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Last Updated: 08/06/2025

432380
PR 003

0 1 01

NR *FR*

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. * 150 E. 35th St. * New York 10016

July 6, 1986

The Hon. Ronald Reagan
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I got away from Khabul for Liberty weekend, and though there is much to say that I will say later, I just had to write you this little note--to tell you it has been one fine period for you, and for the republic for which, thank God, you stand. Your second speech was deliriously beautiful, and your comportment through the trial of those two days exemplary. My friend Lance Morrow wrote wonderfully in the cover piece in Time Magazine on you and your accomplishments. And then, the week before, where but in the New York Times Magazine section should we read a profile of you that among other things quotes Tip O'Neill and Teddy Kennedy on your special accomplishments. If I did not know you, I would tell the First Lady that just maybe it turns out she has married a security risk. We are ever so proud of you, and grateful that you are here, at the helm.

Speaking of the First Lady, she called at 2:05 to wish Pat and me a happy anniversary. And we were waiting

4432380

until 3 P. M. to call her and wish her a happy birthday, calculating that you might be in California, and 3 P. M. would be a good time to call you out there. But, alá^s, she is in bed, suffering from a cold, and not particularly looking forward to an outing at the Jockey Club. Wish we were together, as was the case a dozen years ago, when we concelebrated birthday and anniversary at Sacramento.

Bless you my friend, and my 4th of July present to you is that you need not acknowledge this letter from

Your faithful ambassador,



Wm. F. Buckley Jr.



End
case
File

40606755
Wf1004-01

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 7/7/86

NOTE FOR: MITCH DANIELS

The President has

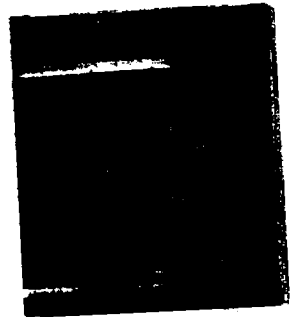
seen ☐
acted upon ☐
commented upon ☒

the attached; and it is forwarded to you for your:

information ☐
action ☒

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
(x-2702)

cc: The Vice President
Donald T. Regan
Original to Files ☒



The President has seen 7/7

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Received
1986 JUL -2 PM 6:40

July 2, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MITCH DANIELS *mitd*.
SUBJECT: Highlights from Political and
Intergovernmental Affairs

Attached, for your review, are highlights of correspondence received by the Office of Political and Intergovernmental Affairs.

Attachment

HIGHLIGHTS
POLITICAL AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

June 1986

<u>NAME</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
	<u>SOUTH AFRICA</u>	
George Deukmejian (R) Governor of California	"Regrettably, there is no indication that current national policies are having demonstrably beneficial impact on the lives of black South Africans. The violence will escalate unless meaningful reforms are made, reforms which the government of South Africa has thus far not been inclined to implement. Therefore, I respectfully urge you to act now to impose additional economic sanctions directed at the government of South Africa."	✓
	<u>NUCLEAR WASTE REPOSITORIES</u>	
John V. Evans (D) Governor of Idaho	Urges you to reconsider the decision to discontinue efforts to site a second national high-level waste repository. "I am convinced that the construction of a second repository in the Eastern part of the United States, nearer to most of the nuclear power plants which generate spent fuel and high-level waste, is amply justified."	Does he know that decision is out of our hands?
	<u>DRUGS</u>	
Edward I. Koch (D) Mayor New York, NY	Is pleased that you issued a National Security Decision Directive recognizing the international drug trade as a threat to our national security. Mentions the "apparent failure of both the Defense Department and the Coast Guard to fully utilize their present drug-interdiction capabilities."	✓
	<u>PARENTAL LEAVE</u>	
Victor H. Denton City Manager Roanoke Rapids, NC	Requests that you oppose HR 4300, the "Parental and Medical Leave of 1986." It is action such as this -- on the part of a few in Congress -- that prompts the growing feeling that Federal mandates are about to break the backs of local government."	✓

<u>NAME</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
	<u>55 MILE PER HOUR SPEED LIMIT</u>	
Jim Hartdegen (R) State Representative Arizona	" ... The Republican Platform on which you ran indicated the strong possibility of doing away with the 55 mph speed limit imposed by the federal government upon the states. It is about time you kept your promise! ...	✓
	For your information, Secretary Elizabeth Dole is threatening to impose economic sanctions against Arizona for being out of compliance with the federal 55 mph mandate.	✓
	<u>GENERAL SUPPORT</u>	
Robert D. Orr (R) Governor of Indiana	"Thank you for your decision to approve a disaster declaration for the Lynn elementary school which was demolished in the tornado which hit that community in March. My administration has been struggling to find an alternate solution with absolutely no success. Obviously, your action only serves to heighten my gratitude."	✓
Agnes T. Higgins Tax Collector/Treasurer Delaware Township Sergeantsville, NJ	"With great pride in this great country, we watched you give the graduates of Glassboro High School a gift that they will treasure forever. The gift was the gift of yourself, your warmth, your wisdom, and your charm and your message of peace. ... Thank you from the bottom of our hearts for restoring 'pride in America' in the citizens of this great country. We love you!"	✓

End
Case
File

July 7, 1986

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

Laurance delivered your letter. I appreciate your kind words and share your concern over the situation in South Africa.

I know an effort is being made to portray our position as one of callous disregard for the plight of the Blacks in that country. I realize, of course, that some of this is political partisanship but, at the same time, that many sincerely concerned people are unaware of what we are doing. To tell the truth, that is understandable because we have to be rather quiet if we are to be helpful.

Some of the measures that are being suggested, such as the resolution approved in the House of Representatives, would hurt the very people we seek to help. They would also leave us completely estranged and with no possible chance of influencing the South African government. As you know, we have employed some sanctions against South Africa, but only those which would not impose economic hardships on the mainly Black workers.

We also feel that closing down American-owned businesses there would only result in the unemployment of some 80,000 Blacks. As it is, those American firms have used a policy conceived by a Black clergyman in our country, Reverend Sullivan, with regard to employee relations. It is based on our own nondiscriminatory practices here at home.

We continue to press the South African government to move toward elimination of apartheid and to enter into discussions and negotiations with responsible Black leaders. We have not hesitated in citing the immorality of present practices.

I appreciate very much your writing as you did and giving me the chance to comment. Nancy and I are so grateful for the warm hospitality we enjoyed at Pocantico Hills. Our schedule in the celebration would have been intolerably hectic, if it weren't for the restful beauty of Kykuit.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Mrs. Mary R. Morgan
117 East 72nd Street
New York, New York 10021

RR:AVH:pps

RR Dictation

To Mrs. Mary R. Morgan 117 East 72nd St. N.Y. N.Y. 10021

Dear Mrs. Morgan

Lawrence delivered your letter. I appreciate your kind words and share your concern over the situation in S. Africa.

I know an effort is being made to portray our position as one of callous disregard for the plight of the Blacks in ~~that country~~ ^{in that country}. I realize, of course, that some of this is political partisanship but at the same time that many sincerely concerned people are unaware of what we are doing. To tell the truth that is understandable because we have to be rather quiet if we are to be helpful.

Some of the measures that are being suggested such as the resolution approved in the House of Representatives would hurt the very people we seek to help. They would also leave us completely estranged and with no possible chance of influencing the S. African govt. As you know we have employed some sanctions against S. Africa but only those which would not impose economic hardships on the mainly Black workers.

We also feel that closing down American owned businesses there would only result in the unemployment of some 80,000 Blacks. As it is those American firms have used a policy conceived by a black clergyman in our country, Rev. Sullivan, with regard to employee relations. It is based on our own nondiscriminatory practices here at home.

We continue to have a...

to move toward elimination of apartheid and to enter into discussions and negotiations with responsible Black leaders. We have not hesitated ~~to~~ in citing the immorality of the present practices.

I appreciate very much your writing as you did to giving me the chance to comment. Nancy & I are so grateful for the warm hospitality we enjoyed at Pocantico Hills. Our schedule in the celebration would have been intolerably hectic if it weren't for the restful beauty of Kykuit.

Sincerely RR

stand and watch and enjoy it.

I beg you to take another
courageous, historically sensitive position
and action like you are taking for
free trade.

The oppressed freedom yearning
people of the world will be deeply
grateful as well as myself as one
of the many Americans who heard
you last night.

With sincerity and Best
Wishes on the Fourth of
July Mary R. Morgan

July 4th. 1986.



Dear President Reagan -

I am sorry I wasn't
able to join the rest of my family in welcome-
ing you and Mrs. Reagan to Pountico Hills.
I hope you had a pleasant and restful stay
at Kykuit, amid the exciting, hectic July
Fourth ceremonies in New York Harbor.

Because of your stay
in our family home and your mission
to rekindle the flame of liberty and
freedom in our national statue, I take the

liberty here to express a few deeply held (2) thoughts and a fervent wish on the subject of freedom.

I am troubled by our relationship with South Africa -

No matter what the debate on the history of territorial rights in S. Africa, we all agree that the blacks are rightful citizens there. Yet, they are discriminated against; politically detained and manipulated, and now violated + killed by the S. African government.

Like you, I believe that our American Heritage asks that we be faithful to the ideals and pursuit of freedom for oppressed peoples. As you said last night in a moving ceremony, "we are the keepers of the flame of liberty!"

In the that spirit, let us take an active stand for the oppressed ~~people~~ black people in South Africa, before all vestiges of their moderate democratic ideals are wiped away by demands for survival + revenge.

On a deep level, I feel the lessons of Nazi oppression in Germany are asking to be repeated. We should not wait until it's too late, wait

President Ronald Reagan
Pentagon Hill Estate
Washington
D.C.

By courtesy of Lawrence Rockefeller -

Rockefeller
MARY MORGAN
117 EAST 72ND STREET
NEW YORK 10021

End
Case
File

430850
67002

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 7, 1986

Dear Mr. Tolman:

Mr. Rockefeller delivered your meaningful gift, and Nancy and I are delighted and most grateful to you. It was more than kind of you, and we shall treasure this etching with its personalized message.

Your letter brought back many memories of that first journey of ours, and our meeting in Kyoto and your many kindnesses. Nancy sends her best regards as do I and, again, our heartfelt thanks.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Mr. Norman H. Tolman
2-2-18 Shiba Daimon
Minato-ku
Tokyo 105
Japan



**THE
TOLMAN
COLLECTION
TOKYO**

2-2-18 Shiba Daimon, Minato-ku, Tokyo 105. Tel. (03) 434-1300

Tokyo, June 27, 1986

Dear President and Mrs. Reagan :

I've asked Mr. Rockefeller to do me a special favor and be the transmitter of a Japanese etching which I'm sure you will find amusing.

First though I'd like to introduce myself. When you both came to Kyoto as President Nixon's representatives I was the American consul in Kyoto who spent several stints shopping with Mrs. Reagan, looking at old treasures in the various antique shops in Kyoto. Since that time I have left foreign service and am now an art dealer in Tokyo. The print that I'm sending to you depicts a monk jauntily walking down a lane next to a temple wall in the rain in old Kyoto. On the temple wall is some international graffiti. Ron is written in English and Yasu in Japanese. I'm not sure if you are aware that Ron-Yasu gaiko (diplomacy) has now become part of the Japanese language. There is virtually no social comment or criticism (even of a positive nature) in most contemporary Japanese art, therefore I felt that this print by Tanaka Ryohei, perhaps Japan's best known etcher, might be of interest to you.

When I learned that you were to be Mr. Rockefeller's houseguests, and knowing of his great interest in the contemporary Japanese art scene, I dared to ask him to convey this etching to you. As a former minor official worker in the Japanese-American relationship, and now as an active participant in this relationship on a private level, I really do hope that Mr. Tanaka's graphic message will serve as a regular reminder to you of the importance of that relationship.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Norman H. Tolman
Norman H. Tolman

430849
TR163

July 7, 1986

Dear Francois:

Just a line to say how good it was to see you here for Miss Liberty's birthday celebration and to hear that you, too, enjoyed the celebration. It was very kind and generous of you to make the trip, and I thank you on behalf of all Americans.

Now, may I impose on you further? One of our most prestigious religious figures, the world renowned Reverend Billy Graham, is holding a crusade this September in Paris in the new Bercy Sports Stadium. We have been close friends for many years. Our Ambassador Rodgers will be speaking to you about a possible appointment with Reverend Graham while he is there. I would be most grateful if you could find time to see him. The Ambassador has all the information about dates, etc.

Now, and having nothing to do with the above request, I must share with you an item I just read on my way home in one of our prestigious magazines, the Reader's Digest, July issue, page 148. It says that British genealogists in 1984 traced my family back to a connection with Riagain, kin to the Irish king Brian Boru and this made me a cousin to, among others, President Francois Mitterrand. So our recent get-together was something of a family reunion.

All the best and I look forward to hearing from you following your trip to Moscow.

Sincerely,

RON


His Excellency
Francois Mitterrand
President of France
Paris
RR:AVH:pps

RR Dictation

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 9, 1986

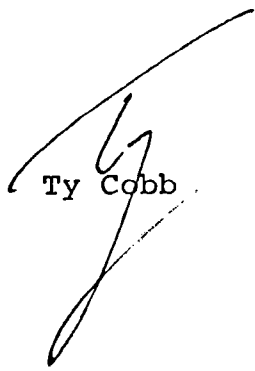
MEMORANDUM FOR ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: TYRUS W. COBB 
SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Mitterrand

Anne:

It really would be helpful if we could see these letters before they go to the President. I would recommend three changes:

1. Ambassador Rogers' name is misspelled; it should be "Rodgers" with a "d";
2. we added an acknowledgement of Mitterrand's thank you; and,
3. we added a reference to Mitterrand's promise to provide the President with a read-out of his trip to Moscow.


Ty Cobb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1986

*and to hear
that you, too,
enjoyed the
celebration.*

Dear Francois:

Just a line to say how good it was to see you here for Miss Liberty's birthday celebration. It was very kind and generous of you to make the trip, and I thank you on behalf of all Americans.

Now, may I impose on you further? One of our most prestigious religious figures, the world renowned Reverend Billy Graham, is holding a crusade this September in Paris in the new Bercy Sports Stadium. We have been close friends for many years. Our Ambassador ~~Rogers~~ Rodgers will be speaking to you about a possible appointment with Reverend Graham while he is there. I would be most grateful if you could find time to see him. The Ambassador has all the information about dates, etc.

Now, and having nothing to do with the above request, I must share with you an item I just read on my way home in one of our prestigious magazines, the Reader's Digest, July issue, page 148. It says that British genealogists in 1984 traced my family back to a connection with Riagain, kin to the Irish king Brian Boru and this made me a cousin to, among others, President Francois Mitterrand. So our recent get-together was something of a family reunion.

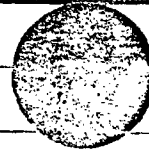
All the best ~~to you~~ and I look forward to hearing from you following your trip to Moscow.
Sincerely,

His Excellency
Francois Mitterrand
President of France
Paris

OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE
REQUEST FOR CLEARANCE - COMMENTS

TO:

George Van Eron



DATE DUE:

TYPE OF RESPONSE:

☐ Multiple Mailing

☐ Form Reply

☐ One-Time Reply

SUBJECT:

REQUESTED BY/ADDRESSED TO:

BACKGROUND:

*The Pres. has written & signed
this already - but R.O. wanted
NSC to clear, I'm holding
original*

SIGNATURE:

Jose Higgins

DATE:

Presidential Messages
Old Executive Office Building
Room 94
(202) 456-7610

Your Recommendation/Comments:

The NSC concurs as is _____ as amended X
for

RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

To Mr. Norman K. Tolman - 2-2-18 Shiba Daimon. Minato-Ku
Tokyo 105 Japan

Dear Mr. Tolman

Mr. Rockefeller delivered your meaningful gift and Nancy & I are delighted & most grateful to you. It was more than kind of you and we shall treasure this etching with its personalized message.

~~I received~~ Your letter brought back many memories of that first journey of ours & our meeting in Kyoto and your ~~kind~~ many kindnesses. Nancy sends her best regards as do I and again our heartfelt thanks.
Sincerely RR

To Pres. Francois Mitterand - Pres. of France
(this is not in response to any letter)

Dear Francois

Just a line to say how good it was to see you here for Miss Liberty's birthday celebration. It was very kind & generous of you to make the trip and I thank you on behalf of all Americans.

~~I had~~ Now may I impose on you further? One of our most prestigious religious figures, the world renowned Rev. Billy Graham is holding a crusade this Sept. in Paris in the new Bercy Sports Stadium. We have been close friends for many years. Our Amb. Rogers will be speaking to you about a possible appointment with Rev. Graham while he is there. I would be most grateful if you could find time to see him. The Amb. has all the information about dates etc.

Now, and having nothing to do with the above request I must share with you an item I first read

on my way home in one of our prestigious magazines,
the Readers Digest, July issue P. 148. It says that
~~from the my ancestry~~

British genealogists in 1984 traced my family back
to a connection with Rialgar, kin to the Irish king
Brian Boru and this made me a cousin to,
among others, Pres. Francois Mitterand. So our
recent get together was something of a family reunion.

All the best to you.

Sincerely Ron

End

Case

File

430820

ME001-03

July 8, 1986

Dear Dr. Simon:

Your very good friend and associate, Dr. Dick Davis, told me of your illness while we were together this past weekend. I hope you won't be offended by my invasion of your privacy, but I wanted you to know that Nancy and I send our best wishes to you. Through Dick, we know of the happiness you have found in the practice of your profession and with your wonderful family. Just know that you are in our thoughts and prayers, and we'll continue to pray for your recovery.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Dr. Erich Simon
Room 767
Mercer Medical Center
446 Bellevue Avenue
Trenton, New Jersey 08607

RR:AVH:pps

RR Dictation

Dr. Chick Simon

Room 767

Human Physical Center

446 Bellvue Avenue,

Trenton, New Jersey

08607

43053,
PV

July 8, 1986

Dear Nackey:

I don't have any words -- just Thank You and
God bless you.

Sincerely,

RON

Mrs. William Loeb
Post Office Box 780
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105

RR:AVH:pps

RR Dictation

The Union Leader



NEW HAMPSHIRE'S
DAILY NEWSPAPER

UNION LEADER CORPORATION • 35 AMHERST ST., P.O. BOX 780 • MANCHESTER, N.H. 03105 • 603 668-4321



SUNDAY NEWS

William Loeb, President and Publisher, 1946-1981

Nackey Scripps Loeb, President and Publisher

July 1, 1986

President Ronald Reagan
#16691
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ron:

I thought you might like to see this front page editorial. You are the hardestest Lame Duck I have ever seen and, I suspect, the country has ever seen.

A lot of people are so busy celebrating your upcoming retirement, that they don't see what you are really doing at the moment, so keep it up.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Nackey

Mrs. William Loeb

NSL:Mrs. S. Raymond
Enclosure

To Dr. Crick Simon Rm. 767 Mercer Medical Center
446 Ballvue Ave. Trenton N.J.
Simon
Dear Dr. Crick 08607

Your very good friend & associate Dr. Dick Davis told me of your illness while we were together this past weekend. I hope you won't be offended by my invasion of your privacy but ~~diff~~ I wanted you to know that Nancy & I send our best wishes to you. Through Dick we know of the happiness you have found in the practice of your profession and with your wonderful family. Just know that you are in our thoughts and prayers and we'll continue to pray for your recovery.

Sincerely RR

To Mrs. Wm. Loeb 35 Amherst St. P.O. Box 780
Manchester N.H. 03105

Dear Mackey

I don't have any words - just Thank You
& God Bless You.

Ron

End
Case
File

40607955

FL 001

Jul 86

The President has seen 7/11

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 9, 1986

Received 1:13

1986 JUL -9 PM 6:17

*Thanks Pat.
RR*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN *PB*

Two articles here, for Presidential Reading. The first is advance copy of a piece from Reader's Digest, titled "Red Shield," which details the tremendous progress being made by the Soviet SDI program -- some advances made in apparent violation of the ABM Treaty.

The second is perhaps the best piece written on the folly of economic sanctions against South Africa, written by the historian Paul Johnson, for Commentary last fall. It places South Africa in perspective -- as part of Africa, the most progressive and advanced nation in a fearfully retarded continent.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 10, 1986

DONALD T. REGAN:

FYI, the attached will be
forwarded to the President
Friday morning.

David Chew

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 9, 1986

JOHN M. POINDEXTER:

Attached are two articles
that Patrick Buchanan is
sending to the President
for his reading.

Unless you have an objection,
I will forward them to the
President Friday morning for
weekend reading.

David L. Chew

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 9, 1986

DONALD T. REGAN:

FYI

David L. Chew



Even as the Soviets castigate President Reagan's "Star Wars" initiative, they are busily making their own ballistic-missile-defense program an operational reality—in defiance of treaty and entreaty

RUSSIA'S SECRET "RED SHIELD"

BY RALPH KINNEY BENNETT

WHEN President Ronald Reagan made his famous "Star Wars" speech in March 1983, suggesting that the United States explore a defense against intercontinental-ballistic missiles (ICBMs), a great cry of anguish rose from the Soviet Union.

An "Appeal to the Scientists of the World," condemning Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), soon appeared in *Pravda*, and as a paid advertisement in the *New York Times*. It was signed by more than 200 members of the "Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against Nuclear War," headed by Ye. P. Velikhov.

Central Intelligence Agency analysts identified many of the signers as scientists involved in Russia's

own secrecy-shrouded anti-ballistic missile (ABM) program, which has been under way for more than two decades. Velikhov himself is a former director of the Institute of Atomic Energy Laboratories at Troitsk, and a leader in Soviet military high-energy laser research. Other scientists protesting SDI turned out to be the developers of Russia's various ABM systems as well as its ICBMs and other strategic weapons. Kremlin orchestration of this in-defense-of-peace propaganda ploy was evidence that in broaching the idea of a defense against ballistic missiles, Reagan had struck a nerve.

In fact, Star Wars represents the first real challenge to the most ominous strategic development of the

decade, a growing Soviet nuclear first-strike capability combined with its own "Red Shield," a ballistic-missile-defense system covering the entire U.S.S.R. While Star Wars remains largely theory, with experimental testing, Red Shield is an emerging operational reality. Its main elements:

- Completion by next year of a modernized 100-launcher ABM system around Moscow.

- Production of a new generation of ABM interceptor rockets and associated radars.

- Continued upgrading of and new construction on a nationwide network of long-range detection and battle-management radars of unparalleled size and power.

- Intensive work on "beam weapons" and other advanced technologies, including testing of laser weapons.

The Soviets are pouring an estimated \$10 billion a year into Red Shield, from ABM test ranges at Kamchatka and Sary-Shagan to such top-secret research and production facilities as those at Semipalatinsk, Troitsk, Golovino, Krasnoarmeysk, and Azgir. Russia already bristles with about 12,000 surface-to-air missile (SAM) launchers—many of them with ABM capability (there are no SAMs defending the United States). These SAMs are tied into a network of 10,000 air-defense radars (the United States has 118). Says one of our government's top Soviet experts: "ABM is the natural culmination of the Soviet

long-term commitment to 'defend the Motherland'—regardless of cost, regardless of treaties, regardless of any Western niceties about mutual destruction or mutual vulnerability being the best way to prevent war."

Totally Defenseless. In the 1972 ABM treaty, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed not to build any nationwide networks of ABMs. Instead, each side would rely on the overwhelming power of its ICBMs as a deterrent to nuclear war. Placing its faith entirely in this "balance of terror," the United States dismantled its embryonic ABM system and left itself totally defenseless against ICBMs.

The Soviets were not about to be left in the same position. Defense Minister Marshal Andrei Grechko assured the Soviet Presidium in 1972 that the ABM treaty "places no limitations whatsoever on conducting research and experimental work directed toward solving the problem of defending the country from nuclear-missile strikes."

A vigorous improvement of the already existing ABM ring around Moscow was begun. Design bureaus set to work on new missiles to intercept ICBM warheads. And, in specific violation of the treaty, the Soviets undertook extensive tests to upgrade their already formidable arsenal of SAMs and air-defense radars so they could shoot down warheads.

Although the United States detected the Soviet ABM activity

Note

shortly after the treaty was signed, hopes for preserving the agreement reduced Washington reaction to occasional public hand-wringing and secret diplomatic scoldings at arms-control sessions. When former U.S. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird warned "the Russians are cheating" in a December 1977 Reader's Digest article, his charges were met with anger in our State Department as well as the Kremlin. Frank Gaffney, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy, admits, "It is now unmistakably clear that the U.S.S.R. *never* embraced the notion of mutual vulnerability, rather it adheres to strategic defense as a desirable complement to strategic offensive forces."

Here, drawn from sensitive intelligence sources, is a closer look at the fruit of more than two decades of Soviet work on Red Shield.

Rockets and Radar. In the forests outside Moscow lie six heavily guarded complexes: the keystone of Red Shield. Garrisoned by special troops of the PVC, Soviet air-defense forces, these installations contain a total of 100 underground silos, which are believed to be reloadable.

Beneath the sliding concrete lids of these silos are SH-4s and SH-6s—two of the fastest rockets in the world. The SH-4 is capable of intercepting warheads at the threshold of space. The SH-6 is a backup interceptor that reportedly can accelerate to over 11,000 m.p.h. in a

matter of seconds to hit warheads the SH-4 has missed.

The rockets are served by engagement radars—dubbed "Flat Twins"—that can detect warheads coming into the ABMs' range, and guidance radars—called "Pawn Shops"—that direct the ABMs to their specific targets. Both were tested extensively, engaging Soviet warheads over the Sary-Shagan missile test range. These radars, in turn, receive their "orders" from a huge radar system housed in a 110-foot-high truncated pyramid in the Moscow suburb of Pushkino.

This is a large phased-array radar (LPAR), a complex of thousands of small, powerful radars driven by a high-speed computer. It can track large numbers of speeding warheads, sort out harmless decoys, and delegate interception assignments to the smaller ABM radars around the system. In a threatening development earlier this year, U.S. intelligence discovered that SA-5 SAMs, of which there are more than a thousand in the Moscow area, have also been linked into the Pushkino radar, indicating their ABM capability.

U.S. worries over a rapidly deployable Soviet ABM system—a "breakout" from the ABM treaty—were heightened when our satellites observed the transport and set-up of a Flat Twin at Sary-Shagan in 25 days.

Flat Twins and Pawn Shops are now in production and are presumably being stockpiled or secretly

Note

pre-positioned under cover in various parts of the country. Now the Soviets are beginning to deploy a completely mobile SAM—the SA-12—with a definite ABM capability. Comprising several tracked vehicles, including one with a small, powerful PAR called "Grill Pan," and others carrying launch tubes, this system has already engaged and destroyed a ballistic-missile warhead in a test. A secret report on arms-treaty violations says the SA-12 "could have a significant autonomous capability to defend a small area" against strategic ballistic-missile warheads.

These developments in ABM missiles and supporting radars are all the more ominous because of the appearance at key points in the Soviet Union of LPARs. These huge installations—each of which would dwarf the U.S. Capitol—provide long-range detection and precise assessment of the size of an ICBM attack.

Note
Zapping Satellites. Nowhere is the depth of Soviet commitment to ballistic-missile defense seen more clearly than in the amount of manpower and money devoted to the more exotic technologies, especially space-based "beam" weapons. While the United States is still studying whether such futuristic weapons are feasible, the Soviets are building them. They are spending an estimated \$1 billion a year on laser weapons alone—a program involving more than 10,000 scientists and engineers. They have already

built several ground-based lasers at Sary-Shagan and near Moscow, one of which U.S. officials believe is powerful enough to damage sensors on some of our spy satellites.

The Soviets are now preparing components for a laser weapon to be launched into orbit. The ability of such a weapon to track a missile in flight was successfully tested in 1961 from the Salyut manned space station, ostensibly involved in peaceful space research.

The problem of lofting into space the tremendous power-generating capacity needed for beam weapons has also been attacked with vigor by the Russians. They have developed a compact rocket-driven generator that produces more than 15 megawatts of electrical power—a device, says the Defense Department, "that has no counterpart in the West."

In addition, the Soviets are developing radio-frequency weapons—with the potential to disable the electrical components inside an attacking warhead—and particle-beam weapons. The Pentagon believes the Soviets may orbit a particle-beam gun sometime in the 1970s.

Attack Without Fear. Since the United States has no defense against ICBMs and only a sadly deteriorated civil-defense system to protect its population, Red Shield enhances Russia's growing ability to launch a nuclear first-strike without fear of effective retaliation.

The Soviets already have enough

"hard target" warheads to easily wipe out the backbone of America's deterrence—her 1000 Minuteman ICBM silos. But a Red Shield, even if only partially effective, could give the Soviets the even greater assurance that they could blunt whatever reduced number of less-accurate and less-powerful warheads the United States could throw at them in a retaliatory attack.

The ever-growing momentum of Red Shield has stripped the ABM treaty of whatever vestigial preten-

sions it may once have had as a preserver of peace. The record is clear: neither treaty nor entreaty has ever served to stop a Soviet military program. The one effective response to Red Shield is for the United States to move immediately toward building its own ballistic-missile defense. As to the old fraud of a "balance of terror," President Reagan dismissed it with a single burning question: "Would it not be better to save lives than to avenge them?"

Senior Sparkle

WHEN MY FATHER'S HEALTH was failing, I chose to move him in with me. Since I work, it was necessary to coordinate with a meals-at-home delivery service for his evening meal. On the first morning after his arrival, while we were having coffee, I was attempting to familiarize him with his new routine. "Do you know what happens today, Pops?" I began. "You're going to receive the first dinner." He looked up from the coffee cup and quipped, "Well, it sure beats the Last Supper."

—Contributed by Nora F. Rodner

MY MINISTER TOLD ME that at my age I should be giving some thought to what he called "the hereafter." I told him that I think about it many times a day. "That's very wise," he said. I explained that it's not a matter of wisdom. It's when I open a drawer or a closet and ask myself, "What am I here after?"

—Quoted by Eli. W. Johnson in *FACE and HAIR* (Walker)

Lost Cause. My mother used to work in a supermarket. One morning, a little boy walked up to her with big, sad eyes and told her he was lost. Mom took his hand, gave him a reassuring hug and said not to worry—she would find his mother. They looked up aisle after aisle. Every time Mom asked, "Do you see your mother?" the boy answered, "No." Finally Mom took the child up to the front of the store and stood him on a counter. She told him to look around very carefully and once more she asked, "Now, do you see your mother?"

"No," answered the child. "I just keep seeing my father."

—Contributed by Karen L. Fenn

The Race for South Africa

Paul Johnson

THE campaign of economic attrition now being waged within the United States against the Republic of South Africa, which is summed up in the word disinvestment, is an outstanding example of the power of political propaganda. That the United States, the richest country in the world, should deliberately set about destroying the economy of what is in some respects still a developing nation is an absurdity in itself, and a cruel absurdity. Such a policy might make some kind of brutal sense, in terms of *Realpolitik*, if it were to America's economic and political advantage to wreck the economy of South Africa. In fact the reverse is true. The United States has absolutely nothing to gain, and a good deal to lose, if disinvestment inflicts radical damage. The truth is, the campaign makes no practical sense at all, as South Africans of all shades of political opinion—except the men of violence—have tried to explain to the American public. In no sense is it justifiable. It is, however, explicable on the assumption that the South African regime is a unique moral evil, whose wickedness is so great that the necessity for its destruction transcends all the rules governing relations between states and, indeed, the dictates of elementary common sense. That, in fact, is the assumption behind the campaign; and that is its moral basis.

Therein lies the triumph of propaganda. For South Africa is not unique. In many fundamental respects it is a typical African country. The problems which confront its government, and the way it responds to them, are typical too. Let us look at six ways in which the Republic is an African archetype.

First, like every state in Africa, it is undergoing a very rapid population increase. Africa is the last of the continents to experience what is termed the population explosion. It occurred first in 19th-century Europe, which accounts for the phenomena of European emigration and colonialism. It then spread to Asia and South America, both of which, like Europe after 1918, are now emerging from the phase of fast growth. In Central America the "explosion" is at its height and that is one prime

reason for the turmoil we find there. In Africa it is just beginning, but the curve of population growth is rising steeply and it is already producing Malthusian countereffects in the form of overcultivation, droughts, famines, and wars. So far, South Africa has avoided the worst of these, but it is feeling intense population pressure like every other African country.

Demographic growth exacerbates what is the most important single characteristic of the African continent: its lack of racial, cultural, and linguistic unity. No other continent is so fragmented. Before colonialism intervened, Africa was beginning to evolve larger units by a process of tribal imperialism, and the effect of the colonial century was to accelerate the process and to transform many thousands of tribal societies into about fifty superficially modern states, which are now independent. Scarcely one is homogeneous. Even small states like Rwanda are riven by racial fissures. In the first quarter-century of independence these divisions have produced appalling civil wars in Nigeria, the Sudan, Chad, Zaire, Uganda, and elsewhere.

Here is the second respect in which South Africa is typical. It is a large African country and because it is large its racial problems—like those of Nigeria, Zaire, and the Sudan, for example—are particularly complex. At the level at which disinvestment is debated in the United States, the Republic is seen as divided between whites and blacks. The reality is much more complicated.

The largest racial group is the Zulu, with 5,412,000 people. In a way it is more a national than a simple racial group, because it is divided in turn into about 200 tribes, each subdivided into clans. The next largest are the whites, with 4,454,000, but these too are composed of diverse ethnic groups—Dutch, French, English, and German—and have two distinctive cultures and languages, Dutch-Afrikaans and English. The figure also includes other important subgroups, such as the large Jewish community, Portuguese, Greeks, Italians, and "Rhodesian Whites." Third in size are the Xhosa, with 2,685,000, followed by the mixed-race group officially called Coloureds (2,556,000), the North Sotho (2,265,000), South Sotho (1,793,000), and Tswana (1,216,000).

In addition to all these, there are seven other

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main groups, ranging from the Shangaan, with nearly 890,000 and the Asians with 780,000, to the Venda, with 185,000. This last is the most homogeneous group, but even it has 27 distinct tribes. The Asians are divided into Hindus (55 percent), Muslims (21 percent), Christians, Buddhists, and other cultures. As for language, there are four major and 23 minor African ones.

This analysis, moreover, excludes the people of the quasi-independent states created within South Africa: Transkei with 2,500,000 people, Bophuthatswana with 1,300,000, Ciskei with 636,000, and Venda with 358,000, making about 4,800,000 in all.

THE third way in which South Africa is typical is that population pressure on the land is driving people into the towns, and especially into the big cities. All over Africa traditional rural societies are breaking up. Towns like Lagos (Nigeria), Johannesburg (South Africa), Dakar (Senegal), Nairobi (Kenya), Khartoum (the Sudan), Kinshasa (Zaire), and Harare (Zimbabwe) are expanding at terrifying speed. Most of the new arrivals live in shantytowns. The statistics of crime, and especially murder, are deeply depressing. No place in South Africa can rival the murder rate in Lagos or half-a-dozen other big black African cities, but the 1984 figures were pretty alarming all the same: in just four police districts in the Rand (the gold-mining region which includes Johannesburg) there were over 2,700 killings last year. Soweto, perhaps the best known of the black townships in the Rand, had 1,454 killings classified as murder. The average police district has between three and seven murders a day. The number of reported rapes is also enormous.

These burgeoning and ultraviolent giant cities pose growing problems to the authorities in all African countries, and here again South Africa is typical. Governments have found that, unless they respond ruthlessly, the shantytowns quickly become no-go areas for the police and are ruled or partitioned by rival gangs: soon the whole city becomes ungovernable.

So governments respond with what has become the curse of Africa—social engineering. People are treated not as individual human beings but as atomized units and shoveled around like concrete or gravel. Movement control is imposed. Every African has to have a grubby little pass-book or some other begrimed document which tells him where he is allowed to work or live. South Africa has had pass-laws of a kind since the 18th century. They have now spread all over the African continent, and where the pass-book comes the bulldozer is never far behind. Virtually all African governments use them to demolish unauthorized settlements. Hundreds of thousands of wretched people are made homeless without warning by governments terrified of being overwhelmed by lawless multitudes. In the black African countries bordering on the Sahara, the authorities fight des-

perately to repel nomadic desert dwellers driven south by drought. When the police fail, punitive columns or troops are sent in.

South Africa has the most efficient though not the largest repressive apparatus on the continent, much admired and imitated by other African governments, who buy South African police hardware when they can. All these security forces are ruthless and liable to act with unpredictable violence. But many are ill-paid and undisciplined, unlike the South African police, and therefore far more savage. The bloody cost of social control and engineering in black Africa goes largely unreported. South Africa, by contrast, has a large, varied, and in many ways excellent press, so we know exactly what goes on there.

African social engineering is, perhaps inevitably, given the lack of homogeneity, conducted on a racial basis. Here again South Africa is typical. All African states are racist. Almost without exception, and with varying degrees of animosity, they discriminate against someone: Jews, or whites, or Asians, or non-Muslim religious groups, or disfavored tribes. There is no such thing as a genuinely multiracial society in the whole of Africa. There is no African country where tribal or racial origins, skin color or religious affiliation are not of prime importance in securing elementary rights.

African countries vary in the extent to which their practice of discrimination is formalized or entrenched in law codes and official philosophies. Most have political theories of a sort, cooked up in the political-science or sociology departments of local universities. Tanzania has a sinister totalitarian doctrine called Ujamaa. Ghana has Consciencism. There is Zambian Humanism, Négritude in Senegal, and, in Zaire, a social creed called Mobutuism, after the reigning dictator. All these government theories reflect the appetites of the ruling racial groups.

Apartheid, cobbled together in the social-psychology department of Stellenbosch University, is a characteristic example of the distinctively African brand of political theory which has developed in the last half century. Apartheid is not a concept which divides the Republic from the rest of Africa: on the contrary, it is the local expression of the African ideological personality. No continent has ever suffered more at the hands of its politically-minded intellectuals, and here again South Africa is very typical.

THOSE, then, are six important ways in which the Republic is a characteristic African state. But in four respects it does differ from its neighbors, and these must be examined too.

The first concerns its wealth. South Africa has by far the richest and most varied range of natural resources of any African country. Its settlements were originally poor, wholly agricultural, largely pastoral; but since the discovery of diamonds in

quantity in the 1800s it has emerged as the richest depository of minerals in the world, exceeded in quantity only by the Soviet Union. About 85 percent of what it mines is exported. It is the largest world supplier of gold, platinum, gem diamonds, chrome, vanadium, manganese, andalusite metals, vermiculite, and asbestos fibers. It is the second largest supplier of uranium and antimony, and among the top ten suppliers of nickel, copper, tin, silver, coal, and fluor spar. South Africa's mineral reserves are prodigious and seem to expand *pari passu* as world demand makes them worth exploring and exploiting. Even as things stand, the country is known to have 86 percent of the West's platinum-group metals, 64 percent of its vanadium, 48 percent of its manganese ore, 83 percent of its chrome ore, and nearly 50 percent of its gold.

There are a number of critical metals in which South Africa's only real rival is the Soviet Union. The two countries between them control 99 percent of the world's platinum, 97 percent of its vanadium, 93 percent of its manganese, 84 percent of its chrome, and 68 percent of its gold. There are many other metals in which the two are paramount. It is impossible to name any country or class or racial group which would materially benefit from the destruction of the South African economy, with one notable exception. The Soviet Union would be an outstanding beneficiary if South Africa's mining industry were put out of action and, still more, if it were placed in hands the Soviet government could control.

The second way in which South Africa differs is that its mineral wealth has become the basis of a modern economy—the only modern economy in the whole of Africa. South of the Sahara, South Africa has less than 25 percent of the population, but it has nearly 75 percent of the total Gross National Product. The core of its economy is mining. Again after the Soviet Union, it has the largest mining industry in the world, employing over 700,000 people as opposed to 470,000 in the United States, 140,000 in Canada, and 70,000 in Australia. In many important respects the South African mining industry is the most efficient and technically advanced in the world.

THE strength of the mining industry accounts for the third way in which South Africa differs. Except for the Ivory Coast, Kenya, and Malawi, all the black African states have experienced falls in real incomes per capita since independence. But only in South Africa have the real incomes of blacks risen very substantially in the last quarter-century. In mining, black wages have tripled in real terms in the last decade and are still rising despite the recession through which the South African economy has been passing since the second quarter of 1984.

This helps to account for the fact that there are more black-owned cars in South Africa than there are private cars in the whole of the Soviet Union.

The Republic is the first and so far the only African country to produce a large black middle class. In South Africa the education available to blacks is poor compared to what the whites get, and that is one of the biggest grievances the black communities harbor; but it is good compared to what is available elsewhere on the continent. The number of blacks matriculating (i.e., completing secondary education) is about to pass the white total, and so, more surprisingly, is the number of black South African women with professional qualifications—now over the 100,000 mark and rising fast. Almost certainly there are now more black women professionals in the Republic than in the whole of the rest of Africa put together.

Thanks to mining, again, this modest but rising prosperity is not confined to blacks born in South Africa. About half of South Africa's black miners come from abroad, chiefly from Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana. Most of their wages are remitted. About 10 million people, in half-a-dozen countries, are financially dependent on South Africa's mining industry, and its breakdown would thus be an unimaginable catastrophe for the whole of southern Africa. Black Africans, like other people, vote most sincerely with their feet. South Africa is the country where they most want to work and (if open to them) live in.

That is one reason Bishop Tutu of Johannesburg was manifestly wrong when he declared last year that South African blacks would welcome a Soviet occupation. The Soviet Union has often been admired from afar, but no one goes there to work in its mines. Nor do South African blacks emigrate, legally or illegally, to neighboring black-run countries like Angola, Mozambique, or Zimbabwe. The security fences South Africa is now rather anxiously erecting are designed to keep intended immigrants out, not—like the Berlin Wall—to keep people in.

The fourth way in which South Africa differs from the rest of the continent is that it is in many respects a free country. Every other African country has become, or is in the process of becoming, a one-party state. None of them subscribes in practice, or in most cases even in theory, to the separation of powers. Both the rule of law and democracy are subject in South Africa to important qualifications. But it is the only African country where they exist at all. The emergency and security powers enjoyed by the South African government are so wide and draconian that they almost make us forget that the judiciary is independent—very much so—and that even non-whites can get justice against the state, something they are most unlikely to secure anywhere else on the continent. The courts are cluttered with black litigants suing the police, the prison authorities, or other government agencies, or appealing against sentences. For instance, the circumstances in which the black leader Steve Biko died in detention have been sub-

jected to a degree of minute scrutiny in the courts which would be rare even in America, and quite impossible anywhere else in Africa.

South Africa has a parliamentary constitution with a limited franchise, rather as Britain had in the early 19th century. Like Britain then, and unlike the rest of Africa now, it has been moving toward democracy rather than away from it. The new constitution introduced last year gives parliamentary representation, though on separate rolls, to both the Asian and the Coloured communities. Asian and Coloured ministers now serve in the government. No one doubts that the blacks, who already have the vote in local government elections, will get it in some form in central government elections. The claim by opponents of the regime that these changes are simply cosmetic is evidently not shared by the extremists of the African National Congress (ANC), who have been doing everything in their power to murder or terrorize non-whites who participate in elections.

THERE is also overwhelming evidence that South Africa has been moving away from apartheid. Some of it was always a dead letter; other aspects are no longer enforced. The fact that over 10 million blacks live and work in areas officially designated white shows that the physical core of apartheid has been surrendered. Now the scrapping of Section 10 of the Immorality Act, which made interracial sex illegal, and of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act has destroyed its emotional core. It is quite clear that P.W. Botha, who became President (in the U.S. sense) under the new constitution, is convinced that apartheid has to go and has been dismantling it almost by stealth to avoid panicking the bulk of the regime's followers.

The view of Alan Paton, South Africa's greatest writer, now eighty-one, as expressed to the South African weekly, the *Financial Mail*, earlier this year, is worth quoting:

Since Union [1910] I've observed all our prime ministers closely, except Louis Botha, who died when I was about sixteen; and I certainly think the most astute of them all is this current chap who is now our state president. There's a word that I've decided to cut out of my vocabulary, and that's "cosmetic." I believe that P.W. Botha with his whole heart wants to remain part of the West. And I think that P.W. realized that if we were once dropped by the West, it would be the end of us, and especially the end of the Afrikaner. . . . P.W. has said things that no prime minister has said before—not one, not even Louis Botha or [Jan] Smuts. He said that he wanted a future for every child in this country, white, black, or brown. He said that if these people are good enough to go and fight on our border, they are good enough to have a place at home.

What is happening within the political system

is that the real supporters of apartheid are moving out of the regime's National party and into the opposition Conservative party of Dr. Andries Treurnicht; and their places in the National party are being filled by more liberal English-speaking voters. The true voice of apartheid now comes from the Conservatives, isolated from power at the Right end of the spectrum. The voice of the regime itself is the voice of change.

At the end of February this year, Treurnicht proposed a motion in parliament rejecting the government's intention to extend the existing political integration and power-sharing to include blacks, and affirming that the only meaningful solution for South Africa was partition, a logical extension of apartheid. He used the same arguments which, until quite recently, were the stock government defense of the system.

Even more significant was the speech rejecting the motion from Chris Heunis, Minister for Constitutional Development and a key figure in the reform process. He said that Treurnicht "is not seeking self-determination for all groups . . . [but] only for the whites, and in his terminology this means domination." Peaceful coexistence on this basis was impossible and violence was certain. The basic difference between the government and the Conservatives, Heunis added, was that the government "accepted the implications of South Africa's multinationalism," of "our multi-ethnic society," and these were that "we are not just one nation here which can exclude and push all the others around." To refuse to accept these implications was "to flee from reality" and "to bury the head in the ground like an ostrich."

Where have we heard all these phrases and arguments before? Why—until recently they were hurled at the regime by its English-speaking liberal opponents.

At the rate things have been moving, apartheid could be dead and officially buried in five years. If so, I like to think that South Africa will be only the first African state to recognize that its particular "ism" cannot work, and the repudiation of apartheid will be followed by the dissolution of similar ideologies elsewhere on the continent.

Certainly any acceptance of power-sharing by the Republic will have a beneficial effect on its neighbors, especially if it can be carried out peacefully. In many ways South Africa is the natural leader and former of opinion, at any rate in the southern half of the continent. The Republic had a baneful and destructive influence during the 1950's and 1960's, when apartheid was riding triumphant, and undoubtedly contributed to the spirit of intolerance and violence which destroyed civilized government in so many of the new black states during these decades. If South Africa is sickening of social engineering and the ideological superstructure built upon it, it may mean that this dark period in African history is drawing to a close, and that the Republic will lead other Afri-

can nations to better ways of conducting their affairs.

A GAINST this historical background, and what amounts to a watershed in African development, what is the campaign for disinvestment likely to achieve? It could have one of two effects. By far the more likely, in my opinion, is that it will ultimately strengthen both the regime and the South African economy. Economic sanctions are remarkably ineffective against a strong modern economy: often they merely enforce improvements, in quite unexpected ways. South Africa was traditionally a colonial economy which exported commodities and imported manufactures. The sanctions imposed over the last quarter-century have simply hastened its progress toward economic self-sufficiency.

The arms embargo, now more than two decades old, merely led to the creation of an indigenous arms industry. South Africa exploited the advanced technology of its mining industry to become a world leader in the manufacture of conventional explosives, rivaling the hitherto unchallenged supremacy in this field of Sweden and the U.S. It also specializes in mine-resistant armored-security vehicles, in which it has outstripped all its competitors. From an importer of arms it has become an exporter, selling its products all over the world but especially to other African governments, whose needs are similar. In fact the United Nations, which once instructed its members to stop selling arms to South Africa, is now driven to beg them to stop buying arms from the Republic.

The oil embargo produced similar results. South Africa, as it happens, does not find much difficulty in buying oil these days. But to make itself more than 85-percent self-sufficient in energy, it has created a synthetic-fuel industry whose chief component, Sasol, the semi-public coal-into-petroleum firm, is now the world leader in this technology. This has involved modernizing and expanding the coal industry, and as a by-product South Africa has created the lowest-cost coal-export trade in the world. It has captured a huge slice of the Japanese market and even exports coal at a profit to the United States.

These two examples (there are many others) suggest that disinvestment will not work. As long as investment in South Africa, especially in mining, remains highly profitable capital will find its way there, whatever the U.S. banks and multinationals decide. The only change will be a growth in South African financial institutions, with Johannesburg doing for itself what at present is done by others. The net result will again be a broadening of South Africa's economic base by adding a strong financial sector, the elements of which already exist. The loser will be the United States economy.

There is, however, the possibility—I put it no higher—that the disinvestment campaign will suc-

ceed in inflicting substantial damage on South African industry, especially mining. In that case, we must then ask ourselves who the victims will be. Who will suffer?

It will not be the supporters of apartheid. They are, for the most part, small farmers, impervious to outside economic pressure. They are isolationist by instinct and by historical tradition. Their forebears undertook the Great Trek, away from Britain's Cape Colony and into the wild interior, precisely to escape from the world, to make themselves independent of it. They are far more isolationist than any prewar American Republicans. Their image of security is the *laager*, the circle of wagons drawn close together to keep alien forces out of their warm, inbred, Calvinist society. They regard Johannesburg and its business and financial palaces as Sodom, the city of Satan. Anything which damages the money-power is welcome to them.

Hence a successful campaign of disinvestment would simply drive the Afrikaners back into the *laager* and into the waiting arms of Dr. Treurnicht and his Conservative party. The forces of reform within the regime would lose their electoral base and the reform movement itself would come to a halt; perhaps be put into reverse. The political consequences of disinvestment would thus be the opposite of what its supporters claim. Those South African whites who support apartheid have always argued that big business and international finance were dragging the country along the calamitous path to multiracialism: the disinvestment campaign, if successful, would prove them right.

T HEY are right, of course. The primary opponent of apartheid in South Africa—its only effective opponent, in practice—is capitalism. For it is a mistake to regard apartheid as the extreme right-wing end of the political spectrum. It is more accurately described as ethnic socialism, a system which necessarily involves state interference in every aspect of economic activity, a huge state sector, an ever-growing state encroachment on the national income, and a mass of restrictive laws which inhibit the operations of the free market. Capitalism is incompatible with apartheid for broadly the same reasons it is incompatible with feudalism: it cannot coexist with a social and political system based on inherited racial caste, which forbids freedom of movement and a free market in labor, and subordinates all business decisions to the needs of a primitive world view.

Hence it is in the nature of capitalism in South Africa to destroy apartheid, and that is precisely what it has been doing. If we look at the aspirations of South African blacks, not as imagined in theory and from the outside but as they actually exist, we find that black priorities center on five practical objects. These are, in probable order of importance: better education for their children;

Note | rights of citizenship; the right to own property, especially house title, anywhere in the country; the end of Influx Control—that is, freedom of movement and residence; and a natural corollary of the last three demands, freedom from excessive police supervision. On each and all these demands, and in their overall aspiration, the blacks have the vigorous support of virtually the whole business community.

There is, in fact, a common interest for blacks and business to dismantle apartheid. This common interest is paradoxically underlined by the disinvestment campaign. For if it succeeds, both will be victims.

That business, and especially the mining industry, will suffer is obvious enough. The new very-deep-level gold mines, for instance, absorb colossal quantities of investment cash. To sink a single shaft can cost over \$1 billion. On the other hand, one big mine can employ 20,000 people or even more, three-quarters of them blacks.

If mines close or reduce production, the first to be turned away will be black immigrants. The effect on the economies of such countries as Mozambique, Botswana, and Malawi will be serious: they are poor enough already, and heavily dependent on foreign currency earned by such export of labor. If disinvestment does enough damage, South African blacks will lose their jobs too. There is a simple calculation: of every hundred jobs disinvestment destroys, between 70 and 80, and possibly more, are held by blacks, and these are the best-paid black industrial jobs on the whole continent.

I HAVE no doubt that this is exactly the effect which some of those who support the disinvestment campaign wish to achieve. It is certainly the aim of the African National Congress, which is no longer interested in reform

or a negotiated, gradualist settlement, but seeks a solution by force. The ANC and its followers believe that mass unemployment will increase the "revolutionary consciousness" of blacks.

The present situation in South Africa can thus be seen as a race. On the one hand, there are those within the regime, and the white liberals outside it, who want to dismantle apartheid and build a system of multiracial power-sharing. They know they are engaged in a race, but they must move slowly, because they have to carry the bulk of the Afrikaners with them. On the other hand, there is the ANC, which is racing to destroy the moderate elements within the Asian, Coloured, and above all the black populations before they can be integrated into the reformed regime. Its terror campaign, which was brought to a head by young people under ANC influence, and which provoked the declaration of a state of emergency in July, has been aimed very largely at non-white moderates. Its object has been to murder as many of them as it can, and to frighten the rest into noncooperation. It is strongly reminiscent of the campaign waged by the National Liberation Front against Arab moderates in French Algeria, and of the efforts by the Grand Mufti and his killers to destroy the forces of Arab moderation in prewar Palestine.

Both these earlier terror campaigns succeeded, and it is possible that the ANC, helped along by disinvestment, will eventually succeed as well, in spite of harsh emergency measures adopted by the government. In that case, the black extremists will have won the race, the attempt to move away from apartheid will be abandoned, and South Africa will face a future of continuing and increasing violence. But it will be a future in which a reformed and emotionally strengthened regime of apartheid will almost certainly stay on top, using whatever force is necessary.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 9, 1986

Dear Phyllis:

I've just learned that you are having some health problems. I hope they will soon be a thing of the past, and I want you to know that you'll be in my thoughts and prayers until they are.

Phyllis, I know you've been helping your granddaughter, Lara, at the University of Illinois. Having worked my way through Eureka, I know something of the problems she faces. Would you care to write and let me know about her situation? There might be something I could do with regard to some of the student aid programs. If you care to write me, just address it to me here at the White House and on the envelope write "Attention Kathy Osborne." That will bring it to my desk immediately.

Again, take care of yourself and all the best.

Sincerely,

Dutch

Mrs. Phyllis Cole
406 Badger Court
Morrison, Illinois 61270

86

Memo From . . .

SALLY Call 4 -

Mrs Apple

815-225-7976

~~think she is~~

Poor health - not enough insurance
Can't cover major health problems -

Univ. of Illinois
Septmore or Junior

Mrs Cole

406 Badger Court
Morrison, Ill

61270

Lara Cole -

CARLOS J. MOORHEAD
MEMBER OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1986

Mr. President:

I talked with Judith Apple this morning. She advised me that Lara Cole will be a sophomore at the University of Illinois this fall. She also said that Phyllis Cole told her she turned her granddaughter's "papers" over to her other grandmother to see if she could help. She said she wasn't sure if she was talking about adoption papers or tuition papers.

I checked with Secretary Bennett's office to find out what the tuition cost was at the University and I was told for her sophomore year it would be approximately \$2,000 in tuition costs for the whole year. The school has a financial aid program but the deadline to sign up for this fall was March 15th. There are government aid programs also available to students but not knowing more facts about Lara and Phyllis Cole, I'm not sure if Lara would qualify for government aid.

I think maybe you or I should call Phyllis Cole to inquire about her health and then subtly mention we understand she has been helping her granddaughter in college, etc. and see if she can give any more information. Another possibility is that even though the March 15th deadline has passed for student aid from the Univeristy, it's possible that deadline could be waived for a special case through one of the Trustees like Governor Thompson.....

After the above is
done

the first object:

I am writing to let you know
that the first object is to
have a meeting in the afternoon from
children and adults (including

the disputants) the case hearing
to let the guardians that
the will be large pay the wages

Yes.

I am sure Phyllis would not

like my writing you about this
but I am certain that you can
the kind of person who cases

Phyllis

Sincerely yours,
Dorothy Lipp

To Mrs. Phyllis Cole

406 Badger Court
Morrison Ill. 61270

Dear Phyllis

I've just learned that you are having some health problems. I hope they ~~so~~ will soon be a thing of the past. and you'll be in my thoughts and prayers until they are.

Phyllis I know you've been helping your granddaughter Lana at the U. of Ill. Having worked my way through Eureka I know something of the problems she faces. Would you care to tell me her situation? There might be something I could do with regard to some of the student aid programs. If you care to write me just address it to me here at the White House & on the envelope write "Attn. Kathy Osborne". That will bring it to my desk immediately.

Again - take care of yourself & all the best.

Sincerely Dutch

End
Case
File