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*Evening
South Africa*

Speech to Annual General Meeting

of

The Canadian-South African Society

at

Montreal, October 23, 1985
Toronto, October 24, 1985

South Africa is going through a period of almost unprecedented difficulty and uncertainty, both at home and abroad. It is a period of confusion, when many South Africans do not know how best to bring peace to their country, and when our friends abroad often find it difficult to determine how best to help.

We have to acknowledge that there is no damage which our opponents have inflicted on us which can be compared to the damage we have inflicted on ourselves. Apartheid has been a disaster.

The events have been a particular source of anguish for my foundation which has sought to act as a catalyst for peaceful, evolutionary change. I say that despite the fact that perhaps no institution has made a more thoughtful contribution to the ferment of change and reform in South Africa than the private sector. People often find it difficult to understand quite why that should be. In part, it originates in the historical divisions between the English and the Afrikaners in South Africa, with the Afrikaners having controlled politics and the civil service since 1948, and more able English-speaking South Africans, their paths blocked in politics, having chosen to go rather into business and

the professions. As a result, they have tended to carry over into business their political opposition to the present government. Indeed the British Daily Telegraph recently described business as the most effective opposition in South Africa. That opposition has gone so far as to cause leaders of the private sector, including the Director-General of my own foundation, to undertake discussions with the leaders of the African National Congress in Zambia, to the disapproval of the South African State President, who called them "disloyal."

For all that, we have recognized the courage with which the State President has acted in bringing about reform, in the teeth of adamant opposition from the extreme right wing, and which caused him to initiate a split in his own party.

But, though there is still a long way to go before we can truly say that there is justice for all in South Africa, we also feel unhappy about the continued and almost perverse failure of critics in the United States and Canada to recognize how much has been achieved.

Some indication of that achievement can be seen in a recent article in the largest newspaper in South Africa, the Sunday Times. The Times, which has often been bitterly critical of the South African Government, noted that:

" During the last decade the 'whites only' signs which disfigured the South African landscape have fallen in theatres and parks, hotels, restaurants and lunch counters, on Afrikaans campuses and sports clubs, in private schools and public libraries, on beaches and swimming pools, soccer teams and rugby stadiums, on some trains and some bus services, in some central business districts and some cinemas.

Public hospitals, government schools and residential areas remain as the last islands of the separate and unequal, but for the rest, by dint of euphemism and exemption, the Government allowed its own rules to be broken until exception became the rule and the laws (as in the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts) were scrapped, or amended, as in the Liquor and Separate Amenities Acts which govern less private social intercourse."

The article continued:

" If the erosion of petty apartheid has been a thing of fits and starts, it has taken only nine months since President Botha's speech to Parliament on January 25 to collapse, through promise, repeal and commitment, the pillars which

supported the ideology of 'Grand Apartheid' and for the National Party to execute a 180 degree policy shift. . . In the past year Mr. Botha, his Ministers, his propagandists and his creations have:

- Acknowledged that the homelands policy failed to provide an answer to black political aspirations.

- Announced a common citizenship for all living within boundaries of an undivided South Africa.

- Announced freehold title for urban blacks.

- Placed a moratorium on forced removals.

- Accepted the principle of negotiation with black leaders.

- Said that the re-incorporation of the independent homelands into South Africa was 'negotiable'.

- Called for the abolition of influx control.

- Committed South Africa to a universal franchise.

And if eight bottles should accidentally fall, that leaves only two clinging stubbornly to an increasingly slippery surface -- the Group Areas Act which is at least to be amended to allow some blacks to escape the ghetto, and the Population Registration Act."

Yet if there are all these changes, you may ask, why the riots?

There are several answers to that question.

First, there are still serious black grievances, including the pass laws, a thoroughly unsatisfactory, though improving educational system, segregated housing and the absence of a vote in the central government (though extensive local representation and votes in the national states).

Second, there are the efforts of the radical left who do not want reform, because it undercuts revolution. It is no surprise that the African National Congress called this year for South Africa to be made ungovernable. If reform were to succeed, they would become irrelevant. And their efforts are aided, unfortunately, by the present deep recession, which has left perhaps 3 million blacks unemployed. It is notable that rioting has been worst in the Eastern Cape, where unemployment in parts is 50-60 percent, and lowest in Soweto, which is comparatively prosperous.

Third, there is an important analogy to the history of the Civil Rights movement in the United States. It is often forgotten that the serious black violence in the U.S. did not occur until after the Civil Rights Acts of 1959-1964, and after the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The most serious rioting occurred in the 1966-1969 period, and for what I believe are similar reasons -- the rising of black expectations, and the contrast between the position that exists in law or in theory and what individual blacks are actually able to achieve. Though legislation is passed barring job description, for example, it does not suddenly give all blacks better jobs. And the disappointment and frustration becomes more pronounced when, as in our case, there is such serious black unemployment. In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that black people become more sceptical and suspicious.

Nor is this confined to South Africa. The Economist in October made a similar point about the recent rioting in Britain. "Of course," the editorial begins, "each riot is worse than the last. The black rioters' bravado is cumulative..." and it continues, "Gang toughies and splinter revolutionaries certainly go from one riot to help the next on its way..."

And it concludes:

"The root of the urban problem is, too evidently, idleness. Since cities were invented, people with nothing to do and no money to help pass the time have hated the authorities and stolen from the prosperous. Black people with jobs do not riot in the streets..."

Canada itself has had similar experiences. General Loomis, who was chief of staff in Western Quebec during the 1970 kidnapping crisis, argues in his recent book that the War Measures Act was needed to isolate the teachers, journalists, broadcasters and entertainers who sanctioned and promoted the FLQ's goals. "I'm convinced," he says "that the threat was real and serious. I believe if the FLQ hadn't been stopped it had the potential to destroy our country as we know it."

In a report of an interview with him, the Montreal Gazette noted:

"Loomis said protracted revolutionary warfare begins with agitation and propaganda coupled with sporadic acts of violence and culminates in guerrilla warfare, general combat and revolution.

Traditional military strategies are outmoded when revolutionaries recruit women, children and old people to throw

stones and grenades, and when cities are turned into battlefields.

The FLQ campaign began in 1963 with the theft of ammunition from Montreal armories and the bombing of radio towers, Canadian Legion offices and Westmount mailboxes.

On Oct. 5, 1970, a cell of the pro-separatist terrorist group kidnapped British trade commissioner James Cross from his home on Redpath Crescent. Five days later, Quebec labor minister Pierre Laporte was taken hostage and on Oct. 16, Laporte's body was found in the trunk of a green Chevrolet on the St. Hubert air base.

Loomis said that given the large number of intellectuals who were willing to justify the FLQ's actions, it was not enough to simply nab bombers and bank robbers.

By enacting the War Measures Act, the government made it illegal to advocate or promote the unlawful acts aims or principles of the FLQ."

Even a country as wealthy as the United States experiences this huge problem of relative deprivation. In the same issue of the Economist which analysed the British riots, it dealt with the enormous support which a demagogue like Louis Farrakhan is generating, and pointed out that one third of all blacks and more than half of all black children live below the poverty line. 43 per cent of all black families are headed by a woman on her own. Black joblessness is more than twice that of whites. Half of the people in prison are black.

None of these examples are intended, of course, to justify discrimination. But they do serve to explain how difficult it is to remove discrimination, how long it takes before the effects of discrimination are eliminated, how great the passions aroused by such ethnic tensions can be, and how cautious one should be about facile judgments.

But few people have the capacity or the inclination, of course, to scrutinize developments in foreign countries so carefully, or even, sometimes, events in their own country. Thus when the protests outside the South African Embassy began towards the end of last year, it was widely taken, even in Washington, as an indication of the revulsion of American opinion against South Africa. It was nothing of the kind. It was rather a combination of factors: an expression of the frustration of black Americans, who had backed Mr. Mondale 9 to 1, and then had seen Mr. Reagan win a

landslide victory; it also represented an effort by the civil rights movement to gain some new relevance; it was an attempt by the Democrats to find an issue to embarrass Mr. Reagan; and even some Republicans saw this as an easy, low-cost issue on which to show that they were not anti-black and were a truly national party. None of these motives are shameful, of course, but none of them has much to do with what is going on in South Africa.

But the protests seemed, as I noted, to show revulsion of feeling against apartheid. Opinion polls, however, show something very different.

The most remarkable indication of U.S. sentiment was contained in a Lou Harris Poll in Business Week in February. It confirmed, of course, that most Americans disapprove of apartheid, but by large majorities they rejected any form of sanctions.

-By 76-18 they rejected disinvestment.

-By 58-37 they approved of the Reagan policy of quiet diplomacy.

-By 61-31 they thought that the main sufferers from disinvestment would be blacks.

64 percent of them thought that the U.S. should stay on good terms with South Africa to preserve access to South African raw materials.

Most interesting of all, a comparison between this poll and one taken a few years before showed a significant improvement in attitudes to South Africa. Even the awful media publicity later in the year seemed to make no change in people's attitudes. On August 15 a Gallup Poll showed support of current U.S. policy by 3-1 over those urging sanctions.

Most significant of all, a recent poll by the Center for Media and Political Affairs indicates that Blacks in the U.S. by an overwhelming margin - 74 percent - also believe that U.S. companies should remain in South Africa. The poll indicates that on this issue, as on a number of others, affirmative action, busing, and so on, the Black community is more conservative than its leadership (of whom 59 percent believe U.S. corporations should pull out).

The authoritative American Political Report concluded that "South Africa is basically an issue important to elites and interest groups, not the public. Actually, the public is somewhat sym-

pathetic to Reagan's positions, but opinion - moulders aren't". One sees this time and again. I have no doubt, for example, that most of those calling for disinvestment believe that it would help Black South Africans; and yet there is impeccable polling evidence - at least 5 polls that I know of, including polls taken by Black interviewers, away from the workplace, in sessions lasting 110 minutes each - which showed that Black South Africans, by overwhelming 75 percent, margins reject disinvestment. I know of only one poll that contradicts this conclusion.

Almost everyone of importance in South Africa, including those who have spent their entire lives fighting apartheid, have tried to stop sanctions and disinvestment. Thus Alan Paton, whose book, "Cry, the Beloved Country," first stirred the conscience of the world, has asked how anyone who is comfortable and has a job and is well fed can in Christian conscience vote for something which is going to take bread out of the mouths of those already in need.

Helen Suzman, for many years the most prominent campaigner against apartheid in the South African Parliament, came over to the United States with the mission of trying to persuade Americans that it's a bad idea.

So has Gatsha Buthelezi, who, according to polls, is one of the most popular Black leaders in South Africa.

Even Bishop Tutu has said that he is against disinvestment and that - if the South African Government does not make changes in apartheid - he will only then, in 18 months to 2 years, for the first time call for sanctions against South Africa.

The changes that have taken place have begun to seep through in the media. Many of you may have seen the CBS 60 Minutes program - a remarkable view of the changes, and remarkable from that source. They said of these changes - that "these are changes that only a few years ago seemed beyond all possibility." "No matter what South Africa's reputation may be," they added "it offers the highest level of Black literacy on the continent, the highest state benefits and roughly the same political freedom as its neighbors." 60 Minutes was blunt about black Africa: "Virtually every state in independent black Africa is a one-party state, only the degree of oppression and corruption varies." Indeed, Freedom House pointed out recently that only one state in the whole of Africa had more freedom than South Africa.

Similarly, NBC Nightly News ran a 3 part series on South Africa which was equally remarkable, not only for what it said, but for

what it showed: a white woman walking down the street hand in hand with her black nurse; multiracial dating; blacks and whites swimming together, and a white man launching a paper boat for a little black boy; and blacks and whites sitting at a bus stop together. This was not unimpressive when one remembers that the U.S. Civil Rights movement, now hardly 30 years old, began in the front of a bus.

And then, as Secretary Shultz pointed out, how many governments in the world would permit ABC's Nightline program to set up shop for a week, probe and dissect the country's ills, film heated debates between government leaders and their most ardent critics, and then show those programs to its people? But for all these notable exceptions, I have to say that the performance of the national media, in both the United States and Canada, has been abysmal. It has all too often borne out the findings of Accuracy in Media, the Washington-based watchdog on the media, which has done a series of annual studies on human rights coverage in the American media. What they have done is simple and telling. They have simply counted the number of stories, columns and editorials on human rights in particular countries which have appeared in the five most influential U.S. media, the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the three major networks. The procedure usefully eliminates all the biases of subjective judgment - except those of the media themselves. In the first year AIM did a survey, it covered just five countries, not including South Africa. It found there were 147 columns, stories and editorials about human rights in Chile, 96 about human rights in South Korea, 1 about North Korea, 7 about Cuba, despite its proximity to the United States, and 13 about Cambodia, though that was the year that Pol Pot killed more than a million Cambodians. My office did a similar survey, and without access to the transcripts of the three networks, we found in that same year 512 stories, columns and editorials about human rights in South Africa. Subsequent AIM reports have shown precisely the same bias, not only as far as the number of the reports are concerned, but in the percentage of reports about the country devoted to human rights. The Toronto Star, to its credit, did an analysis which showed exactly the same bias in its own reporting.

The reasons for the bias are not necessarily malign. It is much easier to get correspondents into friendly countries like South Africa, Chile, South Korea, the Phillipines, Taiwan, and so on, for those correspondents to move freely around the country, and for reports to be sent out without punitive action or hindrance. There is often an aggressive domestic press which is itself digging up and publishing human rights stories. But the con-

sequences of this bias can be devastating. It has meant that a whole generation has grown up, in the United States and Canada, who apparently believe that the most serious abuses of human rights in the world today exist not in the closed totalitarian states, hostile to the West, but precisely in the more open and friendly pro-Western states, often those, it is true, with serious human rights problems, but also, more often than not, with oppositions, a free press, and the chance of evolutionary change.

But the bias is more pervasive than just that. It also is reflected not merely in those stories which are reported, but more unforgivably, in those which are not. Let me give an example. As mentioned earlier, we have just had discussions with the African National Congress. It is a body which is obviously supported by a significant section of black public opinion in South Africa. It cannot easily be left out of negotiations for a future constitutional framework in South Africa, although its present commitment to violence must make that impossible for the moment. Its ideological position is reflected by the Freedom Charter of 1955, which is sometimes described by the newspapers as a "liberal document". It is not. Although its language is often vague, it provides for the redistribution of land (which Nelson Mandela, in a statement, explained meant the nationalisation of land), the nationalisation of the banks and the mines, and the placing in the hands of the "workers" of all "monopoly - capitalist enterprises". There is an on-going argument among supporters of the ANC as to whether a barber-shop constitutes a "monopoly-capitalist enterprise", with some arguing that it does, and that it should be nationalised, and others saying that it does not, and that there should merely be a strong state shareholding. Our discussions with the ANC leaders showed them seemingly oblivious to the consequences of this philosophy. It is, of course, nearer to the Soviet than to Yugoslav or even the Polish form of Communism. Some "liberal document".

But if you see or hear no analysis of that document in the media, you get no more about the nature of ANC leadership. Occasionally you may see some ironic comment to the effect that the South African government alleges that the ANC is Communist-controlled, generally with the implication that the poor boobs are seeing Reds under the beds again. Sometimes there is the outright statement that the ANC are merely freedom-fighters, or nationalists, who have had to take assistance from the Soviet Union because the West has refused to give it to them. What you never see is any analysis, however small, of the evidence.

And there is now quite a stock of evidence which could be weighed. In March 1982 a Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary

Committee in the U.S. held hearings to determine the answer to this very question. It heard evidence from a number of witnesses, including Bartholomew Hlapane, a former member of the National Executive of the ANC and of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party who had defected. He testified that, during the time he had served on both bodies, the majority of the members of the ANC National Executive were members of the South African Communist Party, and that no major decision was taken by the ANC without the concurrence and approval of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, and that most major decisions were initiated by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party. The Judiciary Subcommittee, in its final report, concurred in this evaluation.

No attention was paid to the testimony in the media, either in the U.S. or Canada, nor to the assassination of Hlapane, with his wife, in December 1982, in their house in Soweto, by an assassin armed with an AK-47.

The South African intelligence estimate, which has been published, is that 25 of the 30 members of the ANC National Executive are members of the South African Communist Party. U.S. estimates, apparently, are somewhat lower. But you have not been afforded an opportunity to weigh the evidence for yourselves, because, no major newspaper or network, in the United States or Canada, to the best of my knowledge, has published any of it.

The only reference to this problem that I have seen from a liberal source was a brief comment in the recent book, Move Your Shadow, by Joseph Lelyveld, the former New York Times correspondent in South Africa:

"The evasiveness of the African National Congress on basic questions, such as whether more than one party would be able to operate legitimately in the democracy it promised, sometimes seemed to me ominous..."

This judgment was not reflected, to the best of my knowledge, in any of the reports he wrote from South Africa, nor is it explored elsewhere in his book. Nor does he explore any of the other subjects I have raised in this discussion.

Much the same is true of Nelson Mandela. He is usually reported as a "moderate", or a "martyr". Mr. Mulroney pleads for his release. Now, the fact is that the South African government has twice tried to release him, once into the custody of his relation, President Matanzima of the Transkei, and once on his own recognizances, asking only that he agree to foreswear violence.

On each occasion he refused, on the second occasion declaring in an interview with the Washington Times that he would take up arms the day after his release. What is never reported is that, when he was apprehended by the police in 1962 at a farm outside Johannesburg, they found plans providing for a military campaign that would require 210,000 hand-grenades, 48,000 land mines, and 50 tons of high explosives. They found the plans of 107 buildings and installations which were to be blown up. The police also found, and entered into his court record, a 23 page hand-written document entitled "How to be a Good Communist" which Mandela declared that he had copied from a Chinese document, allegedly to clear his mind. Having read that very turgid document, I wonder at the thinking of someone who copied it out - if that is what he did - either to clear his mind or for any other reason. But Canadians will not have the tiresome necessity of having to weigh this evidence either, for I am not aware of any major Canadian publication (and of only one U.S. magazine) which has published so much as a reference to it.

The results of this failure adequately to inform the Canadian public (or the U.S. public for that matter) is now clear. Sanctions have now been declared against the oldest, and I still believe best friend either country has on the continent of Africa. I never thought I would have to prove that. But the other day I saw a Roper Poll which showed that only 21% of Americans thought that South Africa was a friendly country; 36% thought it neutral; and 20% said it was either hostile or an enemy. I don't know what the comparable Canadian polls would show.

There are other paradoxes, for those sanctions have been also declared against the most staunchly anti-Communist government in Africa, and against almost the only government in all of Africa with a vigorous and effective opposition, an outspoken press, an independent judiciary, and organized human rights groups. It is also very nearly the only economic success story on the entire African continent.

The tale is, I am afraid, depressingly familiar. One wonders how often we will be told, by the media, of all those fine, freedom-loving people who are fighting for democracy and the American way, if only one could get rid of whatever government it is which stands in the way of this Utopia? One remembers the stories about Mao Tse-Tung after the Second World War, that incomparable "rural reformer" who just wanted to get rid of the "corrupt Chiang-Kai-Shek clique" and to establish freedom in China. Or all those stories and editorials by Herbert Matthews in the New York Times about that idealist, Fidel Castro, fighting for freedom in the hills? Even after the Communist Party was the sole

recognized party left on Cuba the New York Times continued with that line. And do you remember all those stories of how the domino theory was absurd, and nothing could be worse than the war in Vietnam, and all that was necessary for peace to prevail was for the United States to get out, and leave matters to those fine indigenous nationalists, the George Washingtons, as it was sometimes put, of South East Asia, Ho Chi Minh and Pol Pot? Or how nothing could be worse than the Shah? Or how the Sandinistas in Nicaragua simply wanted to establish a pluralist democracy in that country? Or how even Bishop Muzorewa was unacceptable in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, so that sanctions should continue there, even after an election, observed by more than 300 foreign observers to be a free one, and even after the Senate of the United States voted to recognize the country? And now we have ended up with a government in Zimbabwe which has announced its intention to use the last election as a mandate for establishing a one-party state on Marxist-Leninist lines, and whose North Korean trained Fifth Brigade killed, according to the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference, more than 2,000 people in operations in the Southern part of the country. One wonders how long people can continue to make the same mistake?

One sees the same paradoxes illustrated in the whole disinvestment movement as well. The discrepancy between the aims of the disinvestment movement, often seemingly laudable, and its likely effects was noted by the London Economist, in the course of a brilliant survey of U.S.-South African relations:

"Deliberate action by one (rich) state to depress living standards in another (largely poor) one is scarcely defensible. It could be justified only in extreme circumstances for a specific goal not achievable by any other means short of war. The onus must surely be on the aggressor not only to prove the case for aggression, but also to set out the steps by which aggression will achieve swift victory. The American disinvestment lobby has fulfilled these requirements in only the vaguest terms."

The possible effects should give cause for concern to anyone who thinks about it. There is already severe black unemployment, perhaps 3 million people. They have little in the way of a safety net. I have no doubt that this is a cause of violence as much in South Africa as it is in the less volatile atmosphere of England. It gives rise to a vicious cycle, of sanctions causing unemployment, leading to violence, leading to police action and hostile coverage of these actions by the media, leading to more sanctions, more employment and more violence... It should be important, for every person of goodwill, to avoid this kind of inexorable drift.

Moreover, it is hard to imagine how most of Southern Africa is supposed to cope with sanctions on South Africa or how the West could alleviate the consequent difficulties of the black states. The Economist Intelligence Unit has concluded that some neighboring states would probably suffer more from sanctions against South Africa than South Africa itself. The economies of countries such as Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are tiny, and most of them are in great disarray, and have been in retreat in respect of the provision of most basic commodities such as food for the past decade. That is why the new Zimbabwean Ambassador to the United States devoted much of his first speech in this country to opposing disinvestment, and why the Mozambican Foreign Minister said that his country would be "badly hit" if sanctions were imposed against South Africa. Sometimes leaders of the black states in Southern Africa publicly call for sanctions, but the evidence is overwhelmingly that privately they dread it.

South Africa is the major, perhaps the only hope, for an acceptable standard of living and of opportunities for adequate education, jobs and social services for the 100 million people in the southern African subcontinent. It accounts for more than three-quarters of the Gross National Product of all the states in southern Africa from Angola on the west coast through Zambia and Malawi to Mozambique on the east coast, including eight internationally recognized countries, South West Africa/Namibia and the four independent homelands. South Africa also accounts for 77 percent of the electricity generated in this region, 97 percent of the coal mined, 98 percent of the iron ore, 70 percent of the maize, 87 percent of the wheat.

As the Africa correspondent of the Los Angeles Times put it:

"Indeed, black Africa depends on South Africa. Without it, national economies in the southern third of the Continent would fall like dominoes."

The greatest fear of many of us is that ill considered action abroad will set back the development of reform in South Africa, that the politicians, never courageous at the best of times, will circle the wagons, that blacks will suffer more, and that the South African economy, the greatest single hope in the whole continent, may suffer irreparable damage.

But it seems to me that there is still room for optimism. The realism on both sides is greater than one is sometimes inclined to suppose. Two-thirds of whites in a recent poll in South Africa said that they believed that there should be a sharing of

power between black and white. I believe, in fact, that we are in the pre-negotiation stage, with much rhetoric on both sides, and with much jockeying for position going on. I believe that we are likely to see serious negotiations with black leaders in the next year or two.

Similarly, the realism both of blacks inside South Africa and of South Africa's black neighbors is greater than is generally realised. South Africa's Prime Ministers, for example, have met with many of the leaders of black Africa while President Sadat, after meeting with Mr. Begin, was isolated in the Middle East.

And the same realism is reflected in the opinion polls in the United States and Canada. It is a remarkable indication of the wisdom of ordinary people. It shows perhaps an instinctive understanding of the truth summed up by the Economist in the final paragraph of its survey:

"But the best engagement in South Africa," they noted, "is unofficial and personal, reflected in contact, in commerce, in intellectual and cultural exchange. It is the engagement of constant argument. It is the opposite of boycott and ostracism and public disassociation. These weapons work no better in international relations than they do in personal relations. They represent failure. They are the enemy, not the friend of freedom in South Africa."

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SOUTH AFRICA - A REPORT
Daniel Jeremy Silver
April 6, 1986

I went to South Africa as one of a small group of ten individuals, men, all Jews, who were invited by the South Africa Foundation in conjunction with the South African Jewish Board of Deputies.

The South African Board of Deputies is the equivalent of our Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. The South Africa Foundation was established a number of years ago by the leading industrialists and business people of the country. They had gotten religion when they discovered that you cannot do business if the rest of the world will not do business with you. In recent years, the South Africa Foundation has taken a leading role in pressing for a number of political reforms. It was the chairman of this Foundation who, incidentally, was the Chief Executive Officer of the Anglo-South African Corporation, the leading South African business empire, and its Executive Director who, some months ago, went to Lucasa to meet with the leadership of the exiled and banned African National Congress which many in the world see as the recognized leadership of those working for the liberation of the non-white population of South Africa.

Our group was diverse. My colleagues ranged from Martin Peretz, editor of The New Republic to Rabbi Israel Miller, senior Vice-President of Yeshiva University and a former president of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations to Nathan Glaser who is ~~the~~ Professor of Sociology and Education at Harvard and a leading expert on inter-group relationships. We were not asked to make any statement individually or collectively.

I, for one, remain mindful of the observation ascribed to

John Fairbanks, the well-known Harvard sinologist: anyone who came to China for six weeks wrote a book; anyone who came to China for six months wrote an article; and anyone who stayed in China for six years wrote nothing. This week's and next week's talks which will concentrate on the Jewish situation in South Africa, represent my private report to you, my congregation, and probably represents the extent of any public comment I will make.

We spent ten full days in the Republic of South Africa, the major part of our time in Johannesburg, Durban and Capetown. We also went by small plane into Natal to the capital of Kwa-Zulu, the Zulu homeland where ^{AT Ulundi} we met the Zulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelesi, a strong-minded man who has taken strong position against ~~those~~ of the government on such issues as the recent constitutional changes and the creation of arbitrary homelands, but who also believes that there are ways in which, through power sharing, blacks and others can cooperate in creating, at least in Natal, a state in which power will be equitably shared.

For most of our trip I knew I was in South Africa, meeting South Africans, but I had little feeling for the country. There were meetings morning, noon and night, from seven o'clock to midnight. It wasn't until the last day that we were allowed to be tourists. That day we drove from Capetown down along the scenic coast which stretches to Cape Point, the headlands where the waters of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans meet. ~~There~~ For the first time, I had a sense of the famed natural beauty of that part of the world. We went right from our tour bus to the plane which began the long trip home.

Most of our time was spent in meetings. We met with a number of the liberal faculty of Capetown University, some of whom were

active supporters of the African National Congress, most of the United Democratic Front, the in-place umbrella organization which speaks for most groups working for major political reform. Another day we met with ~~a group of~~ faculty from Stellenbosch University, the Afrikaaner ^{school} ~~university~~ near Capetown, a much more conservative group, some of whom worry more about Communist influence in the African National Congress than the elimination of apartheid. We met Seth Cooper who heads AZAPO, the black consciousness organization whose motto is "Africa for the Africans," and by that they mean black Africans. We met with Andreas Treurnicht, a one-time minister of the Dutch Reform church who is now the leader of the Conservative Party which broke away from the ruling National Party on the grounds that the modest reforms which Botha's government has introduced over the last several years are unacceptable deviations from the party's ideology. We met members of Parliament from the National Party and from the opposition, the Progressive Reform Party. We met with Helen Sussman who for decades has been an indefatigable and often lonely critic in Parliament of apartheid and the crude state power which supports this program. Mrs. Sussman has been a member of Parliament for the last thirty-three years, elected year-in-year out from a predominately Jewish district in Johannesburg who has spoken up with great personal courage about the abominable acts that the security forces and others have performed in the name of apartheid. We met with trade union leaders, economists, educators, with people working to bring clinics, schools and housing to the outcasts, the American Ambassador and members of his staff as well as with leaders of the Jewish community.

We heard many people talk about the problems of South Africa.

Each brought his or her own experience and perspective. As you would expect, even in South Africa the problems cannot be stated in black and white nor are there easy solutions.

As I began to think how to make this report, I thought that perhaps the best way to begin was to repeat a complaint I first heard on the long flight to Johannesburg, a complaint which was often repeated by whites during our trip. My companion was an English-speaking South African businessman, not an Afrikaaner. He told me he had voted for the Progressive Reform Party, not the National Party. He said he favored power-sharing but he complained that South Africa had become the whipping boy of the world. He could think of many worse countries. 'I'd rather live as a black in South Africa than myself in the U.S.S.R. or Albania or Cambodia or Syria or Iran. There have been abuses, but there is a much greater violence and arbitrariness in Zaire, Ethiopia and Uganda. I read every day in American papers about three or four deaths in South Africa but hardly a word about the tens of thousands of black deaths which result from Ethiopia's ongoing policy of forced relocation. Why is South Africa the country the world dumps on? Why is South Africa the whipping boy of the world?

On my way down I simply listened. I was going to South Africa to learn. Fortunately, on the long flight back there was no one in the next seat and I had a chance to put together my feelings about what I'd heard and seen. I decided that although I had no answer to his complaints, I had little sympathy for them. When I asked myself whether I would prefer living in one of those abjectly poor reservations which the South African government glorifies with

the title of tribal homelands or in the gulag in Siberia, I probably would choose Transkei or Ciskei. They are desperately poor places, but at least I would have some hope for the future, if not for my future than for my children's. The days of apartheid are numbered. South Africa is not a super power.

For all its faults, South Africa is not an implacable tyranny. ~~There~~ ^{There} is a degree of freedom of expression in South Africa which one does not find in many other parts of the world. The press of South Africa, at least the English language press that I could read, featured a significant amount of criticism of specific actions of the government. The Star was positively delighted that the courts had accepted a number of petitions against the government's policy of detention without specific charges. Our last night in Capetown we went to the city's major repertory theater to see the play "Made in the R.S.A.," made in the Republic of South Africa. It's a poor play, but it is also a no-holds-barred, knock-down attack on the South African government which pulls no punches about the abuses of the security forces or the ignorance and callousness of the whites toward blacks. "Made In The R.S.A." underlines the nobility and patience with which blacks have accepted the abominable acts to which they have been subjected. I am sure that no other government in Africa or in Eastern Europe would allow such a play to be presented by a leading repertory theater.

I also had to admit that there was a degree of truth to the complaint that much of the moral outrage that is expressed here toward South Africa is not only highly selective but clearly has

been fanned by organizations in the civil rights movement who felt their efforts flagging and who found in picketing the South African Embassy and in disinvestment activities which encourage greater involvement in their domestic agenda.

But none of these qualifications remove the many cruelties which darken our judgements of South Africa. Seventy-two percent of the population, the black community, has no say in its destiny. Twelve percent of the population, the white community, controls power and most of the wealth of the country. In South Africa you come across again and again statistics, realities, which sicken the soul. The rate of infant mortality among whites is equivalent to ours, about 17 per thousand. Infant mortality among blacks can only be estimated, no real figures are kept for blacks; and the fact also is an indication of the kind of country it is. But estimates suggest that the rate of infant mortality among blacks is over 200 per thousand. In South Africa there are black schools, Asian schools, colored schools, and white schools. In 1985 the South African government spent \$660 per white student and \$94 for each black student. One percent of the blacks in each age cohort graduate, matriculate from high school. The number of whites who matriculate from high school is higher than ours, close to 90 percent. Similar disparities exist for all levels of government services: public health, sport, garbage collection, police protection, the blacks and other non-whites receiving the short end of the stick.

The basic law which governs all else is the Population Registration Act which was originally promulgated in 1950. Segregation has a long history in South Africa, but until 1948 when the National

Party came to power traditions of English law and local arrangements gave some non-whites some voice and some hope that South Africa might take the road towards a slow but steady elimination of racism, the road our country has taken. The victory of the National Party ended that hope. Malam and his cohorts came to power committed to apartheid, the full separation of the so-called races. Race is a category of questionable credibility, yet, classification by race determines your destiny: where you can live, where your children go to school, what kind of jobs you can have, whether you will be allowed to travel to a certain place and remain there for more than seventy-two hours, whether you can own land, whether you can be forceably removed to a tribal homeland you may never have seen.

The classification system is complex. Anybody who is white is white provided they can prove that they are white. The non-white categories are various: Asian, Indian, Chinese, colored, Cape Malay - the Malaysians who came to the Cape a hundred years ago to work on the farms. Several days after we arrived I found this article in one of the papers. The headline read: "1167 race changes recorded."

A total of 1167 people were reclassified from one race group to another in 1985, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Stoffel Botha, said yesterday in a written reply to a question in Parliament.

The largest number of reclassifications was of 702 people from Coloured to White. A total of 249 Blacks were reclassified as Cape Coloured.

Other reclassifications were White to Coloured (19), Indian to White (1), Chinese to White (3), Indian to Coloured (50), Coloured to Indian (43), Indian to

Malay (21), Malay to Indian (30), Cape Coloured to Black (20), Black to Other Asian (2), Black to Griqua (1), Coloured to Chinese (11), Coloured to Malay (3), Chinese to Cape Coloured (1), Malay to Cape Coloured (8), and Black to Malay (3).

In South Africa the state knows you not as a person but as a member of a "racial" classification. The idiocy of all this bureaucratic process stands out in stark relief when you read of the confusion which the bureaus face when a foundling is left on the door of some hospital. How do you classify this infant? A vast pseudo-learned literature suggests how classification should proceed. One paper suggests 'take a comb and put it through the child's hair.' Presumably, if the hair is curly, the child is colored; if the comb slips through the child is white. No one says what to do with a bald child.

Those who sponsor apartheid insist every group should have the right to develop on their own their own culture. The hypocrisy of this position is shown not only in the operative assumption whites deserve the best of any division, but in the classification of white. The English-speaking whites in South Africa have a different history, culture and language than the Afrikaaners. The Afrikaaners would have liked to divide whites as English, Jews, Afrikaaners. . . that was Malam's original thesis, but the skills of every white person were needed to build the economy, so philosophy gave way to pragmatic consideration.

South Africa is a racist state. Class and competence do not count. For whites of all classes all doors are open. For those unfortunate enough to be one of the lesser breeds, most doors are off limits. If we were South African blacks, we would have to live where a white government tells us to live, to submit our freedoms to

government supervision, to accept policies in which we had no say.

Complementing the Population Registration Act as the base of apartheid is the Group Areas Act. The Group Areas Act gives the government the right to determine, on the basis of your classification, where you may live. If you work in an urban area, you may only live in designated areas, usually far out of town. If you live in the countryside, you may not come to the cities except with a special permission which is hard to get. The government has the power to arbitrarily redistrict an area or arbitrarily assign you to some tribal homeland. The map of South Africa is littered with crazy quilt lines which define these so-called homelands which are, in reality, little more than reservations into which blacks are funneled to keep them out of the cities.

What you find when you visit South Africa is that the major downtown areas seem very much like our own, that there are lovely white suburban areas not unlike those you find around American cities, that there are modest areas in which some of the more fortunate sub-groups live, and that there are vast tracts of land into which blacks have been funneled with little thought to amenity or even to decency.

Our first day we were taken to Soweto, the world-famous non-white counter city to Johannesburg. Soweto sprawls over a rolling countryside some twelve miles from the downtown area, behind the pilings from the gold mines which brought Johannesburg its first wealth. Soweto consists of a series of towns which house over a million people. Your first impression of Soweto is that it doesn't look too bad. In many areas there are neat three or four room modest homes, often in brick with some kind of planting in the small plots which fronthem. Such homes do not a slum make. There

are, of course, some real slum areas of tightly-packed tin shacks in Soweto, but at first look you think that, after all, (and this is a South African argument) people of various ethnic groups like to live together and it really is not too bad here. There are schools, clinics, soccer fields.

When you look more carefully, you begin to see the indignity of life there. The ultimate indignity is that people have to live there. They have no choices. There are suburbs in Cleveland with few, if any, blacks, but by law blacks may live in Bay Village or Gates Mills. In South Africa blacks may not live in the white suburbs. In Soweto blacks can't own the land under their houses. Apartheid labels Soweto part of the white homeland. The theory is that some day whites will take over and all the blacks of Soweto will have to move into a homeland. They are not to be citizens or permanent residents of the real South Africa. For the moment, black labor is necessary, but in time blacks will be returned to the tribal homelands where, presumably, they will develop their own indigenous culture.

In recent months the government changed its policies and increased the lease-hold of many Sowetan homes to 99 years. Somehow, the government has even suggested it just may be possible for blacks to own land. Theory has given way to necessity, but Soweto is still non-white, an inferior place. The Soweto schools are separate but not equal to those in the white areas of Johannesburg. Its clinics are not the equivalent of the clinics in the white area. In Soweto police break down your door without a search warrant to investigate who lives in the home to make sure that no one who hasn't the right papers is living there. There is more

work in the cities than in the countryside; but ~~that~~ it is government policy to keep blacks in the rural areas, so the police periodically make sweeps through areas like Soweto to make sure that uncles, aunts, husbands and wives who do not belong there are found and deported. Over 100,000 deportations were ordered in 1985.

I noticed as we drove through Soweto a surprising lack of shopping centers. When I asked I was told that this city of over a million people had only two small malls. The merchants of Johannesburg have made sure that when blacks go to buy, they will leave the black areas and the black storekeepers and go into the white areas to the profit of white storekeepers.

From Soweto it costs about 8 to 10 percent of a black worker's wages to take a mini-bus to work each day. The ride lasts perhaps 45 minutes or an hour. Those who live beyond Soweto, as many do, must commute as much as two or three hours each way and spend as much as 20 percent of their modest salary to get to work.

In Johannesburg and Capetown the white suburbs are all close in and convenient; Indian and colored suburbs form the next ring; the black townships are way out beyond the outer belt. In Capetown there is an infamous squatters' area called Crossroads. Crossroads is a squatters village of about 200,000 people. There are some 80,000 children of school age, but only one school which enrolls 1,000 students and has five teachers. The government insists that Crossroads must not become a permanent settlement and has allocated land for houses; but the people refuse to move. Why? The land ~~being~~ offered them is 15 miles further out from Capetown ~~than~~ Crossroads ~~which~~ is already 15 miles out from the city. They know the time

and the cost which would be involved if they accede to the government's plans for them.

Between the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act apartheid is alive and well in South Africa. A single story epitomized for me all I saw. A 27-year old Cape Malay woman had the misfortune ^{to} ~~be~~ being severely injured in an automobile accident near Pretoria. Pretoria, ^{is} ~~is~~ the capital of South Africa, ^{is} ~~a~~ a largely Afrikaaner city in the Transvaal. She suffered major injury to her spinal column and was taken to the ^{central} ~~major~~ hospital in Pretoria where she was put into the Intensive Care Unit for Muslims. That Intensive Care Unit was not equipped to deal with injuries such as hers, but one of the finest centers for the study and treatment of spinal cord injuries in the country occupies another wing of the same hospital. The accident took place on the 7th of December. Despite three months of pleas and petitions her family and their lawyers had not been able to get the hospital authorities to move this patient some 100 yards from the Muslim Intensive Care Unit where she had been put to the unit where she could receive first-class care.

The story appeared while we were in Johannesburg and when I mentioned it that night to a local doctor, his response was to say she was unfortunate. If her accident had taken place near Capetown, she would have been taken to the Conradie Hospital and would have been immediately admitted to its fine spinal cord injury unit. That hospital is fully desegregated. He used this incident as an illustration of the crazy quilt pattern which now exists in South Africa. In recent years under pressure the government has relaxed a number of the rules which govern apartheid. Hospitals have been allowed to desegregate provided the staff was willing

to do so. As I walked around Johannesburg I could see the nearly fresh paint which had been put on a few months before to cover signs designating rest rooms as either white or non-white. The major hotels and downtown restaurants have been desegregated. Blacks were guests in our hotel and in the restaurants where we ate. They were served by whites. Many jobs are filled by both blacks and whites. Between early morning and five o'clock the major cities seem desegregated. In Capetown the beaches have been opened to all, but some of the suburban beaches have not been desegregated., The local councils have not been willing to go that far. On the trains there are now desegregated first-class coaches and first-class coaches reserved for whites. They have rescinded the marriage act which prohibited inter-racial marriage. The government of Premier Botha has spoken of rescinding the pass-laws which limit freedom of movement for non-whites; but, at the same time, they have said that they will impose new restrictions on movements so that the urban areas will not be innundated. Such indecision is tragic. For every step the government takes forward it pulls back in other directions. The result is that opponents of apartheid correctly dismiss these changes as cosmetic; while obstinate whites look upon these changes as signs of weakness and indecision. The National Party, which in the 50's and 60's transferred segregation into apartheid, now faces a major revolt from the right, from the Conservative Party and from an even more rightist group, the HNP, both of which show ~~signs of~~ increased strength in the Afrikaan community.

The government of Premier Botha seems to want to move toward accommodation, but to be more worried about the right than what is right. The window of opportunity for evolutionary change in South Africa is a limited one.

As blacks face this inconsistent pattern of reform, they quite rightfully dismiss it as a band-aid designed for the purpose of placating the world, but they are not clear how to respond or even how to prepare for change. Our first day in South Africa we were guests at an orientation breakfast to which we invited Bayard Rustin who happened to be in the hotel. Rustin is working for the National Endowment for Democracy and one of his responsibilities involves South Africa. Rustin described to us what he had seen and heard during his frequent visits. "You'll find on all sides a great deal of sloganeering and not much real politics. The government is not yet prepared or confident enough to sit down and negotiate what is the ultimate question - the redistribution of power. So it postures. In the liberal and the non-white community, there is little agreement how to get from here to there and so much posturing. Both sides suffer from a lack of self-confident leadership. For the blacks this is the result of government action. Over the last thirty years they have imprisoned or exiled or banned or deported the natural leaders of the non-white communities. Nelson Mandela's imprisonment is the classic case in point. A result is that in the black townships leadership has passed to the angry young who shout slogans and mistake slogans for an agenda." Rustin sees black spokesmen like Bishop Tutu engaged in a desperate attempt to keep up with their young, an effort which consists in-

creasingly in espousing maximal and non-negotiable demands. Because the middle-aged, those who traditionally have authority, have not been able to produce tangible political results, the young denounce all attempts at negotiation as a sell-out and renounce all offers to improve schools or clinics or the employment situation as efforts to prop up the government.

Unemployment of young blacks in some urban areas may run as high as sixty percent. The youth have little to do. Few have graduated from high school. They know how to silence informers and to terrorize moderates and believe they can muscle their way into the future.

While we were in South Africa the United Democratic Front met in Port Elizabeth to discuss its strategy. A major debate centered on whether black students should boycott school this coming year. A popular slogan reads: "liberation before education." Some liberation leaders would prefer to deal with youth undress to educated moderates; but the appeal lies in its identification as a part of a program through which some blacks believe they can close down the day-to-day life of South Africa. What is proposed includes boycotts of white stores, strikes against white businesses, stay aways from separate and unequal schools. Presumably, by bringing the life to a standstill the whites will have to give way. Pressures can work. A black boycott of white businesses in Port Elizabeth created an atmosphere which emboldened the local court to free several labor leaders who had been detained without specific charges and this led to a rash of releases in other parts of the country which raised questions to the whole process of arbitrary detention. But what happens if the power structure does not give in? Libera-

before education would cost a generation of blacks their future if success is a decade or more away.

When we think of the black leadership of South Africa we think of Bishop Desmond Tutu and Alan Bosack, ministers both: one the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the other the chairman of the Council of Churches of South Africa. Rustin cites these men as men running to keep up with the young. Because they have no independent political base they must retain credibility with those who have the energy and can act. So both men find themselves in the position of having to say to liberal groups around the world which want to help ameliorate black conditions, 'don't come,' 'we don't want their help,' 'you'll only be propping up the government.' The Urban Coalition hoped to build schools in Crossroads, but Bosack vetoed the plan. Well and good if change comes tomorrow, but what if it is far off?

If political change were to come tomorrow, who would seize power? What will be their policies? Some blacks as well as whites worry about the silencing of the moderates. The leadership of the African National Congress includes men of various views, including many who are committed to a single party, rigidly controlled state economy. The overthrow of apartheid does not guarantee blacks political freedom. The head of the military wing of the African National Congress was head of the South African Communist Party.

If the revolution is really six months off, as Willie Mandela promises, this bring-life-to-a-stanstill approach might be effective. But no one we talked to found such a time table realistic. The political officers of our embassy, scholars in South African politics and experts in the security forces, all believe that the National

Party's resolve has not yet been tested and that the Afrikaaner-controlled police and army is willing and able to use great force. The hard truth is that the townships are virtually unarmed.

South Africa is not a paralyzed country. The papers suggest that South Africa is a war zone. It is not. You can go about your business in Johannesburg and Capetown just as you do in Cleveland. You can live for years without being directly touched by violence. The often photographed funerals are restricted to the townships and the townships are unarmed. I didn't say disarmed but unarmed. They've never had the arms. Black resentment must not be underestimated, but the ability of black youths to disrupt the society has not yet been proven. The violence is mostly in cordoned off black areas. I believe that unless there are major structural reforms in South Africa in the next few years, there will be a time of violent revolution, but I would also believe that that revolution will not come tomorrow and I worry that when it does it may not be successful.

The African National Congress, which has been in being for over fifty years, is one of the world's least successful liberation movements. I asked one of our political officers for his estimate of the man power strength of the African National Congress outside of South Africa. He gave me an estimate of three thousand. Masses can be turned out for a demonstration in the black townships, but the borders are carefully sealed and the army and police have the guns.

What can be done? Can we help? What about divestment and disinvestment? Divestment is the term used to define the sale of stock in companies that do business in South Africa or with South Africa. Disinvestment describes the actual sale or abandonment by these companies of the businesses they run in South Africa. Sanctions involve the embargo of goods and services.

Each of these programs, unfortunately, leads to unwanted consequences. Divestment means that you sell your stock to someone else, often someone who will not care whether the company lives up to the Sullivan principles. If the company closes down, black workers will lose precious jobs. Since most American companies doing business in South Africa subscribe to the Sullivan principle, their workers are among the best paid and their pay scale helps raise the pay levels of others. There is no unemployment compensation or unemployment insurance, no safety net in South Africa. A worker has the right to strike and an employer has the right to dismiss him and hire a replacement. I would never argue with anyone encouraging divestment, but I am also not convinced that divestment is worth the human cost.

Disinvestment has some of the same problems and others. If an American company sells or abandons its machinery, workers lose their jobs, and someone else comes in and takes over. Trade union leaders explained to us the cruel economic realities. When American companies have sold machinery, these have been bought up by Japanese or other Asians, taken from the cities to the boon docks and set up in homeland factories where workers can be hired for a fraction of city wages, as little as twenty rands a month,

the equivalent of ten dollars. The trade union people with whom we met, socialists and reformers all, were adamant about the disastrous consequences of disinvestment. In the real world somebody will always be willing to do the business.

What about the sanctions? Since United Nations voted to embargo arms sales to South Africa in 1976, not all countries have abided by the decision. But some have and since necessity is the mother of invention, South Africa today has one of the most highly sophisticated weapon producing capacities in the world. The result? In 1985 South Africa sold a billion and a quarter's worth of arms to Iraq and another half a billion dollars' worth of Arms elsewhere in the Arab world. If you wonder where South Africa gets its oil, the answer is that arms buy oil. What about the oil embargo? Arms buy oil, but South Africa is leaving little to chance. South Africa has developed the most advanced plants in the world which transform their immense coal supply into gas and oil.

The United States is not the major trade partner with South Africa. England is. America is not the major investor in South Africa. England is. France has been South Africa's major arms supplier.

What the business people there fear most would be the drying up of investment monies. They were mighty relieved when the European banks agreed to 'continue lending monies in South Africa' after President Reagan's embargo of further American loans to the South African government. Monies are needed for productive investments to provide jobs. The economists we talked to told us simply: 'there's always someone willing to lend you money for the right rate of interest.'

I left South Africa feeling that South Africa's problems can only be faced by the peoples of South Africa who will do so in their own way. For better or worse, they will. Their way is reprehensible, but in the jungle of international economics and politics there are few ways we can be truly helpful. One hopes against hope that evolutionary rather than revolutionary patterns will win through. A sizeable non-white middle class exists and seems to be growing, and if this middle class is allowed to share power, there may be some hope that a reformist process can go forward. However, if the present situation continues, if the government continues to temporize and offer largely cosmetic reforms, then the maximal demands, "one man, one vote now" and the pressures for revolutionary changes will increase to a flash point. There would be much bloodshed. Probably, ultimately, the security forces would have to give in. You can't destroy a population the size of South Africa. The world won't let you.

I spent a half hour talking with Helen Sussman in the Parliament building of Capetown. Her well-groomed looks belie her age, she is in her seventies and has a courageous political career. She has been put under the ban and house arrest. Her life has been threatened. For many years in Parliament she was the only opposition voice which dared to speak up. We spoke about her daughters, both live outside South Africa and she is clearly relieved by that fact. What of the future? A sign. "Liberalism has about run its course." "There is little time left for peaceful solutions." I sensed in her a hope held against reason. She wants to believe that there is still reason to believe that the evolutionary pattern will win through, but she finds little in the actions of the

government and the reality of the situation in the non-white other world to confirm that hope.

While I was in South Africa I tried to read as much as I could of this people's literature. In doing so I came across a poem written by a man named Don Mattera, I can't tell you a thing about him except that he is black and that the poem spoke to me of the weariness of the spirit which overwhelms so many in that so beautiful, but so troubled, land.

When horizons weep bloody tears
You may reach out white brother
For the fruit of compassion
But your hand will return empty
Like the desolate orchard of your heart.

Yet even at that final hour
My bleeding limbs may bend
To lift your cringing frame
Against the bitterness of my pain
Perhaps you may come to love me then,
Though it may be too late
And I will weep for both of us
As we drown,
 drown,
 drown. . .

Philippines' Military Academy, Stained by Marcos Years, Is Going Back to Basics

By NICK B. WILLIAMS Jr., *Times Staff Writer*

BAGUIO, Philippines—On a mountaintop campus here, Col. Rodolfo Biazon, a ramrod-straight marine, was warming to the task of change at the Philippine Military Academy.

"If we mean to produce military leaders, they must be professional soldiers, not scholars, not men of letters," he said. "The day of the warrior-gentleman is over."

Biazon, the new superintendent, was not deriding graduates of the academy. He is one himself. But as a veteran of the Muslim and Communist insurgencies in the south, the colonel believes that the armed forces and the academy have a new role to play. External enemies are no longer the threat.

Insurgencies will be the major problem for President Corazon Aquino, as they were for Ferdinand E. Marcos, as long as the economy cannot provide enough jobs, and "this government is not Superman," Biazon said. He added: "It's a soldier's problem as well. He has to protect our people."

Biazon intends to prepare the academy's future graduates with first-hand exposure to the problem, taking cadets to the field, where the action is.

Meanwhile, past graduates of the 80-year-old academy have moved to the forefront with the change of government in Manila, taking command of the nation's troubled armed forces.

Under Marcos, the armed forces chief, Gen. Fabian C. Ver, and the commanders of the army, air force and navy all began their careers as reserve officers. None were academy graduates, and all were promoted on the basis of political loyalty to the president.

The exception was Gen. Fidel V. Ramos, deputy chief of staff, a West Point graduate and a leader of the revolt that overthrew Marcos 3½ months ago. Now, as chief of staff, Ramos heads a military establishment in which all but one of the service commanders are academy graduates.

The traditional academy class ties played a pivotal role in the military rebellion that brought Aquino to power. Academy graduates at Camp Crame, the rebel base, telephoned classmates at Camp Aguinaldo, the loyalist stronghold

across the highway, and implored them to settle the conflict without combat.

"In many ways the whole thing was a PMA (Philippine Military Academy) play," a high-ranking officer said.

Even the cadet corps at the academy took a stand, voting overwhelmingly by petition to side with the forces of Ramos and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile against Marcos and Gen. Ver.

Trying to Repair Image

Now, 5,000 feet up on the pine-covered slopes of Baguio in the northern Philippines, some of the players of February are molding new officers, trying to repair a military image damaged under Marcos, instilling a sense of discipline, patriotism and allegiance to the new government.

Twenty-five years ago, image was not a problem for an academy graduate, or for any other Philippine military officer.

Col. Maximino Bijar, the academic dean of the academy, said: "We studied Hannibal, MacArthur and his Inchon landings. We wanted medals, wanted to become generals."

Many academy graduates, from poor families, sought social advancement, perhaps marrying the daughter of a wealthy landowner at some distant posting.

In the 1970s, careers were made and medals won in the war against Muslim secessionists on the southern island of Mindanao. It was a time of rapid expansion of the armed forces.

But in the 1980s, the military has been plagued by twin factors:

—The growing Communist-led insurgency and the abuses of anti-guerrilla warfare.

—The 1983 assassination of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., husband of the woman who is now president and political nemesis of her predecessor. Ver and 24 other military men were tried and acquitted of complicity in the killing, but the verdict did not convince many Filipinos, and the military's image suffered as a result.

"Ramos and EDSA changed all that," Biazon said in an interview in his office here, referring to the February revolt that pitted rebels against loyalists, separated only by the hundreds of thousands of Fili-

pinos who jammed Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) in Manila.

"Now," said Col. Lisandro Abadia, "soldiers have been given on a silver platter the opportunity to change the bad image created by a few."

Allegiance of People

Abadia is the academy's commandant of cadets, the man in charge of tactical instruction, which is the soldiering aspect of a cadet's life.

Biazon's aim is to teach the 850 men of the cadet corps to defeat an insurgency, and to do it in a way that wins the allegiance of the people, particularly the rural Filipinos who often find themselves caught in the middle.

"The Philippine soldier is not expected to fight enemies alone," Biazon said. "He must fight a situation."

A month ago, Biazon shipped the first- and second-class cadets (seniors and juniors) to the city of Davao, an insurgent hotbed in the south. In a program he calls Barangay Immersion, the cadets went into urban and rural neighborhoods (*barangays*) to see the problem at first hand. They debated with radical student leaders at a local university; they joined patrols with the military.

"The idea is to make the cadet more understanding," Biazon said. "He must learn to work with the priest, the teacher, the barangay official. The problem of credibility of the government has been removed to a great degree by the change (in the presidency). The challenge now is to sustain."

A successful strategy, he argues, will not only win the support of the people, it will draw some guerrillas away from their Communist commanders.

A highly regarded student of Communist tactics, Biazon has an eye for the little things that make a difference.

"The guerrillas," he said, "will come into a village and ask for money and food, and the first time the villager will provide. But when he comes again, there's resistance. We want our soldiers (and cadets) to learn to take their own chicken and their own kettle into the field. When they do that and protect the villagers, the image will change."

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Stephen S. Rosenfeld

The Communists and the ANC

Alfred Nzo came to town this week, inevitably raising the tricky matter of the communist and Soviet ties of the African National Congress, the underground organization that leads the opposition to the white regime in South Africa.

Nzo, a soft-spoken man of 60 based in Zambia, is the ANC's secretary general. He tells people he is a member of the South African Communist Party, which is heavily represented in the ANC national executive council. He bore greetings, in the style familiar to the faithful, to the Soviet communist party congress last March.

Especially at this dramatic moment, it is considered suspect in some quarters—evidence of hostility to black aspirations—even to raise this point. It is customarily left to right-wingers, who are then written off for being predictably right-wing. Nzo tightened up when we asked about the communist connection, acknowledged it while trying to play it down, and let an aide parry by suggesting

that the Reagan administration pins a communist label on any political elements that don't go along with its "whims."

Some high administration officials certainly do react to the ANC's communist connections, which they see as putting it just where Pretoria's own hard-liners put it: beyond the pale. But, in an argument that goes on, others in the administration have tried to widen the political space open to Pretoria's moderates; they see the ANC communists as one element, and not a monolithic or totally Moscow-driven one, in the ANC coalition, and not as an element that bars American approaches to the ANC's democrats and nationalists.

The administration urges South Africa to free ANC leader Nelson Mandela and accept the ANC as a political interlocutor. Its own internal divisions, however, have kept it from moving its regular quiet talks with the ANC to the policy-making level. Right-wingers howled when the State

Department's Chester Crocker cautiously allowed that the ANC qualified "in a generic sense" as a group of freedom fighters. Nzo, no stranger to the American bureaucracy, made some sort of garbled bid for an official appointment this week, but no one rushed to receive him.

Part of the administration is being reflexively anticommunist in respect to the ANC, but a serious problem remains. It is the Soviet way to try to capture popular revolutions on a broad platform of justice and nationalism, leaving issues of postrevolutionary organization and orientation to the fine print. The most recent example, a painful one, is Nicaragua.

In the South African case, the Soviet pattern of conspiracy, revolution and centralization of power doubtless appeals to some opponents of apartheid, and Soviet aid of various sorts, including military, appeals to others. To someone enduring the evils of apartheid who knows little of the evils of communism, the former cannot fail

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to seem incomparably more urgent. Even to someone who knows *much* of communism, it can seem right and necessary to take aid and comfort from wherever they come. Such a person will naturally resent warnings that he is climbing onto a tiger or contributing to a potentially fateful shift in the global balance of power.

This is what I thought, anyway, reading in Nzo's Moscow speech that the ANC intends to build a "united democratic state" and hearing him suggest that it's really not all that important whether South Africans build socialism on the Soviet model or the Swedish model. Such waffling tends to produce in conservatives a scarcely concealed resistance to the ANC cause and in liberals a measure of hesitation, a choke on full commitment. It can come across to partisans as unforgivably condescending and reactionary and as playing directly into Pretoria's hands. Yet I think that the heart and the head have to be brought somehow into phase.

Knowledgeable people debate whether communist influence in the ANC could survive an ANC ascent to power. Whatever chance there is, however, plainly arises from the inflexibility of South Africa. By holding off on negotiations with representative blacks, it encourages the polarization, violence and chaos on which communism feeds. There can be, must be, intense discussion among Americans and other outsiders over how best to promote negotiations—by a full-court press on Pretoria, by leaving open a channel of official communication, or whatever. But the focus on a more rather than less peaceful route must be sustained.

This is the overwhelming reason why the United States should get serious about dealing with the ANC itself: to learn its ways, to influence its debates and to draw it away from indiscriminate terrorism and subservience to Moscow toward a dialogue for peace.



Reinventing South Africa

What does the world want in South Africa? For years the answer for any democrat has been simple: rule by the majority of its people. Since the majority is black and the existing regime is white, any transfer of power from one to the other seemed to promise an improvement. The risks were plain: if the transfer led to a black dictatorship, as in much of the rest of Africa, the majority might be little, if at all, better off. So long as the transfer was a distant dream, however, little thought was given to the form of black rule, nor to how it might be achieved.

In the past two years, the prospect of political reform in South Africa has become more real. Outsiders are fond of saying that South Africa's whites give ground only when pushed by events. They are now being pushed. A growing number of whites realise they cannot hold the black three-quarters of the population in subjection for ever. Earlier, voluntary, reform is preferable to later, involuntary, upheaval. President Botha's constitutional referendum of 1984 opened fissures in white opinion, even though it did not end apartheid. The church, the Broederbond, the universities, the armed forces, a number of government ministers have come to realise, with varying degrees of reluctance, that 1984 was a prelude to more. The foreign minister, Mr Pik Botha, has said, and meant, that the next president might be black.

Many ministers, soldiers and public officials privately agree with him. Even among the quarter of the population so far enfranchised—whites, mixed-race "coloureds" and Indians—a majority would today probably vote to end apartheid, if the rigged constitution allowed them to. A consensus in favour of step-by-step black enfranchisement is increasingly visible, stretching from the more practical wing of the white Nationalist party through Afrikaner businessmen and English-speaking liberals to those blacks supporting either Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement or Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and its legal wing, the United Democratic Front.

This is a fragile, possibly transient, consensus but one still worth defining and encouraging. It could still, just, lead to a government which reflects the aspirations of a majority of South Africans, and protects the rights of a minority: any minority. The country enjoys many advantages over most African nations. It has huge

natural and human resources, a developed infrastructure and average incomes three times higher than those of any black African country. Its often abused civil liberties are not just a fond memory—as in much of Africa—but still a part of political life. Above all, it has an established, strong central government.

All in one state

Breaking South Africa up into constituent tribal or geographical entities, as some reformers have suggested, would jeopardise many of these advantages. The corrupt and harsh governments of the four homeland "states" are warning enough of that. Although it has become the catchphrase of the left, the concept of "one man, one vote in a unitary state" is the only proper interpretation of democratic nationalism and is one to which black South Africans naturally aspire.

Where opinion, even within the consensus, begins to differ is over the mechanism and speed of change towards this end. To most blacks, and some whites, the transition must be subject to black agreement and ultimately to black control. To most whites, a continuation of law and order under a white-dominated army and police force is the essential safeguard against change collapsing into anarchy. Tell them to hand over the government tomorrow and they will exercise their continuing power to block change. Any reform likely to yield a black government dominated by one tribe or one ideology—or, worse, a nation deeply divided between two or three of them—will play into the hands of the far right, increase the likelihood of a white military coup and dash the hope of relatively peaceful change. Even white South Africa is not monolithic—a blessing for reformers, but one that requires them to carry opinion within the ruling core.

In the next two to three years, the political temperature is bound to rise as hundreds of thousands of blacks are partly freed from the fetters of the pass laws to go to the cities from the impoverished homelands. This will increase the risk of more violence on the fringes of white areas. That might help the pace of reform. It could mean the emergence of black leaders with whom the government could establish more useful contact than it has had with the "system" blacks of the past decade. The loss of control over the townships is already bringing the Africanisation of education. The

non-payment of rents is helping the unofficial economy of the townships. Businesses are training more blacks and demanding that the government relax group-area controls to ease the effect of consumer boycotts. The white-dominated political economy is fragmenting.

Whether such changes can be translated into constitutional reform is now the central issue. White South African politics is awash with proposals for fancy franchises, blocking votes and partial devolutions. Whites, and blacks, who look at events to the north of their borders know that such concepts rarely last long as change gathers pace, as new leaders flex their muscles and new political interests gain control of the national exchequer. Yet the history of South Africa suggests that constitutionalism cannot be rejected out of hand as a tool of reform. It ensured the revolution that brought the Afrikaners to power in succession to the British. Now it has a role to play, however temporarily, in calming white fears of black enfranchisement.

Aim for a goal, not for delay

The concept of a unitary state can itself cover all sorts of transitional arrangements. In any large country, a balance between centralism and regionalism is not just a matter of government efficiency. The United States, India, Nigeria, even the Soviet Union show that such a balance is a safety-valve for the rivalries of diversity. Rigorous devolution to the townships after the 1976 Soweto riots might have saved the South African government a deal of trouble today. Properly established, it is still the best way of fostering black leadership and institutions.

Yet this "bottom-up" constitutional reform is worthless—because it is unacceptable to even moderate

blacks—if it does not go with change at the top. Blacks do not mean to rule only black South Africa, any more than whites have meant to rule just their own farms and suburban enclaves. The gradual reform that could calm white fears will satisfy black aspirations only if it points to a negotiated destination: full black enfranchisement, and clearly written signposts along the way.

This goal means big changes, and soon: black civil servants in Pretoria; black officers in multiracial army units; more places for blacks at desegregated universities; above all, multiracial political parties. These parties are needed as the focus for black political activity, an alternative to the gangs now terrorising the townships. Already the Progressive Federal party has declared its multiracial ambitions. The ANC has long been multiracial. Recent meetings between prominent white liberals and the United Democratic Front show how strong is the desire to find common cause with moderate black opinion. If Mr Nelson Mandela were released (see page 37), the cause would be reinforced.

Were South Africa on the brink of utter anarchy, such things might seem mere tinkering. It is not. Its government and armed forces remain immensely strong. The white regime, hesitant in its actions but by no means on the run, can still choose. It could listen to its far right and hold on. South Africa would then become an increasingly lawless and illiberal country, ostracised by the outside world, held together only by crude and costly repression and ever more unstable tribal coalitions. Or, while he can still control events, President Botha could guard his country's future by accepting the aspirations of 25m blacks and their still non-racialist leaders. That choice is a luxury which will fade with the years.

Summitspeak

On economic policies the summiteers have decided neither where to go nor how to get there

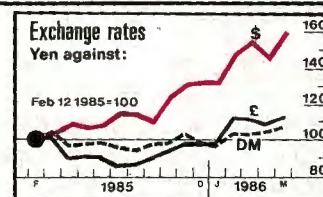
Summits would not be summits without platitudes of hyperbole. Mr James Baker, the American treasury secretary, was serving it up when he described the economic bit of the Tokyo meeting as the biggest thing since the switch to floating exchange rates in the early 1970s. It was, of course, no such thing. Exaggeration is legitimate only if the summiteers recognise that they have still to overcome some real differences between them over the aims and methods of economic management.

With that big proviso, Mr Baker's high-flown talk serves a useful purpose. He wants to deflate pressure in Congress for new trade-bashing legislation. Last September's agreement by the G-5 countries (the summit seven minus Canada and Italy) to drive down the dollar helped cool the passions of the protectionists, but not for long. America's trade deficit has carried on widening, and even though the dollar has dropped 31% against the yen since September the deficit will be slow

to follow it down.

For this good anti-protectionist cause, America's summit partners are right to give Mr Baker the sort of propaganda victory he needs to present to the folks back home. All countries have much to lose if the protectionists get their way—and none more so than Japan, whose \$51 billion trade surplus with America last year makes it the protectionists' main target. Japan's wily prime minister, Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, recognises this. That is why he gritted his teeth and called the economic talks "fruitful", even though he failed in his main aim of getting the summiteers to agree to stop the dollar from falling any further.

Mr Nakasone's tact will be damaging if it lets finance ministers ignore the question of how much higher the yen should rise. It is no longer good enough to say that the foreign-exchange markets know best. In deciding last September on official intervention to influence exchange rates, even such free-marketeers as Britain's



THE SACKING OF THE SOUTH

Roelof "Pik" Botha
Minister of Foreign Affairs

No other country is faced with problems as complex, as sensitive, as emotional or as potentially dangerous as those confronting the diverse South African leadership. And yet we are expected to come up with a solution overnight. The Commonwealth gives us six months to produce results, the adequacy of which it will determine, and the prospect of further punitive sanctions is held in the offing if we do not provide satisfaction. How many member states of the Commonwealth could themselves comply with the demands that that organisation makes of South Africa? What if South Africa should agree to all their demands on condition that each and every Commonwealth country does the same?

Internal considerations have always provided the predominant reasons for reform in South Africa. Positive international involvements have helped this process. The same cannot, however, be said of punitive actions. Indeed such actions have aggravated our problems in promoting reform.

Consider what we have already achieved. No informed observer will doubt that the prime motivation has been domestic.

We have publicly rejected:

- ☐ Political domination by any one community of any other;
- ☐ The exclusion of any community from the political decision-making process;
- ☐ Injustice or inequality in the opportunities available for any community;
- ☐ Racial discrimination and impairment of human dignity.

And we have already repealed or amended legislation which is not reconcilable with these ideals, or given notice of intention to repeal or amend such legislation. We have launched investigations of other legislation or practices which might seem to us to be out of keeping with these principles.

A few areas where reform, providing for the removal of discrimination, has taken place in recent years or is underway are described on the next page. The list is not exhaustive nor in any specific order. I mention these points merely to indicate that we have not been dilatory in carrying our reform programme forward.

In addition we have now also produced a political programme which:

- ☐ Provides for a united South Africa, a common citizenship for all South Africans, black and white, coloured and Asian, living within our borders and a system of universal franchise within the structures chosen by South Africans jointly;
- ☐ Provides for the full political participation in government in respect of matters of national concern of all our communities;
- ☐ Accepts in other words the principle of power sharing in government in respect of matters of national concern subject only to the principle of the protection of the rights and interests of minorities through group autonomy;
- ☐ Recognises that white domination will disappear in accordance with the principle that no one community should dominate any other;
- ☐ Provides for the creation of the structures required to give effect to these principles through negotiation with the leaders of all the communities of this country;
- ☐ Spells out that the government will not prescribe who may represent the other communities or what the agenda will be for the negotiations.

In short, the door is wide open, for the first time in our history, to the achievement through negotiation of a constitutional future in South Africa which could satisfy the political aspirations of all the country's communities.

I believe we have a policy and programme which spells out clearly our intention to end inequality between South Africa's ethnic groups. Most of the issues which the international community has raised with us from time to time have been addressed in principle, even to the extent of undertaking to release from prison those who are prepared to renounce violence.

There is still much to be done and it will be done, but having clearly stated our objectives, we are now focusing our attention on providing impetus to the negotiation process. This is the key to the solution of our problems and it is the impact on this process of the international action against South Africa which causes

Legitimate opposition is one thing, disruptive action which parallels the actions of the advocates of violence is another.

Some areas of reform

Constitutional	Asians and coloureds represented in Parliament, as well as Asians and coloureds holding ministerial and deputy ministerial positions in government	Sport Labour	Opened to all races Modern, sophisticated trade union system opened to all races Job reservation removed
Public amenities	Many desegregated – hotels, restaurants, parks, trains, buses	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act Immorality Act	Repealed Offensive racial provisions repealed
Property rights for blacks	Accepted, as well as permanency of black communities in urban areas	Immigration	Provisions providing for white immigration only to be repealed
Local government	Full participation of all communities	Influx control and pass laws	President's Council's recommendation for phasing out, under sympathetic consideration for action during the next parliamentary session
Education	Parity for all population groups is the declared objective and action to this end is under way	Forced resettlement	Discontinued.

The situation in South Africa at the moment is sensitive and delicate. The circumstances could hardly be less conducive to the process of negotiation. Any future constitutional system here must be the product of negotiation between our communities.

We have said that we seek an agreed, not an imposed, system of constitutional government, and we shall not achieve such a system if we cannot further stimulate the process of negotiation. As it is, black leaders across the political spectrum are reluctant to come forward and participate publicly in the negotiations. To do so would place their lives, their families and their possessions at risk.

Any action which pushes up the temperature, or undermines or threatens our economy, or further polarises opinion within the country, or serves as an encouragement to any faction or group in its opposition to others, further undermines the climate for negotiation. It is against this background that one must judge the actions of the Commonwealth and the industrialised countries. However well-intentioned they might be, the measures they have imposed against South Africa, and their threats of further action, will be interpreted as action against the government or as support for opposing groups. This is divisive. It is not the way to encourage dialogue within South Africa.

I might add that even visits of church groups, academics and others are proving problematic. Some are ostensibly on fact-finding missions, others are less well-intentioned but all are seen as supportive of one or other faction in this country, or simply as anti-government. This is not constructive in present circumstances. Certainly it is no encouragement to the

less moderate black leadership to embark on negotiations.

South Africans of all ethnic origins know what is required of them. They know that they have to meet across the table, develop trust and confidence in each other and resolve their differences by means of dialogue and communication. This is not therefore the time for the world to be promoting greater divisions within the country. It should be promoting reconciliation.

In the circumstances in which we find ourselves, the security authorities are obliged to resort to methods which they dislike as much as our friends abroad. Detention without trial is one such device. We believe we have a viable, civilised alternative to violence in this country. Those who go out of their way to frustrate our attempts to promote negotiation between our communities, and promote disruption, boycotts, disorder instead, should be prevented from doing so.

Legitimate opposition is one thing, disruptive action which parallels the actions of the advocates of violence is another. I hope that as the negotiation process gains momentum, there will be an increasing acceptance of this process as the answer to our problems, and that detention without trial will become more and more irrelevant.

The confrontation between our security forces and the instigators of violence is unfortunately a feature of any violent situation. The objective of the security forces is the maintenance of order, but violence leads to confrontation in the course of which scenes are played out which are grist to the mill of television

and other machinery exists which has been mandated to investigate each and every allegation of unacceptable action on the part of our security forces.

Nonetheless, the international media is having a field day in South Africa at the moment, given the nature of the disturbances in the black towns, and the savage methods employed by radicals to coerce moderate blacks into rejecting negotiations and joining their ranks. The coverage overseas has been shockingly negative, but we simply have to try to contain the violence which is being deliberately instigated. I cannot conceive of more adverse circumstances, given also the pressure from abroad, in which to get the negotiating process moving forward more rapidly.

The recently announced limitation on television and camera crews in the districts in which security measures apply is not intended to prevent the world from knowing what is happening in this country. On the contrary, accredited journalists are able to work in the areas concerned and to report on events there.

The mere presence of TV cameras has served as a stimulus for violence which has led to the loss of lives and the destruction of property.

There have been numerous, well-documented instances where violent actions have commenced only after a sufficient number of television crews have arrived. A distorted picture of South Africa has been portrayed abroad: tunnel vision would be an appropriate way to describe the scenes shown. Overseas viewers get a picture of a country going up in flames, which is exactly the perception which the instigators of violence desire overseas viewers to obtain.

The over-concentration of, if not the obsession with violence by visual media to the virtual exclusion of anything else has, in the view of the government, encouraged and generated further violence. It is the government's duty to stem the violence in order to protect lives and property.

In many Western countries there is a great deal of pressure for economic sanctions against South Africa. The morality, motivation and objectives of such sanctions are ostensibly two-fold: to coerce the South African Government into applying reformist policies; and to do this by what are purportedly peaceful means of suasion.

In sum, economic sanctions are said to be "a peaceful alternative to violence" which are capable of forcing the South African Government to change its policies.

This view is based upon two fundamental fallacies. In the first instance, there is the unfounded belief that South Africa will change because of foreign pressure. This is fallacious because, as we have already demonstrated, South Africa is changing. South Africa is changing because the government is responsive to domestic needs. We have changed because we are conscious of what is right and what is wrong. What we simply cannot accept is that persons who rule over many of the most oppressed and downtrodden people on this earth should prescribe to us what is right. After all, it is the actions of tyrants, not their abstract pro-

Secondly, we are faced with the fallacy that economic sanctions are peaceful instruments of policy. Not only peaceful – but also precise. They supposedly affect only the South African Government. No one else gets hurt. Everyone else will somehow benefit.

The facts reveal the magnitude of this lie. Sad to say that truth will not always prevail. Be that as it may, the facts bear repeating.

Firstly, while there is no doubt that all peoples of South Africa, black, coloured, Asian and white would suffer, it is not generally realised that the consequences will, in the first instance, affect the whole southern African region.

The reason is simple. In many respects South Africa is the mainstay of the entire region. Services and assistance provided by South Africa are often the most important stabilising factor in the subcontinent.

About 350 000 foreign blacks are *legally* employed in the Republic. (This figure excludes workers from the independent states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.)

These men come from all over southern Africa.

About half of their total earnings is remitted every year. Several of the neighbouring countries derive a substantial proportion of their national income from these remittances. In fact, in 1983 they accounted for more than 50 per cent of Lesotho's gross national product.

African families are traditionally large. If it is assumed that each of these 350 000 *legal* workers support six people at home, it means that nearly two million women and children in southern Africa depend on their menfolk's earnings in South Africa.

Foreign blacks working and living *illegally* in South Africa far exceed the number of *legal* guest workers. Their number is estimated at 1.2 million. These men are unable to find jobs in their own countries.

These *illegal* workers also come from all over the region, but mostly from Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

Many of them also remit funds and support families in their countries of origin providing a livelihood to possibly millions of women and children.

The benefits accruing to the neighbouring countries go far beyond quantifiable earnings and contributions to gross national product. Employment of both *legal* and *illegal* workers in South Africa relieves the pressure on their labour markets to an enormous extent. This, in turn, promotes social and political stability in the countries concerned.

Owing to worldwide recessionary conditions, unemployment in South Africa has assumed serious proportions, particularly among blacks.

If employment opportunities were to be reduced further by extraneous forces such as sanctions, the government would be obliged to give preference to the needs of its own citizens in the labour market. This would not be "retaliation", as has been alleged. After all, charity begins at home, even in international exchanges.

LEADERSHIP SANCTIONS

There is the unfounded belief that South Africa will change because of foreign pressure.

SANCTIONS

At least 45 per cent of the combined total imports and exports of Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Zaire are carried to and from South African ports by SATS.

sanctions lobby. In debate with the latter, I have invariably come up against the view that such forms of sanctions can be selectively targeted against the South African Government alone. Once again, our enemies either do not know the facts or they will not admit to knowing them.

The South African Government *per se* is a relatively small international borrower. The two largest public sector borrowers on overseas capital markets are the Electricity Supply Commission (Escom) and South African Transport Services (SATS). The infrastructure and services of both these utilities are indispensable for the economic well-being of a substantial part of Southern Africa.

The loans raised by Escom are used to build large new power stations to meet the power needs *not only of South Africa but also of several neighbouring states*. Escom at present supplies 100 per cent of the electricity used in Lesotho, 79 per cent in Swaziland and approximately 52 per cent in Botswana, as well as 60 per cent of the power used in Maputo, capital of Mozambique.

SATS is the undisputed leader in railroading in Africa. It not only runs 24 500 route kilometres of railways (or 25 per cent of Africa's total) but its unrivalled expertise is based on a century of experience of African conditions.

South Africa's railways and harbours have long served as a lifeline for most countries in southern Africa. At least 45 per cent of the combined total imports and exports of Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Zaire are carried to and from South African ports by SATS. Virtually *all* imports and exports by Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are routed through South Africa.

The South African postal and telecommunications administration also borrows large amounts on international capital markets for development programmes – for the benefit of both South Africa and neighbouring states.

All Lesotho's and Swaziland's international telecommunications traffic and some of Botswana's is routed through South Africa. Eleven telegraph lines have been extended to Swaziland through the South African system to link that country directly with the United Kingdom. The South African Post Office has established a new microwave system to handle the increasing number of calls to and from Botswana which are routed through South Africa.

South Africa is a substantial supplier of credit to Africa. This credit is provided by both the public and private sectors and amounts to some R1,6 billion (TBVC excluded) at present.

South Africa and the so-called BLS countries (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) are members of the Southern African Customs Union, the only such union on the African continent. The agreement provides for the free flow of goods among the member states, which levy the same tariffs on goods imported from outside the common customs area.

All major ports of entry are in South Africa, which collects the customs duties which are then distributed among the member states.

Customs revenues received by these states have increased in proportion to the growth of the South African economy. The greater the flow of imports into southern Africa, notably South Africa, the higher the amounts accruing to the BLS countries. If the South African economy were to be damaged by sanctions to the extent that the flow of imports were substantially diminished, *this most important source of revenue of the BLS countries would be eroded*, with serious consequences for the economies of these countries.

If the rand's value should be depressed by sanctions or for reasons other than economic, as has been happening during the past few months, Lesotho and Swaziland, like South Africa, would have to find extra funds to pay back their foreign loans. A depreciation of the rand also makes their imports more expensive and erodes the value of their foreign reserves held in rand. All this represents an additional burden on the vulnerable economies of these two countries.

Extensive trade relations between South Africa and the rest of Africa have been built up over the years. In 1983 South African exports to Africa amounted to R1 800 million.

South Africa supplies the lion's share of imports by Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana – either direct or through South African agents of foreign producers.

If sanctions were to be effective, they would undermine South Africa's capacity to supply Southern Africa with vital imports, especially intermediate and consumer goods. Admittedly, alternative sources of supply could be found elsewhere, but these substitutes would be more expensive. Payment for these imports would also tax the frail economies of these countries to the utmost (most suffer from chronic shortages of foreign exchange). Longer delivery times would compound the problem.

Many neighbouring states rely on South Africa for their supplies of fuel and petroleum products. If an effective oil embargo were to be imposed on South Africa, this could lead to a sudden and catastrophic cut-off of supplies to a number of neighbouring states.

The trouble with economic data is that we lose sight of people. In the bluntest of terms, sanctions are all about jobs, welfare and livelihood. Nowhere is this more true than in Africa. We all know about starvation in Ethiopia. Some know about starvation in Chad. How many know that:

- ☐ Almost half of Africa is on the United Nation's emergency food aid list?
- ☐ An estimated five million children will die of starvation on our continent this year?
- ☐ Africa's population has increased by 10 per cent over the last decade – while food production has decreased by the same amount?

That is the background against which the sanctions debate takes place. That is the real problem. Those who advocate sanctions must say what responsibility – if any – they accept for adding to this misery. Will they feed those for whom we may no longer be able to provide?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

South Africa

6/24/86

Max -

Mari asked us to include this person in relevant briefings. As you can see, they're supportive of the Administration's stand on South Africa. Would you be interested in including him in your June 30th briefing?

Also - Jodie Baldwin
United International
Consultants

684-4450

is wonderful & very supportive on South Africa. She would like to be invited to the 6/30.

Elise M. Paylan
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

EP

June 9, 1986

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Ms. Mari Maseng
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mari:

Frankly, I am perplexed, and to be quite frank, a little disgruntled!

The White House does not work with any association that has been more loyal or more supportive of the Reagan agenda than AWCI! Yet, we are totally ignored when it comes to invitations to executive sessions in the Cabinet Room and similar meetings with the President! This was not the case when Wayne Valis, Red Caveney, Elizabeth Dole or Faith Whittlesley were working in the Office of Public Liaison, and in those days, we were invited to meetings and other White House functions involving the President no less than 25 times in approximately three years!

Let me give you a little background on our support of the Reagan administration:

1. In 1980, there were only (to the best of my knowledge) two national trade associations which openly endorsed the Reagan-Bush ticket. AWCI was one of them! We repeated this endorsement in 1984.
2. In 1981, when the President was working to get his budget through the Congress, AWCI initiated the formation of a coalition which became known as "The Construction Industry Coalition for the New Beginning". For your information, this coalition was composed of 49 national associations in construction. A major rally was conducted at the Capitol Hilton Hotel, addressed by Donald Regan, and the coalition which resulted saw all 49 of these groups working their own grass roots on behalf of the President's budget proposal. Elizabeth Dole termed it "the most effective business group coalition" at that time!
3. Since that time, AWCI has "come on board" every time we were called on by the White House for assistance. Either our association or I got involved in such diverse matters as support of the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia, MX missiles, aid to the Nicaraguan Contras, etc. In fact, as a result of my personal involvement in the AWACS matter, our association and I were both given very unfavorable publicity in a nationally syndicated article entitled "The Petro-Dollar Connection" which appeared in numerous newspapers and was also run in "The New Republic".
4. So far as the Nicaraguan Contras situation is concerned, I don't know of another national association which has endorsed the President's position, most business-oriented associations evidently preferring to remain on the sidelines in this important matter. Ambassador Faith Whittlesley can confirm our full support here and a copy of an editorial from our 10,000-circulation magazine on the subject is enclosed.



ASSOCIATION OF THE WALL AND CEILING INDUSTRIES-INTERNATIONAL
25 K Street, NE/Washington, DC 20002 (202)783-AWCI

In addition, I am enclosing a copy of a letter we sent to our members on this subject as well as a copy of a letter we sent to the "dissident" Republicans in the House of Representatives.

5. Our sister association in construction, The Associated General Contractors of America (AGC), is regularly carrying newsletter articles about their most recent invitations to the White House and meetings with high Administration officials.

While I do not begrudge AGC these honors, I am concerned that similar invitations never seem to come our way any more!

Approximately one year ago, when Mary Jo Jacobi was still in the Office of Public Liaison, I initiated an effort to have some of our officials invited to the White House for a meeting with the President but no response was ever received.

The purpose of this letter is to reinitiate that effort and I hope that you can personally use your good offices to see that AWCI is recognized for our continued support of the Administration and of the President himself.

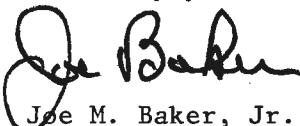
What am I looking for?

First priority would be to have the members of our Executive Committee and our National Affairs Committee invited, with their spouses, to a reception in the Cabinet or Roosevelt Room at the White House with a visitation by the President. My second priority would be to have the members of the Executive Committee alone invited to the Oval Office for a meeting with the President.

In addition to one of these two options, I very definitely would like to have my current President, Mr. Harry J. Verneti of Rockford, Illinois, and my incoming President, Mr. Jimmie U. Crane of Fulton, Mississippi, placed on the invitation list the next time there is a meeting of business executives with the President in the Cabinet Room.

I think that the enclosed materials will justify my frustration and I do look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,



Joe M. Baker, Jr.
Executive Vice President

JMB/alw

P.S. Identical letters are going to Mitchell Daniels, Haley Barbour, Merlin Breaux.

One other little item: Our political action committee's Board of Directors voted that in this election cycle we will support only Republican candidates for the United States Senate in order to help keep the Senate in Republican control. I have not been able to find any other PAC which has taken this position. Our House contributions so far this cycle come to about 96% Republicans, by the way.



AWCI
AND THE
REPUBLIC
OF
SOUTH AFRICA

A BACKGROUND PAPER

A BACKGROUND PAPER



Although written by the Executive Vice President of the Association of the Wall and Ceiling Industries, this document is not an official AWCI publication. Mr. Baker accepts full responsibility for its contents.

AWCI AND THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

21 August 1985—Original
27 January 1986—Update

THE LIBERAL MEDIA

It is common knowledge in the media that two newspapers in the United States virtually set the agenda for all other newspapers and electronic news coverage, namely the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. Their stories are picked up nationwide and run as fact in both large and hometown papers; and the evening television news often quotes the *Washington Post* and the *Times* as its source of information on a news story.

It is also common knowledge that both of these papers are, to be charitable, quite "liberal" in their respective viewpoints, not only editorially, but in their mutual newscoverage. It does not take a genius to understand that the *Post* and the *Times*—and their reporters—would be very pleased to see the government of South Africa fall, even if this fall were brought about by a bloody revolution.

Look at some other past governments which have fallen, governments which certainly did not represent democracy in a very pure sense, but which have been replaced by tyrannical dictatorships:

We gave up Thieu in Viet Nam for total communist repression of that country; we gave up Somozo in Nicaragua for the openly Marxist Sandinista regime; the Shah was overthrown in Iran and replaced by Khomeini and his radical Moslem followers; and in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), a white minority which actually had a fairly good government is now

gone and the leadership is in the hands of a one-party Marxist leader, Mugabe, a former terrorist who "sold" himself to the *Post*, the *Times*, and through them to the majority of the world press.

RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE

The AWCI Continuing Study Council visited South Africa in the fall of 1984 and following that visit went to Victoria Falls for three days.

Victoria Falls is in the "now free" country of Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia. It did not take the full three days for the members of AWCI to come to a realization that even though they had never been to Zimbabwe before, things were worse there now than they possibly could have been under the white minority rule of Ian Smith.

The evidently once magnificent Victoria Falls Hotel was falling apart at the seams. But that was just a physical problem.

Talks with both blacks and whites in Victoria Falls revealed an underlying fear, even a terror, of speaking out loud about the government and the situation in that country. Cab drivers and hotel employees, all black, told me privately that they were afraid and that under Smith they had never had fear of government reprisals. A white store owner told me that he and his family lived in constant fear.

"Why don't you leave?" The response from whites (who basically are the only ones who could leave) was consistently two fold: "We were born here . . . our families have been here for centuries;" and, "We would go out with literally NO physical possessions except the clothes on our backs, and no money!"

Before "going democratic" and ushering in "one-man, one-vote," Rhodesia was one of the most prosperous countries on the African continent with beautiful farm lands, immaculate cities, golf courses, and much more. We had a situation in which the whites enjoyed the good life, and in which more and more blacks were being brought into the middle class, but not fast enough for the radical blacks.

After one election was ridiculed by the press (even though a black leader came to power), another election was forced onto Zimbabwe by the West (Britain in particular) with thousands of totally uneducated black tribesmen (and women) casting ballots. Mugabe's party swept to victory with two minority parties and a small white representation in the parliament. Mugabe has now unabashedly announced that there is no need for a multi-party country and Zimbabwe will become a one-party country.

Of course, there will still be one-man, one-vote, but voters will be allowed to vote for the candidates selected by the party, as is the case in most communist nations.

Prosperity is gone. Blacks who were living in poverty are still living in poverty and the whites who knew how to operate the machinery of government are fleeing the country, many of them with nothing more than their clothing and their lives.

The once loud protests against the "oppressive" white rule in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe have died out. Do you recall reading of any congressional protests against the one-party Marxist rule of Robert Mugabe? Are there pickets in Washington at the Zimbabwe Embassy? Have the university students formed pro-

test movements against this dictator in southeast Africa? Has our liberal press protested?

Of course not. Overturn the white government and what happens after that is "c'est la vie"—"that's life."

BLACK AFRICA

We can point to many black "nations" in Africa with the same fate: Mozambique and Angola, once prosperous colonies of Portugal and now both strife-ridden and impoverished with tribal (and Marxist) dictatorships, are two such countries.

With one or two exceptions, the black-ruled African nations are nothing more than comic-opera governments whose people are so badly downtrodden that they would welcome so-called "white rule" if it were offered to them.

We hear of the miserable living conditions for blacks in South Africa and it is true that the overwhelming majority of blacks do not live as well as the entrenched white citizens. There are squatter villages with cardboard huts, and there are a good number of black townships around each major city where the black workers live with their families.

But let's look at living conditions for blacks in those wonderful black-ruled countries.

I have visited several African countries and have been to villages in Ivory Coast (one of the more prosperous black nations), Kenya (which still has a semi-democratic government), Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. THE LIVING CONDITIONS FOR NATIVES IN THOSE COUNTRIES MADE THE SITUATION FOR SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS LOOK LIKE HEAVEN!

The funny paper colonels and generals (and sergeants and privates) who rule black Africa openly practice genocide against their fellow blacks. Hundreds and hundreds of thousands of humans are wantonly *murdered* in these so-called nations and few voices are ever raised in protest.

There was a black elite in Liberia but its leaders were brutally killed by Doe and the other uneducated thugs who took over the now hapless country. Has life there improved for the masses? Only for the new rulers. For all others, once "downtrodden" by the former American slaves, life is worse than it had been.

Where else shall we point the finger? Ethiopia? Angola? Uganda? As the deaths occur, no protests come from the *Post* or *Times*... let one black die in South Africa and headlines, editorials, and pickets at the Embassy are foregone conclusions!

In fact, according to a series of articles in the *Washington Post* in January, 1986, written by Blaine Harden, "Human rights groups estimate that a half million (that's 500,000!) people have been killed (in Uganda), *mostly by men in uniform*." (Emphasis added.) These deaths have occurred since the fall of Idi Amin, by the way. You will not find Walter Fauntroy picketing the Uganda Embassy; nor will Amy Carter be there!

HOW ABOUT BLACK SOUTH AFRICA?

It's hard to believe the facts about black living standards and conditions in South Africa because of the prejudiced reporting of the American press but, nevertheless, here are facts you should know:

The highest standard of living for blacks in all of Africa, without exception, is enjoyed by the blacks in South Africa. The homes in Soweto and other townships are far superior to the huts and tin can/cardboard houses THROUGHOUT

the black countries. Running water, indoor toilets, kitchens, and now the right to own their homes make South Africa the promised land for blacks.

Trade unions are beginning to flourish in South Africa and nearly one and a half million black workers belong to one or more unions.

SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS DO NOT PAY TAXES ON THEIR INCOME. They receive free medical care and 80% of the black children are going to school. I doubt if 10% of the children in the black-run countries are being educated! (The press tells us of the inferior black schools in South Africa, and when compared to the white schools, that may be true... nevertheless, the black schools in South Africa are FAR SUPERIOR to any schools in black Africa.)

Wages of blacks in South Africa are three to five times higher than anywhere else in the entire African continent!

THE FLOOD OF BLACK IMMIGRANTS

There are two countries in the world which are experiencing an overwhelming pressure by outsiders to get in: The United States and the Republic of South Africa!

Blacks are pouring across the borders of South Africa... but they are NOT running away. Oh, no, they are coming *into* this land of oppression at the rate of a half million a year! **If things are so bad in South Africa, why are blacks leaving their black nations to the north to come into the "hell" the press paints South Africa to be?**

THE PRESS AND FACTS

Most restaurants and other public places in the cities have been desegregated, much to the surprise of the average American. You'll find blacks sitting alongside whites in pubs, bars, saloons, restaurants, and so forth throughout Johannesburg, Capetown, Durban, and other cities. In black Africa, blacks cannot even afford to go into good restaurants! And many of the better restaurants in black African countries are frequented *only* by whites!

What about the current "revolution" and "race riots" we read about every single day and watch on television every single night?

Well, once again, it's the marvelous American press at work, aided by the liberal and leftwing press of other countries.

Before we go on with this point, however, think about this: The press is allowed into South Africa and, until recently, the press was free to roam about reporting on and filming these trouble spots. Do you think for one minute the press would be allowed this much freedom in their favorite countries such as the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, East Germany, or Viet Nam? As the saying goes, "No way, Jose!"

However, in repressive South Africa, we have the press pouring in to tell the world about this terrible government and literally to help destroy the government!

(Since this was first drafted, the South African government has begun restricting freedom of travel for the press in order to reduce the number of riots and incidents.)

(An example of why this has become necessary was reported to me by AWCI member Jack Frost, of Capetown. Jack said he had gone to a black township to check on some problems with an acoustical ceiling his company had installed. When he arrived, he told me "... your CBS television crews were on the spot, setting up their cameras and recording equipment. When I asked them why they were there, they said, 'Oh, there's to be a riot here later today!' " Jack said

that, sure enough, there was a demonstration and riot that very afternoon!

(The press is screaming about the new restrictions, but again, have you heard any press complaints about restrictions in Russia, Eastern Europe, China, Nicaragua, etc.? Of course not! Press restrictions in those countries are "to be expected.")

There are 17 million blacks in South Africa. It is estimated that the problems we read about and watch are caused by less than 4,000 blacks!

An article in the *Dallas Morning News* last summer (which, by the way, never found its way into the columns of the *Washington Post*!) pointed out that 99.9% of the whites in South Africa were shocked when a state of emergency was declared... that they had no idea the problem was that serious... and that *they (the whites) have had little if any exposure to the violence*. One aim of the liberal press is to help wreck tourism to South Africa. Make it appear the nation is in flames and tourists *will* stay away.

However, of the 800 persons killed between last September, 1984, and September, 1985, only about a dozen have been white, many of these killed by terrorist land mines near the Zimbabwe border. The riots and deaths have occurred in the black townships, and until recently there had not been a single riot or problem in any major city: *Not* in Johannesburg, *not* in Capetown, *not* in Durban, and so forth. But the datelines on *all* releases read "Johannesburg," "Capetown," or "Durban," etc., don't they?

That's for two reasons: One, it's the place where the story was filed, and two, it's the negative effect the reporter knows this will have on potential tourists.

Furthermore, although here I do not have any specific numbers, the great majority of the blacks killed since September 1985 *have been killed by fellow blacks*, and not by whites!

SOUTH AFRICA'S HYPOCRITICAL OPPONENTS

Charlie Reese, a writer for the *Orlando Sentinel*, stated in a feature article in that paper "... that many of South Africa's opponents are hypocrites." That's putting it mildly.

He notes that our liberals demand a U.S. relationship with South Africa on *moral* grounds, but a relationship with Soviets on the *grounds of expediency*.

Reese makes some very good points in his article, leading up to the charge of hypocrisy, a couple of which include:

1. In South Africa, certain places are reserved for whites only. In Russia, certain places are reserved for party members.
2. In South Africa, blacks have never been given an opportunity for political self-determination. In the Soviet Union, *no one* has ever been given an opportunity for self-determination.

He goes on with some dissimilarities:

1. SOUTH AFRICA'S GOVERNMENT HAS NEVER TRIED TO EXTERMINATE ITS POLITICAL FOES. It is estimated that the Soviet Union has murdered 54 million people in the past half century! (Adolf Hitler was a piker compared to those nice Russians!)

(Bishop Tutu would not have lasted a day in Russia had he been saying negative things about that government!)

2. South Africa is pro-American. (In fact, this country is really one of our best friends!) The Soviet Union, is a hostile power (with an undisputed goal of *destroying* us!).

3. (And this one is a dilly!) Many American banks have cut off loans to South Africa. Yet they continue to lend money to bankrupt Soviet-bloc nations. (And South Africa's credit rating is A+, by the way.)

4. American opponents of South Africa feel it is immoral for us to do business with a racist regime; but very few Americans seem to feel it is immoral to do business with a Soviet regime whose crimes are far more monstrous or with a Red Chinese regime whose crimes run the Soviets a close second!

In fact, when Ronald Reagan called the Soviet Union "an evil empire," our liberal reporters and other liberals castigated him for saying such a thing!

The American churches which, in January of 1986—just a short time ago—demanded disinvestment, are as hypocritical as the banks and press. When will these so-called "Christian" leaders make the same demands about communist nations?

The Episcopal Church, for one, openly supports the Sandinistas in Nicaragua while decrying South Africa's "lack of democracy."

Mr. Reese asks: Which is worse? Racial discrimination or mass murder?

And if we are going to demand one-man, one-vote in South Africa, should we not also ask for self-determination for Poles, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and many more?

He concludes: "Let me know when you are ready to impose trade sanctions and disinvestment campaigns against *all* governments that violate human rights. Then I might believe you are a moral person instead of a moralizing hypocrite."

One more point on this matter of hypocrisy.

When the Shaw was trying to pull Iran into the 20th century, the same liberals who are now pushing South Africa over the brink did their utmost to help bring about the fall of the Shaw.

What do we have now in Iran? A country which denies human rights not only to women, but to anyone who is not a fundamentalist Shiite Moslem! The press has done its job. The Shaw was deposed. The terrible government he ran is gone, and a formerly pro-American country now thumbs its noses at us.

Will South Africa be next? ~

In my opinion, it will not. That country's government *will* move to the center and *will* extend more and more rights to the black majority, but only if we continue with trade, investments, and tourism.

TUTU: A BLACK "LEADER"?

How about Bishop Tutu? Is he really the leader of blacks in South Africa or is he, as the Rev. Jerry Falwell just recently said, "a phony"?

For your information, Bishop Tutu lives high on the hog in South Africa. He has a magnificent home and has never been sent to jail for any of his remarks. As Howard Ruff said in a recent newsletter, if Tutu lived in Russia, Cambodia, or Ethiopia, he wouldn't open his mouth against the government.

Tutu, a man of peace? Don't you believe it! This Nobel Peace Prize winner is much less the "moderate" he attempts to sell himself as being when with his American freinds. Think what you may of Martin Luther King, Jr., he *never* espoused violence.

Tutu gives himself away with some of his quotations: "I would not, myself, *carry* guns or fight and kill. But I would be there to minister to people who thought they had no alter-

native." [Before his conversion, St. Paul (then Saul of Tarsus) held the coats of those who stoned the first Christian martyr, St. Stephen. Paul later recanted (Acts 23:20)—Tutu's offer to "minister" to those "who carry guns or fight and kill" makes him no better than Saul of Tarsus. We await his conversion.]

And this one: "Nonviolence presupposes a minimum moral level. And when that minimum moral level does not operate, I don't think nonviolence can succeed."

About a year ago, State President Botha addressed a convocation of blacks, members of the Zion Christian Church. Not only did he speak to this gathering, but he was also honored by them—the first white political leader ever to be honored by this church which has over 5 million members. This was never reported by the *Post* or *Times*, however.

How many attended the meeting where President Botha spoke? 1,000? 10,000? 25,000? Or maybe, as at the Washington monument rallies in Washington, D.C., even 100,000?

Would you believe TWO MILLION? Two million blacks from all over South Africa! Two million blacks who came to Moria in over 2,000 buses, by foot, by car, and by oxcart for the 75th anniversary of their church.

There were more blacks present at this gathering than the total membership of the Anglican Church of which the Rt. Rev. Desmond Tutu is a Bishop! Two million blacks speaking a dozen languages, but united by Christianity and not a single incident occurred to require police action! Try that for size at the fireworks display in Washington on the 4th of July!

Tutu has called the South African government "the most oppressive since Hitler." No wonder the Rev. Mr. Falwell calls him a phony! Oppressive and comparable to Hitler? If that were true, how would Bishop Tutu even be allowed to be in public with his attitude?

Does he represent the average South African black? Hardly. In addition to the Zion Christian Church (whose spiritual leader, a 33-year old man by the name of Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, totally commands their respect), there is the Zulu nation representing 25% of the blacks in South Africa. The Zulu chief, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, disagrees with Tutu and has publicly called for continuation of U.S. investment in his country.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: AN ELECTED LEADER

In a lengthy letter published (surprisingly) by the Washington *Post* on the 27th of November 1985, Chief Buthelezi asked: "Why is there in the United States a significant sentimental sympathy for the African National Congress (ANC) mission in exile? I find it incongruous." Chief Buthelezi went on to point out that the ANC is "fomenting a people's war in South Africa, and are [sic] doing so by inciting black South Africans to murder [those] other black South Africans who oppose the use of violence in solution of South Africa's problems. . . plotting attacks on individuals in the streets and in their homes—dousing people with petrol while they are alive and setting them alight, throwing petrol bombs into houses that are barricaded from without so that those inside die. . .

"Yet it is with the perpetrators of these kinds of deeds that some prominent Americans share platforms in the United States."

Chief Buthelezi, of course, strongly attacked apartheid in his letter, saying it "is. . . politically, economically, and socially untenable. . . [and] doomed to failure from the outset."

He points out that apartheid is coming apart and notes much of the progress made is a result of non-violent action: "Black businessmen now have a greater freedom of choice as to where they can conduct their businesses. . . blacks can no longer be excluded from worshipping in white churches. Nor may they be excluded from staying at many formerly whites-only hotels, or excluded from drinking in many bars hitherto reserved for whites. They may no longer be excluded from many whites-only parks, and so on."

Buthelezi strongly defends American investment and fears that disinvestment will play directly into the hands of the ANC and others who would, in his opinion, destroy the South African economy so that they can rule over the ruins.

While Bishop Tutu was elected by no one to be a black leader, Buthelezi is the elected head of Inkatha, an organization with over 1 million paid members. In addition, he is chief of the largest single tribe in South Africa, the Zulus.

Jerry Falwell is right: Bishop Tutu is a phony and he does not represent anywhere near the following of the Zion Christian Church or the Zulu nation!

DISINVESTMENT: FORMULA FOR DISASTER

The disinvestors are hypocrites, but we have covered that earlier.

Would disinvestment make reforms come along faster? Just the opposite would happen. It is the American-owned and controlled firms which are now working under the Sullivan Rule. And this is rubbing off on many South African businesses so that company after company in South Africa is beginning to pay blacks the same scale as whites in the same jobs, and is beginning to put blacks into supervisory roles with whites working under them.

Black unions are proliferating and this has partially been brought about by American investment and American influence.

Pull out and we pull out our influence. The Tutus and their ilk understand this and this is exactly what they want. Bring South Africa to its knees and rule the ruins.

While American investment represents a very small share of the South African business economy, it is a very influential part of that economy, and it is a force for good in this country.

The *London News* had an article in December by Paul Johnson who stated:

"The tragedy is that the disinvestment campaign strikes at the institution most likely to destroy apartheid from within: capitalism." Apartheid, Johnson says, is ethnic socialism. Its imposition inevitably involves state interference in all forms of economic activity, and a huge state-public sector in the economy.

White businesses depend on black customers. Johnson points out that capitalism cannot co-exist with apartheid for broadly the same reasons it cannot co-exist with feudalism or any other system which is based on inherited caste or race, or which forbids freedom of movement and the right of everyone to sell his or her labor where and when he or she chooses.

He goes on with a very powerful and true statement: It is the nature of capitalism to destroy apartheid. It is under the pressure of capitalism, not the pressure of world opinion, that the government of President P.W. Botha has been progressively dismantling the apartheid laws.

Apartheid is grossly inefficient. If the disinvestment campaign

succeeds, apartheid will linger longer. If investment succeeds, apartheid's days are numbered.

STRATEGIC METALS AND MINERALS

Another side of this entire matter is the strategic metal situation.

55% of our chromium comes from South Africa. 31% of our manganese comes from South Africa. And 49% of our platinum is from South Africa. In fact, so far as platinum is concerned, South Africa and Russia account for over 90% of the world's supply and it is hardly likely we want to depend on Russia for our platinum needs, especially if another war should occur!

Cut off South Africa, and where do we get our strategic metals?

SANCTIONS IN REVERSE

If the South African government decided to apply sanctions in reverse, the situation would play havoc with the economies of many western nations, especially the United States, Canada, and Britain.

South Africa produces 54 metals and minerals.

It has half the world's production of *platinum*, and 90% of its production is exported to western nations. Gasoline cannot be refined without platinum and glass can best be poured into platinum vessels. Synthetic fibers are drawn through platinum nozzles.

There is no known substitute for *manganese*. Who has 50% of the free world's supplies? South Africa. Without manganese, no high grade steel could be made.

The greatest known reserves for *chromium* in the world are found in South Africa. Chromium is vital for all stainless steels and is used in all high powered engines and armaments.

Antimony is used for flame proofing and without it, our cars would not start. The largest mine in the world is in South Africa.

South African sanctions against the United States, Canada, and Britain would badly damage our mutual automobile industries, cripple our airplane engine production, wipe out high grade steel, reduce the production of gasoline, and seriously injure our glass and optical industries, synthetic fiber industry, and even the production of tires.

Since the Soviet Union has much of the remaining supplies of some of these minerals, if Russia gained control of South Africa, the then Russian-controlled reserves would give them 90% of the platinum, 95% of the vanadium, 95% of the fluorspar, and even 30% of the world's uranium.

Disengagement by American firms would not damage the South African economy as much as some of the liberals seem to believe. American ownership of South African capital stock amounts to less than 3% (actually 2.8%).

However, American firms do lead in providing progressive work conditions and in helping the upward mobility of the black populace. Disengagement would hurt in this area much more than it would hurt the basic economy.

BLACK AFRICA'S NEED FOR SOUTH AFRICA

It is not all black and white in South Africa. Without appearing to see "commies behind every bush," it is necessary to state that *the other color* in South Africa is red.

The ANC (African National Congress), referred to constantly by the press, is not some do-gooder group trying to improve the lot of blacks in South Africa. The African National Congress is an identified communist organization and its goal is to create a communist state or states through South Africa.

Even with conditions far superior to what their black brothers endure in the bordering black nations, blacks in South Africa are being stirred up by the reds and the media is either blind to this or it just does not care.

There are 14 black nations south of the Sahara which depend on South Africa. 77% of all electricity generated sub-Saharan comes from South Africa. 98% of all iron ore is mined in South Africa. 80% of the sheep and 39% of the cattle in Africa graze in South Africa. South Africa produces 97% of the continent's coal and grows 70% of the maize and 87% of the wheat.

350,000 citizens of neighboring nations (blacks) live in and work in South Africa and these 350,000 people are *estimated to be feeding 5 persons each* back in their home countries! In addition, the illegal alien situation there has reached a point of over one and a half million who have left their black nation paradises to come to the hell of South Africa. The important fact is that possibly the majority of these illegal aliens are helping to support families they left behind, all from working in South Africa.

Botswana, just north of South Africa, is one of the few stable and free nations on the continent. Botswana has good mutual relations with South Africa. A major industry in Botswana is tourism and Botswana's tourists enter that country through Johannesburg.

REFORMS

Are there reforms?

The answer is an unqualified yes. Botha has done more to dismantle apartheid than any leader since the policy was instituted a number of decades ago. Botha, you must remember, is elected by his party and many in his party are far right believers in white supremacy. He cannot rule if he is not elected and he cannot get elected if he agitates his far right too much. He has already seen to the repeal of the ban on mixed marriages and he has helped bring into government the coloreds (mixed race) and Indians. And he has begun talking about voting rights for blacks.

Unless we want to see South Africa become another Zimbabwe, we cannot in all good conscience advocate one-man, one-vote in South Africa. . . not now nor in the *foreseeable* future. While education is proceeding, the overwhelming majority of blacks in South Africa are loyal to their tribes and are basically uneducated. Most of them don't even know what government is, let alone be ready to participate in the governmental process!

Hundreds of thousands of them are just now being introduced to flush toilets and plumbing, and even to indoor kitchens. One cannot really believe these people are "ready" to vote!

But what can be done is to dismantle some of the worst aspects of apartheid: The first to go, in my opinion, must be the pass laws which prevent blacks from being allowed to stay in the cities after sundown (unless they are domestic servants). Blacks must be allowed to *own* property *anywhere* and educational facilities have to be improved.

(On this point, one wonders why the liberal press attacks South African pass laws but *never* utters a negative word about

the even more stringent internal passports required by ALL citizens, except card-carrying Party members, in Soviet Russia.

(In the Soviet Union, the internal passport system is used to control population movement. It is even more insidious in that it is a means to bring about total control of the government over *ethnic concentration*. In addition, and similar to the laws of Nazi Germany, whose policies the Russians claim to despise, anyone who is a Jew has the word "JEW" stamped in his internal passport.

(This internal passport system of the Soviets is well-known by the liberal press, but is given little if any publicity. It is every bit as insidious as the South African pass laws, but has anyone heard the recent group of five U.S. Congressmen complain about this form of state control in Russia as they voiced complaints about the pass laws of South Africa?

(And, so far as property ownership is concerned, where are press complaints about no right to hold private property in most Communist countries? Continued double standard reporting by the liberal press, of course!)

The "Sullivan principle" (instituted when a black American minister, whose name the principle has taken, called for equal pay for equal work for black employees of American-owned firms) has worked and is now spilling over into non-American industries and businesses. Blacks are supervising whites in many American-owned and controlled businesses and South African businessmen are going to have to accept this and allow the same thing in their own companies.

IS IT DANGEROUS TO TRAVEL TO SOUTH AFRICA?

It is dangerous for an association to take its members to South Africa?

The answer is simply *NO!* As noted earlier in this paper, the dangers portrayed by the press are basically limited to the black townships and to areas bordering Zimbabwe. As also pointed out, very few whites have been killed, and there have been only 3 or 4 racial incidents in any of the cities!

When AWCI's members were there in the fall of 1984 (spring in South Africa), the papers here at home were beginning to tell of the riots "in" Johannesburg. When I called my office, I was asked, "Can you hear the shooting?" "What shooting?" I asked, and was told that the *Washington Post* was recounting the riots "in" Johannesburg on a daily basis!

When I told them I did not even know there were troubles in South Africa, my staff was amazed.

The situation in the cities is no worse today than it was back then. Certainly, if we took tours into the black townships (and such tours are now outlawed), we would be exposing ourselves to some danger, but our itinerary for next August does not include such tours. In fact, for the main part of our

program, we will be in a modern, safe Johannesburg suburb (Sandton) for only three days and we'll then head north to the *black* homeland where *Sun City*, the Las Vegas of South Africa, is located. This area is *run* by a *black* government, by the way.

The largest wholesaler of African travel headquartered in the United States, Gametrackers International, has a written guarantee which says it all:

If one of their clients even witnesses civil strife, the entire cost of his trip to South Africa will be reimbursed, and he will be sent home free of charge on the next flight out of Johannesburg!

AWCI AND SOUTH AFRICA

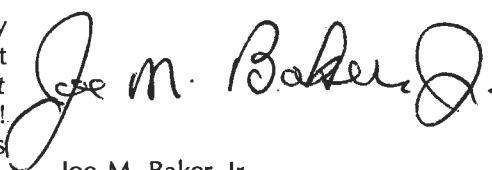
Finally, why the interest in South Africa by AWCI in the first place?

We could be taking up the pen to urge fair treatment for New Caledonia, but AWCI has no members in New Caledonia.

We do have members—and a viable sister association—in South Africa, and our first Non-Resident board member in AWCI's 68-year history is a Capetown contractor, Jack Frost. Our relations with this country are not political because we need a "cause," but have developed because of the close relationship between AWCI and the South African Building Interior Systems Association (SABISA). We have been exchanging visitors between our two associations for years. The South African industry has regularly sent delegations to our conventions and close friendships have developed between many of our members in North America and the contractors and suppliers in South Africa.

As long as we are not taking our members to an area where they really will be endangered, we should not allow ourselves to be bullied by the exaggerations in the American press. To let down our friends and one of the staunchest allies we have would be unfair, not only to South Africa, but to ourselves and to our country.

Respectfully,



Joe M. Baker, Jr.
Executive Vice President
Association of the Wall and Ceiling Industries-International
25 K Street, NE, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20002
202-783-2924

THE WALL & CEILING INDUSTRIES' JOINT CONVENTION & EXPOSITION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

AUGUST 25-31, 1986

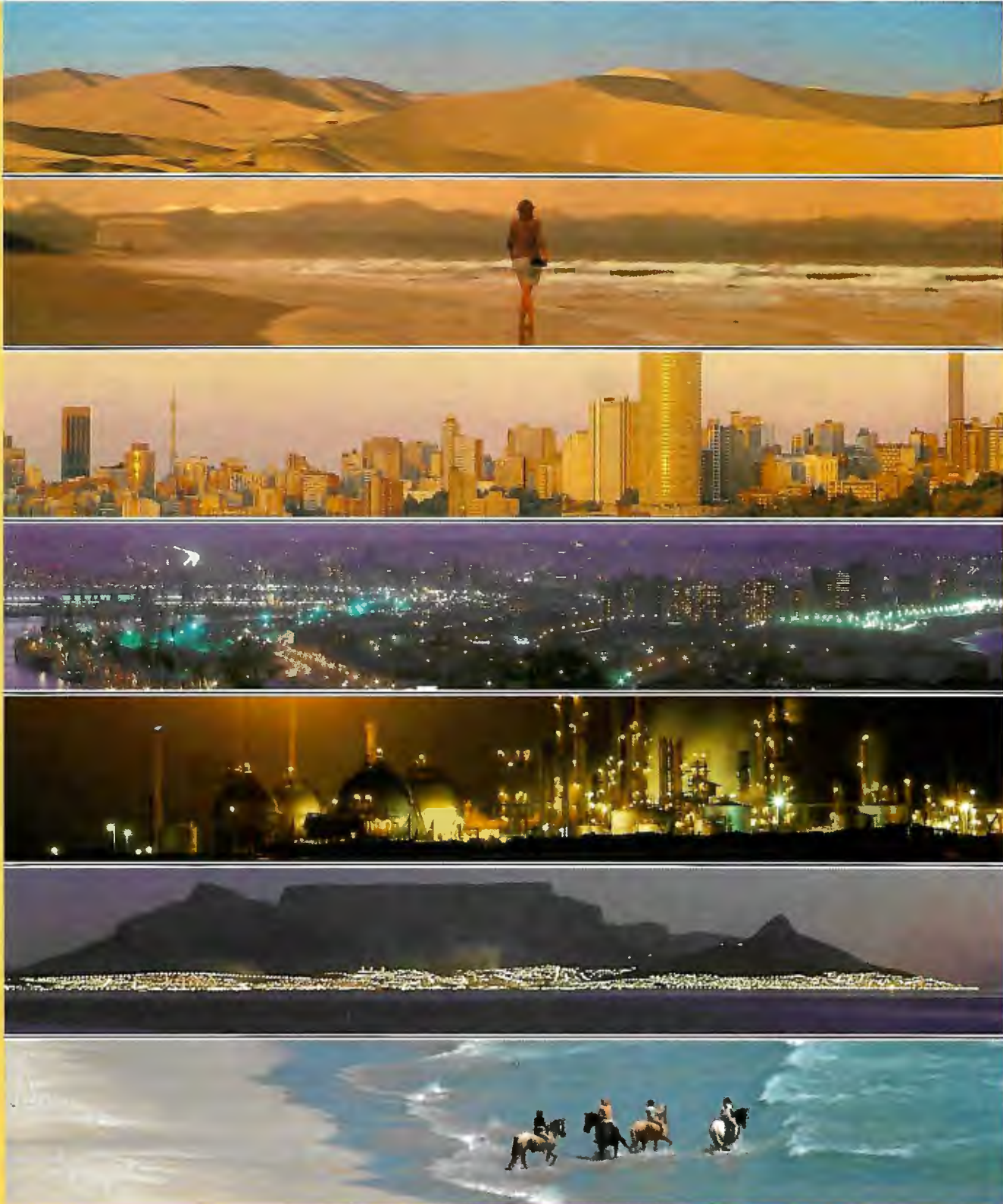
With Optional Pre and Post Convention Safaris and Tours



Sponsored by South African Building Interior Systems Association
and the Association of Wall and Ceiling Industries International



Reservations will be accepted on a first come, first-served basis for the Joint Convention and Exposition, and for the Pre and Post tours. Experience tours embracing Southern Africa's teeming wildlife, it's prosperous cities, and it's awesome scenery.



THE ASSOCIATION OF THE WALL & CEILING AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN BUILDING INTERIORS JOINT CONVENTION AND EXPOSITION

AFRICA!

Nowhere on earth does a name conjure up more visions than the word AFRICA!

And, in cooperation with our sister association in South Africa, AWCI is going to take you on the trip of a lifetime to attend the meetings of a lifetime!

We're jointly sponsoring the FIRST Annual Convention of the South African Building Interiors Systems Association (SABISA) in Sun City, Bophuthatswana, next August. Bophuthatswana is an independent homeland in the northern part of South Africa. And Sun City is going to amaze you: It's a miniature Las Vegas smack dab in the middle of "the bush" with hotels which literally out-do such American locations as the Hyatt on Maui or the Hyatt in Orlando! You have to see it to believe it!

We'll also spend three days in Johannesburg to give you a chance to attend and take part in the LARGEST CONSTRUCTION EXPOSITION IN THE ENTIRE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE, "Inter-Bou," and we're offering you an opportunity to go down there a week early and/or stay a week after the main event in order to take part in a wildlife safari into Botswana (an independent black nation, probably the most stable government in black Africa) and/or a ride on the magnificent Blue Train down to Africa's most beautiful city, Cape Town.

Read on... and believe us: This is the trip of a lifetime!

JIMMIE CRANE

To enable you to tailor your African visit to your diary, we are offering the same tour and safari before and after the Convention.

MODULE 1 AUGUST 18-26, 1986

PRE-CONVENTION TOUR

AUGUST 18-25, 1986

DAY 1, Monday, August 18 — NEW YORK/JOHANNESBURG
Evening departure from Kennedy International on your South African Airways flight bound for Johannesburg. (D)

DAY 2, Tuesday, August 19 — JOHANNESBURG
Early evening arrival in Johannesburg, the "City of Gold", where you will be welcomed by your African Travel representative and escorted to the Sandton Sun Hotel. Attend a cocktail party with open bar this evening.

DAY 3, Wednesday, August 20 — JOHANNESBURG
Depart on a full day tour to Gold Reef City, a dynamic replica of Johannesburg 100 years ago. Visitors can experience a fascinating visit underground in an authentic gold mine, see a gold pour and ride on a vintage steam train. (B,L)

DAY 4, Thursday, August 21 — CAPE TOWN
Transfer to the airport for your flight to Cape Town, where you will be met and driven to your hotel. Have lunch at the hotel and the afternoon is free for meetings with city officials. (B,L)

DAY 5, Friday, August 22 — CAPE TOWN
Enjoy a tour of the city this morning including the old Malay Quarter, South African Museum and Cape Castle. Then stop at Table Mountain, where weather permitting, you may ascend the mountain by cable car for the magnificent view at the summit. Stop for lunch before returning to the hotel for afternoon at leisure. Evening cocktail party and dinner with local contractors. (B,L,D)

DAY 6, Saturday, August 23 — CAPE TOWN
Full day tour of the beautiful Cape Peninsula. Drive along the breathtaking Marine Drive to Llandudno and Hout Bay. Continue to Muizenberg where a stop is made for lunch. Drive through Fish Hoek and Simonstown, South Africa's naval base, to the Cape of Good Hope Nature Reserve where you will see the meeting place of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans at Cape Point. (B,L)

DAY 7, Sunday, August 24 — CAPE TOWN/JOHANNESBURG — BLUE TRAIN

Depart for Johannesburg on the world's most luxurious train, the Blue Train. This overnight journey takes you through the heart of the South African countryside. (B,L,D)

DAY 8, Monday, August 25 — JOHANNESBURG

Arrival in Johannesburg where you will be met and taken on tour to Pretoria, the "Jacaranda City" and administrative capital of the country. See all points of historical interest including the Voortrekker Monument to the early pioneers. In the evening attend a "Braai" with prominent businessmen. Overnight at the Sandton Sun. Convention program begins here. (B,L,D)

PRE-CONVENTION SAFARI

AUGUST 18-26, 1986

DAY 1, Monday, August 18 — NEW YORK/JOHANNESBURG
Evening departing from Kennedy International on your South African Airways flight bound for Johannesburg.

DAY 2, Tuesday, August 19 — JOHANNESBURG
Early evening arrival in Johannesburg, the "City of Gold", where you will be welcomed by your African Travel representative and escorted to the Sandton Sun Hotel. Attend a cocktail party with open bar this evening with members of the pre-tour and safari. (B,L)

DAY 3, Wednesday, August 20, JOHANNESBURG/BOTSWANA
Transfer to the airport for your Gametrackers charter flight to Kasane, Botswana, where you will be met and driven to the Chobe Game Lodge. Three nights are spent here. The lodge is situated deep in the African bush along the banks of the mighty Chobe River. Game viewing is in open vehicles and there are cruises down the river at cocktail time. (B,L,D)

DAY 4, Thursday, August 21 — BOTSWANA/ZIMBABWE
Drive to Victoria Falls for a look at the seventh natural wonder of the world. Walk through the Rain Forest and view Cataract Island, the Main Falls, Livingstone Island, Horseshoe Falls, Rainbow Falls and the Boiling Pot. Return to Chobe Lodge in time for a late afternoon game drive. (B,L,D)

DAY 5, Friday, August 22 — BOTSWANA
Full day of game viewing and overnight at Chobe Game Lodge. (B,L,D)

DAYS 6, 7, 8, Sat., Sun., Mon., August 23-25 — BOTSWANA
Drive back to Kasane on Saturday morning from where you are flown to your next safari camp, in the Okavango Delta. The following three days will be spent gameviewing in four-wheel drive open vehicles, canoes and guided walks on request. The guides will maneuver the vehicles into the best possible position for you to take the "close-up" photograph that you will treasure for the rest of your life. One night is spent at San-ta-wani and two nights at Savuti. (B,L,D)

DAY 9, Tuesday, August 26 — BOTSWANA/JOHANNESBURG
After an early morning game drive and breakfast, you will be flown back to Johannesburg where you will be met and transferred to the Sandton Sun Hotel for overnight. Convention program begins here. (B,L)

SEE INSERT FOR CONVENTION PROGRAM ITINERARY
AUGUST 25-31, 1986

NG INDUSTRIES-INTERNATIONAL (AWCI) ERIOR SYSTEMS ASSOCIATION (SABISA)

POSITION SOUTH AFRICA 1986

MODULE 3 AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 8, 1986

POST CONVENTION TOUR AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 8, 1986

DAY 1, Sunday, August 31 — SUN CITY/JOHANNESBURG
Following the final convention activities in Sun City, depart by motorcoach to Johannesburg where you will overnight at the Sandton Sun Hotel. (B,L)

DAY 2, Monday, September 1 — JOHANNESBURG
Depart on a tour to Pretoria, the "Jacaranda City" and administrative capital of the country, visiting all points of interest including the Voortrekker monument to the early pioneers. Afterwards visit the Gypsum Industries plant for lunch and a tour of the plant. (B,L)

DAY 3, Tuesday, September 2 — JOHANNESBURG/CAPE TOWN

Transfer to the airport for your flight to Cape Town where you will be met and transferred to your hotel, the Cape Sun, nestling in the heart of Cape Town against the magnificent backdrop of Table Mountain. Have lunch at the hotel and the afternoon is free for a reception with the mayor and other city officials. (B,L)

DAY 4, Wednesday, September 3 — CAPE TOWN

Enjoy a tour of the city this morning including the old Malay Quarter, South African Museum and Cape Castle. Then stop at Table Mountain, where weather permitting, you may ascend the mountain by cable car for the magnificent view at the summit. Stop for lunch before returning to the hotel for afternoon at leisure. Evening cocktail party and dinner with local contractors. (B,L,D)

DAY 5, Thursday, September 4 — CAPE TOWN

Full day tour of the beautiful Cape Peninsula. Drive along the breathtaking Marine Drive to Llandudno and Hout Bay. Continue to Muizenberg where a stop is made for lunch. Drive through Fish Hoek and Simonstown, South Africa's naval base, to the Cape of Good Hope Nature Reserve where you will see the meeting place of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans at Cape Point. (B,L)

DAY 6, Friday, September 5 — CAPE TOWN/JOHANNESBURG
Depart for Johannesburg on the world's most luxurious train, the Blue Train. This overnight journey takes you through the heart of the South African countryside. (B,L,D)

DAY 7, Saturday, September 6 — JOHANNESBURG

Arrival in Johannesburg where you will be met and taken on a tour of the city, visiting the city centre, goldmining areas and residential districts. Continue to the 'wilds' fifty-five acres of attractive gardens where most species of South African wild flora are grown. In the evening you are invited to attend a 'braai' with prominent businessmen. (B,L,D)

DAY 8, Sunday, September 7 — JOHANNESBURG/NEW YORK
Enjoy a morning tour to Gold Reef City, a dynamic replica of Johannesburg 100 years ago. Experience a fascinating visit underground in an authentic gold mine, see an interesting gold pour and ride on a vintage steam train. The Hippodrome features the pulsating sound of the Siyagida African Tribal Dancers. Later in the afternoon you will be driven to the airport for your homeward bound flight to New York. (B,L,D)

POST CONVENTION SAFARI AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 8, 1986

DAY 1, Sunday, August 31 — SUN CITY/JOHANNESBURG
Following the final convention activities in Sun City, depart by motorcoach to Johannesburg where you will overnight at the Sandton Sun Hotel. (B,L)

DAY 2, Monday, September 1 — JOHANNESBURG/BOTSWANA
Transfer to the airport for your Gametrackers charter flight to Kasane, Botswana, where you will be met and driven to the Chobe Game Lodge. Three nights are spent here. The lodge is situated deep in the African bush along the banks of the mighty Chobe River. Game viewing is in open vehicles and there are cruises down the river at cocktail time. (B,L,D)

DAY 3, Tuesday, September 2 — BOTSWANA/ZIMBABWE
Drive to Victoria Falls for a look at the seventh natural wonder of the world. Walk through the Rain Forest and view Cataract Island, the Main Falls, Livingstone Island, Horseshoe Falls, Rainbow Falls and the Boiling Pot. Return to Chobe Lodge in time for a late afternoon game drive. (B,L,D)

DAY 4, Wednesday, September 3 — BOTSWANA
Full day of game viewing and overnight at Chobe Game Lodge. (B,L,D)

DAYS 5, 6, 7, Thur., Fr., Sat., September 4-6 — BOTSWANA
Drive back to Kasane on Thursday morning from where you are flown to your next safari camp, in the Okavango Delta. The following three days will be spent gameviewing in four-wheel drive open vehicles, canoes and guided walks on request. The guides will maneuver the vehicles into the best possible position for you to take the "close-up" photograph that you will treasure for the rest of your life. One night is spent at San-ta-wani and two nights at Savuti. (B,L,D)

DAY 8, Sunday, September 7 — BOTSWANA
After an early morning game drive and breakfast, you will be taken to the airport for your flight back to Johannesburg where you will connect with your homeward bound flight to New York. (B,D)

LAND PRICE Per Person based on double occupancy:

Optional Pre and Post-Convention Tours:	\$725.00
Optional Pre and Post-Convention Safaris:	\$1,725.00
Convention Registration Fee:	\$225.00
Convention Program Lodging, Transport, Activities	\$525.00

ROUNDTRIP AIRFARE: NEW YORK-JOHANNESBURG

First Class	\$4694.00
Business Class	\$3100.00
Super Springbok	\$1100.00
(\$100.00 optional tour/safari add on, with Super Springbok fare only)	

Full fare First and Business Class passengers may purchase fifty per cent tickets for accompanying spouse.

Add-ons from your home city to New York will be given on application.

AUGUST/SEPTEMBER 1986

SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THUR	FRI	SAT
	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8					

- - - - Pre-Convention Tour
 - - - - Pre-Convention Safari
 - - - - Convention Program
 - - - - Post Convention Tour
 - - - - Post Convention Safari

To make your visit to Africa the experience of a lifetime, we have arranged a program that takes you to the most fascinating parts of Southern Africa before and after the 1986 AWCI Convention.

The program has been divided into a pre- and post-convention tour and safari.

The tour includes the world famous Blue Train and sightseeing in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

The safari includes seven days of game viewing in the wildlife paradise of Botswana.

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Tourist Shell D 85/390





ANCA

Armenian National
Committee of America

WASHINGTON REPORT

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April-May 1986

Vol. 2, No.3

THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF AMERICA JOINED HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS IN AN EFFORT TO SAVE THE U.N. SUB-COMMISSION on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. In August 1985, the Sub-Commission had adopted Special Rapporteur Ben Whitaker's Genocide Report, which discussed the Armenian Genocide in its Paragraph 24.

The Sub-Commission was eliminated on May 9, 1986 as a result of budget cuts at the U.N., despite intense lobbying efforts against it. In order to find an equitable solution to the situation created by the U.N. budget reduction, ANC offices worldwide have combined forces with various international law and human rights groups. Alternative sources of funding the Sub-Commission are presently under consideration.

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SIXTY-THREE CONGRESSMEN SIGN A LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN URGING HIM TO DESIGNATE APRIL 24, 1986 AS A DAY OF REMEMBRANCE.

Congressman Richard Lehman (D-Cal.), and the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA), initiated a letter in the House of Representatives requesting that President Reagan proclaim April 24, 1986 as a Day of Remembrance for all victims of genocide, especially the 1.5 million Armenians massacred between 1915-1923 in the Ottoman Empire. In less than eight days 63 Congressmen signed the letter, which was delivered to the White House on April 22, 1986.

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CONGRESSMAN TONY COELHO (D-CAL.) AND THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF AMERICA HOST A RECEPTION FOR BEN WHITAKER, AUTHOR OF THE U.N. GENOCIDE REPORT.

The Executive Director of the London based Minority Rights Group and former member of the British Parliament, Ben Whitaker was honored at a Capital Hill reception on April 23, 1986. Mr. Whitaker was Special Rapporteur of the U.N. Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, and in that capacity authored the Genocide Report. Paragraph 24 of the report discusses the massacres of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and defines it as an act of genocide under the U.N. Genocide Convention.

The reception was attended by members of Congress and their staff, as well as representatives of the Greek, Cypriot, and Lebanese governments.

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THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE WAS COMMEMORATED DURING A COLLOQUY IN THE SENATE AND A SPECIAL ORDER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON APRIL 22, 1986. Members of both chambers reaffirmed the historical reality of the Armenian Genocide and implored the Turkish government to refrain from attempting to rewrite history.

The Armenian National Committee of America assisted the Congressmen with the preparation of their statements by providing information packages to 250 Congressional Offices.

The sponsors of the commemorative events were Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mi.) in the Senate, and Representatives Charles Pashayan (R-Cal.) and Tony Coelho (D-Cal.) in the House of Representatives.

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TURKISH AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON, SUKRU ELEKDAG, MAINTAINS THAT U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS ARE "DETERIORATING RAPIDLY". During a speech given to the Turkish Political and Social Research Trust (SISAY), Ambassador Elekdag chastised the U.S. on what he termed their "oversimplification of U.S.-Turkish relations". The Turkish Ambassador's grievances centered around U.S. quotas on Turkish goods, the 7 to 10 ratio of aid to Greece and Turkey, and H.J. Res. 192, the bill in Congress seeking to commemorate the Armenian Genocide.

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TURKISH LOBBY IN THE U.S. IS "RUBBING ELBOWS" WITH OTHER LOBBIES. In an interview with "Gunes", a Turkish newspaper published in Istanbul, Turkish Ambassador to the U.S., Sukru Elekdag, praised the Turkish lobby in the U.S. for the development of ties with other lobbies and its financial contributions to certain Congressmen. The Turkish Ambassador failed to elaborate with which lobbies Turkish Americans had been "rubbing elbows", nor did he disclose the names of the Congressmen the lobby was financially supporting.

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THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN QUIETLY ATTEMPTING TO PERSUADE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO EXPEL A LIBYAN DIPLOMAT suspected by the U.S. as having ties to terrorist activities.

Mohammed Abdul Malek, head of the Libyan People's Bureau in Ankara, Turkey, was expelled from the U.S. in 1980 for his participation in activities "incompatible with the status of a diplomat", according to the U.S. State Department.

Turkish officials maintain that since Malek had been in Turkey prior to the present government's ascent to power in 1984, it "would not be right" to expel him now.

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HELSINKI WATCH REPORT FINDS CONTINUING EVIDENCE OF TORTURE IN TURKISH JAILS. The New York based human rights group recently released reports disclosing evidence of detention and torture in Turkish jails. The study cited recent incidents of rape, electric shock, and severe beatings of detainees and prisoners. The findings also disclosed evidence of the repression of free speech and political views in Turkey.

In a prepared statement, the Turkish Embassy in Washington claimed that Turkish law prohibits the inhumane treatment of detainees and prisoners and denied all charges pertaining to the illegal detention of political prisoners.

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CALIFORNIA'S ARMENIAN COMMUNITY ELICITS RETRACTION FROM THE "LOS ANGELES TIMES". On April 30, 1986, the "Los Angeles Times" published an editorial questioning the occurrence of the Armenian Genocide, and attacking H.J. Res. 192, the Congressional resolution seeking to commemorate the Armenian Genocide.

In response to the editorial, the Armenian National Committee in Los Angeles organized the Armenian community in a campaign of letter writing, phone calls, and picketing against the "L.A. Times". Following a meeting between an ANC led delegation and the Editorial Page editor, the L.A. Times published a retraction on May 8, 1986.

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VICE-PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR THE U.S. RECOGNITION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE. On May 4, 1986, during a reception at the Disneyland Hotel in Anaheim, Ca., in honor of Congressman Bob Dornan (R-Ca.), Vice-President Bush briefly conversed with representatives of the Armenian National Committee on the subject of H.J. Res. 192, the resolution commemorating the Armenian Genocide.

The Vice-President stated that he was "with Bob on this issue", referring to Cong. Dornan's support of H.J. Res. 192. In response to the on-going attempt by the Turkish government to deny the genocide, the Vice-President declared: "We can't rewrite history".

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NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER ADOLFO PEREZ ESQUIVEL INVITED ARMENIANS TO PARTICIPATE IN A SOON TO BE CONVENED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE to foster dialogue and promote the rights of people to self-determination.

Speaking at a L.A. reception in his honor, hosted by the Armenian National Committee and the ARF Shant Student Association, Esquivel extended his invitation to the ANC and declared "anyone who cares about human rights must care about the Armenians".

GUEST LIST AND SEATING PLAN

South Africa

Abe Hoppenstein - Consul General South African Consulate General New York
Professor Samuel Dash - Georgetown University
Joseph Polakoff - National Press
Morris Armitay - Lawyer
Bernard Gwertzman - Washington Bureau of New York Times Diplomatic Corps -
Stewart Eizenstat - Powell Goldstein Fraser & Murphy
John Wallach - Hearst Newspapers
Hyman Bookbinder - American Jewish Committee
Warren Eisenberg - International Counsel of B'nai Brith
Donald Wolpe - President, Heritage International Bank
Anthony Korenstein - Director of Research and Information National Jewish Coalition
Wolf Blitzler - Jerusalem Post
Renee Matalon - Editor Washington Jewish Week
Steven Rosenfeld - Washington Post
Dr Daniel Thurz - Executive Vice President B'nai Brith
Arnold Levy - Lawyer
Max Green - Associate Directors Office of Public Liaison, The White House
Elliot Cole - Patton Boggs & Blow
Barry Schochet - Lawyer
Theo Aronson - Minister Embassy of South Africa Washington DC



SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES

SUID-AFRIKAANSE JOODSE RAAD VAN AFGEVAARDIGDES

THE SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY – AN OUTLINE

The South African Jewish community enjoys a reputation for being well organised and generous with a deep attachment to Jewish traditional values and strong emotional bonds with the State of Israel.

Numbering close to 120 000 this community has contributed much to the development of South Africa, making its mark on every facet of public life, commerce and industry, science and medicine, art and music, philanthropy, sport and entertainment.

THE IMMIGRANTS

Persons of Jewish descent found their way to the Cape from the earliest beginnings of White settlement. However, they could not be professing Jews before the turn of the 19th century, because the Dutch East India Company's rules required that all who were in the service at the Cape must profess the Reformed Christian religion. Only after freedom of religion was introduced at the Cape under the Batavian Republic in 1809, was it possible for anyone who openly professed his adherence to the Jewish faith to live in the country.

From that time onwards a small trickle of individual Jews, for the most part from England and Germany, began to arrive. Some remained permanently, while others later returned to their home countries. There were among them colourful and adventurous personalities.

In 1841 seventeen Jews organised the first Hebrew Congregation in Cape Town. They named it Tikvat Israel Congregation (The Hope of Israel). By the end of the 1860's several hundred Jews were living in South Africa. They played a significant part in the cultural and civic life and added materially to the country's economic progress. Some had settled in remote places. A number lost their identity as Jews.

The discovery of diamonds and gold in the 1850's which opened up the country, attracted a number of Jews who were among the early pioneers. Men like Barney Barnato, Isaac Lewis, Alfred Beit, the Joels, and Oppenheimers were among the founders and developers of South Africa's rich diamond and gold mining industries. Their achievements gave them status and influence beyond their numbers. They were friends and confidants of national figures and some became civic leaders.

In the early 80's much larger numbers of Jews began to arrive in South Africa. From 1882 to 1912 some 40 000 Jews entered this country and in the next forty years another 25 000 arrived from Lithuania, Latvia and England. A further 8 000 came as refugees from Nazi Germany in the 1930's. Their children and grandchildren constitute the South African Jewish community today.

DISTRIBUTION

Roughly half of South African Jewry lives in Johannesburg (63 620). The East Rand (Benoni, Boksburg, Germiston, Kempton Park) (4 440): Balfour, Brakpan, Delmas, Heidelberg, Nigel, Springs (1 660): West Rand (Krugersdorp,

Randfontein, Roodepoort, Westonaria) (940): Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging (440), account for a further 10%. Cape Town and Peninsula (28 000) account for another 20%. The remaining 20% is spread over the rest of the country, from substantial Jewish communities in Durban (6 420), Port Elizabeth (2 740), Bloemfontein and district (500) to small communities ranging from a few hundred Jews to a handful of Jewish families in the rural towns. These figures are based on the 1980 census.

COMMUNAL LIFE

In its communal life South African Jewry is well organised with bodies which cater for: religious, cultural, fraternal, educational and philanthropic interests.

THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES

The central representative institution of the community is the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, to which most of the country's Hebrew congregations and Jewish societies are affiliated. Its biennial congresses (which decide the Board's policies and elect its President) constitute a board cross-section of South African Jewry. The Board was founded on the basis of separate entities in the Transvaal in 1903 and the Cape in 1904, "to watch and take action, with reference to all matters affecting the welfare of Jews as a community"; the two entities merged into one body in 1912.

The Board, as it is known, has intervened with the authorities to prevent Jewish immigrants suffering discrimination or disability on account of their race. It has helped Jewish immigrants to become naturalised citizens. It has maintained contact with Jewish organisations abroad and has assisted in universal Jewish causes. During two world wars it assisted the South African war effort by attending to problems specifically affecting Jewish soldiers, as well as participating in the provision of comforts for the troops. Domestically, the Board of Deputies renders a variety of services to the Jewish community, including a variety of cultural programmes; it also runs a central Jewish museum and library, and it renders invaluable assistance to small country communities through the services of a country communities rabbi. It furthermore maintains a Chaplaincy Department which serves Jewish servicemen in the S A armed forces. Its publications Jewish Affairs and Buurman reach a wide readership amongst South Africa's English and Afrikaans speaking citizens.

ZIONIST FEDERATION

The South African Zionist Federation is the representative body through which Zionist work in the Republic is co-ordinated. The various Zionist groupings, organisations and societies are affiliated to it. Established towards the end of the last century, the Zionist Federation enjoys a status co-equal with that of the Board of Deputies. Its various departments deal with organisations and information, fund-raising, youth activities, women's work and immigration to Israel.

South African Jewry is predominantly a Zionist minded

community and this has given the Zionist Federation its stature and influence. Zionism (the movement for the establishment of the Jewish National Home) has enjoyed the understanding of successive South African leaders and governments.

Affiliated to the Zionist Federation are a number of Zionist youth movements, namely; Habonim, Bnei Akiva, Betar and Maginim, which conduct cultural programmes, organise youth activities and run highly successful summer camps. In addition University youth have their representative organisation, the South African Union of Jewish Students, which is affiliated to the Zionist Federation as well as the Board of Deputies.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the main South African Jews belong to Orthodox congregations with about one-fifth being members of Progressive congregations. These are autonomous bodies, each controlling its own affairs, with religious authority vested in its spiritual leader. Most of them, however, are affiliated to representative organisations which endeavour to strengthen Jewish religious life. The Federation of Synagogues of South Africa, covers the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal. The United Council of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations of the Cape and South West Africa serves the Western Province and SWA/Namibia. As presently advised the two organisations will shortly combine and be known as the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations of South Africa. Within the Reform sector, the S A Union for Progressive Judaism is the co-ordinating body for Reform congregations. Rabbis and ministers have similarly established their own representative institutions.

EDUCATION

Traditionally, Jewish education in South Africa was conducted by the Cheder or Talmud Torah (afternoon classes run by Hebrew congregations, which required the attendance of the children of members after their day's studies at Government schools). Jewish educators, however, had long felt that this system was inadequate and a movement developed to create Jewish Day Schools which would combine general and Jewish education.

Side by side with Talmud Torahs which still account for some 4 000 pupils, twenty Jewish Day schools have been established in the main centres affiliated to the South African Board of Jewish Education (King David Junior and High Schools, Linksfield; King David Primary and High Schools, Victory Park; King David Primary School, Sandton a total of 3 571 pupils. United Hebrew Schools in Cape Town with a total of 2 192 pupils; Carmel College in Durban with a total of 167 pupils; Hillel Primary and High Schools Benoni with a total of 248 pupils; Theodor Herzl Primary and High Schools in Port Elizabeth with a total of 356 pupils); These day schools provide a full education following the Government syllabus from the primary classes to matric and in addition teach Jewish studies (Hebrew language, Jewish religion, history and literature) as normal school subjects.

A more intensive Jewish traditional education is provided by the Yeshiva College (554 pupils), the Torah Academy of the Lubavitch Foundation (280 pupils), the Beis Yakov Girls School, the Sha'arei Torah Primary School (125 pupils) and Yeshivat Torah Emet (25 pupils), all in Johannesburg, as well as the Hebrew Academy in Cape Town.

The Progressive Movement maintains a network of supplementary Hebrew and Religious classes at temples affiliated to it. These schools are all affiliated to the Union for Progressive Jewish Education.

The Jewish community has also built up an excellent network of Hebrew Nursery Schools, conducted according to the standards laid down by the Nursery School Association

of South Africa, with an enrolment of nearly 3 000 children. A total of 15 000 Jewish children currently receive Jewish education through the Jewish Nursery Schools, afternoon Hebrew schools and Jewish Day Schools.

Whereas a generation ago, Hebrew teachers had to be imported, South African Jewry is today providing many of its Hebrew teachers from its own ranks. The Rabbi Zlotnick Hebrew Teachers Training College in Johannesburg has graduated many teachers since its inception in 1948.

The Jewish Students University Programme (JSUP) which combines traditional Jewish studies with university studies through UNISA (the University of South Africa), operates in Johannesburg. Through the Department of Hebrew and the Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies at the University of Cape Town, the Department of Hebrew at the University of the Witwatersrand and the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at Natal University in Durban, students are afforded an opportunity to study Hebrew and Jewish studies at a tertiary level.

An intensive post-school religious programme is offered by the Yeshiva Gedolah of Johannesburg and the Yeshiva Maharsha at Glenhazel, Johannesburg from which graduates, who have been ordained as rabbis, are now serving the South African Jewish community. A Lubavitch Yeshiva has also opened in Johannesburg to meet the needs of the Chabad congregation.

WELFARE BODIES

Apart from caring for its needy through Jewish welfare agencies in all the major centres, the Jewish community has also created a number of institutions for the aged, orphaned and handicapped. In Johannesburg the Witwatersrand Jewish Aged Home and Our Parents Home accommodate aged members of the Jewish community principally from the Transvaal. Beth Shalom in Durban caters for the Jewish aged of Natal and Highlands House in Cape Town accommodates the Jewish aged of the Cape Province. Arcadia Children's Home in Johannesburg and the Oranjia Home in Cape Town care for Jewish children from broken homes. The Selwyn Segal Hostel in Johannesburg attends to the needs of some 155 physically or mentally handicapped residents and some 60 day care members. The Kibbutz which the hostel maintains is run by a further 16 residents and Hatikvah House which is also under the hostel's auspices accommodates 11 residents engaged in sheltered employment. Glendale in Cape Town also caters for the mentally handicapped.

COMMUNAL WORK

A major women's organisation is the Union of Jewish Women of Southern Africa which has branches throughout the Republic, Zimbabwe and South West Africa. Its policy is to render service to the Jewish community as a whole; to the South African people, irrespective of race, colour or creed and to Israel. Goodwill meetings are a regular activity of the UJW, to which Gentile groups such as the Vroue Federasie, the Women's Agricultural Societies and the National Council of Women, etc are enthusiastically drawn. The participation of the UJW branches in welfare work is impressive. They are concerned with problems of the under-privileged and the under-nourished, the aged, the mentally ill, the sick and with children. They express their concern in a variety of ways — by introducing feeding schemes for under-privileged of all races, such as soup kitchens or the supply of essential foods to creches, nursery and primary schools; by the provision of family centres and by work for Red Cross, Blood Transfusion, etc. They provide transport to hospitals and clinics and assist in occupational therapy. They arrange outings and entertainment for orphans and the aged. The Union of Jewish Women also runs a thriving Adult Education Division.

The spectrum of Jewish communal work is broad and includes specialist agencies like the S A Ort as well as friendly societies and Fraternal Orders like the Hebrew Order of David and B'nai B'rith.

Specific interests are served by such bodies as the S A Jewish Ex-Service League and the Maccabi, the latter being primarily a Jewish sporting body through which teams from South Africa are sent (every four years) to participate in the Maccabiah in Israel.

There is still a considerable, though diminishing, number of Yiddish-speaking Jews in South Africa. The S A Yiddish Cultural Federation strives to cater for their needs and promotes a knowledge of Yiddish among their children. It motivates the running of a Yiddish Nursery and Folk School and publishes a Yiddish bi-monthly "Dorem Afrika".

While congregations and other bodies raise their own finances among members there are two country-wide Jewish fund campaigns in which all co-operate. The Israel United Appeal raises funds for causes in Israel. The United Com-

munal Fund helps meet the budgets of national Jewish organisations like the Board of Deputies and the Board of Jewish Education.

THE JEWISH PRESS

The community is well served by a vigorous weekly Jewish press consisting of the "SA Jewish Times" an independent newspaper, the "Zionist Record and S A Jewish Chronicle" the organ of the S A Zionist Federation and the "The Jewish Herald", a newspaper published by the Zionist Revisionist Organisation.

Compiled by: Dr. Stephen Cohen — Deputy Director

With acknowledgements to:

Edgar Bernstein, "A Bird's-Eye View of South African Jewry Today from South African Jewry 1967/68"

The Jewish Heritage in South Africa published by SATOUR
Gus Saron: "From Immigrants to South Africans"

Issued in January 1986

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So Africa

ultra left wings juveniles - dirty & dishonest middle class
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trying to make extra "unorganized" (check this out,
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NATIONAL DISTRIBUTIVE & ALLIED WORKERS UNION

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church
(5350)

10,000

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION

Mr Norman Daniels

Mr Samuel Tiyo

Gw's un 40,000

was w TUC - F2

clothing w's union - more light - curbs hinder

TUC & SA - ~~250,000~~ 350,000 - work & be off to
w ZCTU

mixd
COSATU - has absorbed CUSA - FOSPTD

1/2 million
SACTU - 0 - mixd
+ remnants of CUSA (black consciousness - lost mine
15,000)

Azenin fed of & unions (black unions)

unaffiliated - beider water, Nat. Dir,

Exhanta - will be launched on 5/1

Confidential Labor - more what mine w's union data - 200,000 who
w's w's

COJATU - bec black w's want more militancy >

law

blacks not allowed to join registered union since

1924

but black unions not allowed tho not recognised - eg
clothing w's, dock w's.

TUC - 1945 - bec forced Japan union
became respectable - with the fight, it would be controversial issue
~~COJATU~~ ~~possible detection~~

Excluded black union for covered & bring in 1st way
unions - change since then, now many blacks -

FACTU started then too.

FOJATU to replace FACTU

COJATU - more militant,

COJATU dif fr TUC mainly re political action -

eg stop war - to change community situation

when neckbeeing started -

(going to war, settling peace seems in this context
→ police & indiscriminate shooting)

Dr. Lucy Umbele - house attacked twice, head &
clothing w's union -

COJATU saying gov cant divorce union fr communities
cant inc & pass law -

TUC - growing - fr disinvestment -

COJATU disinvestment - black ^{20 / wk} willing to
stand - saying these ^{being} ^{advised} ^{for small} ^{business} ^{men}
exploited bec. black
[cont. trade union legislation?]