point to a formula, one could say that ethnocentrism is quite normal and need not entail xenophobia, much less malice towards outside groups, however defined. In practice, sadly, the world abounds in hostilities and feuds in which race, broadly defined, is a major factor. A complete catalogue would run into volumes, but I will just remind the representatives of nations that presume to sit in judgement upon South Africa and Israel that the sin of racism is not a rare, proprietary aberration of those two countries.

Consider India's treatment of the Sikhs and the Untouchables. Look at the bloodletting next door in Sri Lanka between Tamils and Sinhalese. How does Japan treat the Ainu? Then there are the well-known grievances of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, the Armenians, Balts and others in the Soviet Union; and what of China's ruthless suppression of the Tibetan people?

# (Mr. Barron)

Africa is especially rich in horror stories of mistreatment, cruelty and even mass slaughter based largely on tribal - that is to say, racial - animosities.

Think of the hundreds of thousands who have been killed just because they were Ibo, or Hutu or Tutsi - or for that matter, Muslim or Christian.

That is not to say that Europeans have much to crow about either when one recalls the treatment, for example, of the Australian aborigines, not to mention the mass-production murder machines of Stalin and Hitler that killed millions of untermenschen and "class enemies" in our own century.

As an American I am also bound to recall the sin of slavery that stains our past, as well as the many injustices committed against the indigenous populations of the Western Hemisphere by Englishmen, Spaniards, Americans and others.

The list, of course, could go on but I think the point is made. Even the worst of South Africa's policies towards its non-white population make it not a unique monster but rather one sinner in a congregation of sinners.

And sinners deserve not just censure, although they do deserve that; they deserve also sympathetic understanding and help, especially if they seem to be taking the first steps on the path to reform, and no responsible observer can deny that South Africa is doing this.

# (Mr. Barron)

Over the past decade a number of the key legal structures of <u>apartheid</u> have been nullified and others have been honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Representation in Parliament has been opened up to Asians and those of mixed race. The black majority has become far more integrated into the total modern economy, with black entrepreneurs and unions leading the way, and demanding and getting a voice in decisions made in Pretoria.

In the past few months a new Administration, under F. W. De Klerk, has pledged to continue and accelerate the reform process, despite a substantial backlash caused, in part, by Western sanctions. The new State President has permitted demonstrations of dissent that were formerly unthinkable. He has invited dialogue with the black leadership regardless of ideology.

In the past two years South Africa has reached out as never before to once-hostile black-ruled neighbour States in an effort to replace confrontation by consultation and co-operation. South Africa has accepted without reservation the United Nations resolutions on Namibia, renounced its mandatory claims, withdrawn its military forces and offered the United Nations representatives its full assistance in bringing about a free and fair election in which Namibian people of all races can begin to shape their own destiny.

Surely all those remarkable developments are grounds for hope that South
Africa is firmly committed to a path that can and will lead to racial
reconciliation and equal justice for all its citizens, without the blood-bath that
many doomsayers have been predicting. Only raw vengeance can fail to welcome these
positive developments.

Along the way, as it has wrestled with the task of dismantling <u>apartheid</u> while retaining its economic stability, South Africa has been the object of a variety of political, diplomatic and economic sanctions, ranging from denial of over-flight

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# (Mr. Barron)

rights to its civilian airliners to an embargo on many of its products and disinvestment by major corporations.

There is a simple question we must ask about sanctions; it is the same question as a responsible doctor asks himself about medicine he prescribes. Will it hasten a cure or will its negative effects outweigh any benefits? Good intentions are not enough to excuse bad results. One example makes the point. When the United Nations, some 30 years ago, called for a world-wide boycott on arms to South Africa, Pretoria's military forces were largely dependent on outside supplies, and local production of weapons was virtually non-existent. Today, South Africa has an advanced arms-production capability and is a major exporter of weapons. Did the sanctions work? Who can doubt the answer?

Of course, South Africa is not the only place in the world where change is reshaping the face of reality and challenging old policies. South Africa is not the only Government that is dismantling structures of repression, broadening its toleration of dissent and promising to show greater respect for human rights. Elsewhere, as Governments move in the direction of reform, there is, at least in the community of free nations, an understandable urge to help, to supply diplomatic and economic aid, to offer expert advice and counsel, to invest — in short, to become involved in every way that can shore up stability and accelerate reform.

Strangely, there is only one case in which some people still argue that disengagement and economic warfare are an appropriate way to respond to a society moving in the direction of reform. It is noteworthy that Archbishop Desmond Tutu, on a recent visit to Panama, denounced United States economic sanctions against the repressive Noriega régime because, as he put it, "God's people have suffered enough." He understood, it seems, that sanctions, to the extent that they work at

all, work by damaging the economy, and in any economic downturn the poor are always the first and hardest hit. It is mystifying that he does not see that the same logic applies to economic sanctions against his own country, sanctions that have already put thousands of black people out of work, while disinvestment has been a bonanza to some of the richest people in the country, enabling them to buy up the corporate assets of foreign investors for pennies on the dollar.

Passing those sanctions laws may have made some legislators feel good and may even have won them some votes from people who care about gestures rather than about results. But it is far more likely that sanctions have delayed and obstructed the process of reform in South Africa rather than accolerated it.

Let me conclude on a positive note. The best way to put pressure on the South African Government to junk the last remnants of apartheid and widen the sphere of freedom to include people of all races is by an active programme of free-world investment, especially in black-owned enterprises. The South African economy must expand to provide jobs for the millions of black people who are coming onto the labour market every year. The black private sector is growing, and helping to increase black economic empowerment is certainly the most effective way to advance the cause of racial justice and harmony. A buoyant South African economy will not only help that nation's black people. The economies of the nearby black-ruled nations and their 100 million people are dependent for their very survival on the success of South Africa's economy. Helping it to succeed is a moral imperative.

The free world should respond to the new thinking that is going on in Pretoria and Cape Town with some new thinking of its own. "The times, they are a-changing." It is high time to stop shouting abuse; time to unclench the fist and lend a hand.

The CHAIRMAN: I regret that it is not in keeping with the rules and procedures of the Assembly to include in the verbatim record statements that are not made orally in meetings. The verbatim reporters can include only material that is actually spoken. However, the booklet mentioned, in which I am sure members will be very interested, can be displayed at the table beside the Conference Officer's desk so that delegations can pick up a copy or sent to the Centre against Apartheid.

Before calling upon the next speaker I should like to appeal to speakers to speak slowly and make their statements at a speed that will enable the interpreters to keep pace with delivery and will facilitate the task of the reporters and press officers. At our last meeting a few statements were made at very high speed. Do not forget that interpreters differ from the rest of us in that, normally, when one person talks the other person listens, but interpreters must listen and talk simultaneously. That requires a great deal of mental concentration. The speed of normal human speech is 135 words per minute, but do not forget that those words must be interpreted by a person in a closed booth. Therefore, the more slowly a statement is delivered, the better the interpretation will be. I thank everyone for their understanding.

The next speaker is Mr. Charles Touhey of the American-South African Peoples Friendship Association, and I now invite him to make his statement.

Mr. TOUHEY: I am a private citizen and I am here to speak my mind about the South African situation. I am happy to be following the previous speaker. I have four main points. I will be brief, taking perhaps three minutes.

The first comment made by the previous speaker was that South Africa is not the only racist or racialist society. I would possibly agree with that, but what does that have to do with what South Africa perpetrates against its majority population today?

# (Mr. Touhey)

The South African representative said, secondly, that barriers have come down. We know that, so far as such things as public beaches and certain types of public transportation are concerned, the barriers have been brought down. But that is similar to what happened in the United States at the time of the civil-rights movement. We all know that it has nothing to do with the economy or with the economic power of the black majority in South Africa.

The speaker from South Africa said, thirdly, that the new régime there is developing a rapprochement with its black African neighbours. I submit that this is a political gesture out of need, a gesture of expediency, rather than an indication of genuine interest in rapprochement.

Finally, the speaker used the situation in Namibia - South-West Africa - as an example of how the South African Government is now co-operating with the international community. I would point out that South-West Africa has been a protectorate for over 40 years and that it is only the efforts of the South West Africa People's Organization and the losses sustained on the battlefield by the South African Government that have brought that Government to the table to negotiate the freedom of Namibia.

I have two points to make in before concluding. First, sanctions against South Africa must be kept up. The best means of bringing South Africa round to majority rule is an economic means: the use of the purse-strings. The system of apartheid has a destabilizing effect in South Africa. It creates a climate of fear in the business community around the world, as was demonstrated by the withdrawal of many companies following the imposition of sanctions. Sanctions against South Africa must continue, because they are working.

# (Mr. Touhey)

Secondly, Namibia is a good example of how, when the South African people start to hurt, one sees on the streets of that country people resisting the draft, white South Africans asking, "What are we doing? Why are we perpetrating this on other peoples of Africa?". Though people have been dying in Namibia, it is sanctions - measures that take money out of pocket books - that bring South Africa to the table.

'Finally, Nelson Mandela must be freed because the African National Congress (ANC) - the oldest liberation movement in Africa - is the last and best hope of a moderate leadership in South Africa during the period of transition to a non-racial society. For the benefit of all those people who worry about what will happen when the ANC comes to the conference table with the South African Government, I point to the example of Zimbabwe. No one in South Africa in his right mind - black or white or coloured or of any other race - is going to destabilize the economy. Zimbabwe and Robert Mugabe are a perfect illustration of that. It is therefore very important that the South African Government move as quickly as possible to free Mandela and to come to the conference table and negotiate with the ANC.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Ms. Colia Clark, from the State University of New York, Department of African and African-American Studies.

Ms. CLARK: I am the Vice-President of the American South African Peoples
Friendship Association, a body committed to teaching teachers how to teach about
the issues of racism and apartheid, a body committed to preparing the very youngest
child for the day when we will be dealing with a free and independent Azania.

It is with deep sorrow and remorse that I appear before this body, in these halls that have for so long stood as a primary representation of all that is good and human in this old, weary world of ours. The American South African Peoples

#### (Ms. Clark)

Friendship Association has been many times moved by the work of this body in its diligent efforts to eradicate for ever the scourge of <u>apartheid</u> and racism from the face of the earth. The work of the United Nations Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u>, under the leadership of the honoured and distinguished Ambassador Joseph Garba of Nigeria, who is President of the General Assembly at its current session, has not gone unnoticed. We applaud the Special Committee against Apartheid for its noted and much-needed efforts.

We recognize the great works of the United Nations. Yet today we appeal to you once more on behalf of the brothers and sisters who are struggling against the forces of tyranny and oppression in the land of their ancient ancestors, the land where they have lived, loved and worked for thousands of years. We come to this Committee on behalf of the imprisoned men and women of the liberation movements, whose voices have been silenced in cages of concrete and steel. In recent days we have witnessed the feeble attempts of this criminal Government to pacify the efforts of freedom-fighters and delude the world community by releasing a mere handful of freedom-fighters. We are proud to have these men free, but it is simply not enough. Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners - all political prisoners - must be freed. We are obligated to send a clear message to the present rulers of South Africa that the world community demands no less.

We appeal to you on behalf of the great leaders of the liberation movements which daily are waging a protracted struggle against this inhuman beast. The work of the wrongly imprisoned Nelson Mandela and the late revolutionary Robert Sobukwe has increased despite every demonic effort of the South African Government to halt the course of history. From their bases in exile the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the African National Congress have continued their struggle. With

# (Ms. Clark)

limited resources, they have stayed on the battlefield to fight for a just and honourable resolution of their righteous cause, while, inside the belly of this hideous beast, men, women and children are constantly using every means at their disposal to sign a permanent death certificate against apartheid and racism on the African continent.

I am a witness who can speak to you of the ill effects of long and continued oppression on the psyche of children subjected to racism and segregation. I was born in a state of oppression - the parallel of South Africa in all its evils and wickedness. The state of Mississippi, in the United States of America, still sometimes haunts my memories and dreams with the cries of hungry, homeless babies, of motherless and fatherless children of African soul forced into cheap-wage labour systems without a simple human reprieve. Inspired by the peoples of South Africa, we have today made a few changes in the status of our lives. But the scars of racism and apartheid are not easily erased from the minds of the men, women and children who for more than 346 years suffered the trauma of this inhuman experience.

We the children of American slavery struggled with songs in our hearts, songs from the eternal homeland of our souls. We held fast to the concept of human beings as having been created by a higher order than mankind. We often posed to those with ears to hear and eyes to see, the question, "Ain't I got a right to the tree of life?". Today we must pose this ancient, ancestral question on behalf of the people in the southern portion of our ancient motherland, oppressed and abused, scorned and debased: "Ain't they got a right to the tree of life?".

(Ms. Clark)

I appeal to the members of this body to search out every possible route to answer this question in the positive for the people of South Africa. Please, I beg you to provide immediate financial and material support to the members of the liberation movements so that their struggles may continue. Just as important is the need for a radical effort to cut off all outside assistance which this beast South Africa uses to feed itself. Every nation working to keep apartheid alive must be lobbied to discontinue its efforts in this regard. Every international corporation must be forced to disinvest its operations within South Africa.

We must end the scourge of <u>apartheid</u> and racism. Bojana Jordan, the President of the American South African Peoples Friendship Association - a South African - has in his autobiography made plain to us all that "the liberation movements of South Africa will be heard". I beg you to honour once again those cries and forge ahead with due speed to grant all God's children the right to the tree of life. The tallest tree in paradise is the tree man calls the tree of life. Everybody has a right to the tree of life. Free Azania to enjoy its right to the tree of life.

On behalf of the American South African Peoples Friendship Association and the state of New York, I thank you for this opportunity to appear here.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mrs. Marcia McBroom Landess, of Peace For Our Children's Sake Foundation.

Mrs. McBROOM LANDESS: As founder and President of the For Our Children's Sake Foundation, I should like to thank you for granting me permission to address you today. I am deeply honoured and humbled to be here today: honoured, because I know the power that each of you potentially represents; humbled, because it is extremely difficult to speak about the unspeakable, to think about the unthinkable and to debate that which is so clearly undebatable, namely, the apartheid policies of the racist régime of South Africa.

In its 44 year history, the United Nations has aided in obtaining independence and self-determination for some 59 States, representing over 80 million people. The United Nations has played a major role in ending regional conflicts in many parts of the world. The United Nations is now playing a crucial role in disarmament negotiations, environmental initiatives and other areas of human and planetary concern. Yet there is a State that mocks the work of the United Nations by belittling everything for which it stands. There is a State that attempts to drain the virility of the United Nations, to render it impotent. There is a nation that defiantly says that hatred, greed, torture and terror should reign, not peaceful coexistence, co-operation and justice. There is a State that is currently waging a war against children in this year of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. There is a country that has legalized State violence in answer to the General Assembly's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There exists a nation that has legalized racism in answer to the International Day To End Racial Discrimination.

The Charter, principles and resolutions of the United Nations are being pressured with challenges as never before, and the world looks on, crying out for justice. Can the international community exorcise this demonic plague from the psyche of the international family? Can we show our youth that this generation is the one that will set in motion a new global ethos with a new morality as a legacy for succeeding generations? Can non-violent measures be applied with such vigour that the Gestapo policies of the racist Government of South Africa are smothered once and for all? Can the international community put aside its lust for profits and greed long enough to consider the universal profit of human dignity and worth? Can the Security Council resolution on mandatory sanctions against the disgraceful régime of South Africa be observed in a serious, sincere manner, led by its powerful members, the United States of America and the United Kingdom?

In 1987 I was a guest speaker at a memorial ceremony for the forty-second anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The touching lantern-lighting vigil caused the daughter of a Nagasaki survivor to burst into tears. She then recounted the stories as told by her mother: "I saw all the people burned, animals, glass bottles. I cried, I could not eat that day." Her grandfather, who searched for victims as an employee of the mayor, suffered fatal radiation poisoning. Miss Yoshida said that 1,200 people died in 1986 as a result of radiation suffered from the bombing 42 years before.

Should not Japan surrender to the pleas of countless mothers who have had their children tortured, maimed and in other ways brutalized by the depraved policies of South Africa? Should not Japan be courageous enough to act as a model for the value of human life and dignity after having suffered the unthinkable scourge of two atomic bombs? Is it not ironic that the Land Of The Rising Sun is helping to cause the sun to set on the hopes and future of my brothers and sisters in southern Africa? The international community must find the will and the courage to stand up, to do the right thing, by dismantling apartheid.

The liberation movements and the victims of <u>apartheid</u> continue to need increased and sustained support from the global community. Boycotts of companies that continue to do business with the racist régime of South Africa must be intensified. Banks must be urged to call in their loans to the country that still practises modern institutionalized slavery. Artists and sports figures must be encouraged to expand their boycott and isolation of the repugnant State of South Africa.

I beseech those of you who have children to look into their eyes and ask yourself how you would feel if your child stepped on a Claymore landmine or was maimed by a machete blow. I implore each of you to look into a mirror and ask yourself if you and the Government you represent are doing everything humanly

possible to end the crime against humanity that is <u>apartheid</u>. By your inactivity you are an accessory to its continuation.

The vicious policy of <u>apartheid</u> has spilled over into the nations bordering South Africa. Can the international community feel proud, knowing that newborn children in Angola and Mozambique are entering an environment that has gone from difficult to catastrophic? According to the 1989 update of <u>Children On The Front Line</u> report of the United Nations Children's Fund, this Government has caused the death of over 1.3 million people in Angola and Mozambique alone. There are an estimated 3.3 million Mozambicans threatened with death by starvation, while the world gorges on the fruits of their despair.

Angola and Mozambique now have the ominous distinction of having the highest infant and child mortality rates in the world. At the same time, the countries' natural wealth is being exported and used by their victimizers.

With South Africa's war of destabilization against its neighbours, children are dying at the rate of 25 per hour. The African holocaust taking place has been describe in the Gersony report as the worst genocide manifested since the Second World War. The brutality coupled with the gruesome savagery that has been demonstrated would make even the most hardened flinch. As of 1988, the hellish régime of South Africa has caused the deaths of more Mozambican and Angolan children under the age of five than were killed in the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The lapse of memory about the Japanese children who perished in Japan is startling. Yet these depressing figures will continue to rise unless the conflicts cease and the front-line States are allowed to develop in peace and security.

The foreign Powers that are supplying the bandits who butcher women and children are engaging in genocide. If they have signed the Convention against genocide, actions should be brought against them. These Powers must be censured and brought to the attention of the global family. Life must be seen as sacred regardless of skin colour, government ideology, or greed.

The For Our Children's Sake Foundation works with a programme called South Africa Now that includes a Namibia Watch segment in our weekly broadcast on the nationwide public broadcasting system. We are urgently in need of funds to keep the show on the air. The South African Government spends \$26 million a year on disinformation overseas. It is launching a television programme for world-wide distribution to convey its propaganda message; yet South Africa Now is in danger

of going off the air due to lack of funds. At the same time, it is being praised by viewers from around the world and important leaders at the United Nations. Why are not the many countries that have said that <u>apartheid</u> is a crime against humanity supporting this initiative? You should be willing to air the programme in your countries by any means necessary. The For Our Children's Sake Foundation is appealing to all of you, representatives from your various countries, to rally support for this programme in your countries. Only through active and vigorous education and communication can we begin to break the back of the <u>apartheid</u> demon and seriously create a world that works for the majority of its inhabitants.

Everyone in this Conference Room today was once a child. Hundreds and thousands of children in southern Africa are at this very moment having their tender lives destroyed, crushed like precious flowers in the field. The insatiable appetite of the racist régime of South Africa thrives on their degradation, exploitation and misery. It is time to show courage as never before. The stakes are very high. It is time to be forthright. It is time to heal the wounds. The eyes of the world's youth are upon us as they ask: "How many more?", We need a world where racists are ostracized by total isolation, not rewarded with new technology of death and mass destruction, coupled with thoroughly politicized roll-over loans.

In closing, I would like to read a poem that was sent to me from a teenager who was at the SCMOFCO school in Tanzania. I trust that through the plea of this young man we can each identify a cord of humanity that will move us to positive action, for we are our brother's and our sister's keepers. We do reap what we sow. We are each accountable.

The poem is entitled "My mother's tears are dear". It is by Edwin Smith, and I shall now read it out:

The tears of my mother shall not fall in vain
when men are naked before the power of pride
women exhausted to the broken soil
sisters lose their honour to dogs
brothers, men before the break of dawn
children starve, naked to die like wild grass
families, symbols of pain obsessed with affection

The tears of my mother shall not fall in vain
when workers sweat to kill their souls
employed to be enslaved
turning clocks of crowing cocks into devil's bells
payment of effort a curséd gesture
knuckles dry, broken by strain
and muscles too angry to relax
multiplying their age

The tears of my mother shall not fall in vain
when schools are empty
to teach walls and desks
streets congested with hungry hearts
the movement of eyes imitates the speed of light
beautiful brains turned to be the devil's arena
the rise of the sun a torture to action
beauty embodied in sad eyes
the kindness of age replaced by want
homes turned to houses
love dipped in blood
and walls and bars homes for the new

The tears of my mother shall not fall in vain when time perishes to frustrate those who depend ideas dry to choke the mind that wets in it words stall to suffocate the mouth with vomit in it fingers freeze, never again to form a fist eyes turn to bear the pain of sight

The tears of my mother shall not fall in vain
when streets are covered in urine and in blood
names turned to numbers
the birth of sons the memory of tombs
the milkman's truck the sight of a patrol van
sermons preached by men in uniforms with guns for aid
homes do not know the laughter of children

My mother's tears shall not fall in vain for they are dear unto me.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Malawi.

Mr. MIJOSO (Malawi): I should like to report on behalf of the Chairman of the African Group for this month that two more requests have been received for participation in the current deliberations. These are from Nancy Dawson of Nefer Rohu, of the African-American Studies Graduate Student Association for Scholarly Development, State University of New York at Albany; and John Ofori-Oppong of the African Students' Association, State University of New York at Albany.

The CHAIRMAN: Members of the Committee have heard the request by the representative of Malawi that Miss Nancy Dawson and Mr. John Ofori-Oppong should be permitted to address the Committee in connection with the present item.

May I take it that the Committee agrees to the request by the representative of Malawi?

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Ms. Baloyi of the South African/Azanian Student Movement.

Ms. BALOYI: My state ent will be directed only to the problems South African students have in this country.

I should like to thank the Committee for giving me the opportunity to address it as a South African student who happens to reside in the United States and also to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid for its resilient and ongoing fight and campaign against injustice, oppression and the dehumanization of our people in South Africa.

As a student, I should like to urge you to continue in the same spirit - to push harder - so that one day when we become free you can be counted as having been on the right side of human rights.

Before I tell you about the group I am representing, I find it fitting to address a few remarks to the first speaker. It is very, very hard for a South African to sit here and listen to someone apologizing for people who are perpetrating injustice against our people. Let it stand on the record that for an American to come here and talk for a government that promises the whole world one thing - that is, change - and, at the same time, continues to dehumanize, maim and kill our people, is simply unacceptable.

I am speaking as a representative of a student organization, the South African/Azanian Student Movement (SAASM), and also as an individual student, to highlight the various problems that face our student community, whether inside South Africa, in Africa, or in the United States. I am the current president of SAASM, a student organization that represents the majority of South African students studying in North America. We have branches all over the United States and one in Canada.

We are a totally non-sectarian student movement. However, we emphasize the importance of involvement in the struggle against injustice at home. We believe that South Africans are not monolithic in their thinking, political outlook and ideological background. However, there is always common ground in the fact that oppression has to go and democracy has to be established. We try to encourage tolerance as regards differences of opinion, and acceptance of disagreement without being disagreeable. We believe that total democracy can only come through unity and solidarity. Most of us come from universities in South Africa where we had to deal with each other on a daily basis and, first and foremost, we recognize the fact that we are, first of all, South Africans and our allegiance is to that country. Therefore we all have an equal stake in the future of South Africa.

It is through this organization that I am here today to make this plea. We have been drawn together by common issues and, hence, the sharing of common problems. We have a serious problem that is prevalent in the student community today and I appeal to the Committee to recognize that students studying here and in South Africa have serious financial needs. Today we have South African students throughout this country who live in shelters for the homeless and wake up to go to school. Some of them cannot go to school because they simply do not have any funds. They have admission to the schools, but they have no money. We find ourselves being made pawns of foreign policy because this group will come up with this decision and it affects us all. We appeal to you to emphasize this issue to the donor countries who have withdrawn their support for the United Nations Education Programme for South Africa (UNEPSA) and ask them to reconsider. Most students were left destitute without prior warning in the middle of their programmes because there was no money. But we ask ourselves whether that is really cost-effective. We have hundreds of students who are already in this country who need financial support but nothing is available.

For a long time the United Nations Scholarship for South Africans has been a source of comfort for a great many South Africans because it did not discriminate in terms of where the student was based or of his political affiliations, as long as the student could find a school. But today we have a large number of students who cannot go to school and we appeal to you for help.

We also want to appeal to the United Nations to look at the whole issue of resettlement of our students and of political asylum for those students who cannot return to their first country of asylum. We turn on our television sets and we see people who come from many countries and, with the help of the United Nations, have been granted asylum and also resettlement. We want to ask whether it is true that all people are created equal? Why is it so difficult when it comes to Africans? We appeal for more flexibility in the rigid rules that govern the scholarship programme. We also appeal for more direct dialogue and consultations with students in regard to the affairs that concern them.

South African students and youth are the human resources of the future of South Africa that are today going to waste. When we speak of a free South Africa, we do not exclude students. Or do the new policies really exclude them? At SAASM we receive dozens of letters from destitute students inside South Africa, destitute students who are somewhere in Africa and destitute students who are in this country.

There are some people who, because of the De Klerk mania, believe that things have changed and that Bantu education is finished. Our students are still suffering under that abhorrent and despicable system, even though the first speaker might not agree since he sees a ray of light at the end of the tunnel which I, as a South African, cannot really see. The bush universities in South Africa are still essentially ineffective and are not able to produce first-quality graduates.

In the past, the anti-apartheid movement in this country had highlighted some of this, but what do we do in this post-anti-apartheid protest era in this country where most scholarships do not provide any more money simply because people believe that South Africa has changed or is changing? We also get dozens of letters from students who plead with us to come and plead with you since you are in a position to help solve the problems of the world. Can you not see that the South African child and the South African student are still very much under siege?

We urge you to publicize the problem because it is prevalent and it is a serious one. The black child in South Africa is still disenfranchized, is still at the bottom of the heap, unlike what the first speaker believes, and we urge donors to give that some thought.

This is the Special Political Committee. We believe that education is political and that the lack of education has been used as a tool against our freedom and our progress.

We urge you to recognize that we cannot talk about a free South Africa with uneducated people.

We also believe that, when we as a nation go through whatever negotiations or processes of change or whatever else there might be, the biggest players, who might be silent, are the students, the youth, the children, because they will indeed be the players in the near future.

We also want to urge the Committee to continue to support the liberation struggle and the liberation movement, because it is through some of their efforts that De Klerk and others are beginning to move in their chairs.

We also want to urge the people who might not be clear about what our problem is about to recognize that, as they listen to De Klerk and his promises, students and youths are still being annihilated, mentally and economically.

I should like to close by asking the first speaker a few questions and to suggest some of the things that he needs to think about. When he talks about Israel and South Africa and says they are not racist, nobody can call you racist unless you behave in a racist way. Nobody can call one a sinner unless one sins. South Africa has not withdrawn from Namibia. There were sanctions and there are still some sanctions, even though some people have been breaking them, and it is because of those sanctions that South Africa is moving whatever little way it is moving. The infrastructure still does not include the majority of its people. The De Klerk mania that is going on is due to the pressure and the sacrifices of our people inside that country. No one can ask for South Africa to be punished unless South Africa deserves to be punished. We want it to stop marauding in the front-line States and end the racist policies of letting people be killed inside other countries. When we look at the people in Mozambique we see them in the same way as we look at the people inside South Africa, who are getting killed by bullets from his country via Israel into South Africa.

I want to say to the speaker, finally, that he said nothing about Israel's breaking the arms embargo. When it gets billions of dollars out of the United States and creates tools of destruction that destroy our children, where is his conscience? If he is able to speak for South Africa in the manner in which he has spoken, he should please address the question of why everybody is quiet.

Lastly, I should like the Committee to look into the position of urging all members to look seriously at those countries which still violate the arms embargo and the sanctions bills that have been adopted in many regions, because to me it is very hypocritical to come here and listen to us speaking and protesting and then to go out and represent Governments that are being racist and that have helped to prop up apartheid. I would urge that there be forums like this one in the future, where people from the community can benefit from hearing each other's views and make their voices heard, because in most cases we read about these things but the person in the street does not get a chance to speak.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on Ms. Behati Heywot, who will speak on behalf of Mr. David Brothers of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party.

Ms. HEYWOT: On behalf of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, the party of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, permit me, in addressing the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, to convey our unrelenting support for the people's right to self-determination and national liberation, against the racist and vicious South African régime.

When we look at Azania/South Africa we see a long history of struggle against the forces of oppression. In Azania and other places where African people live, as with the lives of other oppressed peoples, the situations may seem separate, may seem to be different, but they are the same. The problem is imperialism, its tentacles stretched throughout the world. Imperialism has reared its ugly head in

(Ms. Heywot)

Azania/South Africa and calls itself apartheid. It stands in direct opposition to the people's right to self-determination. Imperialism is at work in occupied Palestine. It is at work in Ireland. Imperialism is at work in the occupied native American territories of the Western Hemisphere. The destruction of apartheid is therefore not the end of the people's struggle but a step forward.

Years ago the colonial settler Government imposed <u>apartheid</u> as a means of controlling the African population. Since that time oppression and exploitation have touched every aspect of life in South Africa. Accordingly, mass revolts for the African revolution and against the heinous system of <u>apartheid</u>/imperialism are not new.

History testifies to the struggle of Africans everywhere against the despicable contamination of our continent, against every form of imperialist aggression since the time of the first colonial invasion. Recently we have witnessed the heroic stand of our people in the Sharpeville massacre and the Soweto uprising. This continuing oppression has sparked the sisters of Azania/South Africa to take part in their liberation struggle with a major role, as in the Pass Law demonstration of 9 August 1956. Those examples are not just past events. Each is a milestone in the people's strengthened ability to regain control of their lives. Ultimately the redemption of Africa necessitates the destruction of imperialism.

The Honourable Mangaliso Sobukwe, founder of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania said:

"The cowards are still standing aside and the brave have made their choice. We have made our choice and we have chosen African nationalism because of its deep human significance, because of its inevitability and necessity to world progress. World civilization will not be complete until the African has made his full contribution."

# (Ms. Heywot)

That precise logic finds its highest political expression in Pan-Africanism - the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism.

Recent events might lead us to believe that real change was being made in Azania/South Africa. We urge caution. Again we state that the settler Government has imposed apartheid as a means of controlling the African population. Today it continues to wage open war on the people, massacring them and taking political prisoners. For every political prisoner who has recently been released there are hundreds still languishing behind the bars of a Fascist prison system. For every African who can now sit down in a city park hundreds are detained, children are tortured and many have simply disappeared.

Recent events have been carefully scripted to gain world favour for the South African Government. However, it is the struggle of the masses of oppressed people inside Azania/South Africa, under the guidance and organization of their liberation movements - the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress - which defines the solutions they seek and guarantees their ultimate victory. As world opinion is courted by an unscrupulous suitor, we ask the United Nations Special Committee to listen to the people, to intensify its support and assistance to them.

National liberation and self-determination, for which many have sacrificed the best years of their lives and more go unnamed, are still to be realized. This is not a time when we can be complacent or lethargic. The time is now ripe for further intensification of the isolation of the racist régime and the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

#### (Ms. Heywot)

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party urges the United Nations Security Council to continue its sanctions against the South African Government. The All-African People's Revolutionary Party strongly believes that we must develop a unified and well co-ordinated strategy for the education, organization and mobilization of the masses, especially in the United States and England, to demand the imposition of mandatory sanctions against all multinational corporations and Governments which continue to prop up and give legitimacy to the illegal racist apartheid régime.

As Namibia, also a victim of imperialist <u>apartheid</u> aggression, takes its next step towards independence, pressure of all kinds must be brought to bear to force the <u>apartheid</u> régime to its knees. We must stand with the people of Namibia and the people of Azania-South Africa. We must help to lift the boot of oppression off their back. Apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be eradicated.

Imperialism in Azania-South Africa is represented by <u>apartheid</u>, built to maintain an unjust system. The settler Government in South Africa does not want to have majority rule or to see justice. Such a change would mean spreading the wealth of the vast resources of the land to the disenfranchised masses - the rightful owners. With the help of the United Nations Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> we must do all that we can to assist the people of Azania-South Africa and their liberation movements, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, to achieve that inevitable victory and to bring justice, human dignity, national liberation and true peace to every corner of the world. Now is the time to intensify the struggle.

We have made our choice. We stand with the people of Namibia and Azania-South Africa. Victory is certain.

As always, the All-African People's Revolutionary Party stands ready for the revolution.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Stedman Aaron of African Echoes.

Mr. AARON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for affording me the opportunity to address the Committee.

Before I get into my general remarks, I should just like to make a prefatory comment based on some of the remarks I heard here from some friends of South Africa. Africans at times do seem to suffer from amnesia, so I think the historical record should be set straight. It was Wilmot Edmond Blyden who said that Africa's right to be wrong in Africa is sacred, and Africans do not need to be lectured by anyone about their behaviour in Africa.

Europeans should read their history. Their history shows that they spent hundreds of years fighting and killing each other. When that was changed and corrected they turned on Africans, for the most part, so we do not need to be lectured about what happens in Africa. That is our business.

I have been instructed to convey our appreciation to Mr. Garba, whom we must thank for his contributions to the Special Committee. We would also like to congratulate him.

On behalf of the co-ordinating committee of African Echoes, I wish to express our contempt for the abominable <u>apartheid</u> system and the gang of usurpers who now inflict their presence and their reprehensible acts of murder and violence on the Azanian people in so-called South Africa. We call for the elimination of that system and the installation of an electoral system of one person, one vote. Is this not the democracy that is being forced down the throats of the people of the world?

The international community must continue to express its abhorrence of the vile system which continues to stifle 28 million Africans in Azania. At this time, I would like to single out the Thatcher Government for its continued hypocritical

# (Mr. Aaron)

support of the racist régime and its lonely opposition to the imposition of sanctions against the racists. The underlying facts speak for themselves. Britain under Thatcher seems to be ghosting Victoria in holding back the inevitable. She stands alone against the European Community, the 49-nation Commonwealth, her own Conservative party, and even her once staunch supporter, Ronald Reagan. After all, he was forced to make some artificial concessions under pressure.

We Africans understand how non-Africans behave, and the economic pain this once great imperialist would suffer is, according to Thatcher, too great. The London-based South Africa Trade Association states that Britain's investments in South Africa represent over 40 per cent of all foreign capital and more than 7 per cent of Britain's overseas stake. Certainly, sanctions that eliminated trade would cause lay-offs of between 45,000 and 100,000 workers, depending on whose figures one cares to believe, and this would raise its unemployment figure anything up to 12 per cent above its current level of 11.7 per cent. In addition, eliminating South Africa's commodities from British markets would raise prices and increase inflation, so that argument goes.

We understand this fully and, since Britain cannot compete either in Europe or in the world, it has to stay addictedly committed to its racist cohorts.

Hypocrisy reigns even more when Barclays Bank continues to bankroll arms for the illegal racist régime and other banks claim they obtain only 5 per cent annual return on their principal, yet continue to support the racist régime. Thatcher, like the Empire she grew up in, will be dealt with in time.

We call on the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to support our revolutionary struggle. We urge you, Ambassador Oudovenko, as Chairman of the Special Political Committee, to maintain your historical revolutionary heritage. With "new thinking" in the air and Marx being eased out as the market forces itself in - and I note the new tenant of 1 Karl Marx Place in Moscow - if you believe in

#### (Mr. Aaron)

and are committed to peace, do not ask Azanians to talk to racists, but allow us to follow the same revolutionary path that the Soviet Government took in 1917. It is not reassuring to Azanians when you flip-flop on issues of life and death in your new thinking. New thinking that embraces the racists in Azania amounts to the extermination of Azanians. It is insane to negotiate with racists and squatters. We call on your Government to continue to support our revolutionary position against the illegal racist squatters.

How long will the world stand by and allow these Boers, whose leaders embraced nazism and now profess Christianity, continue to occupy African land. We understand why they invent a reality and proceed to inflict it on Africans who moved too slowly to maintain the soveceignty of their land. The whole history of these plundering squatters is based on a trekking mentality, and the Africans, not accustomed to dealing with abnormal behaviour, were disoriented as these trek-stricken squatters savaged them, grabbed their land and left them homeless, landless and virtually mindless in their own home. But yesterday and today is not for ever. They may have their atomic bomb and their missile-launching friends and even commit technological fraud by forging United Nations Transition Assistance Group documents to murder innocent people in Namibia. Their lies and fraud will always be exposed. How satanic they are. But revolutionary change is inevitable. Azanians are worse off than my ancestors, who were enslaved. My brothers and sisters in Azania have to work for little, eat less, live under the most sub-human conditions and be taxed; they are segregated, discriminated against, and eliminated if they protest.

# (Mr. Aaron)

In short, Azanians have to pay for their own enslavement. This is capitalism carried to vampire limits. Consider: Europeans called us names, classified us as three fifths of a human being but elevated us to the status of property. These Doers have no class. How can they anyway, when they lack the capacity to understand what it is to be human. Some day soon we Africans will elevate them.

Azanians will survive the Group Areas' Act, the various Land Acts, the Population Regulation Act, and all the other demonic laws you design.

We call on the Boers to trek out while they can, leave the land; all the Azanians want is their land. This is not negotiable.

Take what you can; or like the Portuguese did in 1975 when they were kicked out of Angola, destroy what you cannot carry. But above all, leave the land. Squatters cannot create a deed to a land they never owned. If you did not own it in 1652, you cannot own it now.

Locally, we call on the United States Congress to support the Dellums bill for sanctions against South Africa now being considered, so that meaningful economic pressure can be brought to bring down this repugnant reprehensible bunch of settlers, who inflicted themselves on the people of Azania. It is an affront to the Azanians, to Africa, to Africans everywhere, and it should be to non-Africans too.

Africans awake: set about liberating Azania and let us work for a united Africa, building our nation as we look towards the twenty-first century. Long live the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania; long live Mangoliso Sobukwe; long live Zephenia Mothopeng and all the brave revolutionary fighters of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Ms. Donna Katzin of Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility.

Ms. KATZIN: I am Donna Katzin, Director of South Africa Programs for the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR). On behalf of the ICCR, which co-ordinates the work of its 240-member United States religious organizations on corporate responsibility, I should like to express our appreciation for the opportunity to address the Special Political Committee.

When Mr. De Klerk was elected in South Africa by the country's white minority régime, a cynical joke went round Johannesburg: "What is the difference between P. W. Botha and F. W. De Klerk?" The answer: "20 years". We know that the people of South Africa and southern Africa — and the international community — cannot tolerate apartheid for another two decades. The stakes are too high, and the human cost — to all of us — is too great.

At this moment, South Africa stands - not on a historical conveyor belt - but at a crossroad. Its leaders have the choice between continuing apartheid and ending it. In the past, Pretoria has turned from the path of fundamental constitutional change. It has broadened its repertoire of apparent "reforms" and accommodations on one hand, and brutal repression on the other to maintain the status quo. But now, as the South African resistance and liberation movements continue to grow stronger, external pressures are beginning to demonstrate their potential to squeeze that country's economy to a halt. The task now before the international community is to seize this critical historical moment by maximizing the impact of both targeted and comprehensive sanctions. In this way we can turn Pretoria, once and for all, towards negotiations for constitutional change.

Since the first international sanctions were introduced, South Africa's economy has been progressively debilitated by a drain of foreign capital, stagnating productivity and deteriorating terms of trade.

Perhaps the most striking blow to the economic stability of the <u>apartheid</u>
State was dealt by South Africa's international creditors in 1985, when they flexed their financial muscles and called in their short-term loans. These loans represented more than half the country's foreign debt. As Pretoria struggled since then to maintain its reserves to pay for its imports, and keep up with its debt repayments, South Africa has been forced to cut back on other costly escapades — like its war on Angola and its illegal occupation of Namibia.

Furthermore, in order to cover these costs Pretoria has been forced to sell off gold and foreign exchange reserves, whose value has been far undermined by the unstable price of gold and the diminishing value of the rand. Such reserves, further depleted by the lack of new investment, fell by R1.2 billion to R3.7 billion in June of this year. They now cover a scant 12 days of imports, and fall far below the level of countries like neighbouring Botswana.

Disinvestment is also taking a heavy toll. By the end of 1988, 40 per cent of the South African subsidiaries of foreign countries had been sold by their corporate parents. As of last July, 186 United States corporations alone had disinvested. As these purchases absorb a growing sum of South African capital, fewer funds are available for reinvestment in local industry to create jobs, improve productivity and keep pace with foreign competition.

Disinvestment and sanctions have further cut into South Africa's foreign trade, which accounts for 60 per cent of the economy's annual gross domestic product. Following the 1986 Anti-Apartheid Act in the United States and trade restrictions and reductions by the European Economic Community and Nordic and Commonwealth countries, South African sales abroad plummeted by \$469 million during the first nine months of 1987 alone, according to a report by the United states General Accounting Office. This reflects an estimated loss of 7 per cent of South Africa's traditional exports.

It is important to note, however, that while some countries have reduced their commerce with the <u>apartheid</u> State, others like Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong have undermined the impact of these measures by increasing their own trade with South Africa.

Additional targeted sanctions have driven the cost of <u>apartheid</u> even higher.

Measures like the oil embargo, for example, which rost Pretoria \$22 illion from 1973 to 1984, have forced Pretoria to pay substantial <u>apartheid</u> premiums on imported products. Such measures have forced South Africa to maintain expensive stockpiles, and to divert scarce resources into projects which are not economically viable - like Mossel Bay - aimed at reducing the country's dependency on imports.

But while international campaigns and sanctions have sapped the vitality of the <u>apartheid</u> State, they have not brought it to a halt. Such a standstill is necessary now to demonstrate that South Africa's economy cannot continue to function under minority rule, and thereby force Pretoria to abandon the system it has defended at all costs. To be most effective, within the context of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, international measures should further aim to cut Pretoria's remaining and highly vulnerable financial and trade links to the rest of the world.

South Africa's financial ties have attracted international attention during the past few months. With the approach of the June 1990 expiration - when \$8 billion in loans frozen under South Africa's debt agreement come due - States, religious and anti-apartheid organizations around the world called on the banks not to reschedule their loans to South Africa without political change. Instead, the 14 banks on the "Technical Committee" agreed to a renewal of these loans eight months ahead of schedule.

The accord mandates repayment of only 20.5 per cent of the outstanding loans over a lenient three and a half years, without any political conditions at all.

This agreement contains a particularly pernicious "exit clause" that allows banks to convert some of this debt into even more lenient 10-year loans which are not due until the year 2000. By agreeing to these terms quickly and unconditionally the banks have abdicated their fiscal and moral responsibility. They have sent apartheid's leaders a clear message that they are willing to reinvest in white minority rule.

But they have not surrendered their financial leverage on South Africa. This is the time for the international community to do all in its power to discourage the banks from converting their debt into long-term loans which would enable South Africa to alleviate the impact of other sanctions. It is the time to cut off all active lending to South Africa under <u>apartheid</u>, including trade credits, gold loans and gold swaps.

It is also critical that those international banks which continue to do "routine" business with South Africa be required to sever those correspondent banking ties, through which South Africa does business with the rest of the world. In the United States such correspondent banking is particularly important since virtually all of South Africa's trade passes through dollar accounts. Were international banks to freeze or close South African accounts, thereby severely handicapping Pretoria's trade, they could put the <u>apartheid</u> State on the barter system in a period of weeks. This, like other financial sanctions, would be a substantial incentive for South Africa's business community to demand the fundamental political change necessary to permit South Africa's re-entry into the international market place and the community of nations.

The current financial sanctions bill before the United States House of Representatives (HR 3458) would require United States banks to sell virtually all their South African debt on the secondary market at a substantial loss. It would also outlaw credits for trade with South Africa and correspondent banking with South African entities. It would further bar United States Government business with banks - domestic and foreign - which extend loans of any kind to South Africa.

The trade and technology ties are equally significant. Comprehensive, mandatory sanctions are needed to strengthen existing national legislation - by

prohibiting investment, trade and technology transfers. Loop-holes in current laws, such as the United States Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, allow companies to retain their strategic operations in South Africa, even when those facilities provide an economic lifeline to South Africa and are required to supply the apartheid Government upon demand. This is the case with the major foreign oil companies operating in South Africa: Royal Dutch/Shell, Chevron, Texaco, British Petroleum and Total. Most laws further permit disinvesting companies like IBM, UNISYS, General Electric, General Motors and Ford to protect their markets and profits by continuing to supply products, services and crucial technology to the land of apartheid.

To cut these commercial and technological links, sanctions should prohibit both equity and non-equity ties - including trade and technology - to South Africa. They should also support the demands of the Congress of South African Trade Unions by requiring disinvesting companies to negotiate the terms of their withdrawal with workers and unions involved - well in advance of their actual pull-outs.

In this context, the General Assembly and its member States can play a key role in bringing the <u>apartheid</u> system to a halt.

With regard to financial sanctions, the United Nations General Assembly can co-ordinate the activities of Member Governments and non-governmental organizations to sever international banking ties to apartheid South Africa by: first, assisting member Governments and non-governmental organizations in formulating policy to terminate credits to, and financial transactions with, South African entities, including gold loans and gold swaps, trade credits and the conversion of outstanding debt to 10-year loans; secondly, helping Member States monitor the

implementation of these policies; thirdly, designating a special body to monitor the effectiveness of these measures and report back regularly to the General Assembly; and, fourthly, recommending that the United Nations mandate that its own financial agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, prohibit all loans to South Africa until apartheid is abolished.

In support of comprehensive sanctions, the General Assembly can help member Governments broaden the scope and increase the co-ordination and impact of their policies by: first, assisting member Governments in designing and enforcing comprehensive legislation to sever the investment and non-equity ties to South Africa, including trade and technology transfers; secondly, promoting multilateral mechanisms for States to penalize transnational corporations and banks operating within their borders which maintain such ties to South Africa; thirdly, identifying and reporting regularly to the international community on the activities of those countries, such as Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong, which undermine efforts by other members to end non-equity ties to South Africa; and, fourthly, helping member Governments design and enforce policy to terminate especially strategic ties to the apartheid State by developing and co-ordinating gold sanctions and strengthening the implementation of the oil embargo.

In these ways the international community and the United Nations can move now to stop apartheid in its tracks and turn Pretoria towards negotiations for a united non-racial democracy. In so doing we can make a decisive contribution to southern Africa's self-determination, development and peace.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Ms. Nancy Dawson, representing Nefer Rohu, the African American Studies Graduate Student Association for Scholarly Development, State University of New York at Albany.

Ms. DAWSON: The continuing cries of the suffering South African people are so piercing that they echo in the ears of graduate students in the Department of African American studies of the State University of New York at Albany. I have come here today as the representative of Nefer Rohu, a black graduate student association.

Even though the State University of New York has divested from South Africa, we graduate students realize that our work is not yet done until southern Africa is free. In our studies we are constantly reading about the struggle against apartheid, and we wonder how much longer our brothers and sisters will have to carry razor-sharp chisels to chip away at this madness called apartheid. After all, studying the situation in southern Africa is remembering the blood-stained past of African Americans enslaved, of African Americans who died because they refused to be separate but equal, and of African Americans who perished in the flames of the 1960s.

We members of Nefer Rohu pledge our allegiance in helping to end this oppression. We ask, first of all, that this Committee continue its support for the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Secondly, we ask that the United Nations increase its financial, material and moral support for both liberation movements. Everything at the disposal of this great body must be used to lobby those nations, organizations and corporations that have dealings with that hideous monster, so that the throat of <u>apartheid</u> can be slashed immediately. In the words of Dr. Martin Luther King:

"We are now faced with the fact that tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding drama of life and history there is such a thing as being too late. We may cry out desperately for time

# (Ms. Dawson)

to pass in its passage, but time is deaf to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words, 'too late'."

For those born and those yet unborn, for those imprisoned and maimed by that wicked system of apartheid, for all the children of southern Africa, I beg you, do not be too late. On behalf of Nefer Rohu, I thank you for allowing our organization to appear before you today.

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The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. John Ofori-Oppong of the African Students Association of the State University of New York at Albany.

Mr. OFORI-OPPONG: This is a statement on behalf of the African Students Association of the State University of New York at Albany.

As African students, we would like to reaffirm the Declaration adopted by the Organization of African Unity ad hoc committee on southern Africa, in Harare, Zimbabwe, in August this year: all necessary measures should be adopted now to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system in the interest of all the people of southern Africa, our continent and the world at large. We support the call from the liberation movement for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions and total withdrawal of all foreign interests in South Africa. We salute the efforts of our brothers and sisters in South Africa to rid themselves of the yoke of oppression by embarking upon the heroic defiance campaign. We pledge our total support for the liberation movement, both the mass democratic movement inside the country and the African National Congress abroad.

It is incumbent upon the international community, in particular the United Nations, to provide material aid to the exiled movement. We believe that such aid will assist the ANC and PAC to escalate the struggle on every front, especially the educational and political fronts. The time has come for you to demonstrate not only in words in the form of resolutions, but by concrete actions, your support for the struggle.

No stone, therefore, should remain unturned in the efforts to create a South

Africa which will be free of oppression and exploitation - where basic human rights

are guaranteed to all.

The CHAIRMAN: We have heard the last statement in our hearings on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. On behalf of the Committee I should like to extend our appreciation to the representatives of the

non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who have expressed their views about the situation in South Africa and the international response to the system of apartheid. Although, as representatives of Member States, we cannot agree with everything that was said here, I think that the participants in the hearings provided us with valuable insights and information on the subject.

Over the years, these hearings have offered to the General Assembly the opportunity to hear individuals and organizations that are our allies in the struggle and with great dedication supplement the efforts of Governments in mobilizing public opinion in the application of pressure to the régime in Pretoria to dismantle apartheid promptly and, as we all hope, peacefully. It is the NGOs that carry out many of the elements of the resolutions that the General Assembly, year after year, adopts calling for the eradication of that evil and anachronistic system. We are grateful to the men and women who are devoting their time and energy to this noble cause.

The views we have heard are useful input to our deliberations, especially this year, when, after the regular debate on <u>apartheid</u> next week in the plenary General Assembly, we are preparing a special session on <u>apartheid</u> and its destructive consequences in southern Africa to be held between 12 and 14 December.

As the international climate is improving and some hopeful developments are taking place in southern Africa, we hope the special session will provide an opportunity to the international community to focus on a process for the peaceful elimination of <u>apartheid</u> through genuine negotiations. For such a process to succeed, it will be necessary to maintain pressure on Pretoria, and in that regard the NGOs can play an important role.

We may be entering a significant period in the struggle to eliminate <u>apartheid</u>, and both the Governments and the NGOs have to be prepared to react with effectiveness, flexibility and imagination, and, above all, in concert and with

# (The Chairman)

consistency. Let us hope that soon the subject of these hearings will be devoted to the support of genuine and meaningful negotiations and eventually to the needed assistance for the South African people in the post-apartheid period.

The Special Political Committee has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 28. Our Rapporteur will present the Committee's report to the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.