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before the

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
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Thank you for inviting me to be here today.

I am extremely concerned, as are all of you who are present today, about the Reagan administration's policy of constructive engagement, of giving South Africa what they want because we think that somehow this will pry concessions from them, concessions that gibe with our constitutional traditions.

Well, we have gotten no concessions from South Africa. On the contrary, apartheid's hold has been strengthened on the nation, and allowed South African Security forces to kill and maim non-white demonstrators with impunity.

What goes on in South Africa is anathema to all that we in the United States hold dear. The policy of apartheid mocks democracy, mocks fundamental rights, mocks human dignity.

A South African -- if he happens to be black -- cannot marry who he wants to marry. He cannot worship where he wants to worship. He cannot say aloud what he wishes to say. He cannot even meet in private with those with whom he wants to meet. And he cannot vote at all.

Nor can he travel where he wishes to travel, learn where he wishes to learn, or work where he wishes to work. All this, because the government dictates it.

These are the most fundamental human rights, rights for which our own country has fought on the battlefield and in its legislatures. We have held these ideals for more than two hundred years, and should not tolerate their abrogation by any country.

These rights are suppressed every day by the Republic of South Africa. No true friend of democracy, no true friend of human liberty can also be a friend of South Africa.

The Reagan administration has done little more than pay lip service in opposition to apartheid. There is no excuse for this, and the danger is that the more we tolerate Pretoria's moral bankruptcy, the more we will be tainted by this association. In essence, we will lose our once-predominant status as spokesmen for human rights in the world community. We have already slipped, and cannot afford to fall.

The time to make American influence felt in Pretoria is now. For this reason, I strongly urge that all legislation directed against apartheid be given full support by our legislators, local leaders, and businessmen.

As you know, my bill H.R. 1133 would stem the flow of U.S. nuclear technology and related goods to South Africa. Because so many different departments and agencies have some responsibility for nuclear related exports, the bill is somewhat complex. It forbids all those with responsibility in our government from approving licenses for exports to South Africa.

In addition, the bill directs the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Energy, and the Secretary of State each to draw up a list of goods that, if exported to South Africa, would aid their nuclear program. This includes the so-called "dual use" items, about which we should hear more from the administration. The end result of my bill is that no item applicable in South Africa's nuclear program would be cleared for export by the Commerce Department.

H.R. 1133 is aimed at turning back just one thrust of constructive engagement, but perhaps its most dangerous thrust. The world has not yet seen an apartheid bomb. We should do all in our power to see that it never does. But if the South African government succeeds in its nuclear program and does indeed develop a bomb, then the United States should be in the position of being able to say that we have clean hands.

Thank you for your time.