

TESTIMONY OF

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PRESENTED BEFORE

THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA

AND

THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC

POLICY AND TRADE

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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MR. CHAIRMAN, MY NAME IS RANDALL ROBINSON AND I AM EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF TRANSAFRICA, THE BLACK AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY LOBBY FOR AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. I AM ALSO NATIONAL CO-ORDINATOR OF THE FREE SOUTH AFRICA MOVEMENT.

HAD THERE EVER BEEN ANY QUESTION REGARDING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC'S VIEWS ON SOUTH AFRICA, THE PAST 23 WEEKS HAVE PROVIDED A CLEAR ANSWER. AMERICANS ARE REPULSED BY APARTHEID AND ARE EMBARRASSED BY OUR TACIT SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE PAST FIVE MONTHS OF PROTEST HAVE PROVEN THAT A BROAD BASED CONSTITUENCY EXISTS FOR A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN U.S. - SOUTH AFRICA POLICY. AMERICANS OF EVERY POLITICAL STRIPE HAVE BEEN MARCHING WEEK AFTER WEEK SINCE LAST NOVEMBER AT THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY, ITS CONSULATES, AND AT KRUGERRAND DEALERS ACROSS THE COUNTRY. THE CONSULATES IN BOSTON AND PORTLAND HAVE CLOSED. MANY COIN AND PRECIOUS METALS DEALERS NO LONGER SELL THE KRUGERRAND. AMERICANS WILL NOT CEASE IN THEIR PROTEST UNTIL THEY ARE SATISFIED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PART OF THE REAL SOLUTION, AND NOT SIMPLY THE RHETORICAL ONE. I COMMEND THESE SUBCOMMITTEES FOR CONVENING THIS CRITICAL REVIEW OF U.S. - SOUTH AFRICA POLICY AND THE SPONSORING AND CO-SPONSORING LEGISLATORS OF THE, ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF 1985 (HR 1460), DISINVESTMENT LEGISLATION (HR 997, HR 1298, AND HR 1098), PROHIBITION ON EXPORT OF NUCLEAR INSTRUMENTATION TO SOUTH AFRICA (HR 1133), AND THE PROHIBITION ON IMPORTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN AND NAMIBIAN COAL AND URANIUM.

IN MY VIEW, THE NEED AND THE CALL FOR A U.S. POLICY OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA STEM FROM TWO THINGS. FIRSTLY, IT IS ROOTED IN THE LONGSTANDING INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS AGAINST APARTHEID AND THE RECOGNITION THAT A SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SO COMMITTED TO INJUSTICE, NEEDS MORE HEAT THAN LIGHT IN THE PROCESS OF DISMANTLING APARTHEID. SECONDLY, THE NEED FOR SANCTIONS IS BASED ON THE FAILURE OF THE CURRENT POLICY OF "CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT" TO ACHIEVE ANY RESULTS OTHER THAN PRETORIA'S MEASURABLE ESCALATION OF REPRESSION OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS. ACCORDINGLY, THIS POLICY WARRANTS STRONG CONDEMNATION TODAY. THE CONSTANT

DETERIORATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REALITY, THE UNENDING BRUTALITY OF THAT GOVERNMENT, AND THE UNTOLD SUFFERING OF THE BLACK MAJORITY OCCURRING AND REPORTED DAILY, BEAR INCONTRAVERTIBLE WITNESS THAT BY PLACING OUR ECONOMIC, DIPLOMATIC, AND INTELLIGENCE RESOURCES AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND BY COUCHING THAT SUPPORT IN THE GUISE OF "QUIET DIPLOMACY," WE ENCOURAGE AND ACCOMODATE WHAT IS ESSENTIALLY A MINORITY RULED SLAVE ECONOMY IN SOUTH AFRICA. STATISTICALLY IT HAS BEEN SHOWN THAT UNDER CURRENT POLICY THERE HAVE BEEN DRAMATIC INCREASES IN GOVERNMENT FORCED REMOVALS TO THE BARREN "HOMELANDS," POLICE KILLINGS OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS, BANNINGS AND DETENTIONS OF PEACEFUL PROTESTORS WITHOUT JUDICIAL PROCESS, PASS LAW ARRESTS, AND REGIONAL DESTABILIZATION EFFORTS. THESE BRUTALITIES HAVE INCREASED IN RESPONSE TO THE APPEASEMENT OF OUR GOVERNMENT. THE SIMPLE TRUTH IS THAT AS U.S. PRIVATE SECTOR SUPPORT FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM SURPASSES 14½ BILLION DOLLARS, AND A CLOSE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP CONTINUES BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENT AND PRETORIA'S, THE SOUTH AFRICANS SCOFF AT OUR VERBAL OUTRAGE AND CONTINUE THEIR ENTRENCHMENT OF APARTHEID.

LESS THAN THREE WEEKS AGO, SOUTH AFRICA'S MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER BANNED MEETINGS OF SOME 29 ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING THE TWO MILLION MEMBER UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, KEY LEADERS FROM WHICH ARE SOON TO FACE TREASON CHARGES.

THE CARNAGE AT UITENHAGE JUST FOUR WEEKS AGO SPEAKS FOR ITSELF. COMMEMORATION SERVICES AND VIGILS BEING HELD AROUND THE WORLD IN HONOR OF THOSE GUNNED DOWN AT SHARPEVILLE TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO TO THE DAY, ACQUIRED AN IMMEDIATE PATHOS AS WORD OF THE UITENHAGE MASSACRE REACHED A STUNNED WORLD. THE BODY COUNT, WE ARE ALL AWARE, HAS RISEN STEADILY SINCE THAT DISGRACE.

SOUTH AFRICA'S LIBERALIZATION OF LAWS AGAINST BLACK TRADE UNIONS IS OFTEN CITED AS EVIDENCE OF THAT COUNTRY'S "MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION." LAST NOVEMBER, A TWO DAY NATION-WIDE STRIKE BY BLACK UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA RESULTED IN MASS ARRESTS INVOLVING HUNDREDS, THE INCARCERATION OF MOST MAJOR LABOR LEADERS, AND THE FIRING

OF 6,500 WORKERS FROM THE STATE OWNED SASOL COMPANY.

TWO DAYS AGO, SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ SPOKE ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S "SHIFT TO 'ORDERLY URBANIZATION' POLICIES." LAST OCTOBER, WE WITNESSED "OPERATION BULLRUSH," WHEN SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS RAIDED BLACK TOWNSHIPS, ENVELOPING ENTIRE NEIGHBORHOODS WITH MILITARY HARDWARE, RAVAGING TENS OF THOUSANDS OF BLACK HOUSEHOLDS AND PHYSICALLY MARKING BLACKS AFTER THEY HAD BEEN INSPECTED.

LAST SEPTEMBER, THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION COMMENDED THE SOUTH AFRICANS FOR INSTITUTING A TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT IN THE FACE OF WIDESPREAD ELECTION BOYCOTTS OF APPROXIMATELY 80% OF THE MIXED RACE AND ASIAN ELIGIBLE VOTERS. THE APARTHEID LEGISLATURE OFFERS SEPARATE AND SUBORDINATE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS TO THE MIXED RACE AND ASIAN COMMUNITIES, WHILE THE WHITE CHAMBER, THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL, AND THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE ALL RETAIN PERMANENT, CONSTITUTIONAL WHITE MAJORITIES AND THE RIGHT TO OVERRIDE ANY ACTION TAKEN BY THE NON-WHITE LEGISLATORS.

WE WERE TOLD BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICA, CHESTER CROCKER, IN 1980 THAT IN TWO YEARS WE WOULD HAVE A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. FIVE YEARS LATER, ALL WE HAVE IS AN ADDITIONAL 900 NAMIBIANS KILLED AND SOME 800 MAIMED IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO WREST THEIR TERRITORY FROM SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION. AMERICAN FIRMS CONTINUE TO DO THEIR PART IN THE PLUNDER OF NAMIBIAN NATURAL RESOURCES, IN VIOLATION OF UNITED NATIONS DECREE NUMBER ONE. THIS AMOUNTS TO TANGIBLE SUPPORT FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN COLONISTS.

GIVEN THE RECORD, CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT CANNOT BE A POLICY OPTION TO ANY AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION WHICH ACCEPTS THE RIGHT OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA TO FULL ENFRANCHISEMENT AND SELF DETERMINATION. THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION CAN POINT ALL IT WANTS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S PROMISES, ACKNOWLEDGMENTS, AND RETHINKING OF PETTY APARTHEID LAWS, BUT IT CANNOT INSURE THE ACTUALIZATION OF ANY OF THESE PLEDGES, AND IT CANNOT CLAIM THAT SUCH COSMETIC ALTERATIONS IN APARTHEID WILL EVER LEAD TO A SOLUTION OF THE ROOT ISSUES OF APARTHEID. BY ITS OWN ADMISSION, THE

PRETORIA GOVERNMENT CANNOT ENVISION A DAY IN WHICH A DEMOCRATIC UNITARY STATE WILL EXIST FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, BLACK AND WHITE. THE SOUTH AFRICAN CABINET COMMITTEE FOR BLACK CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION TOLD A STAFF DELEGATION FROM THIS CONGRESS IN 1984 THAT APARTHEID LAWS ARE EXPENDIBLE ONLY WHEN ABSOLUTE WHITE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DOMINATION IS SECURED. IN THIS CONTEXT, CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT BECOMES A DEFENSE FOR A SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME WHICH IS SIMPLY BUYING TIME. U.S. POLICY MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO BE USED AS A POLITICAL WEAPON FOR A PRETORIA GOVERNMENT WITH NO INTENTION OF CREATING A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

THE SPONSORS OF LEGISLATION SET BEFORE THESE SUBCOMMITTEES OFFER US THE ONLY POSSIBLE MEANS FOR AVOIDING A SOUTH AFRICAN BLOOD BATH. THIS CONGRESS MUST ACT IN FAVOR OF ECONOMIC MEASURES DESIGNED TO RESPOND TO THE ONGOING CRISES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND FORCE SOUTH AFRICA TO END ITS DISDAIN FOR THE BASIC EXPECTATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

THE ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF 1985, OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE GRAY AND OTHERS, IS A COMPREHENSIVE SET OF SANCTIONS PROHIBITING NEW AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, AMERICAN BANK LOANS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN KRUGERRAND IN OUR COUNTRY, AND COMPUTER SALES TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS WHICH ARE CRITICAL IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF APARTHEID CONTROLS. MOST OF THESE MEASURES WERE PASSED BY THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN 1983. IN MY VIEW, PASSAGE OF THIS BILL IN TOTO, IF DELAYED, IS DELAYED AT ENORMOUS RISK TO U.S. INTERESTS AND TO THE PROSPECTS FOR DESIRABLE CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

SOUTH AFRICA CANNOT ACCOMMODATE AN AMERICAN KRUGERRAND BAN. THEY DEPEND UPON US FOR 50% OF THEIR KRUGERRAND SALES. SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT IN A POSITION TO IGNORE A BAN ON NEW AMERICAN INVESTMENT THE WAY IT HAS IGNORED SOFT CALLS FOR CHANGE UNDER CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT. THAT COUNTRY IS EXPERIENCING AN ECONOMIC RECESSION AND WOULD QUICKLY COME TO A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID. AMERICA IS THE BACKBONE OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS' COMPUTER CAPABILITY. WITHOUT COMMERCE DEPARTMENT APPROVALS OF HARDWARE WHICH FUNCTION TO ADMINISTER SOUTH AFRICA'S

PASS LAWS, AND PERFORM A VARIETY OF MILITARY EXERCISES, INCLUDING SIMULATION OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, SOUTH AFRICA COULD NOT MANAGE THE MACHINERY OF APARTHEID.

WE CAN NO LONGER JUSTIFY TO OURSELVES THE DOUBLE STANDARD UNDER WHICH WE IMPOSE SEVERE SANCTIONS ON OTHER GOVERNMENTS AROUND THE WORLD, WHILE TREATING SOUTH AFRICA WITH INFINITE PATIENCE AT THE EXPENSE OF ITS 22 MILLION BLACK MAJORITY. HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS MUST BE MEASURED BY ONE RULE. HR 1460 IS ENDORSED BY A DIVERSE GROUP OF NATIONAL LEADERS WANTING TO END AMERICAN COMPLICITY IN APARTHEID. THIS LONG LIST OF SUPPORTERS INCLUDES, SIGNIFICANTLY, REVEREND LEON SULLIVAN, AUTHOR OF THE SULLIVAN FAIR WORKPLACE PRINCIPLES.

CONGRESSMAN RANGEL OFFERS TWO EQUALLY ESSENTIAL BILLS. HR 1133 PROHIBITS EXPORTS OF NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT, MATERIAL, AND TECHNOLOGY TO SOUTH AFRICA, A COUNTRY WHICH HAS REFUSED INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY SAFEGUARDS AND ONE WHICH SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR MILITARY CAPABILITIES. HR 1135 PROHIBITS THE IMPORTATION OF COAL AND URANIUM FROM SOUTH AFRICA AND THE IMPOVERISHED COLONY IT ILLEGALLY OCCUPIES, NAMIBIA. ONE HALF OF ALL IMPORTED URANIUM USED BY U.S. UTILITIES IS BOUGHT FROM SOUTH AFRICA, MUCH OF WHICH SOUTH AFRICA OBTAINS BY ILLEGALLY MINING AT ROSSING, NAMIBIA. THIS U.S. INVOLVEMENT RESULTS IN AN ONGOING MINERAL DEPLETION OF NAMIBIA WITH NO COMPENSATION TO THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, WHILE STRENGTHENING CONSIDERABLY, SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS.

THE LEGISLATION WHICH ADDRESSES THE ACTUAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN INVESTMENT SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA REALISTICALLY ANTICIPATES THE IMMINENT CLASH BETWEEN A PEOPLE PUSHED BEYOND THE LIMITS OF HUMAN ENDURANCE, AND A MINORITY GOVERNMENT HOPELESSLY COMMITTED TO VIOLENT RACIAL REPRESSION. KEEPING IN MIND OUR CURRENT COURSE, THE U.S. WILL BE DRAWN INTO THIS EXPLOSION ON THE WRONG SIDE, THE GOVERNMENT'S SIDE. IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO ACHIEVE NEUTRALITY BY WITHDRAWING AMERICAN INVESTMENT AFTER THAT EXPLOSION OCCURS. WE WILL HAVE, FOR TOO LONG, HELPED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT CONTAIN BY FORCE BLACK FRUSTRATIONS.

THAT IS WHY THE U.S. POLICY OF CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT IS VIEWED BY BLACKS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA, AND BY MUCH OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY AS RACIST.

IT IS NOT A REASONABLE CONTENTION THAT 14.5 BILLION DOLLARS IN U.S. ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT, AND A FORMAL POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP VITAL TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN'S INTERNATIONAL STATUS, DOES NOT CONSTITUTE DECISIVE LEVERAGE. IF IT WERE USED, IT CLEARLY WOULD. ON TUESDAY, THE STATE DEPARTMENT CLAIMED THAT OUR LEVERAGE INCREASES AS WE INCREASE OUR OWN STAKE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY. WE ARE ALREADY PRETORIA'S NUMBER ONE TRADING PARTNER. OVER THE LAST 40 YEARS, AS THEIR "LEVERAGE" HAS INCREASED, SO HAS THE LEVEL OF REPRESSION. ACCUMULATED UNUSED LEVERAGE AMOUNTS TO NOTHING MORE THAN ASSISTANCE FOR THE APARTHEID SYSTEM.

THE MOST BROAD-BASED SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR, POLITICAL, AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS DESPITE SOUTH AFRICAN LEGAL PROHIBITIONS, HAVE STATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE IMPOSITION OF A PROGRAM OF AMERICAN SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. THEY KNOW THIS TO BE THE ONLY PATH TOWARD PERSUADING THE WHITE GOVERNMENT TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH TOWARDS A FAIR SOLUTION.

BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS DIE AS WE DEBATE WHAT U.S. POLICY SHOULD BE. HOW HIGH MUST THE DEATH TOLL RUN BEFORE WE REALIZE THAT OUR PATIENCE HAS AND CONTINUES TO BE LAUGHINGLY ABUSED. WE MUST ACT NOW TO PLACE OUR NATION ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE ISSUE, BECAUSE WE HAVE THE ABILITY TO HELP END AN INFAMOUS CULTURAL TRAUMA FOR WHICH THERE IS SIMPLY NO DEFENSE. SOUTH AFRICA HAS ALWAYS BEEN AWARE OF OUR CAPACITY TO HASTEN CHANGE. I URGE THAT WE, STANDING CLEAR OF THE KIND OF WEAK FAIR WORKPLACE COMPROMISE RECOMMENDED YESTURDAY IN THIS ROOM, ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT CAPACITY, AND USE IT.

THANK YOU.