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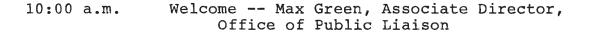
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WASHINGTON

U.S. POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA

Monday July 28, 1986

Room 450 OEOB 10:00 a.m.



10:10 a.m. Remarks -- Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

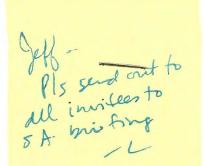
Questions and answers.

10:50 a.m. Remarks -- Larry Saiers, Deputy Assistant
Administrator for East and Southern
Africa, Agency for International
Development

Questions and answers.

11:20 a.m. Remarks -- Ambassador J. Douglas Holladay,
Director, South Africa Working Group,
Department of State

Questions and answers.



WASHINGTON

#### U.S. POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA

Monday July 28, 1986

Room 450 OEOB 10:00 a.m.

| 10:00 a.m. | Welcome Max | Green, | Associate | Director, |
|------------|-------------|--------|-----------|-----------|
|            | Office of   | Public | Liaison   |           |

- 10:10 a.m. Remarks -- Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Questions and answers.
- 10:50 a.m. Remarks -- Larry Saiers, Deputy Assistant Administrator for East and Southern Africa, Agency for International Development

Questions and answers.

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LIST 1

14

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**B6** 

OF INVITEES [PARTIAL]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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| 127 Baldwin<br>Steve<br>6/16/56     | * |     |   |
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| 88 Barrett<br>David<br>4/21/37      | ŧ |     |   |
| 75 Barthell Marc S. 11/17/32        |   |     |   |
| 57 Berger<br>Gerald I.<br>4/3/39    | • |     | · |
| 2 Berry<br>Robert<br>12/6/56        |   |     |   |
| 60 Binder<br>Jonathan S.<br>5/2/65  |   |     |   |
| 15 Bissell<br>Richard E.<br>1/25/46 |   |     |   |
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| 61<br>Hyman<br>3/9/16      | Bookbinder       | -  |  |  |
| 16<br>Mike<br>4/22/59      | Boos             |    |  |  |
| 156<br>James J.<br>1/25/58 | Boulet           |    |  |  |
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| 103<br>David<br>1/29/26    | Busby            |    |  |  |
| 62<br>Margaret<br>7/6/56   | Calhoun .        |    |  |  |
| 158<br>Michael<br>9/16/47  | Call             |    |  |  |
| 76<br>Linda S.<br>5/29/58  | Campanella       | W. |  |  |
| 144<br>Richard<br>4/18/52  | Campanelli<br>M. |    |  |  |
| 82<br>Terrie 1<br>3/9/55   | Carter           |    |  |  |
| 18<br>Donald 1<br>2/29/36  | Chester<br>F.    |    |  |  |
| 94<br>John<br>9/5/38       | Chettle          | u  |  |  |

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| 108 Church<br>John Franklin<br>1/1/36 |     |
| 106 Claiborne<br>Clay J.<br>8/18/15   |     |
| 38 Clark<br>Fred C.<br>7/4/25         | •   |
| 19 Clinkscales<br>Curt<br>1/26/47     |     |
| 70 Cohen<br>Bonner R.<br>7/21/45      |     |
| 89 Cohen<br>Daniel<br>7/16/58         |     |
| 152 Combrimck<br>Ebenaezer<br>6/17/45 |     |
| 147 Conley<br>Heather J.<br>10/31/65  |     |
| 83 Cooney<br>Stephen<br>4/9/46        |     |
| 66 Creegan<br>John<br>8/11/56         |     |
| 142 Crocker<br>Chester A.<br>10/29/41 |     |

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| 22                | Dickens                 |   |  |     |   |   |  |
| Samuel T          |                         |   |  |     |   |   |  |
| 10/6/26           |                         |   |  |     |   |   |  |
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| 23                | Dixon                   |   | ,                                      | ··· |   |   |  |
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| Michael           |                         |   |  |     |   |   |  |
| 7/14/57           |                         | • |  | ·   | i |   |  |
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| 49<br>Erwin       | Duggan                  |   |  | W   |   |   |  |
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| 73                | Eisenberg               |   |  |     |   |   |  |
| Warren            | _                       |   |  |     |   |   |  |
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| 145<br>Margaret<br>7/18/60 | Falotico<br>A. |                     |
| 90<br>Daniel<br>2/15/57    | Fisk           |                     |
| 85<br>Albert A<br>4/20/44  | Fox.           |                     |
| 128<br>John<br>1/12/27     | Frahm          |                     |
| 52<br>Joel B.<br>10/7/44   | Freedman       |                     |
| 54<br>Rita<br>12/26/46     | Freedman       |                     |
| 80<br>Barbara<br>3/22/53   | Futterman L.   |                     |
| 110<br>Albert<br>1/21/30   | Gaisford       |                     |
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| 79<br>Marc C.<br>10/18/50   | Ginsberg       |       |
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| 12<br>Robert J<br>6/28/23   | Hanks<br>•     |       |
| 77<br>Clement (<br>9/1/54   | Hearey<br>J.   |       |
| 44<br>Kent<br>5/24/49       | Hill           |       |
| 51<br>Velma<br>10/17/38     | Hill           |       |
| 122<br>Stephani<br>10/28/69 | Hoefeller<br>e |       |
| 104<br>Lewis<br>2/11/23     | Hoffacker      |       |
| 140<br>J. Dougl<br>1/31/47  | Holladay<br>as |       |
| 91<br>John<br>1/20/50       | Houston        |       |
| 25<br>Joan L.<br>6/10/23    | Hueter         |       |
| 26<br>James D.<br>5/6/30    | Johnston       |       |

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| 124<br>Gordon<br>5/14/42    | Jones -    |            |   |
| 92<br>Ardon<br>10/7/36      | Judd       |            | l |
| 46<br>Walter<br>11/14/55    | Kanstiener |            | I |
| 56<br>Adrian<br>2/17/54     | Karatnycky |            | I |
| 63<br>Bradley<br>3/17/55    | Keena      |            | i |
| 48<br>Penn<br>1/21/41       | Kemble     |            | I |
| 154<br>Tamsamga<br>12/28/55 | Khumalo    |            |   |
| 27                          | Kincaid    |            |   |
| 28<br>Clifford<br>5/16/54   | Kincaid    |            |   |
| 47<br>Diane<br>1/6/52       | Knippers   |            |   |
| 58<br>Howard<br>11/11/55    | Kohr       |            | • |
| 59<br>Anthony<br>1/1/59     | Korenstein | States for | • |

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| 109<br>Clement 1<br>10/14/39 |                    |        |
| 11<br>Greg<br>4/1/43         | Lebedev            |        |
| 8<br>Patricia<br>11/13/65    | Lee                |        |
| 118<br>Armistea<br>4/2/16    | Lee<br>d           |        |
| 117                          | Lee Armistead      | 4/2/16 |
| 65<br>Peter<br>2/6/64        | LeMaster           |        |
| 29<br>Casimira<br>5/23/54    | Lenard<br>S.       |        |
| 3<br>James P.<br>7/25/27     | Low                |        |
| 6<br>Edward<br>8/6/58        | Lynch              |        |
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| 30<br>Wilson<br>11/19/23    | Malloy         | ŧ       |   |   |  |
| 137<br>Simon<br>12/25/62    | Marisol        |         |   |   |  |
| 125<br>Sal<br>1/21/27       | Marzullo       |         |   |   |  |
| 151<br>Mzilikaz<br>1/23/53  | Masiya<br>i P. |         |   |   |  |
| 41<br>Nina O.<br>4/14/52    | May            |         |   |   |  |
| 71<br>Paul<br>9/26/57       | Mazzucca       |         |   |   |  |
| 146<br>Maureen<br>8/29/61   | McEwen         |         |   |   |  |
| 53<br>Joanne<br>11/17/55    | McFarland      | <b></b> |   | _ |  |
| 69<br>Edwin<br>5/1/66       | McKean         |         | *                                       |   |  |
| 100<br>Clarence<br>11/16/42 |                | e egg   | × • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • |   |  |
| 21<br>Rita<br>10/7/59       | McWilliams     |         |   |   |  |

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| 72<br>David Jan<br>9/1/47  | Mertz<br>nes |  |   |
| 112<br>Zalman<br>6/7/51    | Mervis       |  |   |
| 32<br>James<br>3/21/44     | Miller       |  | • |
| 134<br>Lisa<br>5/1/54      | Molina       |  |   |
| 121<br>John<br>6/24/67     | Mongoven     |  |   |
| 95<br>John<br>3/9/47       | Montgomery   |  |   |
| 33<br>Richard<br>11/11/23  |              |  |   |
| 114<br>James W.<br>9/24/47 | Morrison     |  |   |
| 99<br>Julian<br>8/22/29    | Mott         |  |   |
| 126<br>Paul<br>7/10/46     | Murphy       |  |   |
| 1<br>Morgan<br>5/30/36     | Norval       |  |   |
| 78<br>John<br>12/21/55     | Novick       |  |   |

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| 31<br>James<br>7/16/56    | O'Connell       |            |  |
| 67<br>Patrick<br>7/30/31  | O'Farrell<br>J. |            |  |
| 34<br>Kevin<br>8/23/46    | O'Rourke        |            |  |
| 129<br>William<br>7/29/60 | Pascoe          |            |  |
| 17<br>Andrew F<br>7/2/65  | Perry           |            |  |
| 35<br>Howard<br>2/3/41    | Phillips        |            |  |
| 37<br>Julie<br>4/11/41    | Rao             |            |  |
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| 148<br>Laurel<br>1/20/60  | Rice            |            | enggere and the second and the secon |
| 139<br>Stephen<br>6/21/30 | Rogers<br>H.    |            |  |
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| 68<br>Timothy<br>8/9/63   | Rupli<br>R.     |            |  |

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| 135<br>Jose<br>1/12/60              | Sanchez         |     |
| 96<br>Dave<br>1/23/60               | Sanders         |     |
| 141<br>Edward L<br>8/22/22          | Savage<br>• .   |     |
| 136<br>Ingrid<br>9/13/65            | Schlaffke       |     |
| 115<br>Casandra<br>12/15/33         | Scholte         |     |
| 130<br>G <b>e</b> orge J<br>4/17/29 |                 |     |
| 39<br>Duncan J<br>10/2/56           | Sellars.        |     |
| 116<br>Richard<br>4/7/59            | Sincere         |     |
| 7<br>Donald A<br>9/18/31            | Smiley<br>lbert |     |
| 64<br>David<br>11/16/61             | Snider          |     |
| 10<br>Elise<br>1/31/63              | Sosnow          |     |

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| 5<br>Ireland<br>12/7/34    | Stewart               |            |     |  |
| 36<br>Frederic<br>12/8/48  | Stocker<br>Thomas     |            |     |  |
| 97<br>Fred<br>6/15/33      | Stokelđ               |            |     |  |
| 74<br>Harry E.I<br>2/7/31  | Sullivan<br>3.        |            |     |  |
| 9<br>Richard<br>3/6/65     | Sung                  |            |     |  |
| 157<br>David Ng<br>5/3/38  | Thebehali<br>oako     |            | -   |  |
| 138<br>Jose<br>6/17/60     | Valdizan              |            |     |  |
| 43<br>Frank<br>8/23/21     | Watson                |            |     |  |
| 42<br>George D<br>2/28/21  | Webster               |            |     |  |
| 113<br>Stanley<br>12/21/26 | Weiss                 |            |     |  |
| 105<br>Preston<br>8/23/58  | White                 |            |     |  |
| 153<br>Christia<br>7/30/58 | Wienand<br>an Hendrik | Phillippus |     |  |

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| 45<br>Alan<br>7/17/57  | Wisdom |     |  |

### POLITICS

### Sense on Sanctions Common

### Mrs Thatcher's honesty, Sir Geoffrey's problem

BRUCEANDERSON

lack Africa has become a theatre of barbarism and exported political sentimentality. Throughout the continent, 'governments' are robbing, oppressing, incarcerating, flogging, torturing, and murdering their subjects - but no one in the West gives a damn. A patch of fog on the M1 makes a bigger news story.

So we can dismiss the idea that all the attention now being paid to the sufferings of South African blacks has anything to do with morality -- such a selective morality is no morality at all. The emotional intensity that South Africa arouses owes far more to aggression than to pity: most of its strength of feeling derives not from love of the blacks, but from hatred of the whites.

The argument for sanctions against South Africa rests on two contradictory propositions, neither of which is true. The first is that the government's reform process is a sham, and that the South African whites are cynical monsters. The second is that if economic sanctions were applied, they would somehow turn into paper monsters.

But the truth is that most of those who advocate sanctions are as little interested in logic as they are in history. They are no more willing to think through the consequences of sanctions than they are to address the problems of implementing democracy in South Africa. They are not concerned to do good, only to feel good - moral free-lunchers, who use other countries' complex and intractable problems as political soft porn to fuel their own fantasies.

The terrible irony of all this is that the South African government is in trouble because it is trying to reform the country's institutions and share power with the blacks — the old, inevitable story of the de Tocqueville dictum, that the most dangerous moment for a previously repressive government comes when it embarks on reform. If, instead, Mr Botha had opted for repression, Mr Heath wouldn't be urging Mrs Thatcher to implement measures which he never even considered when he was Prime Minister, long before the reform process had begun. Tories for Fundamental Change in South Africa — a group infested by the kind of backbencher who not only oils his hair, but his voice and his face as well — would not have escaped from the Peter Simple column, for there would have been no opportunity for its members to smarm all over the news

programmes. And Sir Geoffrey Howe would have been spared the need to go on

As it is, Sir Geoffrey has had to spend much of the last year in preparing a damage-limitation exercise. He and the Foreign Office are fully persuaded by the case against sanctions — and even more fully aware that for Britain to argue that case would risk diplomatic isolation. So they sought a policy which would achieve a number of objectives - all apparently irreconcilable. First, they recognised the need to implement a minimum package of economic measures which would placate the Commonwealth while doing little damage to the British and South African economies. These measures would be described as 'sanctions' in Lusaka and 'signals' at the 1922 Committee. Second, they wanted to retain our influence with and Teverage over President Botha, and to persuade him that Britain might have a role as an honest broker. Third, boldest of all, they hoped that these measures might defuse the whole issue, so that it would cease to dominate the agenda at Commonwealth and other conferences.

Like many diplomatic endeavours, this was open to the objection that it presupposed a world in which everyone was as subtle and sophisticated as the Foreign Office mandarins. In this case, that criticism had special force. It was entirely predictable that one of the key players would resolutely refuse to display either subtlety or sophistication.

The British Prime Minister has a thoroughly undiplomatic temperament. She knew that sanctions were a nonsense why couldn't everyone else see reason? In the briefing meetings, Sir Geoffrey would patiently ride out the storms as he explained to her the need to make a gesture to the foreigners. But in the plenary sessions, as soon as the objection was raised that the measures which the UK was offering did not go far enough, she would break out — the whole thing was rubbish anyway.

Sir Geoffrey, however, is formidably effective at getting his own way with the Prime Minister. She flings the crockery at him: he just blinks, resumes his suede-shoe delivery, and wears her down. But in this case, reluctant acquiescence is not enough.

Ferdinand Mount is on holiday.

Her inconvenient honesty has been most unhelpful - indeed, it has virtually sabotaged Sir Geoffrey's efforts. Mrs Thatcher's well-advertised dislike of the whole policy has made it doubly clear that anything proposed by London will be half-hearted. So unless Mr Botha rescues Sir Geoffrey by releasing Nelson Mandela, there is major trouble ahead for the Common wealth.

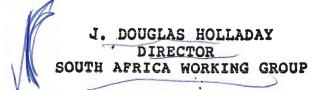
This is causing great anxiety in some sections of the Tory Party, who fear the electoral consequences of a break up. Certainly, there could be great embarrassments ahead, especially with the Palace. On Commonwealth matters, the Queen is. as it were, outside her Prime Minister's jurisidiction: Commonwealth leaders enjoy independent access to her, and can tender advice that is in direct conflict with the advice she receives from No. 10. There are no precedents to show how this problem should be resolved, so it could yet create a political and indeed constitutional crisis. But if so, it may be a crisis fought out in the upper reaches of the Establishment, with little or no popular resonance.

The Commonwealth is best defined as the British Empire converted into a subsidiary of Lonrho, and then rewritten as an Observer leader. As such, it has never implanted itself in the affections of the British public. If the public now discovers that the Commonwealth means sharing our Queen with those who certainly don't deserve her, indifference may quickly be-

come hostility.

But the strongest argument against the Commonwealth is an altruistic one. One can see why these African dictators so enjoy international junketings, where they are treated as equals by politicians from proper countries. Any relief from the problems of feeding their own peoples must be welcome. But many of these problems were created by those very politicians. Since independence, most African countries have been in the throes of urban kleptocracy and rural socialism, which is why they have squandered not only aid receipts, but their populations' energies. Nothing should be allowed to distract African politicians from the task of putting that right. If they want to feel that they are jolly good fellows, let them do so by winning their peoples gratitude — not by using the Commonwealth as a Third World playpen.

Message is being ment to S.A. In MARKETPLACE -no new navny is going into S.A. - Wy should this good go ahead & interpose the some would be Da reighting countres Printer Santa Will putting bluek agrice workers out front were really have a covercive feet on the people were trying to affect - the white good? "-"I see so members of Polisant pietly apples in the western Cape." Irrelant Sunction - "No new investment" - when there no investment anyway - left Tighteny the screws into word that's NOT THONG! Marketplace is realized it's not agood place to inich financial or morally brigar - Pin Antch -Howard Phillips -? very anti-100) C.C. We don't reignige the ANK
but is a player
you can't test their beliefs
unless you talk to them. > Black priests anti aputtid + anti - ANC ammint dely concurred about what good will be like post - 3mg



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WASHINGTON

#### U.S. POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA

Monday July 28, 1986

Room 450 OEOB 10:00 a.m.

| 10:00 a.m. | Welcome Ma | x Green, | Associate | Director, |
|------------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
|            | Office o   | f Public | Liaison   |           |

- 10:10 a.m. Remarks -- Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

  Questions and answers.
- 10:50 a.m. Remarks -- Larry Saiers, Deputy Assistant Administrator for East and Southern Africa, Agency for International Development

Questions and answers.

11:20 a.m. Remarks -- Ambassador J. Douglas Holladay,
Director, South Africa Working Group,
Department of State

Questions and answers.

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### CHESTER A. CROCKER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Chester A. Crocker was sworn in as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs on June 9, 1981.

Born in New York City on October 29, 1941, Dr. Crocker received his B.A. from Ohio State University, graduating (1963) cum laude, with distinction in history. He received his M.A. (1965) and Ph.D. (1969) from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

Dr. Crocker served as Director of African Studies at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies (C.S.I.S.) from January 1976 until 1981. He directed research and policy analysis involving experts and leaders from the Executive Branch, the Congress, universities and foundations, the private sector, the media, and from African and other foreign nations. He first joined Georgetown in August 1972 as Director of the university's Master of Science in Foreign Service Program, serving concurrently as Assistant (later Associate) Professor of African politics and international relations. While at Georgetown he was also a consultant to the State Department, the CIA, the Army War College, the Murphy Commission, the Rockefeller Foundation, and private firms.

Dr. Crocker's other professional experience includes work as news editor of Africa Report magazine (1968-69), lecturer in African government and politics at American University (1969-70), and staff officer at the National Security Council, where he coordinated interagency policy studies and action papers involving Middle Eastern, African, and Indian Ocean issues (1970-72).

During the past 15 years, Dr. Crocker has lectured, written and consulted on a broad range of international issues, expecially those involving Africa. Topics Dr. Crocker has addressed over the years include U.S. foreign policy processes, government

organization in foreign policy, and policy problems throughout Africa. He has also testified before a number of Congressional hearings on African subjects, beginning with the Nigerian civil war in the 1960's, and participated in many policy symposia sponsored by government agencies and private organizations.

Dr. Crocker's research and writings have appeared in numerous books, newspapers and journals, including the <u>Washington Post</u>, Orbis, The <u>New Republic</u>, Africa Today, Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs, and the <u>Washington Quarterly</u>. His latest book, of which he is co-editor, is <u>South Africa Into the 1980s</u> (Westview Press, 1979).

He is a member of the Council of Foreign Relations and the Cosmos Club. Dr. Crocker resides in Washington with his wife and three children.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*



### Black Silent Majority Committee

Washington, D.C. Office (202) 546-0600 Communications and Education Center (512) 340-2424 2714 West Avenue San Antonio, TX 78201 MAIL TO: P.O. BOX 5519 SAN ANTONIO, TX 78201

CLAY CLAIBORNE NATIONAL DIRECTOR

AWARDED
GEORGE WASHINGTON
HONOR MEDAL
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#### REPRINTED FROM THE



### Rocky Mountain News

128th year, No. 3

DENVER, COLORADO

**FRIDAY** 

©APRIL 25, 1986

25 cents

26-Rocky Mountain News

Fri., April 25; 1986, Denver, Colo.

# U.S. black group seeks support for South Africa

**Rocky Mountain News Staff** 

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We are trying to convince black entrepreneurs to join forces with black entrepreneurs in South

- South African schoolchildren kill suspect in slaying of classmates/66
- Botha calls political rights necessary to political solidarity/66

Africa," said Clay Claiborne, founder and national director of the Black Silent Majority Committee. "American blacks can benefit blacks of that region by opening their, homes to young Africans seeking an American education."

Claiborne, of San Antonio, Texas, said his group also is trying to gather support for the "freedom fighters in Angola" who are fighting the Soviet-Cuban takeover of Africa.

"The situation in South Africa could be better helped if Americans had a better knowledge of the African\_problem," Claiborne said.

South Africa, a country of 22 million blacks, 6 million residents of mixed blood and 800,000 Asians is ruled by 6 million whites, he said.

"But if you turned over rule to the blacks, there would be a blood bath, both blacks against whites and blacks against blacks," Claiborne said. "The chief of the majority tribe, the Zulus, is not going to be governed by a black from another tribe."

While Claiborne said his committee doesn't support apartheid, it doesn't support sanctions against South Africa, either.

"Black Americans have an opportunity to step in and teach, to guide black Africans in how to turn their limited resources into greater economic achievements for all."

# San Antonio Light

**SEPTEMBER 15, 1985** 

### BETTY GODFREY

## Why Clay doesn't yell over apartheid



"He said to me, 'Clay, you're too black to be so red, white and blue.' I said, 'I'm too black not to be red, white and blue.'"

While Clay Claiborne, national director of the Black Silent Majority Committee, declines invitations to speak locally and was reluctant to talk to me, he is speaking out,

nevertheless, against proposed U.S. sanctions against South Africa. Two weeks ago he appeared with Jerry Falwell on cable television. One day this week he agreed to be the guest of Patrick J. Timpone over radio KLBJ out of Austin. The subject: South Africa.

"Patrick, Patrick," Clay Claiborne said patiently over his telephone to Timpone, "Are you going to let me speak? Am I on the air?" Silence answered him. Moments later, after allowing two members of the Free South Africa Committee from the University of Texas to ramble on, Timpone returned to his guest.

"Mr. Claiborne, you were off the air." Clay Claiborne hung up. I was sitting in his West Avenue office, listening to him in the next room.

"I don't bruise easily," he said to me. And I don't suppose anyone who started as a reporter, or who has the high-level Republican contacts and business connections Clay Claiborne has, would bruise easily. But a lot of people, black people included, may express wonder that a man of his stature isn't out there screaming against apartheid

and for sanctions against South Africa, as Jesse Jackson is, for instance.

"The difference between me and Jesse is that I've seen more of life than he has." Claiborne says. As a young man in the mid-1930's, he and Thurgood Marshall - now a Supreme Court Justice picketed small businesses in black sections of Baltimore to hire blacks who lived there. During



CLAY CLAIBORNE Black leader

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administration, Claiborne used his head and was instrumental in getting District of Columbia theater, hotel and restaurant managers invited to the White House to hear an appeal to integrate their businesses.

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His point, his message is that while change may come about slowly, it is best when it comes rationally, without the violence that can grow out of super-charged emotions. "This whole South Africa thing has become so emotional. People aren't thinking. Apartheid has been around for generations. Blacks are being murdered in South Africa and the government says, "We're never going to change," but it has a liberal side and South Africa has a free press. We don't want to get rid of apartheid just to have a blood bath. I have seen too many blacks murdered," he says of his travels in Africa, "to want any black man to jump out of the frying pan into the fire.

"People are crazy if they think apartheid is like segregation in the states. Blacks in South Africa today live all the way from the stone age to the space age," he says, mentioning a black millionaire businessman he had lunch with there who showed Claiborne the I.D. card he must carry at all times. "I hate apartheid, but the question is: Who is going to survive; who is going to rule? Blacks in South Africa are tribal. The Zulus, who are the black majority, are never going to be ruled by any other tribe. No, distant nations and the media should leave South Africa to work out its problems, so there will be no blood bath."

Claiborne thinks strong Congressional sanctions against South Africa and institutional disinvestment will hurt not only blacks who work in the 350 American and Western businesses under the Sullivan Plan — equal pay and equal work conditions. It would hurt all blacks in South Africa, as well as those who flock in from neighboring countries looking for jobs in a strong economy. At the same time, he praises President Reagan's less-severe sanctions. "He took a lot of people off the hook." The solution in South Africa, Claiborne says, is "Mutual sacrifice. Blacks have sacrificed and will continue to sacrifice but without losing the ambition to advance... whites must sacrifice to lift the burden of the blacks."



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SSN, 585-01-0602 DOB: 10/12/43

ext. 7-7300

#### LARRY SAIERS, Ph.D. in Economics, Penn State

- 14 years with AID
- 10 years spent in the following African countries: Ghana, Ethiopia and Swaziland; twice in regional positions covering the continent.
- 2 years in Afghanistan
- 2 years in Washington as Chief Economist for the Africa Bureau
- Currently Deputy Assistant Administrator for East and Southern Africa

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### **JACK ANDERSON and DALE VAN ATTA**

### White House Fumbles in Courting Jews

o againistration has tried harder to court the Jewish community than Ronald Reagan's—with less success. Every time the White House tries to patch things up it seems to do the wrong thing, with the result that relations between the administration and American Jewish leaders are now at rock bottom.

The latest affront to Jewish sensitivity is that the White House office of liaison with Jewish groups has been downgraded. What's worse, in the eyes of some Jews, is that the White House "Jewish affairs" chief, Max Green, is subordinate to Linas Kojelis, a Lithuanian American who has offended Jewish leaders.

Kojelis is a strong advocate of Eastern European ethnic groups that have urged the dissolution of the grustice Department's Nazi-hunting Office of Special Investigations. They charge that the office is a dupe of the Soviet KGB.

It didn't used to be this way. Green's predecessor as Jewish liaison, Marshall Breger, held the title of special assistant to the president. White Kojelis was than at a lower level in the White House as associate director of the Public Liaison Office.

Then last year, the liaison office chief, Linda Chavez, reorganized to eliminate ethnic representatives, including Breger. He and Kojelis were named cochairmen of the new Foreign. Affairs/Defense Division. In practice, each continued to handle liaison duties as they had previously, Breger for Jews, Kojelis for other ethnics.

But Breger's aggressive tactics were not appreciated by those on the White House staff who

resented the special status accorded Jewish leaders and their advice. Chief among them was communications director Patrick J. Buchanan.

Buchanan and thief of staff Donald T. Regan decided to eliminate the Jewish affairs office. To their surprise, they got support from several Jewish leaders and the Israeli Embassy. No less than Gerald Kraft, president of B'nai B'rith International, sent Reagan a letter urging that the Jewish liaison office "be abolished and not filled."

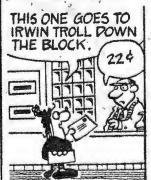
But other Jewish leaders objected when Breger was kicked upstairs and out of the White House. Vice President Bush insisted on keeping the Jewish office, and Regan and Buchanan backed down.

But sources told our associate Lucette Lagnado that Buchanan, who has publicly denounced the prosecution of alleged Nazi war criminals as "Orwellian and Kafkaesque," was determined to downgrade the Jewish liaison office and enhance the liaison with the other ethnic groups.

Kojelis was made director of the Foreign Affairs/Defense Division last fall. When Chavez left to run for the Senate, Kojelis became acting director of the Public Liaison Office. He was given the title once held by the Jewish liaison officer: special assistant to the president. Green is his subordinate.

Faced with the growing influence of Kojelis at the White House, Jewish leaders—even those who welcomed abolishing the Jewish liaison office—are dismayed. There is no evidence that Kojelis himself is anti-Semitic, but he has provided entree to the highest circles of the administration for Eastern European refugee groups tainted by anti-Semitism.

#### **BROOM HILDA RUSSELL MYERS**









MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM MIKE PETERS

Dear

I am pleased to invite you to a White House briefing on Monday, July 28 on our nation's South African Policy. This will be a follow up and an amplification of the President's Tuesday's remarks.

Our speakers will include Dr. Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs; Ambassador J. Douglas Holladay, Director of the South African Working Group; and Mr. Edward Saier, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Africa, Agency for International Development. I am very confident that this briefing will provide you with a current, comprehensive understanding of U.S. policy towards South Africa.

If you will be able to attend, kindly respond to (202) 456-7656 by Friday, July 25 at 12 Noon with your date of birth, social security number and your name as it appears on your photo identification, such as your driver's license or passport. The briefing will be held in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building, 17th and Pennsylvania Avenue, North West, at 10:00 a.m. Please enter the building through the Pennsylvania Avenue entrance and bring with you a photo identification.

I look forward to greeting you on Monday morning.

Sincerely,

Max Green Associate Director Office of Public Liaison

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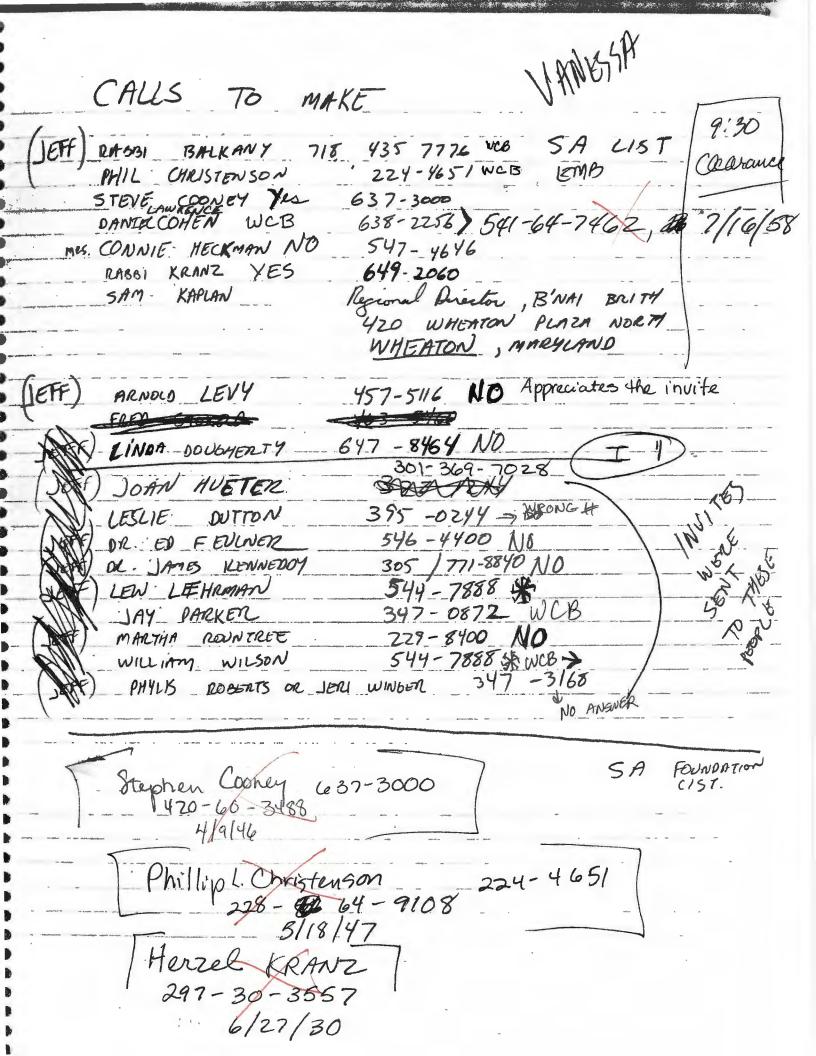
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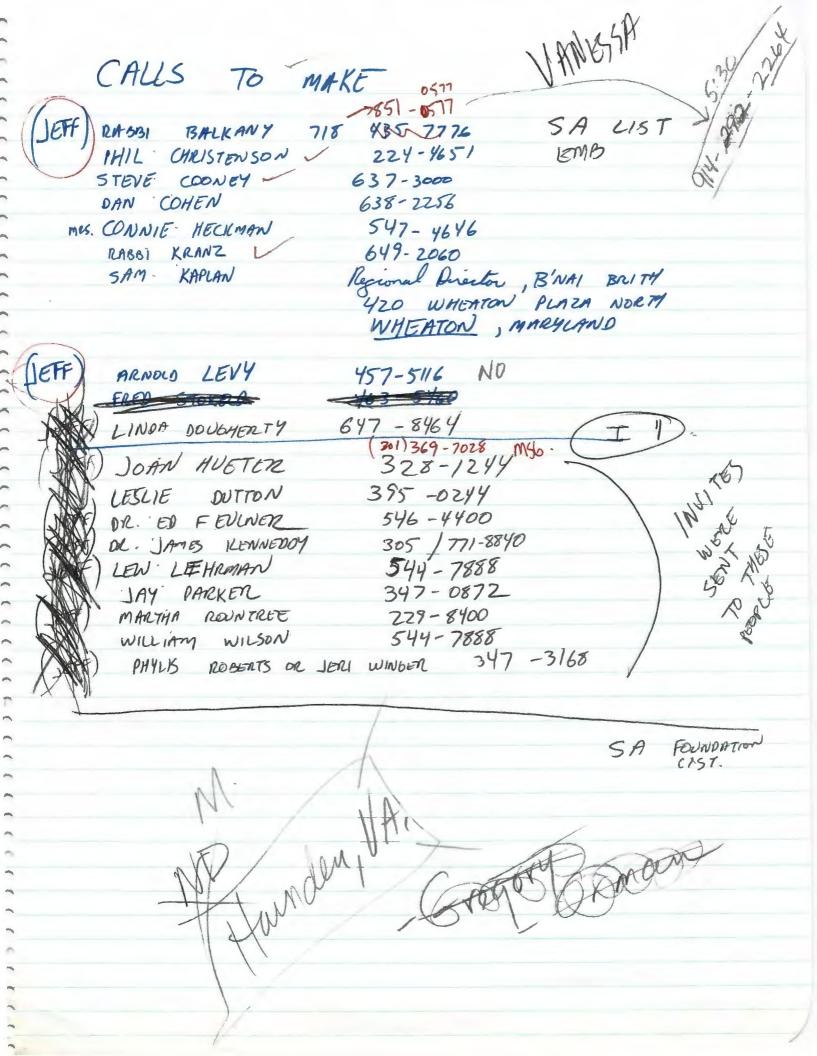
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Rich Jefferson

Deputy Riector of Public Fraison Special Assistant to the President

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Suggested Name for Jollan Ox Yeating with supporters of South Offices Julie Berman, attorney. Ny. Ny: Honorary Pres: Union & Orthodox Jeanh Congregation & America Real Estate Developer: Charry the Board, Board Organization of America: Hender, Board of Drieetons, Northwall tensist Committee & Committee & Ivan T. Novel; 305 562-3190 504 963 -8086 412 Ken Biallan : Post Immediate Chair, Conference of 688-0638 Prendent of Many American Feight Org Atterney: Past President Anti-J Defamation Ceregne of Binai Disth (Z12) 688-0638 Landra Stern: 818 788 0419 759-7862 (>) 202 337-1727 National Director, Washington Connection, EN.C. outreach to Jewis Women attaney, LA. A William J. Lowenberg: Real Estate Developer Scen Francisco Republican Leader and Jeverst Cornmundon Leader 415 - 392-4500 MAX FISHER !! (313) 871-8000 Auggester l'uvites to Monday's meeting phoned in by max,

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