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ORIGINAL
BILL

Submitted by Logan

Dated April 24

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 995

II

To express the opposition of the United States to the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa and to encourage South Africa to abandon such policies.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 24 (legislative day, APRIL 15), 1985

Mr. LUGAR (for himself, Mr. MATHIAS, and Mr. DOLE) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

A BILL

To express the opposition of the United States to the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa and to encourage South Africa to abandon such policies.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Anti-Apartheid Action
4 Act of 1985".

5 FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS

6 SECTION 1. The Congress finds and declares that—

7 (a) the policy and practice of apartheid—

8 (1) deliberately separates millions of South
9 African "migrant" workers from their families;

Lugar orig.

Subm. HJ 4/24/86

(2) denies meaningful, democratic participation in the political process to the majority of the South African population;

(3) consigns the mass of South African citizenry to lives of economic and educational deprivation;

7 (4) denies black citizens of South Africa the
8 right to travel freely within their own country;

9 (5) leads to the arbitrary government confis-
10 cation of the private property legally owned by
11 black South African nationals;

12 (6) tries to deprive many South African citi-
13 zens of South African citizenship;

(b) the policy and practice of apartheid is repugnant to the moral and political values of democratic and free societies, and runs counter to United States policies to promote democratic governments throughout the world and respect for human rights; and

19 (c) it is the policy of the United States to promote
20 peaceful change in South Africa through diplomatic
21 means, but also, where necessary and appropriate,
22 through the adoption of other measures, in conjunction
23 with our allies, in order to reinforce United States op-
24 position to apartheid.

25 DEFINITIONS

26 SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

1 (1) the term "national of the United States"
2 means—

3 (A) a natural person who is a citizen of the
4 United States or who owes permanent allegiance
5 to the United States; or

6 (B) a corporation, partnership, or other en-
7 terprise if—

8 (i) natural persons who are nationals of
9 the United States own or control, directly or
10 indirectly, more than 50 per centum of the
11 outstanding voting securities;

12 (ii) natural persons who are nationals of
13 the United States own or control, directly or
14 indirectly 25 per centum or more of the
15 voting securities, and natural persons of an-
16 other nationality do not own or control an
17 equal or larger percentage;

18 (iii) any natural person who is a nation-
19 al of the United States operates the corpora-
20 tion, partnership, or enterprise pursuant to
21 the provisions of an exclusive management
22 contract;

23 (iv) a majority of the members of the
24 board of directors are also members of the
25 comparable governing body of a corporation

1 or legal entity organized under the laws of
2 the United States, any State or territory
3 thereof, or the District of Columbia;

4 (v) natural persons who are nationals of
5 the United States have authority to appoint
6 the chief operating officer; and

7 (2) the term "South Africa" refers to the territory
8 that constituted the Republic of South Africa on May
9 31, 1961.

10 SCHOLARSHIP FOR BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS

11 SEC. 3. Section 105(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of
12 1961 is amended—

13 (1) by inserting "(1)" after "(b)"; and

14 (2) by adding at the end thereof the following new
15 paragraph:

16 "(2)(A) Beginning with the fiscal year 1986, and for
17 each fiscal year thereafter, \$15,000,000 of assistance provid-
18 ed under this section by the Administrator of the agency pri-
19 marily responsible for administering this part of this Act shall
20 be used to finance scholarships for black South Africans who
21 are attending universities, colleges, and secondary schools in
22 South Africa and who are selected in accordance with sub-
23 paragraph (B). Of the funds available under the preceding
24 sentence to carry out this subparagraph, not less than
25 \$5,000,000 shall be available only for assistance to full-time

1 teachers or other educational professionals pursuing studies
2 toward the improvement of their professional credentials.

3 “(B) Individuals for whom scholarships are financed
4 under subparagraph (A) shall be selected by a national panel
5 or by regional panels composed solely of members of the
6 teaching profession appointed by the United States chief of
7 diplomatic mission to South Africa. No such individual may
8 be selected through any contract entered into with the
9 agency primarily responsible for administering this part of
10 this Act.”.

11 HUMAN RIGHTS FUND

12 SEC. 4. Section 116(e)(2)(A) of the Foreign Assistance
13 Act of 1961 is amended—

14 (1) by striking out “1984 and” and inserting in
15 lieu thereof “1984,”;

16 (2) by inserting after “1985” a comma and the
17 following: “and \$1,500,000 for the fiscal year 1986,
18 and for each fiscal year thereafter”; and

19 (3) by adding at the end thereof the following:
20 “Grants under this paragraph shall be made by the As-
21 sistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian
22 Affairs.”.

23 EXPANDING PARTICIPATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN

24 ECONOMY

25 SEC. 5. (a) The Congress declares—

1 (1) that the denial under the apartheid laws of
2 South Africa of the rights of South African blacks and
3 other nonwhites to have the opportunity to participate
4 equitably in the South African economy as managers
5 or owners of, or professionals in, business enterprises,
6 and

7 (2) the policy of confining South African blacks
8 and other nonwhites to the status of employees in
9 minority-dominated businesses is an affront to the
10 values of a free society.

11 (b) The Congress hereby—

12 (1) applauds the commitment of nationals of the
13 United States adhering to the principles set forth in
14 section 10 to assure that South African blacks and
15 other nonwhites are given assistance in gaining their
16 rightful place in the South African economy; and

17 (2) urges the United States Government to assist
18 in all appropriate ways the realization by South Afri-
19 can blacks and other nonwhites of their rightful place
20 in the South African economy.

21 (c) The Secretary of State and any other head of a de-
22 partment or agency of the United States carrying out activi-
23 ties in South Africa shall, to the maximum extent practicable,
24 in procuring goods or services, make affirmative efforts to
25 assist business enterprises having more than 50 per centum

1 beneficial ownership by South African blacks or other non-
2 white South Africans.

3 OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION

4 SEC. 6. Section 237(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of
5 1961 is amended—

6 (1) by striking out “(a) Insurance” and inserting
7 in lieu thereof “(a)(1) Except as provided in paragraph
8 (2), insurance”; and

9 (2) by adding at the end thereof the following:

10 “(2) Insurance, reinsurance, and guaranties of loans
11 may be issued to cover an investment made in connection
12 with a project in South Africa, notwithstanding the absence
13 of an agreement with the Government of South Africa, if
14 such investment is otherwise eligible under this title, except
15 that—

16 “(A) the issuance of any such insurance, reinsur-
17 ance, or guaranty shall only be made to promote joint
18 ventures between business enterprises controlled or
19 owned by South African blacks or other nonwhite
20 South Africans and business enterprises controlled or
21 owned by United States nationals; and

22 “(B) the national of the United States holds a mi-
23 nority interest or agrees to relinquish its majority inter-
24 est during the course of the joint venture.”.

1 EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

2 SEC. 7. Section 2(b)(9) of the Export-Import Bank Act
3 of 1945 is amended—

4 (1) by striking out “(9) In” and inserting in lieu
5 thereof “(9)(A) Except as provided in subparagraph
6 (B), in ”; and

7 (2) by adding at the end thereof the following:

8 “(B) The Bank shall take active steps to encourage the
9 use of its facilities to guarantee, insure, extend credit, or par-
10 ticipate in the extension of credit to business enterprises in
11 South Africa that are majority owned by South African
12 blacks or other nonwhite South Africans. The certification
13 requirement contained in clause (C) of subparagraphs (A)
14 shall not apply to exports to or purchases from business en-
15 terprises which are majority owned by South African blacks
16 or other nonwhite South Africans.”.

17 LABOR PRACTICES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

18 IN SOUTH AFRICA

19 SEC. 8. (a) It is the sense of the Congress that the labor
20 practices used by the United States Government—

21 (1) for the direct hire of South Africans,

22 (2) for the reimbursement out of official residence
23 funds of South Africans and employees of South Afri-
24 can organizations for their employment services on
25 behalf of the United States Government, and

1 (3) for the employment services of South Africans
2 arranged by contract,
3 should represent the best of American labor practices and
4 should serve as a model for the labor practices of nationals of
5 the United States in South Africa.

6 (b) Notwithstanding any other law, the Secretary of
7 State and any other head of a department or agency of the
8 United States carrying out activities in South Africa shall
9 promptly take the necessary steps to ensure that the labor
10 practices applied to the employment services described in
11 paragraphs (1) through (3) of subsection (a) are governed by
12 the principles set forth in section 10.

13 EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES OF UNITED STATES NATIONALS
14 IN SOUTH AFRICA

15 SEC. 9. (a) It is the sense of the Congress that any
16 national of the United States that employs more than twenty-
17 five persons in South Africa should take the necessary steps
18 to insure that those principles relating to employment prac-
19 tices set forth in section 10 are implemented.

20 (b) No department or agency of the United States may
21 intercede with any foreign government or any national re-
22 garding the export marketing activities in any country of any
23 national of the United States employing more than twenty-
24 five persons in South Africa that is not implementing the
25 principles relating to employment practices in South Africa
26 set forth in section 10. No such national may make any new

1 investment in the Republic of South Africa. The Secretary of
2 State shall promulgate such regulations as are necessary to
3 implement this section.

4 STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

5 SEC. 10. (a) The principles referred to in sections 8 and
6 9 of this Act are as follows:

7 (1) Desegregating the races in each employment
8 facility, including—

9 (A) removing all race designation signs;

10 (B) desegregating all eating, rest, and work
11 facilities; and

12 (C) terminating all regulations which are
13 based on racial discrimination.

14 (2) Providing equal employment for all employees,
15 including—

16 (A) assuring that any health, accident, or
17 death benefit plans that are established are non-
18 discriminatory and open to all employees, on an
19 equitable basis; and

20 (B) implementing equal and nondiscrimina-
21 tory terms and conditions of employment for all
22 employees, and abolishing job reservations, job
23 fragmentation, apprenticeship restrictions for
24 blacks and other nonwhites, and differential em-
25 ployment criteria, which discriminate on the basis
26 of race or ethnic origin.

1 (3) Establishing equal pay for all employees doing
2 equal work, including—

3 (A) establishing and implementing, as soon
4 as possible, a wage and salary structure which is
5 applied equally to all employees, regardless of
6 race, who are engaged in equal work;

7 (B) reviewing the distinction between hourly
8 and salaried job classifications, and establishing
9 and implementing an equitable and unified system
10 of job classifications which takes into account such
11 review; and

12 (C) eliminating inequities in seniority and in-
13 grade benefits so that all employees, regardless of
14 race, who perform similar jobs are eligible for the
15 same seniority and ingrade benefits.

16 (4) Establishing a minimum wage and salary
17 structure based on a cost-of-living index which takes
18 into account the needs of employees and their families.

19 (5) Increasing, by appropriate means, the number
20 of blacks and other nonwhites in managerial, superviso-
21 ry, administrative, clerical, and technical jobs for the
22 purpose of significantly increasing the representation of
23 blacks and other nonwhites in such jobs, including—

24 (A) developing training programs that will
25 prepare substantial numbers of blacks and other

1 nonwhites for such jobs as soon as possible,
2 including—

3 (i) creating on-the-job training programs
4 and facilities to assist employees to advance
5 to higher paying jobs requiring greater skills;

6 (B) establishing procedures to assess, identi-
7 fy, and actively recruit employees with potential
8 for further advancement;

9 (C) identifying blacks and other nonwhites
10 with high management potential and enrolling
11 them in accelerated management programs;

12 (D) establishing and expanding programs to
13 enable employees to further their education and
14 skills at recognized education facilities; and

15 (E) establishing timetables to carry out this
16 paragraph.

17 (6) Taking reasonable steps to improve the quality
18 of employees' lives outside the work environment with
19 respect to housing, transportation, schooling, recrea-
20 tion, and health, including—

21 (A) providing assistance to black and other
22 nonwhite employees for housing, health care,
23 transportation, and recreation either through the
24 provision of facilities or services or providing fi-
25 nancial assistance to employees for such purposes,

1 including the expansion or creation of in-house
2 medical facilities or other medical programs to im-
3 prove medical care for black and other nonwhite
4 employees and their dependents; and

5 (B) participating in the development of pro-
6 grams that address the education needs of em-
7 ployees, their dependents, and the local com-
8 munity.

9 (7) Recognizing labor unions and implementing
10 fair labor practices, including—

11 (A) recognizing the right of all employees,
12 regardless of racial or other distinctions, to self-
13 organization and to form, join, or assist labor or-
14 ganizations, freely and without penalty or reprisal,
15 and recognizing the right to refrain from any such
16 activity;

17 (B) refraining from—

18 (i) interfering with, restraining, or co-
19 ercing employees in the exercise of their
20 rights of self-organization under this para-
21 graph,

22 (ii) dominating or interfering with the
23 formation or administration of any labor or-
24 ganization or sponsoring, controlling, or con-
25 tributing financial or other assistance to it,

1 (iii) encouraging or discouraging mem-
2 bership in any labor organization by discrimi-
3 nation in regard to hiring, tenure, promotion,
4 or other condition of employment,

5 (iv) discharging or otherwise disciplining
6 or discriminating against any employee who
7 has exercised any rights of self-organization
8 under this paragraph, and

9 (C) allowing employees to exercise rights of
10 self-organization, including solicitation of fellow
11 employees during nonworking hours, allowing dis-
12 tribution and posting of union literature by em-
13 ployees during nonworking hours in nonworking
14 areas, and allowing reasonable access to labor or-
15 ganization representatives to communicate with
16 employees on employer premises at reasonable
17 times;

18 (D) allowing employee representatives to
19 meet with employer representatives during work-
20 ing hours without loss of pay for purposes of col-
21 lective bargaining, negotiation of agreements, and
22 representation of employee grievances;

23 (E) regularly informing employees that it is
24 company policy to consult and bargain collectively

1 with organizations which are freely elected by the
2 employees to represent them; and

3 (F) utilizing impartial persons mutually
4 agreed upon by employer and employee represent-
5 atives to resolve disputes concerning election of
6 representatives, negotiation of agreements or
7 grievances arising thereunder, or any other mat-
8 ters arising under this paragraph.

9 (b) The Secretary of State may issue guidelines and cri-
10 teria to assist persons who are or may be subject to this
11 section in complying with the principles set forth in subsec-
12 tion (a) of this section. The Secretary may, upon request,
13 give an advisory opinion to any person who is or may be
14 subject to this section as to whether that person is subject to
15 this section or would be considered to be in compliance with
16 the principles set forth in subsection (a).

17 (c) The Secretary of State may promulgate such regula-
18 tions as the Secretary may deem necessary to implement the
19 provisions of this Act. The Secretary may conduct investiga-
20 tions, hold hearings, administer oaths, examine witnesses, re-
21 ceive evidence, take dispositions, and require by subpoena the
22 attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of
23 all books, papers, and documents relating to any matter
24 under investigation. The Secretary may require all persons

1 referred to in subsection (a) to register with the Department
2 of State.

3 (d) Any person who willfully violates any rule or regula-
4 tion issued under this section or who willfully, in a registra-
5 tion statement or report required by the Secretary, makes
6 any untrue statement of a material fact or omits to state a
7 material fact required to be stated therein or necessary to
8 make the statements therein not misleading, shall upon con-
9 viction be fined not more than \$1,000,000 or imprisoned not
10 more than two years, or both.

11 (e) In carrying out functions under this section, the
12 President is authorized to exercise the same powers concern-
13 ing violations and enforcement which are conferred upon de-
14 partments, agencies and officials by subsections (c), (d), (e),
15 and (f) of section 11 of the Export Administration Act of
16 1979, and by subsections (a) and (c) of section 12 of such
17 Act, subject to the same terms and conditions as are applica-
18 ble to such powers under such Act. Nothing in this subsection
19 shall be construed as authorizing the withholding of informa-
20 tion from the Congress.

21 (f) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Sec-
22 retary may enter into contacts with one or more private or-
23 ganizations or individuals to assist the Secretary on imple-
24 menting this section.

1 REPORT AND POLICY ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

2 SEC. 11. (a) It shall be the policy of the United States
3 to impose economic sanctions against the Government of
4 South Africa if, within two years of the date of enactment of
5 this section, significant progress has not been made toward
6 ending the policy of apartheid.

7 (b) The Congress urges the President to raise the issue
8 of reform in South Africa during the May 1985 economic
9 summit and to establish with the other industrialized democ-
10 racies an Inter-Allied Working Group on South Africa for the
11 purpose of monitoring reforms and, if necessary, developing
12 multilateral economic sanctions against the Government of
13 South Africa.

14 (c) The President shall prepare and transmit to the
15 Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of
16 the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate March 1,
17 1987 and every six months thereafter, a report on the extent
18 to which significant progress has been made toward ending
19 the system of apartheid, including—

20 (1) a detailed assessment of the extent to which
21 the Government of South Africa has made progress
22 in—

23 (A) housing black workers with their
24 families;

1 (B) abolishing the pass laws which prevent
2 blacks from moving freely into the cities;

3 (C) terminating the migrant labor system;

4 (D) allowing unrestricted labor union rights
5 for all; and

6 (E) increasing local investment in black edu-
7 cation and training;

8 (2) a statement of any conclusions drawn by the
9 Inter-Allied Working Group on South Africa;

10 (3) a determination by the President as to wheth-
11 er significant progress has been made in achieving the
12 purposes described in clauses (A) through (E) of para-
13 graph (1); and

14 (4) if the President determines under paragraph
15 (3) that significant progress has not been made, a rec-
16 ommendation as to which of the following sanctions
17 should be imposed;

18 (A) A ban on new commercial investment in
19 South Africa.

20 (B) A ban on new bank loans to the Govern-
21 ment of South Africa.

22 (C) A ban on the importation of South Afri-
23 can Krugerrands.

24 (D) A ban on the sale of computers to the
25 central Government of South Africa.

1 (d)(1) Any joint resolution which—

2 (A) would enact part or all of the sanctions de-
3 scribed in clauses (A) through (D) of subsection (c)(4),
4 and

5 (B) is introduced in the Senate after the date of
6 receipt of the report required by subsection (c), shall be
7 considered in the Senate in accordance with the provi-
8 sions of section 601(b) of the International Security
9 Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976,
10 except that, for purposes of section 601(b)(3)(A) of such
11 Act, a reference to the “same certification” shall be
12 deemed to be a reference to the report required by sub-
13 section (c).

14 (2) For the purpose of expediting the consideration an
15 enactment of a joint resolution which is described in para-
16 graph (1) and which is introduced in the House of Represent-
17 atives after the date of receipt of the report required by sub-
18 section (c), a motion to proceed to the consideration of any
19 such resolution after it has been reported by the appropriate
20 committee shall be treated as highly privileged in the House
21 of Representatives.

○

September 10, 1986

Senator Jeremiah Denton
SH 516 Hart Senate
Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Attn: Meg Hunt

Dear Ms. Hunt:

This is a quick response to your conversation this morning with John Montgomery about the consequences of sanctions, which I hope will be helpful. Some of the consequences of sanctions against South Africa could include:

Coal- the US export \$400 million worth to Japan, which Japan buys largely to appease protectionist sentiment. It is not only high priced, but there is no deep water port in the US at which the coal ships can be fully loaded, so they take on 55 thousand tons, either at Hampton Roads or Baltimore, and then are topped off at Richards Bay with lower priced South African coal. The Japanese government has made it clear to the Reagan administration that, if forced to go along with an embargo on South African coal they will not be able to take any US coal, much of which comes from West Virginia, Virginia, and Kentucky.

Vanadium - South Africa's Vanadium production, almost the only source of Vanadium in the world and used to strengthen steel, is a by-product of its steel production. If South African steel is banned from the US and Europe, the supply of vanadium will drop sharply, and this will inevitably affect steel production in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and elsewhere.

Wheat and Grain - With the decision of the Soviet Union this week to shift a proposed purchase of two and a half tons of wheat from the US to Canada, South Africa is one of the largest purchasers of US wheat, mainly from Kansas and Iowa. It was also in 1984 a purchaser of 2 ½ million tons of yellow corn. The South African authorities have announced that they may be required to purchase further supplies of corn as a result of some disease to South African production. This purchase would become much more dubious if not impossible if sanctions are adopted.

Strategic metals - the extent of US dependence on South

African strategic metals and the absence of major substitutes is fairly well known. A study by the Department of Commerce is attached. What is less well known are the numbers of employees whose livelihoods are directly connected to the supply of such minerals. A study by the Department of Commerce showed that in Indiana the jobs of 317,000 employees were connected to such supply. Those employees represent a payroll of more than 7 billion dollars and were responsible for the supply of goods valued at nearly 41 billion. Not all of these employees would necessarily be affected by a cut off in South African supplies, but a government study in West Germany suggested that if there were an interruption in the supply of chrome ore for three months there would be 1.3 million unemployed. While the South African government has undertaken to be a reliable and consistent supplier of critical materials it is hard to believe that they would be prepared to allow the US Congress to place sanctions against supplies of materials that the US did not immediately need, but not against those materials on which the US was critically dependent. Critical materials account for less than five percent of South African mineral exports in value, and it would not be a difficult decision for the South African authorities to take.

I hope that this is helpful to you. It only touches on the extent of the interdependence that exists, but it does serve to underline the frivolousness of much of the discussion that has taken place on this issue.

With warmest regards,

John H. Chettle
Director
North and South America

JHC/mes
(signed and dictated in
Mr. Chettle's absence.)

S. Africa

South Africa Sanctions Legislation

S. Africa

Provision

H.R. 4868
(Passed by voice vote)

S. 2701
(Passed 84 to 14)

Prohibition on Investment
in South Africa

Prohibits any U.S. person from holding or making any investment in South Africa, i.e., requires complete disinvestment.

- 1) Prohibits new investment by any U.S. person in South Africa, except for black-owned firms. (Prohibition does not include trade financing or reinvestment of profits earned in South African enterprises).
- 2) Prohibits all loans to the South African Government (including parastatals), with an exception for certain loans for educational, housing or humanitarian purposes.

Prohibition on Imports

Prohibits the import into the U.S. of any article grown, produced, or manufactured in South Africa. One narrow exception is provided for certain strategic minerals if the President makes a required certification.

- 1) Prohibits the import of articles which are the product of South African government parastatals (with an exception for strategic minerals). This would apply mostly to iron and steel.
- 2) Prohibits imports of uranium ore, uranium oxide, coal, textiles and agricultural commodities from South Africa to take effect 90 days after enactment.
- 3) Prohibits the import of defense articles and data produced in South Africa.

Prohibition on Exports

Prohibits all exports of goods, technology, or information from the U.S. to South Africa (with a narrow exception for medical supplies and donation of food).

- 1) Prohibits the export of computers and related goods to the police, military, and apartheid enforcing entities in South Africa.
- 2) Prohibits exports of crude oil and petroleum products to South Africa (with an exception for existing contracts).

USDA Export Credits

No similar provision.

Permits South Africa to participate in Department of Agriculture export credit and promotion programs.

Prohibition on Landing Rights of South African aircraft

Prohibits the landing or takeoff of any South African aircraft (with an exception for emergencies).

Similar Provision.

Prohibition on Importation of Krugerrands

Prohibits the import of Krugerrands.

Prohibits the import of Krugerrands and other gold coins minted in South Africa as well as Soviet gold coins.

Enforcement Penalties

Provides severe criminal and civil penalties for violation of the act.

Similar provision.

Tax Provision

Prohibits any tax credits or deductions for taxes paid to South Africa.

Requires the termination of the bilateral tax treaties in force with South Africa.

Government of South
Africa Bank Accounts

No similar provision.

Prohibits the SAG and its parastatals from having bank accounts in the U.S., with the exception of those authorized by the U.S. Government for diplomatic and consular purposes.

U.S. Government
Assistance for Trade

No similar provision.

Prohibits U.S. Government assistance for investment for trade in South Africa, including subsidies and funding for any trade missions/trade fairs.

Tourism

No similar provision.

Prohibits the use of U.S.G. funds for the promotion of tourism in South Africa.

Philippines/Sugar

No similar provision.

The bill contains a broad prohibition on the import of agricultural products, including sugar, syrups, and molasses. The bill increases the Philippines' sugar quota by an amount corresponding to the South African reduction.

Measures to Assist
Victims of Apartheid

No similar provision.

- 1) Increases the amount of foreign assistance funds available for scholarships to the victims of apartheid and for assistance generally to South Africa (i.e., up to \$40,000,000 in economic support funds in FY87 and each year thereafter).

Measures to Assist
Victims of Apartheid

No similar provision.

2) Earmarks specified amounts of assistance for specified purposes (\$500,000 per fiscal year for legal assistance to political prisoners and detainees, and \$175,000 for families of the victims of those "necklaced").

No similar provision.

3) Requires Eximbank to take active steps to encourage the use of its facilities to assist black South Africa business enterprises and relaxes certain current statutory restrictions on Eximbank activities in South Africa.

No similar provision.

4) Authorizes \$10 million for the purchase of housing for black South Africa nationals employed by the U.S. Government in South Africa. The housing is to be located in areas open to all population groups.

No similar provision.

5) Provides that the U.S. Embassy and Consulates in South Africa shall make affirmative efforts to purchase goods and service from the victims of apartheid notwithstanding normal competition in contracting laws.

No similar provision.

6) The President is authorized to use the Emergency Reserve for African Famine Relief established as part of the P.L 480 program notwithstanding certain existing legal requirements. Reserve to be used for humanitarian food aid in South Africa.

Effective Date

All provisions, including the requirement for complete disinvestment, enter into force 180 days after enactment.

Varies by provision.

Codify existing Executive Order

No similar provisions.

Codifies provisions which are very similar to last fall's Executive Orders restrictions on:

- a) nuclear trade,
- b) computer exports,
- c) arms imports, and
- d) labor practices of U.S. firms and the U.S. Government in South Africa.

Unfair Trade Practices

No similar provisions.

- 1) The bill authorizes the President to limit the import into the U.S. of any products of any foreign country to the extent that the country concerned benefits from or otherwise takes commercial advantage of the sanctions contained in the bill.
- 2) It also provides that it shall be an unfair method of competition for any person to benefit from or take commercial advantage of any sanctions measures and confers a private cause of action in U.S. courts on individuals affected.

Waivers

No similar provisions.

- 1) Provides that sanctions will terminate if the South African Government releases Nelson Mandela, repeals the state of emergency, unbans democratic political parties; repeals certain apartheid laws and makes a public commitment to good faith negotiations with representatives of the black majority. Congress must pass a joint resolution approving a Presidential determination of these conditions.

- 2) The bill provides that the President may lift any prohibition in the bill if it would "increase U.S. dependence upon any member country or observer country of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" (i.e., the economic entity related to the Warsaw Pact) for the import of (1) coal or (2) any strategic material, or (3) any critical material. Criteria is established for this purpose.

The bill prohibits any agency or entity of the U.S.G. from engaging in any form of cooperation with the armed forces of South Africa, except activities reasonably designed to facilitate the collection of necessary intelligence.

Military Cooperation

No similar provision.

Mandela Meeting

No similar provision.

The bill expresses the sense of the Senate that the U.S. Ambassador to South Africa should meet with Nelson Mandela.

Government Procurement

No similar provision.

Prohibits U.S.G. procurement from parastatals except for items necessary for diplomatic or consular purposes.

Future Measures

No similar provision.

Requires the President to make a report to Congress 12 months after enactment on progress in South Africa. If he determines that the conditions specified have not been met, the bill requires that the President must recommend which additional measures should be adopted (from a list of potential sanctions). The sanctions are not automatic, and a law would have to be enacted to promulgate any sanctions recommended by the President pursuant to this procedure. The future measures could include prohibiting military assistance to countries violating the U.N. arms embargo; the import of diamonds and strategic minerals; and any U.S. bank accounts for South Africa nationals.

International
Negotiations

No similar provision.

The bill requires negotiations with other countries within 180 days on international arrangements to end apartheid. It provides that the Secretary of State "should convene" an international conference to reach agreements and impose multilateral sanctions (as well certain reporting requirements). Presidential modifications of the bill as a result of such agreements will require Congressional approval by joint resolution.

African National
Congress (ANC)

No similar provision.

The bill contains a provision which would establish U.S. policy toward the ANC as requiring the ANC to suspend terrorist activities so that negotiations can begin. It also provides that U.S. policy towards South Africa will be adjusted based on certain actions of both the SAG and the ANC. It provides that it shall be the policy of the U.S. to support negotiations without the ANC if (1) the SAG agrees to enter into negotiations without conditions, abandons "unprovoked violence", commits itself to a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa, and if the ANC refuses to participate in negotiations; and (2) if the ANC refuses to abandon unprovoked violence during such negotiations and refuses to commit itself to a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa.

A LETTER FROM SOUTH AFRICA

From:
HERBERT BEUKES
Ambassador

A monthly viewpoint on
South Africa

NO. 5:

MAY 1, 1986

FACING UP TO THE PAST TO BUILD THE FUTURE

"The pass laws have gone. The prisons are emptied of the victims of this unhappy system. No South African will ever suffer the indignity of arrest for a pass offense again."

President P.W. Botha, April 27, 1986

Rarely do leaders, or the societies they represent, confront the unhappy aspects of their country's past. It is much easier to deny error and to live with illusions than to deal with hard facts of injustice and suffering. Only when those facts are squarely and honestly confronted, and action is taken to put the country on a new course, can there be true reconciliation and hope for the future.

Thus, I wish Americans will see the real significance in President Botha's unequivocal abolition of the pass laws two weeks ago. For it is more than just the sweeping away of a cornerstone of apartheid. And it is more than even the liberation of South Africa's black people from the system of restrictions on their ability to move freely in pursuit of the jobs and opportunities for a better life that our economy offers.

Rather, the real meaning of the abolition of the 73-year-old pass laws lies in the sign it gives of the open willingness of my Government to begin a new chapter in the history of South Africa. By honestly facing the past and removing the wrongs that were inherited and continued, South Africa is not only dismantling apartheid. More fundamentally, it is seeking to come to terms with its own past so as to begin the process of reconciliation that will serve as the basis for a new future. It offers an important bridge across the deep divide that has separated South Africans. As one prominent black leader remarked: "Today -- and for the first time in my life -- I became part of the new South Africa."

In this sense, as momentous a change as the pass law abolition represents, there is even more to come, especially if there can be joint efforts through dialogue and negotiation for further change. My Government can, and will, continue its course of change. It will not be deterred from its chosen direction.

But the pace of that course will be immeasurably faster if all sides will join in, discussing together how to achieve the just society we all are seeking. A wagon moves faster when there is more than one shoulder to the wheel.

The abolition of the pass laws provides, in my view, the answer to the question of whether my Government is prepared to carry out real change. I am hopeful it will lead to an acceleration of the politics of negotiation. But it raises another equally important question: is there a corresponding willingness among all South Africa's black leaders, and leaders in the international community, including the United States, to meet us halfway, to forego violence and sanctions, and to help bring about the negotiations that can create the future of justice and equality that must be South Africa's destiny?

If the abolition of the pass laws is to open the way to a joint effort to build that future, much depends on the answer given by black leaders and the world community in the days ahead.

People of goodwill are now awaiting that answer.

Herbert Benbes

Southern Africa

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A DIGEST OF NEWS FROM THE REGION

South Africa: Winnie Mandela's Call for Violence and "Necklace" Executions

At a meeting in Munsieville near Johannesburg on Sunday, April 13, 1986 Winnie Mandela was reported by Agence France Presse (AFP) as saying: "Together, hand in hand with our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country. We work in the white man's kitchen, we bring up the white man's children, we could have killed them at any time we wanted to. 1986 is going to see the liberation of the oppressed masses of this country. We have no guns—we have only stones, boxes of matches and petrol." AFP reporter Graham Browne confirmed that he had reported the speech accurately.

South Africa: Public Accommodations Opened to All

Blacks in South Africa will now have equal access to all public accommodations, including hotels and restaurants. Desegregation legislation became effective with-

out any controversy on April 2, 1986. All people irrespective of race can now make use of public accommodations throughout South Africa.

South Africa: Mobil Oil to Aid Black Education

Mobil Oil has announced the establishment of a 40 million Rand foundation for the improvement of black education, small business and rural development in South Africa. Mr. George Racin, chairman of Mobil Oil Southern Africa (Pty) Ltd. said that by creating the foundation, Mobil had shown that it intends to stay in South Africa, despite disinvestment pressure from abroad.

South Africa: Half of Black Adults Own T.V. Sets

Within ten years of the introduction of television service, more than half of all black adults in metropolitan areas of South Africa own television sets, a Market Research survey reveals. Television ownership among blacks has grown steadily from 29 percent in March, 1983 to 51 percent in November 1985.

South Africa: Black Enrollment at Universities Increases

During 1985 more than 20,000 black students were enrolled at historically white universities in South Africa. This is in addition to the black students enrolled at predominantly black universities.

Lesotho: Cooperation with South Africa

A large-scale cooperative water project between Lesotho and South Africa will produce vital foreign exchange and jobs for Lesotho, and additional water for South African agriculture. This will enable South African agriculture to feed millions more in the Southern African Region. The project entails the building of four large dams, and the construction of tunnels which will carry the water for more than 250 miles to the Vaal Dam. It also involves the building of a 120-megawatt hydro-electric power station, and the construction of 156 miles of high-tension overhead power lines, and 144 miles of roads. The project will also provide Lesotho with its own supply of electricity, elimi-

nating its dependence on South Africa. More than 3,000 Lesotho citizens will be employed and the country will earn much needed foreign revenue.

South Africa: "KwaNatal" Option for Multiracial Legislature

A proposal to merge the Governments of Natal and KwaZulu into an integrated executive and a multiracial legislature is under active discussion in Durban by whites and blacks representing 31 organizations. Natal is one of four provinces comprising South Africa. KwaZulu is the area in Natal under Zulu administration.

The key figure behind the proposal is Zulu leader and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who has said that the proposal could serve as a model for South Africa as a whole. The final proposal to emerge from these negotiations will be submitted to the South African Government.

South Africa: Massive Black "No" to Sanctions

About 70,000 black people demonstrated their opposition to disinvestment and sanctions at the launch of the United Workers' Union of South Africa at a rally in Durban on May 1, 1986.

The new trade union is linked to Inkatha, the largest black political organization in South Africa. The crowd roared "No" when Inkatha chairman Mangosuthu Buthelezi asked: "Is it

your wish that disinvestment and sanctions should now be imposed on South Africa?" There was another roar of strong disapproval when Chief Buthelezi asked: "Shall I tell them (the international community) that you are now ready to suffer even more deprivations than you are suffering already, if these are worsened by any imposition of disinvestment and sanctions?" When Buthelezi asked those opposing sanctions to stand—the crowd rose.

Zambia: ANC Condemns U.S. Actions Against Libya

In a press release issued on March 24, 1986 in Lusaka, Zambia, the African National Congress (ANC) condemned the United States' actions against Libya.

These "actions of provocation" by the United States against Libya are "clearly part of its (U.S.) policy of state terrorism" against countries that "refuse to

bow to its (U.S.) imperialist diktat, in defence of their sovereignty and national independence."

The Reagan Administration was accused of aligning itself with the "most reactionary forces of facism" in a campaign of "global confrontation with the world progressive forces."

SOUTH AFRICA FACTS

*Issued by: The Embassy of South Africa, Washington, D.C.
For further information: Call Pieter Swanepoel or
Chris Streeter: (202) 232-4400 or the Consulate General
New York (212) 371-7997; Chicago (312) 828-9200;
Houston (713) 850-0150; Beverly Hills (213) 858-0380*

NO. 1

MAY, 1986

BROADENING DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In a new step broadening democracy in South Africa, President P.W. Botha announced on May 15, that a bill to institute a National Council, which will prepare a new constitutional structure, will soon be published.

As envisaged by President Botha, the Council, which will include blacks, will a) participate in drawing up a new constitutional structure for South Africa and b) in the interim period, also provide blacks with an important say in governmental processes.

President Botha declined to be specific about the shape of the final product of the constitutional change that will emerge from the Council's deliberations, because "it must be a product of negotiation." But he outlined certain norms and values which will form the basis for any new political arrangement for the country. These include:

1. "Broadening of Democracy"

A democratic structure will be designed and implemented which will accommodate the political aspirations of all South Africa's communities.

2. "Elimination of Discrimination"

Prejudice and discrimination on the basis of race, cultural origin, or religion will be eliminated.

3. "Equality of All Under the Law"

The President stressed the just application of law, the independence of the judiciary, and the equality of all persons under the law.

The Freedom Charter

2311

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

S. Africa

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation—not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of Africa's future.

WASHINGTON POST 20 MAY 1986 Pg. 23

U.S. Voices 'Outrage' to South Africa

But New Sanctions For Raids Ruled Out

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Reagan administration expressed "outrage" yesterday at South African attacks on black nationalist guerrilla sites in three neighboring countries and said the raids could be "a major setback" to efforts to promote talks between South Africa's white and black leaders.

Assistant Secretary of State Chester A. Crocker summoned the minister of the South African Embassy, Andre Kilian, to the State Department yesterday to lodge an official U.S. protest over the raids into Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana in which at least three persons were killed. The administration also lodged a protest through the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria.

"We vigorously condemn these attacks by South Africa," White House spokesman Larry Speakes said. "The United States stands with the governments and peoples of those countries [attacked] in expressing our sense of outrage at these events and our condolences to the families of the victims."

U.S. officials said no decision had been made on further U.S. actions, but Speakes ruled out the possibility of additional U.S. sanctions.

Last June, the administration recalled the U.S. ambassador to South Africa, Herman W. Nickel, in protest over a similar South African raid into Botswana and another aborted attack on a Chevron oil installation in northern Angola. Asked whether Nickel would be recalled again, a White House official said it

was "a possibility" but indicated no decision had been made.

The South African attacks yesterday on sites belonging to a black nationalist group, the African National Congress (ANC), came in the midst of delicate mediation efforts by a Commonwealth team of "eminent persons" led by the former leaders of Nigeria and Australia. The group is seeking to arrange talks between South African whites and blacks, and to gain the release from jail of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Noting reports of some progress in the Commonwealth group's efforts, Speakes said the raids were "particularly inexplicable."

"We think that these actions could very well be a major setback for that progress," Speakes added.

Administration spokesmen were pressed yesterday to explain why Washington was condemning South Africa for its raids against what it regards as black nationalist "terrorists" when the United States has just carried out an attack on Libya for its backing of terrorist attacks on American interests.

Both Speakes and State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb were quick to reject any parallel between the two situations.

"The Libyans and Col. [Muammar] Qaddafi," said Speakes, "have been the No. 1 exporter of terrorism on a worldwide basis and we've produced proof of that."

South Africa, Speakes said, was involved in talks with the three neighboring states on what appeared to be a "constructive solution" to limit cross-border raids by black nationalists when Pretoria decided to attack. "It's quite a different situation," he said.

Asked whether the administration shared Pretoria's view that the ANC is a terrorist group, Kalb said the administration regarded it as "an important political organization that must be a factor in negotiations over South Africa's future."

But Kalb said the United States had also repeatedly condemned the ANC's use of violence "for political ends" and expressed its concern over the group's close ties to the Soviet Union.

WASHINGTON POST 20 MAY 1986 Pg.21

China, Taiwan Agree On Returning Plane

Both Save Face; Crew to Go to Hong Kong

By Daniel Southerland
Washington Post Foreign Service

HONG KONG, May 19—China and Taiwan reached agreement today on the return to Taiwan, via Hong Kong, of a cargo jet and two crew members flown to the mainland by a defecting pilot more than two weeks ago.

The agreement and the three days of negotiation leading up to it marked the first time that known direct talks on any matter have been held between China and Taiwan since the Chinese Communists drove the Nationalists from the mainland to Taiwan in 1949.

The agreement was reached after China backed down from its original position and agreed to return the plane and crew members to Hong Kong. The solution caused neither side to lose face and seemed to benefit both.

Political analysts said China benefited by getting Taiwan to engage for the first time in nearly four decades in direct negotiations with representatives from China and then by looking reasonable in the talks. This could create goodwill that would work in China's favor over the long run, they said.

Taiwan not only got its plane and two of the crew members back but

also appeared to be more flexible and pragmatic than it has in the past.

On Tuesday, the two sides are to discuss details of the transfer, including when it will take place.

China earlier had insisted that Taiwan's national airline send a delegation to the southern Chinese city of Guangzhou to recover the 747 cargo jet. Taiwan considers Hong Kong to be more neutral ground than Guangzhou.

If Taiwan had agreed to go to Guangzhou, Taiwan would have been making a further departure from its longstanding policy of no contact with the Communists.

The pilot, Wang Xijue, flew to Guangzhou on May 3. Wang, who left his wife and children behind on Taiwan, said he wanted to be reunited with family members on the mainland. The other crew members have said they want to return to Taiwan.

At a press conference tonight, three representatives from Taiwan's airline, China Airlines, declined to describe the agreement as a victory for Taiwan, but they looked pleased.

Zhang Ruipu, manager of the Hong Kong office of the Civil Aviation Administration of China, said Peking agreed to deliver the plane

and crew members in Hong Kong as a gesture of goodwill aimed at reuniting the crewmen with their families as soon as possible.

The move was made after a member of the Taiwan delegation was reported to have warned that the negotiations could break down if the mainland continued to insist on delivering the plane in Guangzhou. The Taiwanese had also begun to accuse the mainland side of prolonging the talks.

A dispatch today from China's official New China News Agency described the atmosphere at the airlines talks as "warm and friendly." The breakthrough came during a 50-minute meeting held in a conference room at the Hong Kong Jockey Club.

The negotiations seem to contribute to a further lessening of tensions between China and Taiwan and set a precedent for more talks should another incident occur, analysts said.

Political observers reached by telephone in Taiwan said the success of the Hong Kong negotiations was likely to strengthen the hand of younger and more moderate Nationalist officials who have been arguing for a policy of greater flexibility in dealing with China.

①

Bayard R.

political consequences of violence:

- 1) extraordinary power to police
- 2) black leadership terrorized

3) ...

no politics

Legal Resources Center.

40% of financing from US Corp & foundations

findings - 53 lawyers to establish residency can now
be with multiple cases, but single sex
hostels for lawyers (?)

55% low student body black; & etc becoming
more ind.

states, emergency → vigilantes including black
vigilantes

for ANE, not anti community; see US for. Ambassador
pro g.o. etc

(2)

q to the wife - admin'd and law - need permit &
do this - & receipt
declared ultra vires bec. contrary -
& in respect of areas of Sinto -

re

eg - to work for area for 10700 - admin passed
reg to go back to hospital to start again.
some knowledge at by application div.
now lawyers 10700 like to no go on.

now easy to get in to Sinto - have to take with statement.

single sex hotels for 10700 -
house building in Sinto - for private housing - now 1976
private houses - public - & best participated.
agreements before it -

entirely separate - law - ~~abolish~~ to ~~transcend~~ - by code denoting
house - not all - excluding CT jurisdiction -

govt passed CT for 60-80 - ~~entirely new~~

change due to ^{some} critics - eg Motel,
in ~~Transvaal~~ change - signs for ~~applied~~
dis in change - 2/3 of judges ~~applied~~

conclusion - English law influenced -

English law & schools with govt -
259 of students black - inc. ^{indian} ~~coloured~~ - ^{if 84 needed permits} ~~indian~~ - ^{also reg. 10700}

black lawyers just feel uncomfortable in town CT -

now ~~crisis~~ ⁱⁿ ~~business~~ - ~~work~~ now -

law enforced in black township down -

people in charge, & " have got distinction - most white, more
blacks now -

suppression best residents & law enforced applied.

indemnity & compensation

State of Emergency → in business among police the - continues - eg, vigilantes,

lawyer involved in township no of protest is threat of removal; things
getting hot; vigilantes petrol bombing of townships. Cedars. Russia
stuff in ANC & authorities,
diff. in white - renewing

③ vigilance at wing black ops - especially by black
activists -

people to have respect for law - civil rights bill etc -

black & alliance bet democratic outside & SD -

in practice - why is Ford (conservative) supporting
reform -

~~conservative~~

American ambivalence seen & to go right side

young blacks say right is opposite to SD - - -

these people support DNC - because for democracy -
not anti community -

(symbolizing being seen w SD right -

fewer arrests etc for past law violations -

Jews' conservative conservatism - (no black court, etc)

business comment - need ingot & resources

Small business

1 person staff

1 to Chief

others - SD & US with underpin =

to avoid tribalism

business: must protect blacks, happening now

NACC

major news products will have to be hidden from

4

1

think - no govt 3. new system -
Judge - fairly neutral, "high politics"

~~area - journal~~

Box 4300
J - 54

SAP - Petri Sonouk.

Reason why? - saw that SA w/ become isolated - in fact
isolated community - org. of

Attitudes 23% - business - English + road.

incident block in (1980) 1974 p. 1. 1975
units + 015-20.5 -
1976 - leader came for 5th time to 1991

to problem: govt is holding part for govt together opened
TIC has no credibility.

Refers not just to tactics:

- 1) mixed marriage set out
- 2) per govt + case of books
- 3) changes difficult in nationalized parties - till 82
national party political culture govt - (tribune)

1982 B. the split party - to change adapt to change

(Consensus - NRP - up to 10 of 176 in elects

17 PRP

11 - independent

Reu from Rep Party. bel. PRP 1977. 4

(6)

note in rural areas. 4:1 - as ramp
to national dominance.

have to find 1/4 way to 'unshill' jobs &
to keep up.

ANC still to be unbanned - 11-12-11 the release
to release - on + allowed on (un-banned) - split 13
or unbanning.

friction drive in outside of city -

op areas act as it has to go - social
integrity, political federal.

Pickman -

recovery not given just say for p.p.
industrial shield off in 20's, take after 30's

growth bar.

neto) resources

contribution.

for the world

business expanding.

5 1/2 % growth in 50's & 60's.

now need 5-5 1/2 % growth to about growth - black p.p.

1973 turning pt - before the growth started to slow down.

price of gold 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979 1980 1981 1982

mid 70's ~~1975~~ 1976 downturn - at 1980, not
growing fast enough.

recession in 81 - 82 rising leading - 84 downturn and
before.

running current surplus to pay back debts

to develop 5 1/2 % need for investment -

c 70% vegetat growth.

SA black don't want to work in mines -
been some disinvestment -
shortage of petrol w still -

eco - growth in hixit b, demand of debt &
human capital

black - equal cap, id w capital -
in lot of work plus integration -

transfer of capital to black wage rise - significantly
labor saving machines -

SA tech diff - most report want reorganization
of the philippine, Mexico -

SA a developing country - need to improve machinery -
not overboarded - overboarded be. they don't
let us

ANC - social - in 50s charter -

been decry, privatization, black being trained.

major - 10700 as underclass aged -

revolutionary say don't change what we have
w support, a revolution - rather new general political
change

ANC milit -

1) military - moderate, security forces

2) political fronts - those responsible for administration
operated - 5 black communist leaders

3) economic - infrastructure eg energy supply,
water, toll,

7

industry is down w black lib. union -

Good JV + (sub-sing supp) f ANC.

ANC training is 5 camps in Angola.

has option -

Explicit growth, maybe not. d red strike, maybe not. d with 11.000, (income by 1000) will demand in white areas & purges in white.

radical at - African resistance - for fighting -

op. & CP - multiracial

ANC leaders - Cape - ? , Friedman less info day by day - esp in cities -

CP mainly white - for 1 man, 1 vote.

P. African Congress - black for ANC is 59 - to its left - v not Af. for all. not for blacks -

trapped in ANC - expelled - to U Red & B.C.

black consciousness movement

is 50 - UDF - Azapo facting - broadly rep ANC

pro dig

to be African solution - w dim chances for black - white reconciliation

long way from revolution -

no real alternative to ANC in cities

not only occurred in townships is disorganised

black youth over control B. & J. Tutu.

(8)

ANC not in control of kids.

security forces of the army control of govt.
radical criticism govt for not wholehearted
killing to put down rebellion.

political split in national party

ANC - CP joining but our fault -
17-20.11.25 M.J. etc. can be seen.

Azania -

black consciousness - includes colored & Indians -

D. J. w ANC:

opposed linkage w ex super power -
problems w Stalinist CP
opposed ex ideology that excludes democratic
process -

disagreement w ANC's 4 nations, 1st - one
nation

90 branches;
ANC - 15+48% 1/2 undecides Azania for 6-17%

✓ gr rts for ind rts
SA security forces for contain due to Angila

AWB - Eugene Terreblanché - allied to Conservative
Party & DNP - military campaign

BBB - 1st KKK - white freedom org.

Scandinavian model - economy where large
sections are in private hands by mines -
+ socialist

US Congress - controlling of 15 questions - Sullivan report.

(9)

intrinsically Democratic org -
some members on trial

71-82 in (corrected)

part 7 Metal Spun.

see staff of unit.

graduated while in prison -

for disingenuous, bec. (L-R) turned in
apartments -

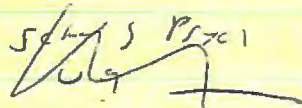
has (evidence) mechanical - not DNC

Comm

Box 4489

U S A 2000

5/1/71



a)

... .. 5, 5 ten - walking thru wirefenced blunders.
... .. band people sent to jail -
"Newsperson guide & law"

all article to know
deflate forces unless
they clean it -

not here to be guilty until
proven innocent

See how said with center is newspaper office

Ke spot - port, oil refinery
spots,

all the same - press is "vicious".

Afr. Union press becoming a friend of gov't - still the
"box" for gov't. community still high

violence is orchestrated for TV etc -

... .. "act of faith" in

optimists
here:

... .. - have
... ..
... ..
multiracial majority -

Chuvunga Zion - 6 million
killers

... .. by

Both have said he will live -
violence.

basicals & Africans very moral, &
That they were doing God's work and led a black man.
They realize they have & negotiate, have
apart -

5)

white, has found to losing

African churches had awakenings - ~~for~~ -

great threatened - language, culture, religion -

Flu de clem - here - appeared to Boko -

African used to be patriarchal, in hate, - but seeing artificial

Black leaders a TV has impact

~~used to~~ classic black to serve white now returns all fallen apart, in

hatters - No - black turn,

black & white set along fine

unbroken a lynching in S.D.

"market ~~exists~~ adopts

economic great blacks down apart the 5.

dis-unity will force blacks to no soft / not -

Pike P.M. - punish black man until white man surrenders

very dangerous -

FS - 1 billion is arms & drag - it results
can react to -

but concentrate it mind - but what are you doing.

47% white

25% unemployed in urban areas - ~~extended~~

extended family system -

disintegration - Germans missing in -

Swiss & German will loan - but not by respect Americans -

with black run - not into models, for "white models"

lawless federal system - ~~for~~

Madel - option

Zulu - no white - shift from sea.

city council ~~for~~ - public progressive.

capitalism - multi-racial city council till Nat. & ports ^{high} ~~total~~ power.

best black in S.D. -

c)

very sophisticated - could put it in world -

U / not 10 of things as just - museum, &
Rothschild - places in London.

if U wishes it, looks as with just in
nightmare

bec. undermining is in Museum - kids training is
Museum W Co.

they have Congo, Mozambique & Zimbabue.
Civilians will be victims of J V

AWE - for Eastern Europe - Zulu diff

AWE will be threatened in incidents in 1980s.

split on power sharing in Botswana.

* ~~power~~ power sharing & self determination in 1980s
3/20/82 - started up

reform & consensus power sharing

f. partitioning separate states if diff yes.

& expressing policies

✓ in water system no takeover. So in white self determination

cd allow to emphasize in sports, ed. etc.

partitioning Botswana ~~then~~ dev. & even extension in black states,
nationalists influenced by US

Timber & state is willing if there is debt - so lots

1981, not too 'black water' females oil & water,
black have to get a vision, themselves as production,

(colored area - mineral potential the two agricultural
largest no. of land in 90 areas is 4000 acres -

ideology - partitioned Mozambique & Rhodesia

Greece - Cyprus

Pakistan - Bangladesh

can be separate facilities of the mixed marriage act -

black not capable of doing jobs, different ways of religious expression -

is by election in Transvaal - 4500 & 5300 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 -
maybe inflation - 5000 for HAW

d) 1

1 HNP - for African language & culture
(inspired - wadmoetic)

HNP was 1950 Trenchard B. — as handw. - no
B. Batswana,

do. for kicking out Indians

been - minister is Dita before church, was Jensen is
church

ref. in
d. at 1/16

US meddling -

Chockas students - disastrous -

import export / defense

reason for being in
w. west.

✓ civil war, counter-productive but at 1st defense

(aa)

Penitz	
J. Lee	H. M. Johnson
Norah	M. Johnson
M. Lee	John
	ma
	Glenn
	Richard

Spino

UOR

see affiliate. 5.5. (4.5 and 4.5 and)
reading society.

Upgraded council, at the time new constitution -
big misjudged

ANC & UOR call for making country ungovernable
Liby / Cider is just -

in the parents committee - now many have
to get 5 terms continued working -

AZAPD -
socialist rhetoric -

black consciousness has gone -

idea of black consciousness self confidence

looking inward, - we say UOR run by
white of the 5.1.60 -

ANC - ML literature

if you are a black person then we have
long time to work as solution -

PT Elizabeth - 609, black unemployment -

ca

Newspaper

black capitalised

chorus - crying for city taken for the white

Quitoza -

spends more time with her than wife -

good sense of humor - divorcee -

lost touch with her, expects them for
their intellectual limitations, re
few cases putting it more time for the

do

Robert Oliver -

RA - you could see anything yet -

John Stark kind of

Mandella - lawyer - sitting down at
white lawyer desk -

John - looking in for it

Mandella - "John - a liar -" & witness -

Kaffin - gmatorelli

The exhilaration of political satirical
debate in human

1st step in self reliance is to believe in
yourself &
takes time to get ideas mentalized
be obliterated -

Chorus - ~~hand~~ handsome - almost dit
that dark

own it to children, to city, to nation

"Sefiro is a wonderful city" - only rules
speaking it

(10)

these people will not be denied their dignity -

"Africa must come back to Africa"

organism - in fashion dress - revealing -

Handful !!!

our striving & be a nation - (Spade spoke to
Columbus law school students - was in jail)

(rubbish in American sense - not a bunch of
amigos.)

lawrence speaking moderate

"beat them at their game"

emphasize their values & leaders have set y them -

no compromise!

"Paradox" solved by "honest reconciliation" -

to just how hard Democrat SD -

religious life entire

business -

George Bush doesn't want to hear about M-L
very critical Reagan

for paid enterprise - kids aren't
doesn't want to hear about free speech

Dubois

Close to Chirf - arranged for him to Israel -
Down on Tutu

been protected by national party for anti-semitism
but getting it now from itself.

Carstairs - "Communist" - banned longer than anyone -
Bakata & say, want willing to deal up to ANC.

ANC 11. April initiative of 25 700

to SA - many nations - need majority rule to safeguard
for minorities - need 2 houses - 1 in which

that of national protected (see Soviet constitution)

f ANC - freedom charter still another name for people
democracies of Eastern Europe, S Union &
control all of Africa thru S.A.

peaceful change in S.A possible along so many groups -
ANC & Mandela are not in charge - is way to
calm, disinvestment - disinvestment and bring about
return of apartheid.

Tutu - very anti Zionist, gets not anti-semitic.
of indirect course Israel & Palestinian & Nazi -
response to long letter - "my position remains
the same"

here the day if you attack Israel you attack us -

will have black press - is what kind,
if economy brought to standstill will be in
if you pressure to government he will return to
order

Freedom all ops will be in only so need protection.

need bill of rights

need checks & balances -

need to move away from Westminster, need judiciary

REV.

S.A. judiciary entirely independent, but judiciary hands tied
by

indaba

BNC slendered ~~NATAL~~ opt. in dec. Unit want to
give wt + Botlezi & will show
that change can be received -

* idea for derided business, ECR.
apd - of Sugar industry
bec is an economic issue - Natal is into
2 is not economically feasible.

Andokhambi
Zulu now getting
together

Common report - power sharing - will be
black majority but safeguards for minorities
govt immediately found it down -
NRP (Col. & united party) originally
opposed - then began negotiating ~~with~~
involving rationalizing ^{of admin. districts} (hospitals) & save
backs - will leave open their
Botlezi - is for Natal to give
power to legislate for itself - Whites -
Natal will accept - & others -
if it can be done in Natal will be
done throughal SA which is an
economic unit.

GOSATU visibly opposed to Inkanta, tide
union rivalry can be source of conflict,
GOSATU - leadership captured by BNC & VDP, but
underneath that not a case,

{ 45 ~~etc~~ states in Africa & have phony by ballots
show democracy - free elections, free unions, - only place Africa
has done 4-5 in the course that will ensure future
democracy

Indian - good relationship

Hindu larger than muslim
cont dialogue with moslem - have found economic
joint ventures

most of Indian community also afraid of

being swamped - i.e. very interest is to Andokh

Indian & community not political.

CP is Zimbabwé wad puctures n. existent
 musake - opposed by CP & ANC

slake ~~in~~ be interest so black have stake.
 "Don't treat us as pariahs"

QuaZulu

3/20 ending 2/7 1977 Cptn M. May
 have on part 1, Zulu, 2,

3 1/2 m here 3 1/2 out

2000 of U. Zulu.

key not Zulu student is UJ?

Boutelzi -

been to use 14? Xp

for - American -

per. look at things that will ~~throw~~ ^{throw} at it even if it

do quit do anything

eg disinvestment,

Rhodesia surviving sanctions.

but throw 7 disinvestment does make SA think

but it really will produce & need of these

to need.

democratic use as
 stick & rep's - don't want to be used for ~~other~~ political
 purposes or other things

Rule Robinsons Tutu trail & in villages has 1000

3/11 - present - proposed bill to establish 1st bill.

National parks commission observed to Zulu.

to observe interest in Kwa Zulu.

South African defence funds, is Boddle a

leader of Regon -

ANC found by Zulu ^{definitely} 6700 after last armed
 rebellion.

re Zulu - 1st time didn't accept, then did to. knew

what was used by him - ~~was~~ singular more by trip

to Zulu - maybe her. Ctr 7 b. h

Q. Zulu

h. ambition to be pres. - but white refusal.
- the problem here is denied white.
std

for billion rts, 5 ct as in US, federalist. - because
for west -

encouraged members to join trade unions, didn't start
set up own.

Co SATU - is Durban, for & for SA CTU office
q done

for disintegration, attacks B. Molezi -

members want to respond, said we can help them
organ. 20.

priority here: education, agriculture,
50% of 5 Africa 15 w. younger -
blacks not free, needs vast -

what to do - humanitarian aid - e.g. health, ed.

D. / patient ration of 90,000

2nd schools - for blacks - 50-100,000

5 " " white also 100-200,000

diseases - typhoid, pneumonia etc come from
dirty water

priority - malnutrition -

longevity - 45

Chances of child surviving to 45 - low level.

q. i. for mortality -

have no dentists - dental school just started -

in towns for 2 dentists for whites

101707 school 3000 students 17% of g. &

medical school

at the school - 750 applied & qualified but
only 60 taken

insects - had rollers of 31-40,000 - not just
Zulus -

negotiate

Q. Zulu (2)

Dr. Patson, Laban, Dr. _____,
until recently ombudsman.

reformed party of Zulu

campaign among whites - tri-chaired league
lecture

ethnic conflict - govt tried to use

ethnicity to divide

why not ethnicity as in America;

but Zulus + pondo, not ethnicity, but

scramble for resources, water, 1/16 in

Europe & govt was when economic
downturn 1

military wing of ANC - headed by Sibeko - 19 and 1/2

excluded one class of that

R. Q. Q.

53-55 - 60 - during

July 1960 - house arrested (partially)

17 person 62-80 house arrested GPR - 6 AM

all public buildings

2: PM - 5: PM - 10: PM

no visitors allowed

+ John + mother

Said for reconciliation - 4-7th for trade union work, liberalisation of

strictly proper was in CP but better and CP

said was communist & socialist but ten fighting against

June) CP in 38

CP banned in 1956

in 1961 - turned to SW as state capitalist

turned to CC - then under influence with N. O. L. S.

supporting Chinese, that still meets him for 15, 20 years.

Chinese argued the Stalinist achievement & mistakes,

found CP has communist + fascist -

turned again when Mao died

for while in CP, among then his 10 years

R. Q. 14

orig. q. Cr. Dublin

5. 1. 2019 50 - 60 10000 8, 10, 12

Strongly 7 Substrate - (obscure ground)

Weakness & ANC - most members outside

5. High γ ANC - budget 60-80 m and 172-1.1 thr P_{20} ,

Scandinavian, churches, S.U.

understand - bet. 1 \rightarrow free for SU if had it

ΣΤΙΣ 26 + ΑΝΚ - ΣΥΝΕΧΕΥΜΕΝΟ - 8, ΑΡΜΟ,

→ U " " = worst communist system - all E Pers have

(he needs some lit)

2 needs ANC (x^+) ~~went to~~ cross connection
ANC hr.) N2O ~~went to~~ cross connection
set, see prior

anti apoptotic, neuro, speed & lie about Biochemistry

B. the legi - was working on it - B. the legi is still friends

u. Modell. aus f. r. in T. u. 3. d.

in ex head n tubes & schiz gen - w/h

Ans. i) B ——— until 2000 (partial)

B. Holzer met Kucide from Zaria, & explained

have but this a Benthel; was knight

3 read at Methuli's funeral is 68

Table 1.5. Ankaata, at same time ANC

cryptid ~~B₂~~ D_n B₂ ensul wh n-w

for BNC support Inheritance

for 4 " " " black — . 22 m.c.

B — keep on saying "my boss is
Exil (it only one book enough to
say this)

10/1/974 - B — entered whole cabinet to

- meet w ANC & friends
ANC want him to: he refused
a) keep mts Secret (if ~~agreed~~ ~~he~~ (is a
decentie - will tell people other
things. +
b) help recruit for armed struggle (he wd have
been jailed - (sec. police infiltrated
everything here)

UNC claims followed to a T what ANC
says - is a "front"

B — would not be judge. "y

B — stands as contradictory to ANC's

claim to be only

used tactics diff is to split & declare as
front & then declare stage "9 govt."

(quite admin started in 71, condemned in 81)

(there are others who participated in govt institution
& support ANC - for eg. Imbulza. bec.
he thought ANC was going to take over.

ANC appeal for 73-81) established of trade union
union matter, - now trying to capture.

COSATU has difficulties w ICFTU &
w/its of y. w WCFIU - (" was

responsible for getting it started)

leading metal & textile was a possibility

then w union as y/ll when

opposed to metal going on

min was ambivalent.

decide have full control. 1st 4 Zulus in.
(1st 4 Zulus in jumping

Ramposa. Chaka

R. Q. 3 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kamay} \text{ fccy cwi -} \\ \text{Kamay} \text{ fccy cwi -} \end{array} \right.$

$I_{\text{Zufluss}} = 2.7 \cdot 10^4 \text{ A}$

B - 200 30-4000 is given - Total 5 - 1000

Elementos:

ANC + VDR generale w. o. soldatın

Trunk - huge arm, w few spines, br.

desd. h. 1.5 - (ANC desd. r) 1.1912,

in 1951 when board only 1000 members

ϕ looks like $\Rightarrow > 100,000$ since 176

file 61 - (1) brother was building a generationally

the case ^{same} substitute - 2 lions went to jail, out of

country, become agents

gut int. 2 detection w/ fibrils - SA gut

5-2-15-17 -

S. L. H. confirmed - nothing to read.

stand in U till you talk.

to, tune

So when B — started didn't know much

friend leadership

but recently going to go. & people is big with
the old demolition work.

Relationship close friends since 42.

John has got a dress