



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D. International Relations Activities. 1961-1992.

Box 71, Folder 9, South Africa, 1983-1985.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 10, 1985

to David Harris

from Allan Kagedan

subject Disinvestment in South Africa

Disinvestment, or the withdrawal of capital from investment in South Africa, is but one of a number of possible economic sanctions, let alone diplomatic pressures, that could be applied against that country. Other possible economic pressures include barring new investment or expansion, prohibiting the sale of South African gold coins or kruggerands, and imposing mandatory fair employment standards on American firms operating in South Africa. Each of these is distinct in its meaning and consequences, and bears separate consideration, notwithstanding the fact that, in public discussion, they are used interchangeably. Notably, no American Administration, nor the Solarz bill, advocates disinvestment.

Opponents of disinvestment make three types of arguments. First, US disinvestment will be ineffective because, to have any impact, it would have to be supported by other major foreign investors, especially Britain. This is unlikely. Second, even if multilateral disinvestment would occur, there is no causal link between the economic depression that would result and improved black living conditions. Third, if US companies leave, this will not only harm those blacks employed with them, but all blacks for it will remove a model of economic change--companies which place blacks in managerial positions, and support the education and training of blacks. (This might explain why, in a July 1984 survey, 74% of black South Africans opposed disinvestment.)

AJC chapters, internally, should consider a fourth argument against disinvestment. The South African economy is now in a depressed state, and disinvestment would depress it further. Over the past year tension between the country's black unions and the Government has been rising, and there is a prospect of united black union activity. Economic depression coupled with anti-apartheid protest enhances the chance for increased violence. The South African Jews who remain in the country, because of immovable property or for reasons of age or family, will be caught in the middle of this violence.

Those interested in learning more about disinvestment, and about South Africa in general, should consult South Africa: Time Running Out (University of California Press, 1981, 516 pages), the Report of the Study Commission on US Policy Toward South Africa, chaired by Ford Foundation President Franklin Thomas, and conducted under the direction of such national black figures as Professor Charles Hamilton, Columbia University, Howard Samuel, President, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, and Donald McHenry, now professor at Georgetown University, formerly US representative to the UN. It is a well-written and absorbing book, highly regarded by African affairs specialists.

ajc pittsburgh

date: January 16, 1985
to: Alan Kagadan, David Harris, Gary Rubin, Harold Applebaum
from: Joyce Galpern
re: Anti-apartheid Activity in Pittsburgh

Last year "Pittsburghers Against Apartheid," through a series of demonstrations, successfully prevented the establishment of an honorary South African consulate in Pittsburgh. The picketing group is led by the President of the local school board. His wife is a well known Black activist and radical who is pro-PLO. It also includes a radical leader from the NAACP, several radical Jewish members of the Jew Jewish Agenda, and @25 other people. Neither the Urban League or the major leaders of the NAACP (with whom we have had a coalition the past year) have been on the picket lines, but they have told us that they strongly support the action and the group.

This year the group has begun a concerted campaign of picketing local merchants who sell Kruggerands. The mayor has supported their efforts, and two large department stores have, as a result, agreed to stop selling Kruggerands. The group has been unsuccessful thus far with smaller coin dealers, among whom is a Mr. Weitz, who has become the primary target of the weekly picketing.

When Mr. Weitz was targeted, a representative of "Pittsburghers Against Apartheid" contacted the Pittsburgh chapter of AJC and the CRC of the local Federation to join the picket line. Both groups declined. We then were called by a friend in the Black community and told that because Mr. Weitz was publicly and arrogantly refusing to stop selling Kruggerands, the issue was beginning to be seen in the Black community as a Black-Jewish problem.

AJC RESPONSE: A board member who is related to Mr. Weitz did contact him to explain the community relations problem, and request that he handle his public statements more judiciously. He subsequently ran a letter to the editor, stating his opposition to apartheid but explaining why he did not feel that stopping the sale of Kruggerands would help the situation in South Africa.

We were under considerable pressure from the Black community, including friends in our coalition from the Urban League and NAACP, to join the picket line. Our board decided that we should do everything possible to publicly condemn apartheid and help raise public consciousness. But we explained to Black leaders that it was neither national policy, nor AJC style to engage in economic boycotts.

We felt that we did not need to be forced into a position we were not comfortable with for the sake of our coalition, but that we should firmly and politely explain that: 1) different groups must be allowed to engage in the type of activity they felt most effective, 2) that the litmus test not be that we join an activity another group was committed to, and 3) that there was division whether economic measures would help or hurt Black South Africans. We made the point that just because the merchant involved was Jewish, we did not feel that it was thus a "Black-Jewish" issue, and we would not make that kind of sweeping assumption if one member of the Black community was engaging in an activity we opposed.

Finally, we began to undertake a series of other types of activities to demonstrate our concern about the issue. These entailed: publicizing the national activity of Bookie and Andy in Washington against the embassy (we pointed out the difference in picketing an embassy versus an individual merchant); we sent a letter to all of the rabbis asking that they speak out against apartheid in conjunction with Martin Luther King's birthday; we may be organizing an inter-faith sabbath for Christians and Jews to speak out against apartheid; we are issuing our own news release, substituting our local president's name for Howard Friedman's; we have sent articles on the Ethiopian rescue to the local Black press (tangential, but it answers the charges that Israel is a racist society, and blunts the arguments about Israel's trade with South Africa); we used the forum of a Black-Jewish clergy meeting following a Martin Luther King service to discuss the issue with the Black clergy (the Catholic Church has a position similar to ours and explained why they do not publicly come out against divestment); we are organizing a Rabbinic-Black Clergy dialogue in conjunction with the National Conference of Christians and Jews; we are bringing the issue up at the next meeting of our own Black-Jewish dialogue.

As Harold Applebaum and Gary Rubin suggested, there are a number of other activities that can be engaged in to demonstrate that this is an issue that we are concerned about, but that does not force us to follow the agenda of a group with whom we are not comfortable forming a coalition.

ADDRESS BY MRS. HELEN SUZMAN M.P. TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMISSION, CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 2nd 1984

Although the title of my talk is 'Southern Africa - the new Political Landscape', that will have to serve as framework only, for Dr. Tanenbaum wrote to me at the beginning of September suggesting a number of topics in which you would be especially interested. They are:

- (1) The present situation in South Africa with particular reference to the unrest that accompanied the recent Indian and Coloured elections;
- (2) The situation and mood of the Jewish community in South Africa;
- (3) The relationship between South Africa and Israel, South Africa and the Western powers, and South Africa and Black African countries;
- (4) Prospects for the future and for the Jewish community in South Africa;

Each of these subjects could in fact take up my entire allotted time of 30-45 minutes, but I will do my best to cover some aspects of each of the suggested topics, though not seriatim.

I want to begin by giving you a few relevant statistics about the South African society.

South Africa has a total population of approximately 25 million people, of whom 4 1/2 million are white, 17 million are Black, 2 1/2 million are Coloured and 800,000 are Asian.

The white population is by no means homogeneous in language or in culture. Afrikaners (of Dutch stock, way back in the mid-17th Century) are the dominant group, numbering about 2.8 million. English-speaking people represent some 40%. There are today about 500,000 people of Portugese origin in South Africa, having come from Angola and Mozambique when those countries became independent and were taken over by Black governments in the mid-70s. The Jewish community consists of about 120,000 people - you could lose them in a corner of Brooklyn.

Jews went to South Africa in two major waves of immigration - the first from Eastern Europe at the turn of the century to escape pogroms, being drafted into the Czar's army and to seek a better life; the second in the thirties from Germany to escape the Nazi terror. Immigration was restricted by two laws - the Quota Act of 1913 and the Aliens Act of 1932.

South African Jews are a tightly-knit community, held together by cultural and religious ties. About 50% of Jewish children attend Jewish day schools. There is a strong Zionist movement in South Africa and South African Jews are reputed to be the highest per capita donors to Israel after the Jews of the U.S. (There are no tax deductions for these contributions) Their political affiliations in South Africa span all parties except the far-right Conservative and Herstigte Nasional Parties - the latter indeed prohibits Jews from becoming

members, and while the former does not prohibit membership, it has stated that adherence to Christian principles is required of its members.

Until the early fifties the ruling National Party did not admit Jews in the Transvaal. Today it not only admits Jews but has nominated a Jew as an M.P. (now retired) and recently nominated a Jew to the President's Council in the new constitutional structure. A number of Jews support the National Party today, though it is fair to say that the majority support the Opposition. They not only remember the National Party's support of Nazi Germany during World War II but have an understandable dislike of the manifold injustices inherent in the apartheid system. In my own constituency (a "silk stocking" constituency in Johannesburg), there is a large number of Jewish voters who have faithfully returned me to Parliament over eight general elections. I do not claim they all agree or perhaps even know every detail of the policy I and my party (the official opposition Progressive Federal Party) propound. Maybe they have just become thoroughly conditioned to vote for me over all those years! However, though not all Jews are liberals in South Africa, a disproportionate number of liberals are Jews.

A great number of young and middle-aged Jews have emigrated from South Africa over the past 25 years. Many have left for career reasons, but a good many more have left for political reasons. They dislike present policies and they fear what the future may bring.

The Jewish population in South Africa is an aging population. It would be a shrinking population were it not for the \pm 18,000 Israelis who are living there. A few thousand more are there temporarily.

Which brings me to the South African/Israeli connection.

One of the main reasons why some Jews support the National Party government is because of the Government's sympathetic attitude towards Israel, which, inter alia, relaxed exchange control to enable South African Jews to send money and goods to Israel. There is a bond between South Africa and Israel as a result of the isolation felt by both - targets of the East and the West. The two countries trade extensively, exchange information and expertise and refuse to participate in boycotts against each other. Both feel beleaguered and the military connection is rumoured to be substantial. (I cannot give you details - there is an embargo on such information and a Defence Act that prohibits its dissemination). But it is known that there is a formal treaty between Israel and South Africa agreeing to a regular exchange of technical and scientific information which may well include advice regarding defence and counter-insurgency matters from Israel.

In return, Israel gets vital minerals such as coal, iron and vanadium, as well as other raw materials it cannot obtain elsewhere. I am well aware that the South African/Israeli connection has made the task of the Israeli lobby in the U.S. that much more difficult. I can only assume that Israel has weighed up the pros and cons and considers, rightly or wrongly, that she would have more to lose if she severed the connection with South Africa.

There have been repercussions in South Africa as well, as a result of the South Africa/Israeli connection. Over recent years there has been a noticeable rise of anti-Jewish sentiments among Black South Africans, many of whom - especially young radicalised Blacks - identify with the P.L.O. Last year there were ugly scenes on the campus at the University of the Witwatersrand where Black students (mostly Asian), supporters of P.L.O., and Jewish students clashed violently. I have had leaders of the Black community in Soweto ask me how it is possible that Jews in Israel can have friendly relations with a country like South Africa whose policy is based on race discrimination.

I have been at pains to tell them that the Israeli/South African connection is based on survival - each has something the other needs and cannot obtain elsewhere; and that it is unrealistic to expect Jews in Israel who have lost so much to endanger their survival out of sympathy for Blacks in South Africa, but that this does not mean that they identify with the policies of the South African Government. I also point out that Black states in Africa have rejected Israeli offers of technical assistance, have expelled Israeli diplomats and have made clear their sympathy for the P.L.O. Two leaders, President Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Machel of Mozambique, have recently received Arafat and repeated the silly statement that Zionism and apartheid are synonymous.

Needless to say, this is having its backlash among Jews in South Africa, but I am firmly convinced that Jewish voters (in my constituency anyway) are so imbued with a feeling for simple justice that they will not be influenced into changing their political affiliations.

It is also important to note that South Africa maintains ties with most Western nations, engaging in extensive trade with, among others, Great Britain, U.S. and West Germany. Its trade with the U.S. includes exports of gold, diamonds and other minerals in exchange for chemicals and technology. There are approximately 350 U.S. companies currently operating in South Africa, of which 200 have endorsed the Sullivan Principles.

I turn now to Dr. Tanenbaum's proposal that I discuss the present situation in South Africa with particular reference to the unrest that accompanied the recent Coloured and Indian elections. Let me briefly sketch the events leading up to those elections.

During the 1983 Parliamentary session a new Constitution for South Africa was adopted by the all-white Parliament with my party opposing and the far-right Conservative Party also opposing - for totally different reasons. We opposed because the new constitution omitted to make political accommodation for 70% of the population - the Blacks. And the C.P. opposing because the all-white Parliament would henceforth include, in a tricameral structure, the Coloured and Asian people. Having passed the Constitution Act, the Government held a referendum of white voters, asking whether the new Constitution should be implemented "Yes" or "No."

My Party advocated a "No" vote, anticipating further polarization between Black and white due to the exclusion of Blacks.

We had uneasy bedfellows in the far-right C.P. which also advocated a "No" vote because of the inclusion of Coloureds and Asians. In the event, the Government won the referendum hands down. 66% of the white electorate voted "Yes", including a considerable number of opposition supporters who felt that the new Constitution was "a step in the right direction" and that the Government must have a hidden agenda that would eventually bring Blacks into the new dispensation.

In August this year elections were held to choose the Coloured and Asian M.P.s for their respective Houses (Representatives for Coloureds; Delegates for Asians). But meanwhile a rising tide of opposition to any participation in the new structure was very evident - the United Democratic Front - consisting of a conglomerate of some 400 organizations - of all races - plus political organizations like the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress - campaigned vigorously against participation. Low polls were the result - 30% in the case of the Coloureds (less if one bases the percentage on the total number that could have but did not register for the vote) and 20% for the Asians. The Government charged intimidation as the reason and said it considered the elections to be valid. It had in the meantime locked up - under the preventive detention law - a number of leading lights of U.D.F. and of other Black organizations. There was a great deal of violence at the polling booths with the police out in full force using sjamboks and tear gas.

Hardly an auspicious way in which to usher in the so-called new era of reform.

Also erupting at this time were black townships close to the Witwatersrand: ostensibly due to an increase in rents but no doubt also due to the ongoing smouldering resentment engendered by all the apartheid measures and non-inclusion in the new political set-up. At least 100 people were killed and a great deal of damage done to property. The Government's reaction was predictable. Approximately 20 people have been held under the security laws and six have sought refuge in the British Consulate. More arrests and a ban on all indoor meetings until the end of September. (outdoor meetings have been banned since the 1976 unrest - that this has not restored law and order appears to have escaped the Government). Something like 160,000 Black school kids were boycotting school when I left South Africa and there was trouble at every Black university in the country. The tricameral Parliament opened on 18th September with a pious "apple pie and motherhood" speech from the new Executive State President, elected not by popular vote as yours will be on 6th November but by 50 members of Parliament of his own Party: for the Coloured and Indian M.P.s in the electoral college are outnumbered 50-38. How's that for democracy?

The old Westminster system which South Africa had before was by no means perfect, but what the Government has done is to retain the worst features of that system - winner take all elections and highly centralized form of government - and it has failed to introduce the best features - namely, universal franchise under the rule of law. Moreover, the foundation stones of apartheid remain untouched - the new Constitution is based on race classification. All the ugliest aspects of apartheid - residential and school apartheid, the pass laws, forced removals, remain. (True, repeal of the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Act is being considered.) All the violations to the rule of law will also remain.

So when you ask me what the prospects are for the future, and for the Jewish community - they are bound up together.

Presently, unlike the U.S., South Africa is in the throes of a recession caused by the drop in the price of gold, the decline in the value of the Rand, and a devastating two-year drought. I believe we will recover for the country has resources, expertise and resilience. It also has a remarkable history of windfalls. But Government spending has to be curbed and there are two areas in particular where this should be done - expenditure in connection with apartheid and the vast bureaucracy it spawns, and defence expenditure in the on-going seemingly bogged-down war in Namibia/Angola. The M.P.A.A. can't combat Unita without the Cubans. South Africa won't withdraw until the Cubans leave, and is extremely reluctant to quit Namibia and leave it to a SWAPO Government. Thus there is an impasse and a very expensive one - it costs S.A.R 2,000 million p.a.

Perhaps at this juncture I should comply with Dr. Tanenbaum's suggestion that I say something about South Africa and its relationship to the Black nations in Southern Africa.

You will have read probably about the Nkomati Accord which, was in effect, a non-aggression treaty signed by Botha and Machel on behalf of South Africa and Mozambique. Mozambique undertook to refuse the use of its territory as a launch pad for A.N.C. guerillas to attack South Africa. South Africa undertook to restore economic ties with Mozambique and to help stabilize that sorely-trying area. I visited Mozambique in August. It is in a dismal state, drought ravaged as is most of Southern Africa, pestered by the M.N.R. which continues to operate despite South Africa's promise to help immobilize it. The M.N.R. has disrupted railway traffic throughout the area and to Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. It constantly cuts the powerline from Cabora Bassa. Food is rationed - there's nothing to buy in the markets or shops. There are queues everywhere. The railways and harbour at Maputo are not yet functioning properly - South Africa's use of labour from Mozambique is down to just over one third of what it used to be. Tourism, another major earner of foreign exchange, is nil.

The only cheering feature was that Mozambique is a truly non-racial society.

It has a long way to go before it becomes economically viable. Zimbabwe has so far proved a disappointment. Mugabe is about to turn the country into a one-party state; the vicious action against Nkomo in Matabeleland has brought much international disapproval. The economy is much better than that of Mozambique and has been helped this year by bumper crops of tobacco and rice.

Zambia, which I also visited recently, has an economy dependant on a single export product - copper - and the price of copper is down and the rail link to Lobito in Angola out of action because of Unita. Copper goes out via the long railway to Dar. Kaunda, with whom a colleague and I had a 2 1/2 hour session, is very much in command.

All three BSL countries are closely bound to South Africa - they are part of a Customs Union and Rand monetary system.

They depend on South Africa for markets and the sale of labour. They are being pressured to sign Nkomati type treaties of non-aggression.

All the Black States in Africa cordially dislike South Africa. All would like to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa. All, however, (+ 50 of them anyway) trade with South Africa.

And all are well-aware of South Africa's military might which is more than capable of dealing with any aggression from all of them combined. At most they can provide bases for training and places of refuge for the A.N.C., while the neighbouring territories (other than the "independent" homelands) are possible launch pads for guerrilla raids. South Africa, however, has already demonstrated (in Lesotho and Maputo) that she will not hesitate to cross the borders in hot pursuit, and to destabilise countries that assist the A.N.C.

The future of Jews in South Africa is, of course, no different from the future of everybody else in South Africa. There is no black revolution around the corner. There is certainly going to be an escalation of urban violence unless really fundamental changes are introduced.

I have to say that I do not foresee such fundamental changes as imminent. It is going to take years to get back to square one, i.e. a South Africa minus laws that infringe human rights. And even then it will take many more years to implement real equality of opportunity for all races. Pressures for change will roll on - international pressures - some effective, some counter productive.

The sports boycott has been effective, but has brought no regards -- the ante has been upped. Sport is integrated today though training facilities are grossly unequal. Where integrated sport was originally the demand, now the cry is "There can be no normal sport in an abnormal society."

The U.N. mandatory arms embargo and the oil embargo have not been effective. South Africa today has a very efficient arms industry and obtains her oil from three oil-from-coal industries and from those who are prepared to sell at a price.

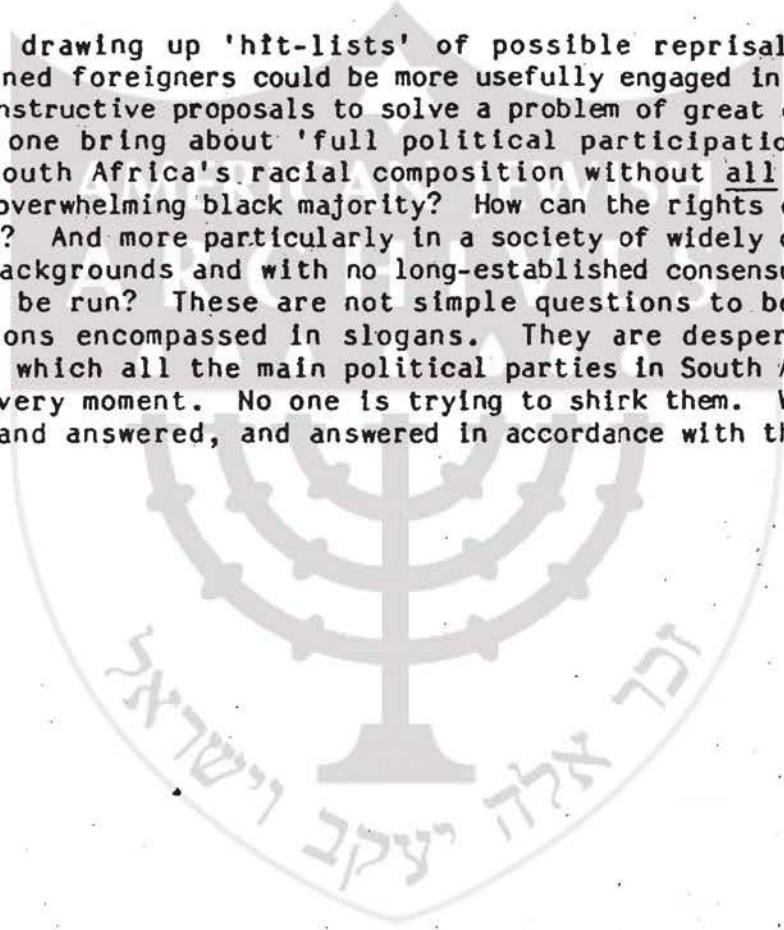
I am well aware of the vigorous campaign being waged in city governments, State Houses, on campuses and in Congress. I know that several cities, including New York City, have withdrawn their pension funds from companies doing business in South Africa. I know that the Solarz, Berman and Gray bills will resurface. I understand the motivation but I do not believe that divestment will affect reform though it may very well make the divesters feel they have won a moral victory: or inflicted punishment (on both those who deserve it and those who do not.) I know that the term "constructive engagement" has acquired an unpopular political flavor. As for disinvestment, I am of the opinion that it is better for the U.S. to stay in South Africa and to try to exert influence than to leave and have no further influence. I certainly believe that the U.S. as the most powerful country in the Western world with a declared policy on human rights has a decided responsibility to speak up on all the thoroughly offensive goings-on in South Africa. And if some of the rhetoric is somewhat shrill in this pre-election time in the U.S., no matter: there are occasions in politics when expediency coincides with a just cause.

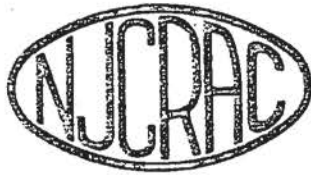
In the long run, it will be the Blacks themselves inside South Africa who will be the instrument for change. Power takes many forms, and in South Africa today Blacks are slowly but surely accumulating economic power as they urbanise, despite the pass laws, and as they are drawn into the national economy not only in every-increasing numbers but at rising levels of skills. Economic muscle can be used as shown in all industrialized countries to redress imbalances in wealth, privilege and power. I don't think the West can or should prescribe final solutions for South Africa - they should rather as a British Ambassador to the United Nations once said "apply such leverage as they have in trying to attain specific and achievable ends." To put it in Talmudic language "It is not incumbent upon thee to complete the task - but neither art thou free to desist from it altogether."

Instead of drawing up 'hit-lists' of possible reprisals against South Africa, concerned foreigners could be more usefully engaged in helping to make positive and constructive proposals to solve a problem of great complexity. How, in fact, does one bring about 'full political participation for all' in a country with South Africa's racial composition without all political power passing to the overwhelming black majority? How can the rights of minorities be best protected? And more particularly in a society of widely disparate ethnic and cultural backgrounds and with no long-established consensus as to how the society should be run? These are not simple questions to be solved by even simpler solutions encompassed in slogans. They are desperately difficult questions with which all the main political parties in South Africa are wrestling at this very moment. No one is trying to shirk them. We all know they must be faced and answered, and answered in accordance with the conscience of mankind.

M098/smm
11-9-84

84-550-93





Memo

January 18, 1985

TO: NJCRAC Member Agencies
 FROM: Marlene Provizer, Director of Domestic Concerns
 RE: Roundup of current community relations activity in opposition to apartheid; background information

Following the December 14 NJCRAC memorandum recommending responses to the current protests of apartheid, a number of member agencies have shared information with us about their activities in support of the protests. We thought it would be useful to summarize these activities for all member agencies, as well as to distribute background information that you may find useful.

- - The American Jewish Committee issued a December 10 press release calling on the South African Government to take the necessary steps to end apartheid, starting with the immediate release of trade union leaders. On December 25, the American Jewish Committee, together with the Jewish Labor Committee the Washington Association of Reform Congregations and the New Jewish Agenda, co-sponsored a vigil in front of the South African embassy. The vigil, which coincided with the eighth day of Hanukah and included a candle-lighting ceremony, was intended to allow Christian demonstrators to spend the day with their families and to assure that the daily vigil in front of the embassy, begun on Thanksgiving, would not be interrupted.

- - Three American Jewish Congress officials, Theodore R. Mann, president, Henry Siegman, executive director, and Theodore Bikel, senior vice-president, were arrested during a December 10 protest for refusing an order to remain at least 500 feet from the South African embassy.

The AJ Congress press statement, in which Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and Rabbi David Saperstein, co-director and counsel of the UAHC Religious Action Center, joined, urged release of the imprisoned labor and political leaders as the first step in a dialogue aimed at ending apartheid. It also expressed opposition to the Administration's policy of constructive engagement.

- - The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith issued a December 19 statement marking its Hanukah vigil at the South African consulate in New York to protest apartheid. The statement called on the South African government to immediately begin implementing substantive, rather than cosmetic, changes that would dismantle apartheid. The statement also expressed abhorrence of human rights abuses in other African countries.

(over)

P L E N A R Y S E S S I O N

- - The National Council of Jewish Women issued a topical statement on December 9 urging the U. S. government "to substantially increase its effort to use every peaceful means available to help eliminate the abhorrent policy of apartheid." NCJW also stated that foreign and South African industries with sites located in the Republic of South Africa should be encouraged to eliminate discrimination on the basis of color by working for fair practices in employment, health services, living conditions and education. The statement further urged government and private agencies in the U. S. "to support the efforts of those in South Africa who can bring about constructive democratic change before time runs out." The statement was communicated to President Reagan, members of Congress, Secretary of State Shultz, the South African Ambassador, Transafrica, The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and the AFL-CIO.

- - The Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington sponsored a December 17 protest demonstration outside the South African embassy for its over 200 constituent organizations. The JCC press release called attention to a resolution passed by the JCC's Executive Board on December 12 that reaffirms its long-standing opposition to apartheid and calls on rabbis, Jewish communal officials, lay leaders and others in the Jewish community to speak out strongly and forcefully in support of the purposes of the current demonstrations against the South African Government.

- - The Jewish Community Council of Greater Detroit co-sponsored, together with an array of black, civil rights and trade union groups, a Free South Africa Movement rally held at the New Federal Building in Detroit on December 20. The demonstration, held in support of the arrested South African black trade unionists, called for the release of prisoners, pressure on the South African government to end apartheid, and opposition to the Administration policy of constructive engagement. Alvin Kushner, executive director of the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit, who spoke at the rally, stated that the Jewish community "deplores and protests the practice of apartheid and urges the U. S. government to use its full influence with South Africa to terminate that offensive system." It also called attention to Israel's long-held and oft-repeated opposition to apartheid.

The Baltimore Jewish Council, through the Baltimore Black/Jewish Coalition, sponsored a December 26 "Call to Conscience" on December 26 in Baltimore's Inner Harbor. Congressman Parren Mitchell gave the keynote address, and other speakers included Rabbi Donald Berlin, president of BL-EWS and first vice president of the Baltimore JC, Rabbi Elias J. Lieberman of the Baltimore Board of Rabbis, Reverend Sidney Daniels, vice president of BL-EWS, Ronald Shapiro, former president of the Baltimore JC, Kurt Schmoke, State's Attorney, City of Baltimore, and Reverend Douglas Miles, president of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.

The rally received extensive media coverage, including spots on all three local network-affiliated television stations, a television editorial, and radio coverage, including pre-rally announcements, live broadcasts from the rally and follow-up interviews. Newspaper coverage was extensive, including articles in the local Anglo-Jewish, general, and black press, and editorials in the latter two.

- - The Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia co-sponsored, together with a wide spectrum of organizations, an anti-apartheid protest rally on January 14, the eve of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday.

In 1980, the board of the JCRC adopted a resolution condemning apartheid and urging the U.S. to work to end apartheid, discrimination and violence in South Africa. In 1984, the JCRC approved a resolution supporting the Gray amendment to the Export Administration Act, which would ban all future direct U.S. investments in South Africa.

- - The Board of the Community Relations Council of Greater East Bay, California passed a resolution supporting the current protests of South African repression of public anti-apartheid dissent. The resolution further stated that funds raised for the welfare of the Jewish community should not be used directly or indirectly to further the aims of apartheid or to finance the continued repression in South Africa, and indicates that the JCRC would ask the Federation and member organizations of the JCRC to review their investment portfolios and remove funds from banks and other financial institutions that make direct or indirect loans to the government, agencies or parastatals (quasi-government agencies) of the Republic of South Africa, businesses based in South Africa, or to any other business where the loan is designed for trade with or operations within The Republic of South Africa. The resolution calls on the Federation to propose it to the Council of Jewish Federations, and calls on the National California Board of Rabbis to encourage Northern California congregations to consider it.

- - The San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council has established an ad hoc committee on foreign affairs to work at assessing ways and means to join with others to make opposition to apartheid meaningful and effective.

Background Information

Several communities have requested information about Israel and South Africa, particularly about trade. You may find helpful the additional enclosed background material: a November 21 statement by Israel U.N. Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu on policies of apartheid of the government of South Africa; 1983 trade information from the South African Consulate General in New York; and a special report, "Israel and South Africa," by Michael Curtis, published in the October, 1983, Middle East Review.

Finally, you may find the enclosed statement adopted by the national executive council of the American Jewish Committee in November 1984, together with the backgrounder prepared for the national executive council meeting, helpful.

A forum addressing policy questions related to apartheid will be held at The Plenum, as part of the NJCRAC process for responding in the coming year to various proposals aimed at influencing the South African government to eliminate apartheid.

Please contact me if you have any questions, and please share with me information about local community activities and press clips.

MP/11

O, EX, CJF-EX, DTF, EO, ITF-NJ, CHAIR, NAT-EX





המסלחת הקבועה
של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות
PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

STATEMENT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

BY

H.E. AMBASSADOR BENJAMIN NETANYAHU
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL TO THE UNITED NATIONS

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

[AGENDA ITEM 31]

WEDNESDAY 21 NOVEMBER 1984

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

The campaign against Israel, in a grim parody of other beliefs, appears to have its ritualistic observances that must be respected. We have had a number of these already this fall. First there was the Iranian exercise to deny Israel its credentials. Then there was Iraq's annual resolution concerning its nuclear reactor. Now we have Israel-baiting in another guise, wrapped in the cloak of the anti-Apartheid movement. The melancholy result is that the very people who are guilty of the worst abuses of human rights have hijacked a movement of great moral significance and distorted it beyond recognition. They have thus alienated people of good will who would otherwise support this endeavour.

The Special Committee could have done better. For its Special Report dwells not upon the evils of enforced racial separation, nor upon practical ways to alleviate the humiliation and pain of Apartheid, nor upon arguments to persuade the practitioners of Apartheid that it is wrong and self-defeating. Instead, the Committee, in its Special Report, regrettably comes to an entirely different point -- that Israel is the wellspring of Apartheid, the mighty empire that sustains it from afar and deserves to be punished.

All this Israel-baiting is by now so much part of the proceedings that no doubt many of you can barely suppress a yawn. But this would be a mistake. What is at issue here is

-2-

not Israel, which will not be affected by what is said here, but the cause of the anti-Apartheid movement; it may indeed suffer if yet again those who have no real interest in it are permitted to abuse it for their own malevolent ends.

Let it first be said that Israel categorically condemns racism in all its forms, including Apartheid. We are a people who have suffered more from racism, murderous racism, than any other. This is why the founder of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote that after liberating the Jews from the evil of racism he would strive to liberate the oppressed blacks. And this is why the state that was founded in his vision, Israel, has repeatedly expressed its revulsion of and opposition to Apartheid, both in world forums and directly to the Government of South Africa. We agree with the thoughts already expressed by a number of delegates; direct communication is the most effective means to bring about a change in South African racial policies.

And let it also be noted that those leading the pack against us include the Soviet Union and certain Arab states. Now whatever the internationalist rhetoric of the Soviet Union, it is a country whose regime brutally suppresses the language, culture, and slightest expression of nationalist aspirations of its many minorities. This is not Apartheid, but it is the suppression of one people by another, the subjugation of all the non-Russians by the Russians throughout the Soviet empire.

And what about the Arab countries that incessantly proclaim their lack of racism? Their record is worth examining. Who was it that first began the extensive slave trade in Black Africa, leading to untold suffering and deaths over centuries? And what shall we say of those Arab countries that well into this century and indeed, -- according to the Anti-Slavery Society of London, -- within recent decades, practised slavery? Saudi Arabia, for example, deigned to officially abolish slavery only in 1962. There are reports that to this very day, in the interior of the Arabian peninsula, slavery or something very much like it continues to exist.

Or take Chad, where the Arab minions of Colonel Qaddafi, and his local puppets, lay claim to, and occupy, a large swath of Chad's territory -- despite the Colonel's solemn pledge to remove his troops. And Libya's threats of conquest and subversion extend well beyond Chad to other Black African states. So let the nations of Black Africa not be sidetracked by the Arab campaign of vilification against Israel. Let them look not only to their south for what should properly arouse their indignation, but to their north as well.

As to the accusation of Israel's extensive trade with South Africa, the facts of the matter are well known, even to -- perhaps especially to -- our accusers. Israel's trade with South Africa, like its trade with other countries, does not

imply a blanket endorsement of that country's policies. Else the United States would be taken to endorse the policies of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union those of West Germany, Britain those of Libya, and so on. What should at once strike a fairminded observer is that Israel is being singled out in a ludicrous fashion. For Israel's trade with South Africa is so modest as to be scarcely visible, amounting (according to IMF figures) to less than 1/2 of one percent of exports and 3/4 of one percent of imports. Nearly 20 countries trade more extensively with the Union of South Africa.

And what of that large portion of South Africa's trade, roughly a quarter of it, that conveniently remains unspecified? It covers up the substantial commerce that takes place between South Africa and the Soviet bloc, but especially the massive trade with Arab countries.

Arab oil exports to South Africa amount to over \$1 billion per year. This makes the Arabs among the biggest exporters to South Africa. Israel, with a paltry \$120 million, fades into insignificance: Indeed, Arab oil exports to South Africa are at least ten times as great as all of Israel's exports to that country!

But Arab trade with South Africa is a two-way street. What goes out as oil comes back as gold and diamonds, and other rare minerals. The Arab oil-producers fuel South Africa's economy, and they make a fortune doing it.

All this should be enough to demonstrate the hypocrisy of the Arab claim to be the champions of Black Africa. But what is perhaps most amazing is the shamelessness with which the Arab oil states engage in this practice. Rolling in unearned oil wealth, they can hardly be unaware that their pricing policies have done more damage to the economies of Black Africa than any other event in history. The astronomical rise in the price of oil during the last decade put out of reach for many Black African nations the essentials for developing an agricultural economy. The price of such things as fertilizers, which are petroleum based, and oil products to run even the simplest farming machinery skyrocketed. The national debt of many Black African states soared, and their peoples paid, and are paying, a terrible price.

And have the wealthy oil producers given the slightest price break to their poor customers? Have they been generous with their non-Arab neighbours? Have they done anything to alleviate the suffering they have so obviously caused?

Mr. President,

Should all countries that trade with South Africa be hauled before the Special Committee, to be made the subject of a Special Report? We know for example that in addition to many countries in the Arab world, the Soviet bloc, Western Europe and elsewhere, many Black African states conduct a vigorous trade with South Africa. Now I am not in any way suggesting that these countries support Apartheid, or that they should be attacked. I am just saying that it is absurd to use the existence of trade as a rationale for another kangaroo court verdict, with Israel to be drawn and quartered and given a trial afterward.

When indignation is so selective, we have a right to be suspicious. The result of all this palpable unfairness, this campaign against injustice put to such unjust uses, is that people who might be of some assistance in ameliorating or ending the system of Apartheid lose heart in the good faith of this effort and turn away.

In the diplomatic forums of the world, including this one, the Arab campaign against Israel has seized and held hostage every issue dear to Black Africa for the Arab regimes' own selfish purposes. This situation deserves to be pondered by every representative of Black Africa here, and even more by their governments and peoples. The struggle against Apartheid deserves better.

ISRAEL and SOUTH AFRICA

By MICHAEL CURTIS

The increase in Arab wealth, due to the rapid rise in the price of oil, and a more aggressive Arab political policy influenced most of the countries of Africa to break official diplomatic relations with Israel between 1972 and 1973. During the last decade, only Malawi, Swaziland and Lesotho maintained formal relations with that country. A successful set of relationships, political, economic, and humanitarian, had been established between Israel and the black African countries, and the rapidity of the transformation of the relationship took Israel by surprise. However, diplomatic relations with Israel were resumed by Zaire in May 1982, and Liberia, Togo, the Ivory Coast, and the Central African Republic are also expected to resume relations with Israel soon.

Starting in 1957 when it established diplomatic relations with newly independent Ghana, 32 diplomatic missions were set up by Israel in Africa. Clearly this cordiality with other third world countries was beneficial to both sides in a number of ways. Politically, Israel tried to ensure that the African countries would be supportive of, or at the least not antagonistic to, its desire for peace and security. Economically, a pattern of expanding trade was created with Israel purchasing raw materials from the African countries and setting up construction projects in a number of them. More important was the set of cooperation agreements signed with 21 African states by which over 6,000 African students attended Israeli institutions and by which a variety of projects, primarily concerned with community development and agricultural assistance, were set up in Africa by some 2,000 Israelis. Between the late 1950s and the late 1960s a harmonious and productive set of relationships had come into existence.

MICHAEL CURTIS is Professor of Political Science at Rutgers University, New Brunswick. His latest publication, of which he is the Editor, is Religion and Politics in the Middle East, Westview Press, 1982.

This harmonious relationship began to change for a variety of reasons after 1967, some having little connection with Israel as such and more concerned with the difficulties of development that African countries were experiencing. Probably most important, if least mentioned, were the direct pressures of Arab states with their mixture of appeals, promises and threats: appeals to Islamic unity and to Afro-Arab solidarity, promises of oil supplies at reduced prices and of economic aid, and threats to the regimes or even the lives of individual leaders.

But two arguments specific to actual or alleged Israeli actions began to surface and soon were to be prominent in international forums where Israel was castigated on countless occasions.

The first was the argument that Israel after June 1967 had occupied territory of Egypt, a member of the Organization of African Unity, and thus had shown disrespect for the territorial integrity of African states. This argument was more pronounced in 1973 when Israeli forces actually crossed the Suez Canal and, for a short time, held part of African soil. The example of Uganda, which had broken diplomatic relations in April 1972, was followed by five other African states before the Yom Kippur war and by almost all other of the African states after it.

That this argument was spurious was evident after the Sinai withdrawal agreements in 1975 and especially after the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty and the consequent withdrawal of Israeli troops from the whole of Sinai. It is true of course that in spite of the increase of Afro-Arab political and economic ties during the 1970s and the involvement of Africa with decisions on oil supplies and prices by the fact that Nigeria and Gabon are members of OPEC, economic relations and some low-level diplomatic relations were maintained between Israel and some of the non-Muslim African countries. By 1983 Israel had entered into economic trade or military training with 22 countries, building airports and public works projects and helping organize economic activity such as Ghana's Black Star Line.

The second argument advanced for the breaking of relationships was the supposedly close tie between Israel and South Africa. At the General Assembly and at the specialized agencies of the United Nations, this tie was stressed and denounced in one resolution after another. In addition the two countries were equated as the world's most egregious examples of racism or were linked by Israel's supposed approval of the racial policies of South Africa. A particularly flagrant series of attacks came from the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of South Africa set up by the United Nations in 1962. This body, generally known as the Special Committee against Apartheid, has issued both annual and special reports on the general subject. A number of these special reports are primarily concerned with relations between the two countries.

This year the Special Committee against Apartheid engaged in political activity that appears to go far beyond the authority given it by the General Assembly which has already tolerated polemical declarations from the Committee of an extravagant nature. In cooperation with the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, the Organization of African Trade Union Unity and the World Peace Council (generally accepted as a Communist front controlled by the Soviet Union), the Committee organized an International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel which was held in Vienna in July 1983. The chairman of the conference, the Nigerian representative O.O. Fafowora, declared that the alliance had assumed very serious proportions and was a menace to the people of southern Africa and a challenge to the United Nations. It was appropriate to the nature of this statement that the chief evidence of Israel's collaboration with South Africa was a phrase taken from an article by an Israeli professor in the *New York Times*.

The Special Committee, itself meeting in August 1983, was anxious to publicize the deliberations of the Conference, some of whose members overlapped with those on the Committee. It even requested that the formal declaration of the Conference, which was a strong condemnation of the Government of Israel for "its collaboration with the racist regime of South Africa," should be published as a document of the General Assembly though this seems to be a violation of the rules of the United Nations itself. In the incestuous political networks within the UN, the work activities and anti-Israeli rhetoric of the Special Committee have also been interrelated with the work and recommendations of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

Simply looking at the trade figures of imports and exports of South Africa leads to astonishment that the argument of close economic relations between the two countries should ever have been made, let alone generally accepted. In 1981 South Africa imported commodities to the value of \$76.5 million from Israel, or 0.4 percent of its total imports of \$16.7 billion. Its exports to Israel were \$70.8 million out of a total of \$16.6 billion.

One can contrast these figures with those from some other countries. Trade between 46 black African countries and South Africa amounted in 1981 to over \$1.2 billion in exports from South Africa and about \$375.3 million imports into it; indirect, unpublicized trade through third parties makes these figures considerably higher. The extent of this trade by black Africa is even more compelling in view of the fact that these states are members of the OAU, which officially maintains a trade boycott against South Africa. It is understandable that the African states must trade where they can, but the double moral standard so much in evidence in these matters has meant that the African countries have nowhere been condemned for conducting almost twenty times as much trade as does Israel with South Africa, whose exports to the African states are increasing faster than to other parts of the world.

ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

October 1983

Page 4

Official figures do not list South African trade with specific African or Middle Eastern countries apart from Israel. However, it is known that a number of Arab states have sold South Africa large quantities of oil in exchange for gold, foodstuffs, and building materials. Until 1973 Saudi Arabia provided about a quarter of South Africa's oil, and it is highly likely that this trade continues.

One expects South African trade with the developed countries in Europe and elsewhere to be substantial. In 1981 Japan bought \$1,574 million and sold \$2,266 million to South Africa, Britain bought \$1,313 million and sold \$2,500 million, and France bought \$638 million and sold \$1,046 million. The nine members of the Common Market in 1979 were responsible for 52.7 percent of South Africa's imports and for 36.7 percent of its exports. More surprising has been South African trade with the East European countries, including the Soviet Union, which in 1981 amounted to \$22.4 million in exports and \$51.2 million in imports. Taking account of the secret trade with the Communist countries would almost certainly make those figures much larger.

A double standard has been applied by many in the international community on other issues. Israeli investment in South Africa has been attacked, although it accounts for only 0.1 percent of the total of foreign investments in South Africa. By contrast black Africa has invested \$550 million, and Western Europe \$13.5 billion. Of the Arab states, Kuwait, to take one country, now controls *Lonhro*, one of the world's largest multinational corporations.

Israel, like other states, has been prepared to sell arms to other countries; this has been particularly important for Israel in view of the Arab boycott of all its commodities. In the past most arms-exporting countries have supplied weapons to South Africa. Between 1963 and 1975 over \$1 billion of arms and war materials were sold to the country, with France being the largest supplier. Since 1977 when a UN Security Council Resolution banned the sale or transfer of weapons and ammunition to South Africa, arms trade has continued but in a more surreptitious manner, and South Africa has managed to obtain arms from almost all its previous suppliers, including Jordan and the Soviet Union. Yet again, Israel has been picked out as the main culprit in unsubstantiated attacks on its military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, including the manufacture of helicopters.

Where diplomatic relations with South Africa are concerned, 25 other countries besides Israel have ambassadors in Pretoria, and even more maintain informal diplomatic links. In addition, officials from the major critical countries --the Arab, Islamic, and Communist states-- have paid formal visits. Moreover, Israel has made clear that the maintenance of diplomatic relations did not imply support for apartheid, and all of its representatives have criticized that racial policy. A particularly significant symbolic gesture

was made in 1978 when the Israeli Ambassador boycotted the premiere of the play *Golda* because Africans were not admitted to the theatre in Pretoria, and explained that by attending "I would commit an act of infidelity to our heritage."

This heritage was expressed with contemporary significance by Theodor Herzl eighty years ago when he vowed that, after the Jewish people had obtained their state, he would work for the freedom of the African people.



[start]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible

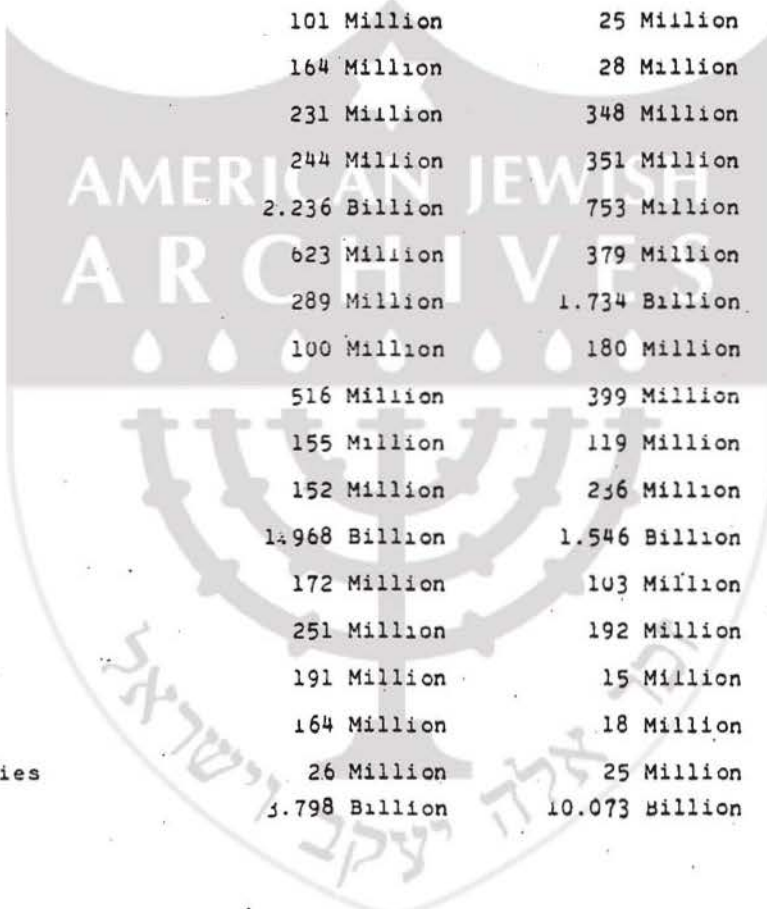


SOURCE: SOUTH AFRICAN CONSULATE GENERAL IN NEW YORK

Figures provided in South African Rands (during this period the rand traded at .80¢ - \$1.00)

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE-- 1983

<u>Country</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Exports</u>
Total	16.253 Billion	20.672Billion
United States	2.467 Billion	1.754 Billion
United Kingdom	1.893 Billion	1.324 Billion
Israel***** <i>27% total trade of S. Africa</i>	72 Million	157 Million
Africa (entire)*****	326 Million	797 Million
Norway	101 Million	25 Million
Sweden	164 Million	28 Million
Belgium	231 Million	348 Million
Netherlands	244 Million	351 Million
West Germany	2.236 Billion	753 Million
France	623 Million	379 Million
Switzerland	289 Million	1.734 Billion
Spain	100 Million	180 Million
Italy	516 Million	399 Million
Canada	155 Million	119 Million
Hong Kong	152 Million	236 Million
Japan	1.968 Billion	1.546 Billion
Austria	172 Million	103 Million
Taiwan	251 Million	192 Million
Australia	191 Million	15 Million
Brazil	164 Million	18 Million
COMECOM Countries	26 Million	25 Million
Other	3.798 Billion	10.073 Billion



[end]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



National Executive Council Meeting

BACKGROUND

AJC AND SOUTH AFRICA

Background Memorandum for
International Relations Commission, Friday, November 2, 9:30 AM

In the past year, U.S. policy toward South Africa has received unprecedented public attention. The issue, which promises to remain a fixture of domestic political debate, is a vexing one for American Jews and for all Americans. AJC policy on South Africa is in the context of the Statement on Human Rights adopted at the Atlanta NEC Meeting in 1977. The pertinent paragraph states:

We reaffirm our abhorrence of South Africa's apartheid policy. We deplore especially the repressive measures recently taken by the South African Government, including the banning of numerous independent black and other civic organizations, the closing down of liberal newspapers and the arrest of many opposition leaders. These measures are a disservice to the forces of moderation, both black and white, which are striving for a peaceful resolution to the complex racial problems of South Africa. We urge the South African Government to take concrete steps toward reducing, and ultimately eliminating, the legal and de facto discrimination against its non-white population, inherent in its apartheid policy.

During the 1984 Presidential campaign many Black leaders urged that South Africa become a pre-eminent foreign policy concern. For a number of years, the Congressional Black Caucus has focused attention on U.S.-South Africa relations. Currently, pending legislation calls for economic sanctions against South Africa. Black leaders have also urged American Jewish organizations to take a more active role in this area.

Discussion of the Solarz Bill, passed by the House in spring 1984, but blocked in a House-Senate conference in the summer, will likely resume after the Presidential election. Local AJC chapters have been approached to support this and other legislation aimed at restricting U.S. economic relations with South Africa. The proposed sanctions vary considerably; nonetheless, the principal types of sanctions may be characterized as follows (the last four being part of the proposed amendments to the Export Administration Act (H.R. 2131):

1. Disinvestment -- the refusal of city agencies, for example, to do business with corporations having any investments, licenses or operations in South Africa (New York City Council);
2. Banning export of military and police equipment to South Africa (Berman amendment);

3. Prohibiting all new investments, including new bank loans, by U.S. companies in South Africa (Gray amendment);
4. A ban on the sale of South African gold coins (Krugerrands) in the U.S., or imposition of a tax on these coins (Solarz bill);
5. Legal enforcement of the "Sullivan Principles," requiring U.S. firms doing business in South Africa to pursue fair employment practices (Solarz bill).

For AJC, as for other Jewish organizations, any discussion of South Africa must take into account the position of South Africa's 119,000 Jews and the possible effect on Israel. The South African Jewish community fears a resurgence of anti-Semitism, and there is the possibility that American Jewish support for sanctions against South Africa could encourage a backlash against South African Jews.

The situation in regard to Israel is even more complicated. There has been criticism of Israel's allegedly close relationship with South Africa in the United States and in international bodies. It has been argued that Israel-South Africa relations harm Israel's ties with Black Africa. This latter criticism is made despite the fact that many Black African states trade with South Africa, (out of necessity not choice, their defenders say) and that Israel did not upgrade diplomatic ties with South Africa to the ambassadorial level until 1976, three years after Black African states broke relations with Israel.

The difficult issue of considering other policy options toward South Africa has become an immediate and practical question for America and for American Jews. The problem is urgent, if not new; the challenge is to see whether fresh answers are needed and, if so, to determine where they may be found.

Questions For Discussion

1. Should AJC go beyond its stated commitment to social equality and abhorrence of apartheid, and assume a more activist posture against apartheid?
2. If it opts to pursue a more active role, what public positions should AJC take and what other activities should it initiate? Black, church and human rights groups have advocated a variety of measures including: issuing anti-apartheid statements in national and international forums; supporting economic sanctions such as those in the Solarz bill; joining in anti-apartheid "disinvestment" activities; participating in vocational training programs for Black South African workers, and in scholarship programs for Black students either in South Africa or abroad.

National Executive Council Meeting

ADDENDUM TO BACKGROUNDER ON SOUTH AFRICA

PRO

1. If the U.S. imposed economic sanctions, we would signal our belief that apartheid—a uniquely repressive, racist system is morally repugnant.
2. If the U.S. considers economic sanctions against the Soviet Union for human rights violations, the U.S. cannot do less regarding South Africa.
3. Economic sanctions will encourage change in South Africa by sending the South Africa government a clear signal that the U.S. opposes apartheid, and by strengthening the resolve of the Black population to resist apartheid.
4. Economic sanctions will have a strong impact on the South African economy. Limiting U.S. bank loans will make it more difficult for South Africa to find foreign financing, and will set a moral tone that will encourage other countries to restrict loans to South Africa. Furthermore, voluntary fair employment practices, the "Sullivan Principles," have gone as far as they can; binding enforcement procedures are required.
5. By supporting sanctions against South Africa, the American Jewish community could reaffirm its historic commitment to equality for all, and also improve its relations with the American Black community, which supports these measures strongly. This could foster Black support for Jewish foreign policy concerns such as Israel's security and the rights of Soviet Jews.
6. By imposing economic sanctions on South Africa, the U.S. will improve ties with Black Africa and the Third World. This will deprive the Soviet Union of its ability to pose as the superpower with the moral position on apartheid. Furthermore, Blacks will eventually rule South Africa and U.S. support for their aspirations now will forestall future Soviet influence.

CON

1. The true test of the utility of economic sanctions is not whether they make us feel good, but whether they work. While economic restrictions against South Africa have a moral purpose, specialists have argued that sanctions will have little practical impact in changing apartheid.
2. Placing economic sanctions on South Africa without placing similar pressures on other states involved in repression of human rights, in Africa and elsewhere, is practicing selective morality.
3. Economic sanctions will deter positive change in South Africa. By restricting investment in or loans to South Africa, American companies which have instituted fair employment practices will be harmed and Black unemployment will increase. Sanctions would mean the loss of U.S. access to, and leverage with, South African leaders. In addition, past economic pressures have merely induced South Africa to gain self-sufficiency in energy, armaments, and other areas.
4. The South African economy will not be affected much by sanctions. It is self-sufficient in important strategic materials, and could obtain loans and technology from sources other than the U.S. Furthermore, provisions for enforcing "fair employment practices" are unrealistic because U.S. courts will not be able to supervise implementation.
5. There is a long history of anti-Semitism in South Africa, and American Jewish support for sanctions could encourage a backlash against South African Jews and could harm Israel-South Africa relations.
6. South Africa is the strongest military power on the African continent, and serves as a bulwark against Soviet expansion in the area. By weakening South Africa, we would be whetting the Soviet appetite for expanding its power, either directly or through proxy.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

The American Jewish Committee, this country's pioneer human relations organization, has been devoted since its founding to combatting violations of human rights wherever they occur. In this tradition, we reaffirm our abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination, and we call for its speedy elimination.

We applaud the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, a courageous and eloquent leader of the anti-apartheid struggle. The award symbolizes universal recognition of the justice of this cause.

Unhappily, in South Africa, voices of protest against apartheid are often silenced harshly. Lack of due process and detention without trial are prominent features of life, with attendant abuse of political power.

Recently enacted constitutional reforms, belatedly offering partial representation to Indians and "coloreds," have left the system of racial segregation intact; unfortunately, they fail to enfranchise South Africa's overwhelming black majority. The policy of "resettling" blacks in poverty-stricken "homelands" has disrupted the lives of hundreds of thousands -- perhaps millions. The influx control laws and the Group Areas Act aggravate the suffering of the black population.

The role that those outside the country can play in combatting apartheid is limited. But they can help to enhance the prospects for peaceful change, which would benefit South Africans of all races and religions.

(over)

Thus, we endorse programs by private groups and government agencies, in the United States and abroad, for educating black and other non-white South Africans to assume a prominent role in the economic and public life of their country. Education can be a powerful force for social change, a key element in dismantling apartheid.

Furthermore, all American companies operating in South Africa should be urged to apply fair employment practices toward blacks. These include desegregating the workplace, permitting workers to join trade unions providing equal pay for comparable work, initiating job training programs, creating opportunities for career advancement, and improving health, housing, and school facilities. Additionally, all European firms doing business in South Africa should be urged to adhere to the fair employment principles enunciated in the 1977 EEC Code of Conduct. Such practices by Western firms can contribute significantly to the long-term goal of building a society based on equality and justice.

Finally, we urge the United States Government, and all other Western governments, to work vigorously through appropriate bilateral and multilateral channels, for the democratization of South African society.

Adopted by the National Executive Council
Chicago, Illinois, November 2, 1984

rpr

84-550-81

WHAT OTHERS SAY

About our programme:

To maintain the levels of credibility needed to work effectively in all communities, Centre personnel have demonstrated extraordinary sensitivity to government officials and black community leaders, a willingness to take risks and finesse in the art of brinkmanship.

The Centre developed working relationships with diverse segments of South African society. As a result, the Centre is well situated to embark on a major conflict management program which will demand credibility from black community organisations, academia, the business and volunteer communities and government officials. In a phrase, the Centre has its ducks in a row.

Richard Salem, formerly Midwest Regional Director of the Community Relations Service of the United States Department of Justice, who visited the Centre in 1979

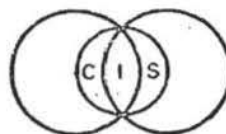
About our research:

Anyone who believes that there is some simple formula to understanding South Africa need only read the impressive series of manuscripts brought out by the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town.

But there are individual articles and books here that meet the highest standards of scholarship. The collection as a whole provides important insights into the social conflicts and contradictions that plague South African society. We owe a debt of gratitude to Hendrik van der Merwe for raising important questions and for providing a forum where scholars and political actors can meet and make sense of a sometimes obscure reality.

Professor Stanley Greenberg of Yale University writing in the American Political Science Review, vol 72, 1978.

Annual Reports, a List of Publications (and some publications) are available free from the Centre.



Centre for Intergroup Studies

c/o University of Cape Town,
Rondebosch, South Africa, 7700

Tel: (021) 65-4145
Telex: 57-21439

The Centre for Intergroup Studies is based at the University of Cape Town and is registered as the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies Limited as a company limited by guarantee and not having a share capital. It is not part of the University and receives no government subsidy.

It is partly financed by the Abe Bailey Trust and the University of Cape Town, from which the Centre receives regular financial aid. Ad hoc grants from various organisations make up the remainder of the funds needed to run the Centre.

The main purpose of the Centre is to promote and conduct research into intergroup relations in South Africa, more specifically in the field of race, ethnic and class relations.

The Centre's activities include academic research, empirical surveys and consultation on a local, national and international level. The Centre has hosted seminars on both academic and practical issues and ten international workshops on a number of key issues.

The Director of the Centre is Hendrik Willem van der Merwe (PhD, California), the Administrative Assistant Mariss Stevens (BJourn, Rhodes), the part-time Clerical Assistant Candy Muller and the part-time Librarian Gabi Meyer (MA, HDLIS, Cape Town). The research staff include, Odette Geldenhuys (BSocSc (Hons), Cape Town), Wanita Kawa (BA (Hons), Unitra), and Yolanda Kleynhans (MA, Stellenbosch).

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The Constructive Programme for Sound Intergroup Relations has been one of the Centre's major projects. It was initiated in 1976 with the aim of promoting better understanding among members of different population groups by removing race and economic discrimination.

The constructive and balanced manner the Centre has adopted in handling sensitive issues and its objective treatment of these diverse views have established a basis for communication, consultation and mediation in a polarised society.

The Centre has made history over the past 16 years by bringing together around the same conference table organisations which have seldom or never met on equal terms. These have included the South African Institute of Race Relations and the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, Inkatha and the Committee of Ten, the South African Student Organisation, the National Union of South African Students and the Afrikaanse Studentebond. In 1984 leaders of the National Party, the United Democratic Front, the Soweto Civic Association and Inkatha agreed to meet on the same platform.

This background provides the basis for the Centre's current programme of conflict and peace studies.

CONFLICT AND PEACE STUDIES (CAPS)

The Centre's Conflict and Peace Studies programme can best be described in three categories.

Research

The Centre's current research programme was developed with due regard to the requirements for fundamental change, the facilitation of intergroup communication, the constructive management of conflict and the reduction of violence in the change process.

The Centre produced several papers on case studies of the manifestations of conflict in South Africa and published a book, The Struggle for Democracy in South Africa: Conflict and Conflict Resolution, edited by Professor A Paul Hare.

The major theme and thrust of the current programme are contained in the current research by Dr John Hund and Professor H W van der Merwe on ideology and conflict in South Africa with special attention to legal ideology, legal development and conflict accommodation in South Africa.

Facilitation of Communication between Conflicting Parties

Workshops at which opposing or conflicting groups meet continue to form an important part of the Centre programme. An attempt is being made to give some continuity to this programme by the arrangement of a series of problem-solving workshops.

A workshop held in 1983 highlighted the repressive nature of law in South Africa and was followed by an international conference on conflict accommodation and management in 1984 which included a wide range of participants from South Africa and abroad.

Development of Communication Skills of Mediators

A major focus of the Conflict and Peace Studies programme is on the development of communication skills for facilitators in conflict situations. This is seen as an important task in the promotion of conflict accommodation in South Africa. Following a national seminar held at the Centre in 1984 a Continuity Committee concerned with the establishment of a national network of communication and the promotion of programmes and courses in the field of mediation and conflict resolution was elected. A course on Conflict Resolution in South Africa given at the Summer School of the University of Cape Town constitutes the first of a series of courses and training programmes which are being promoted.

NJCRCAC National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

443 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016

(212) 684-6950

January 25, 1985

OFFICERS

CHAIR

Jacqueline K. Levine, Metrowest, NJ

VICE CHAIRPERSONS

Norman S. Davis, San Antonio

Raymond Epstein, Chicago

Stuart Handmaker, Louisville

Dr. Aileen Kassen, Cleveland

Esther R. Landa, NCJW

Donald E. Lefton, Miami

Arden E. Shenker, Portland, Ore.

Richard S. Volpert, Los Angeles

Matthew B. Weinberg, San Francisco

TREASURER

Bernard S. White, Washington, DC

SECRETARY

Michael Pelavin, Flint

Past Chairmen

Albert E. Arent, Washington, DC

Jordan C. Band, Cleveland

Lewis D. Cole, Louisville

Aaron Goldman, Washington, DC

Irving Kane, Cleveland

Theodore R. Mann, Philadelphia

Bernard H. Trager, Bridgeport

Lewis H. Weinstein, Boston

Bennett Yanowitz, Cleveland

EXECUTIVE VICE CHAIRMAN

Albert D. Chernin

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Charney V. Bromberg

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(in addition to the officers)

NATIONAL AGENCY REPRESENTATIVES

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Edward D. Moldover

Mervin H. Risceman

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

David Kahn

Marion Wilen

B'NAI BRITH—

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Kenneth Bialkin

Gerald Kraft

HADASSAH

Frieda S. Lewis

Thelma C. Wolf

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

David Ashe

Donald Slaiman

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A.

Joseph Zoldan

Stanley N. Zwaik

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF

JEWISH WOMEN

Lenore Feldman

Barbara Mandel

UNION OF AMERICAN

HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

Harris Gilbert

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH

CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

Julius Berman

Marcel Webber

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA—

WOMEN'S LEAGUE

FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

Selma Weintraub

Marshall Wolke

WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT

Bea Forrest

Beverly Minkoff

COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES

Gilbert Baker, Houston

Morton Bunis, Metrowest, NJ

Steve Chernov, Milwaukee

Selig Danzig, Bridgeport

Marilyn Flanzbaum, Central, NJ

Frederick N. Frank, Pittsburgh

Marilyn Glaser, Baltimore

Mara Giullanti, Hollywood, FL

Jack B. Jacobs, Delaware

David Leberbom, Detroit

Elsie Leviton, Palm Beach County

Nathan Lewin, Washington, DC

David Minkin, Atlanta

Michael Newmark, St. Louis

Philip Perlmutter, Boston

Dr. Lawrence Rubin, Philadelphia

Edward Sanders, Los Angeles

Gloria Schwartz, Springfield, IL

Steven Schwarz, Wilkes-Barre

Ann Sikora, Dallas

Sheldon Tenenbaum, Savannah

Peggy Tishman, New York

EX OFFICIO

Carol Dragul, Cincinnati

Benjamin Gettler, Cincinnati

Rae Ginsburg, Boston

Milton Goldstein, St. Louis

Shirley Joseph, NCJW

H. Ronald Kizsko, Philadelphia

Stanley Lowell, New York

Rabbi Israel Miller, New York

Robert A. Rlesman, Rhode Island

Ann Robison, NCJW

Robert Schroyer, Chicago

H. William Shure, New Haven

Norman Tillea, Rhode Island

Barry Ungar, Philadelphia

Hon. Jerry Wagner, Hartford

Beryl B. Weinstein, Waterbury

Judith Wolf, Boston

Carolyn Zaroff, Rochester

Dr. Marcia Goldstone
Indianapolis JCRC
1100 West 42nd Street
Indianapolis, IN 46208

Dear Marcia,

It was good talking with you the other day. We are delighted that you have agreed to address the forum on "Combatting Apartheid: Toward a Comprehensive Position" at the forthcoming NJCRAC Plenum. The session will be held at 10AM on Monday, February 18, at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco.

The format of the session will be as follows: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum will discuss the American Jewish Committee's position and will describe the process that led to its development. We are asking you and Herb Magidson, president of the Jewish Labor Committee, to respond to Rabbi Tanenbaum's remarks from your perspectives. Because there will be three presentors at the Forum, we are asking you to hold your remarks to 15 minutes.

As you are aware, NJCRAC has sent out a Joint Program Plan proposition recommending study over the next year of proposals aimed at influencing the South African government to eliminate apartheid, with a goal toward reaching a position. We would like all of the speakers to address the issue of the current Administration policy of "constructive engagement" as well as questions of divestiture, or withdrawal of U.S. investments. NJCRAC's internal education process will be initiated at a February 7 meeting (from 11 AM-2:30 PM) of the NJCRAC Ad Hoc Committee on Black-Jewish Relations. Several experts will make presentations to the committee, and we would welcome your presence at the meeting.

I'm enclosing for your background information two recent NJCRAC mailings sent out on this issue, as well as some additional selected background material that I thought you would find of interest. We hope to arrange, as is customary, an opportunity at the Plenum for all the participants to meet in advance and discuss the session.

As I mentioned, I will not be able to attend the session on apartheid because of a schedule conflict with the forum on the Nairobi Conference. However, I will be handling arrangements at the staff

level, so please feel free to contact me if you have any questions or concerns.

I look forward, as always, to working with you.

Sincerely,



Marlene Provizer

MP/11

cc: Matthew Weinberg
Norman Tilles

bcc: Marc Tanenbaum



NJCRCAC National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

2/18/85

443 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016

(212) 684-6950

January 25, 1985

OFFICERS
CHAIR
Jacqueline K. Levine, Metrowest, NJ
VICE CHAIRPERSONS
Norman S. Davis, San Antonio
Raymond Epstein, Chicago
Stuart Handmaker, Louisville
Dr. Aileen Kassen, Cleveland
Eiether R. Lands, NCJW
Donald E. Lefton, Miami
Arden E. Shenker, Portland, Ore.
Richard S. Volpert, Los Angeles
Matthew B. Weinberg, San Francisco

TREASURER
Bernard S. White, Washington, DC

SECRETARY
Michael Pelavin, Flint

Past Chairmen
Albert E. Arent, Washington, DC
Jordan C. Band, Cleveland
Lewis D. Cole, Louisville
Aaron Goldman, Washington, DC
Irving Kane, Cleveland
Theodore R. Mann, Philadelphia
Bernard H. Trager, Bridgeport
Lewis H. Weinstein, Boston
Bennett Yanowitz, Cleveland

EXECUTIVE VICE CHAIRMAN

Albert D. Chernin

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Charney V. Bromberg

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(in addition to the officers)

NATIONAL AGENCY REPRESENTATIVES

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Edward D. Moldover

Mervin H. Riseman

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

David Kahn

Marion Wilen

B'NAI B'RITH—

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Kenneth Blalick

Gerald Kraft

HADASSAH

Frieda S. Lewis

Theima C. Wolf

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

David Ashe

Donald Slaiman

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A.

Joseph Zoldan

Stanley N. Zwalk

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF

JEWISH WOMEN

Lenore Feldman

Barbara Mandel

UNION OF AMERICAN

HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

Harris Gilbert

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH

CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

Julius Berman

Marcel Webber

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA—

WOMEN'S LEAGUE

FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

Selma Weintraub

Marshall Wolke

WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT

Bea Forrest

Beverly Minkoff

COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES

Gilbert Baker, Houston

Morton Bunis, Metrowest, NJ

Steve Chernov, Milwaukee

Selig Danzig, Bridgeport

Marilyn Flanzbaum, Central, NJ

Frederick N. Frank, Pittsburgh

Marilyn Glaser, Baltimore

Mara Giullanti, Hollywood, FL

Jack B. Jacobs, Delaware

David Lebenbom, Detroit

Elsie Leviton, Palm Beach County

Nathan Lewin, Washington, DC

David Minkin, Atlanta

Michael Newmark, St. Louis

Philip Perlmutter, Boston

Dr. Lawrence Rubin, Philadelphia

Edward Sanders, Los Angeles

Gloria Schwartz, Springfield, IL

Steven Schwarz, Wilkes-Barre

Ann Sikora, Dallas

Sheldon Tenenbaum, Savannah

Peggy Tishman, New York

EX OFFICIO

Carol Dragul, Cincinnati

Benjamin Gettler, Cincinnati

Rae Ginsburg, Boston

Milton Goldstein, St. Louis

Shirley Joseph, NCJW

H. Ronald Klasko, Philadelphia

Stanley Lowell, New York

Rabbi Israel Miller, New York

Robert A. Riesman, Rhode Island

Ann Robison, NCJW

Robert Schroyer, Chicago

H. William Shure, New Haven

Norman Tiles, Rhode Island

Barry Ungar, Philadelphia

Hon. Jerry Wagner, Hartford

Beryl B. Weinstein, Waterbury

Judith Wolf, Boston

Carolyn Zaroff, Rochester

Dr. Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Marc,

We are delighted that you have agreed to address the forum on "Combatting Apartheid: Toward a Comprehensive Position" at the forthcoming NJCRAC Plenum. The session will be held at 10 AM on Monday, February 18, at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco.

The format of the session will be as follows: We would like you to discuss the American Jewish Committee's position and to describe the process that led to its development. Then Herb Magidson, President of the Jewish Labor Committee and Marcia Goldstone, director of the Indianapolis Jewish Community Relations Council will respond to your remarks from their perspectives. Because there will be three presentors at the forum, we are asking you to hold your remarks to 15 minutes.

As you are aware, NJCRAC has sent out a Joint Program Plan proposition recommending study over the next year of proposals aimed at influencing the South African government to eliminate apartheid, with a goal toward reaching a position. We would like all of the speakers to address the issues of the current Administration policy of "constructive engagement" as well as questions of divestiture, or withdrawal of U.S. investments. NJCRAC's internal education process will be initiated at a February 7 meeting (from 11-2:30) of the NJCRAC Ad Hoc Committee on Black-Jewish relations. We plan to have several experts on hand to make presentations to the group, and we would welcome your presence at the meeting.

We hope to arrange, as is customary, an opportunity at the Plenum for all the participants to meet in advance and discuss the forum.

I will not be able to attend the session because of a schedule conflict with the forum on the Nairobi Conference. However, I will be handling arrangements at the staff level, so please feel free to contact me if you have any questions or concerns.

I look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,



Marlene Provizer

MP/11

cc: Matthew Weinberg
Norman Tilles



2/8-10/85

NATIONAL JEWISH



COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

443 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • 684-6950

January 31, 1985

Memo

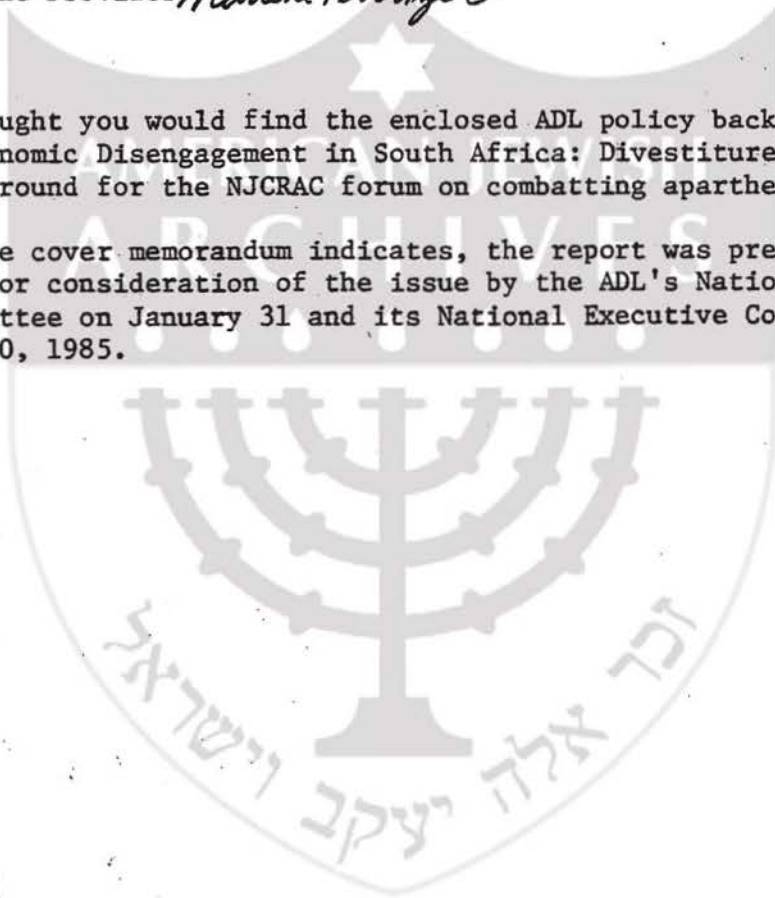
TO: Jordan Band
Marc Tanenbaum
Herb Magidson
Marcia Goldstone

FROM: Marlene Provizer *Marlene Provizer*

I thought you would find the enclosed ADL policy background report, "Economic Disengagement in South Africa: Divestiture" helpful as background for the NJCRAC forum on combatting apartheid.

As the cover memorandum indicates, the report was prepared as background for consideration of the issue by the ADL's National Civil Rights Committee on January 31 and its National Executive Committee on February 8-10, 1985.

MP/11
Encl.



P
L
E
N
A
R
Y

S
E
S
S
I
O
N

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

823 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

MEMORANDUM

To: ADL Regional Directors

From: Jeffrey P. Sinensky

Date: January 14, 1985

Subject: Economic Disengagement in South Africa: Divestiture
Civil Rights Division Policy Issue -- Regional Board Input

As per our ongoing policy of soliciting input from ADL regional boards on issues placed before the National Civil Rights and National Civil Rights Executive Committees, the attached fact sheet -- which will be the basis for a discussion of the above-mentioned issue at the upcoming meeting of the National Civil Rights Executive Committee on January 31, 1985 -- can serve as the means of presenting this policy question to your regional boards.

After its consideration by the National Civil Rights Executive Committee, this issue is scheduled to appear on the agenda of the National Executive Committee, which will meet February 8-10 in Palm Beach, Florida. Therefore, your input will be timely so long as we receive it prior to February 8th.

JPS:es

Att.

CC: Justin J. Finger
Robert C. Kohler

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Civil Rights Division
Policy Background Report



Economic Disengagement in
South Africa: Divestiture

Economic Disengagement in South Africa: Divestiture

QUERY: What should ADL's position be regarding the divestiture of funds from corporations that invest in South Africa?

The campaign to impose economic sanctions on South Africa by opponents of apartheid, begun many decades ago, has recently gained momentum and become the subject of consideration by a variety of corporations, human rights organization, colleges and universities, and governmental entities at the municipal and state level. Over twenty years ago, the United Nations adopted a resolution in favor of economic sanctions against South Africa. Many black South African leaders, trade unions, church groups, educational associations and community groups continue to pressure corporations to discontinue bank lending and investment in South Africa. Other South African groups have opposed divestiture as an ineffective means of ending apartheid. To date, major western governments have refused to impose stringent economic sanctions against the country.

During the 1980's, state and local governments as well as many private and public universities have voluntarily withdrawn funds from corporations operating or investing in South Africa. Over twenty states are currently considering divestment action, either administrative or legislative. In addition, the issue is being debated among labor unions, religious organizations and corporations. In light of the controversy over this issue, ADL has been asked to consider taking a position on divestiture.¹ A brief description of the current situation in

¹ In October, 1983, the National Executive Committee adopted a resolution supporting legislation which imposes fair employment practices on U.S. firms operating in South Africa. (See copy of resolution, attached.)

[page(s) missing from
original]



citizenship, and then to "invite" the states to join a "federation" controlled by white South Africans. Four homelands, Transkei, Bothuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, have already been granted independence, reducing the black population of South Africa by eight million. Their independence lacks meaning in any political, economic or social sense. Although the creation of these independent states has been used as an international public relations maneuver, none of the states has been recognized by any government other than South Africa.

The bantustan policy serves two purposes. First, it perpetuates political disenfranchisement and social isolation of blacks. Second, the scheme serves as a powerful control on the black labor force, thus sustaining an economic system which supports white wealth and dominance. Bantustans are economically undeveloped, forcing blacks to look for work in the urban, white areas. However, because their presence in white areas is a "privilege" extended by the government and because the South African economy is dependent on blacks as "units of labor," they are allowed to remain only as long as they are economically active. Under the Bantu Laws Amendment Act No. 42 of 1964, work must be obtained through a government labor bureau that assigns the work locality, type of employment and specific employer. Regulations limit labor "contracts" to one year and require blacks to return annually to their "homelands" in order to re-register for work.

Pass Laws require every black over sixteen years of age to be fingerprinted and furnished with a reference book or pass which contains information regarding his or her legal residence and employment and must be carried at all times. Failure to do so is a criminal offense. These migrant workers are confined to

[page(s) missing from
original]



members and lawyers.⁴ The Internal Security Act also empowers the government to prohibit the publication, printing or dissemination of any book, periodical or other written work. Random searches can be conducted to enforce compliance with "security laws."

One of the most effective means of silencing political protesters is through banning. Banning orders generally confine a person to a particular area or to his or her home, and prohibit the person from visiting specific places, meeting with more than one other person at a time, speaking in public, writing or being quoted by others. Bannings usually last for at least five years and are frequently renewed. From 1961 through 1983, over 1,400 individuals and organizations have been banned, including the African National Congress, the oldest black nationalist protest organization. The Unlawful Organization Act (1960) makes it a crime to further the aims of the ANC.

II. U.S. Corporations in South Africa

United States investors have found South Africa to be a profitable country. Such factors as the availability of cheap labor have resulted in substantially higher returns on investment than in other countries. At the end of 1982, U.S. direct investment in South Africa was estimated at \$2.8 billion.⁵ In addition, as of December 1982, U.S. financial institutions held \$3.6 billion in outstanding

⁴ According to an Amnesty International report released in 1978, "all evidence indicates that torture is extensively inflicted on political detainees, and that the Government sanctions its use." Since 1963, fifty-nine people are known to have died in detention, although the government has not acknowledged responsibility for a single death.

⁵ See Table A, attached.

[page(s) missing from
original]



signed the Sullivan Code. Of those companies which responded to the questionnaire, over one-third received the lowest possible compliance rating. It has been suggested that two reasons the South African government has not opposed the Sullivan Code, which is totally antithetical to apartheid, is that (a) it has made little if any impact on employment conditions, and (b) it creates a useful illusion of progress while staving off more drastic regulations and sanctions. Rev. Leon Sullivan, the author of the Code, has since acknowledged that the gains from the Code have been too slow in coming.

Representative Stephen Solarz (D-NY) has proposed legislation to restrict U.S. economic relations with South Africa.⁸ The House of Representatives twice passed the measure, on September 9, 1983 and October 11, 1984, but the Senate has not as yet acted on the bill. In October 1983, ADL's National Executive Committee adopted a resolution opposing apartheid and supporting legislation which requires American companies operating in South Africa to adhere to fair employment practices. (See copy of resolution, attached.)

III. Financial Divestiture

Economic disengagement in South Africa has been proposed as a potentially effective strategy to combat apartheid. The divestiture campaign calls upon U.S. institutions to dispose of investments in companies which do business or

⁸ The Solarz bill consists of three parts: (1) mandatory compliance with a code of fair employment practices (similar to the Sullivan Code) by all U.S. firms operating in South Africa which employ over twenty people; (2) a ban on American bank loans to the South African government or its parastatal institutions, except where such loans are made for educational, housing and health facilities which are available to all on a non-discriminatory basis; (3) a ban on the importation into the U.S. of the krugerrand or any other gold coin minted or offered for sale by the South African government.

[page(s) missing from
original]



disinvestment. Tutu favors investment in South Africa, for the time being, but on the strict condition that over the next eighteen to twenty-four months foreign firms use their investments as levers for political changes in civil rights, employment and living conditions for blacks. "If these are not implemented within the time limit, then the pressure must become punitive, that is, economic sanctions should be imposed."

However, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of five million members of the Zulu tribe, has taken a strong stand against U.S. firms pulling out of South Africa. Lucy Mbubelo, head of the National Union of Clothing Workers, called on American firms to remain in South Africa to "boost the evolutionary process now taking place." Other trade unions take an opposite position. The Federation of South African Trade Unions, the largest federation of black trade unions, declared in 1984: "It is FOSATU's considered view that the pressure for disinvestment has had a positive effect and should therefore not be lessened. FOSATU is definitely opposed to foreign investment that accepts the condition of oppression maintained by this regime."

IV. Arguments

A. ADL Should Adopt a Position Supporting Divestiture

1. The campaign for economic disinvestment recognizes that it is South Africa's economy which supports the entire enforcement apparatus of apartheid and secures the white government's control over blacks. Bishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize and head of the South African Council of Churches, has stated: "For many years, people have been investing in South Africa. They have benefited from black misery and suffering. They have benefited from cheap black labor. They have benefited from the whole system." The ultimate

[page(s) missing from
original]



The potential impact of economic divestment can be measured by the steps South Africa has taken to counteract such sanctions. The government has responded to the growing divestiture movement by hiring lobbyists in the United States, expanding its regional consulates and flooding U.S. legislators with letters and memoranda answering in detail each argument raised by proponents of divestiture. The South African government is organizing trips to the country for legislators and journalists and planning investment conferences. Advertisements hailing progress and change in South Africa have been placed in major newspapers and national journals. These actions demonstrate South Africa's real fear about the potential impact of a growing U.S. divestment movement.

The Administration has adopted a non-confrontational policy of "quiet diplomacy" to affect a change in South African policy. However, the diplomatic strategy of "constructive engagement" is unlikely to effectuate any change in apartheid. In fact, South Africa's President Pieter Botha, responded recently to criticism by President Reagan and other U.S. officials by stating: "No quiet diplomacy or shouting at us will prevent us from seeking the path of justice with the maintenance of civilized values in our country." Economic sanctions, however, represent a concrete rejection of apartheid by Americans and give meaning to the United States' rhetoric condemning the system.

2. Annual reports monitoring compliance with the Sullivan Code indicate that voluntary compliance with fair employment practices has had an insignificant effect on employment conditions for blacks. Only one-half of the American companies operating in South Africa have signed the Sullivan Code, and of those that have, one-third are merely giving lip service to compliance. However, even if legislation makes such compliance mandatory, it will effect only .3% of the black

[page(s) missing from
original]



Jewish support for racial equality in black Africa will produce reciprocal support by blacks for Jews in Israel.

In addition, ADL support for divestiture will not hurt Israel. Israel has consistently voted against apartheid in the United Nations. Nevertheless, South Africa has continued to maintain economic relations with Israel. South Africa lent support to Israel during the Yom Kippur War and the threatened Arab oil embargo — a time when the rest of Africa surrendered to Arab threats and cut off support for Israel. If South Africa behaved in this manner when Israel itself was condemning South Africa's racist policies, it surely will not retaliate against Israel when the condemnatory action is supported more remotely by American Jews.

4. Over seventy years ago, ADL was founded "to preserve and translate into greater effectiveness the principles of freedom, equality and democracy." These goals have prompted the agency to support equal opportunity and fair treatment for oppressed minorities in all aspects of society, including employment, housing, and education. South African apartheid represents the most thorough, vicious, legally entrenched racism in the world. Recognizing the injustice of this system, the National Executive Committee, in October 1983, reaffirmed ADL's "opposition to apartheid as a particularly abhorrent form of racial discrimination." Recognition of the reprehensible nature of apartheid carries with it a concomitant obligation to oppose it by the most effective means. It is argued that many countries are guilty of racist or discriminatory policies or other violations of human rights. Why focus such a drastic economic weapon on South Africa? The answer is two-fold: First, only drastic sanctions will have an impact on a system of racism as established as apartheid. Second, an attack on

[page(s) missing from
original]



B. ADL Should Adopt a Position Opposing Divestiture

1. Divestiture, while somewhat useful as a publicity tool for mobilizing anti-South African forces, will have no effect on eradicating apartheid. The funds divested by colleges and municipalities have been absorbed by other investors, private and corporate. No U.S. firm has been obliged to pull out of South Africa because of financial losses, nor is such action likely. In addition to alternative investors available in this country, other countries trading with South Africa will step in and pick up investment and trade opportunities which develop as a result of U.S. divestiture.

Moreover, a significant divestment campaign in the U.S. will be interpreted as evidence of Americans' readiness to use capital for political ends. This could erode confidence in the stability of our foreign investments and thus impair the strength of the dollar and the credibility of U.S. economic and financial policies.

Finally, it should be noted that a successful divestiture campaign will ultimately hurt blacks by eliminating jobs, and reducing opportunities to enter the economy through markets dominated by U.S. investments, i.e., computer technology. Recently, an opinion poll conducted among black South African workers indicated that 75% rejected divestiture as an anti-apartheid strategy because they feared it would jeopardize their jobs.¹¹ The impact of divestiture on the South African economy will, in fact, primarily hurt those at the lower levels -- those already oppressed by the policies of apartheid. Worsening their economic situation will not change the South African government's position and will only further depress the position of blacks in that country.

¹¹ The validity of this study has been questioned because it failed to take into account the fact that voicing support for divestiture is illegal in South Africa under the Internal Security Act.

[page(s) missing from
original]



technical schools for blacks, initiating black businesses, instituting equal pay for equal work, and improving the quality of life for blacks outside the work place. Some company officials are even lobbying against apartheid. These are significant and concrete changes which materially affect the daily lives of over 70,000 blacks working for U.S. employers. Rather than supporting divestiture, which is only an abstract protest to apartheid, ADL should turn its attention to legislation which directly affects the employment and living conditions of blacks under the apartheid system.

3. Endorsing divestiture is both arbitrary and hypocritical. Imposing economic sanctions against South Africa, clearly not the only nation practicing racially discriminatory policies, is an unfair and unjustifiable political maneuver. Moreover, the divestiture campaign amounts to a boycott -- something ADL has consistently opposed. ADL's efforts to enact and to renew legislation prohibiting compliance with the Arab boycott, and to resist joining politically-motivated boycotts in this country are incompatible with the disinvestment movement. Supporting divestiture of South African interests while protesting similar politically-motivated economic sanctions is itself discriminatory.

4. Jewish support of divestiture could endanger South African Jewry. The white/non-white caste system in South Africa has placed the Jewish population, as members of the controlling white minority, in the unique historical position of being part of the privileged group which dominates the non-white majority. Because of this, the Jewish community in South Africa has, for the most part, been silent with respect to racial and social issues in their country.¹² For

¹² Through the years, there have been some notable exceptions, particularly, Helen Suzman, a South African Jew who has been an outspoken critic of apartheid for many years.

[page(s) missing from
original]



WHEREAS, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has always opposed discrimination on the basis of race, and

WHEREAS, the League has long been opposed to the apartheid system of racial discrimination practiced in South Africa, by which a majority of the population is denied full political, legal and economic rights solely on the basis of race, and

WHEREAS, there has been legislation proposed in the Congress to demonstrate U.S. opposition to the legally sanctioned system of racism which exists in South Africa, legislation which would among other things, require American companies operating in South Africa to comply with fair employment practices, including a ban on segregation in the workplace.

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED That the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reaffirms its opposition to apartheid as a particularly abhorrent form of racial discrimination, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith supports legislation that would require adherence by American companies operating in South Africa to the following principles:

- a) Non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort, locker rooms, and work facilities.
- b) Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.
- c) Equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time.
- d) Initiation and development of training programs that will prepare blacks, coloreds, and Asians in substantial numbers for supervisory, administrative, clerical, and technical jobs.
- e) Increasing the number of blacks, coloreds, and Asians in management and supervisory positions.
- f) Improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation, and health facilities.

Adopted As Amended
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
National Executive Committee
October 1983
Los Angeles, California

U.S. Banks Participating in Loans to South Africa
RANKED by OUTSTANDING LOANS* Participated In (as of 1983)

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Company</u>	<u>Outstanding Loan Participation (\$ million)</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Company</u>	<u>Outstanding Loan Participation (\$ million)</u>
1	Citicorp	\$ 1,420.5	31	CoreStates Financial (Philadelphia Natl.)	68.2
2	Manufacturers Hanover	736.4	32	Bank of Boston (First Natl. Bank of Boston)	50.0
3	Merrill Lynch & Co.	704.7	32	Bankers Trust	50.0
4	Kidder, Peabody & Co.	590.1	34	Dow Chemical	50.0
5	First Boston Inc.	548.5	32	Fidalgor	50.0
6	Prudential Insurance (Bache)	442.9	32	First Chicago	50.0
7	Chase Manhattan	397.3	32	First Washington Securities	50.0
8	Goldman, Sachs & Co.	360.8	32	E. F. Hutton Group	50.0
9	Arnhold & S. Bleichroder Co.	342.0	32	Rothschild Inc.	50.0
10	American Express (Shearson Loeb Rhoades)	312.7	32	PNC Financial (Pittsburgh Natl./Provident Natl.)	38.9
11	J. P. Morgan & Co.	301.7	40		
12	Dillon, Read & Co.	298.8	41	Bear, Stearns & Co.	43.1
13	Smith Barney Inc.	283.5	42	Midland Bank [UK] (Crocker National)	30.0
14	Credit Suisse/First Boston	252.2	43	European American Bancorp	25.0
15	Lehman Bros. Kuhn Loeb	233.6	44	Irving Bank	15.0
16	Phibro-Salomon	229.1	45	First Wisconsin	4.7
17	Aetna Life & Casualty (Samuel Montagu [UK])	215.1	46	Centran Corp.	4.6
18	Chemical New York	192.0	47	Society Corp.	2.4
19	Paine Webber Inc. (Blyth Eastman Dillon)	191.1	48	National City Corp.	0.2
20	Morgan Stanley & Co.	177.2			
21	PEFCO	175.8			
22	Dresdner Bank [WG] (ABD Securities)	164.0			
23	Lazard Freres	162.7			
24	Sears Roebuck (Dean Witter Reynolds)	162.2			
25	Brown Bros. Harriman	158.6			
26	Stuart Brothers	148.0			
27	Drexel Burnham Lambert	118.1			
28	Continental Illinois	100.2			
29	InterFirst Corp.	100.0			
30	BankAmerica (Seafirst)	84.4+			

(Source of Information: Pacific Northwest Research Center,
 Unified List of U.S. Companies with Investments or Loans
 in South Africa and Namibia JULY 1983)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 12, 1985
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Allan L. Kagedan
subject NJCRAC Meeting on South Africa, February 7, 1985

NJCRAC's Black-Jewish Task Force held a preliminary meeting to discuss a Jewish communal position on U.S. policy toward South Africa, a subject that will be covered at NJCRAC's Plenum to be held later this month.

Participants at the meeting included representatives of NJCRAC, ADL, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, UAHC, American Jewish Committee (Gary Rubin), the Philadelphia and Baltimore Community Relations Councils, the National Council of Jewish Women and officials from Congressman Berman's office and New York City.

Because AJC has paid special attention to the South Africa question, NJCRAC invited me to discuss AJC policy. NJCRAC is planning to circulate a summary of this meeting; what follows are brief highlights.

On disinvestment, the withdrawal of funds from corporations which have investments or operate in South Africa, no Jewish organization has found it possible to favor this policy; at the same time, none has felt comfortable in publicly rejecting it. Disinvestment was opposed on the grounds that it may: not be economically effective; harden white South African political attitudes; adversely affect the South African Jewish community; reduce U.S. political leverage; not be supported by black South Africans; and harm black South African labor unions (see below).

What distinguishes the AJC position from that of certain other Jewish organizations, is that the others are willing to support the Solarz bill restrictions (legal imposition of Sullivan Principles, prohibition of Krugerrand sales, and a ban on new bank loans to South Africa).

Specifically, ADL at its February 8-10 National Executive Committee meeting decided not to adopt a new position statement on South Africa, but to reaffirm its previous position of supporting "legislation requiring American companies operating in South Africa to adhere to 'fair employment practices,'" (the Sullivan Principles). The American Jewish Congress, which supported the Solarz bill, has been unable to support more stringent, disinvestment measures. In addition, the AJCongress has been in touch with South African Jews who favor Jewish organizations taking positions against apartheid, but seem to oppose economic sanctions. The Philadelphia CRC has supported Congressman Gray's call

for a ban on future investment, but not to disinvestment. The Jewish Labor Committee's representative reported that Black Labor leaders had approached his organization to support a campaign against disinvestment, on the ground that the strongest Black unions exist only in U.S. companies operating in South Africa. The Jewish Labor Committee, therefore, would likely not support disinvestment. The National Council on Jewish Women had taken no position on the Solarz Bill, nor on disinvestment. Finally, the UAHC representative said that his organization would likely adopt a position using more strident language than that used by the AJCommittee, criticize Reagan Administration policy on South Africa, and may even support in the Solarz bill; but there is little prospect that UAHC would favor disinvestment.

On the upsurge in American public activity on South Africa, representatives from Jewish organizations expressed concern about the possible manipulation of the anti-apartheid movement by persons hostile to Israel and to the Jewish community. Pointing out that this has not happened yet, some representatives argued that Jewish involvement in the anti-apartheid movement had led to the suppression of anti-Israel and anti-Jewish rhetoric.

AJCommittee representatives attending on NJCRAC meetings that deal with South Africa, including the upcoming NJCRAC plenum in San Francisco, may face the issue of whether to oppose an attempt to adopt a position favorable to economic sanctions against South Africa. Until now, the AJCommittee position has been an implicit rejection of economic pressures. It is worth underscoring that observers have opposed disinvestment in particular, and economic sanctions in general, for the same reasons.

Reporting on the situation in the Congress, a representative from Congressman Berman's office said that a number of bills which did not pass the 98th Congress will be reintroduced, and that a number of new bills will be introduced in the current session of Congress (see attached). Although it is difficult to predict what the reaction to these bills will be, it seems that the political center has shifted towards favoring some type of economic pressures. A related development will be renewed debate over "contract sanctity," a mechanism through which the business community is seeking to free exports subject to contracts or trade agreements from any sanctions that could be imposed in response to violations of human rights. Notably, last year both supporters of economic sanctions against South Africa, and supporters of the Soviet Jewry movement lobbied against contract sanctity.

The representative of New York City reported on the City's recent decision to remove its pension fund assets, which amount to over eight billion dollars, from corporations with investments in South Africa. This is the first time that human rights criteria have been used to determine how New York City invests its funds. The key features of this complicated divestment program are that it will require close monitoring and assessment of U.S. companies operating in South Africa, it will be instituted in phases over several years, and its executors must insure that it in no way has negative financial consequences for the pension fund.

J039/1s/smm/gn
2/14/85

LEGISLATION ON SOUTH AFRICA

98th Congress

1. Open loans to others -
2. mountains?
3. self-ideal.

Dixon -- Imposes restrictions on IMF lending to South Africa -- became law in modified form.

Berman -- Prohibits sales to South Africa's military and police and restricts computer sales to South African government -- passed House and Senate, but died with Export Administration Act (EAA)

Solarz -- Mandatory "Sullivan Principles" (fair employment practices, labor organization rights) for U.S. firms in South Africa. Passed House and, in modified version, Senate. Died with EAA.

50% US comp
not sign on
for who have
had reward.

Prohibits U.S. import of South African gold coins, krugerrands. Passed House. - Symbolism. make backward in employment practices blacks can't have certain jobs, sep. from fam.

Banks opposed - Bars U.S. bank loans to South African government, except for fully integrated services. Passed House.

Gray -- Prohibits new investment in South Africa by U.S. companies, banks etc. Passed House. Senate passed provision making "no new investment" the penalty for those companies that did not comply with fair employment practices. Died with EAA.

99th Congress -- thus far, a partial list

Omnibus bills, containing versions of the above provisions:

Roemer -- Above ^{EAA} provisions as passed House
EAA

Proxmire -- Above provisions as passed House + general nuclear sales restrictions

Dellums -- Immediate disinvestment, total trade sanctions

Upcoming: Fauntroy; Wolpe/Gray/Solarz: Provisions not yet final - negotiation with House Conservative.

Specific bills:

Berman -- Stronger version. In addition to prohibiting sales to South African military and police, prohibits all computer sales to South African government and munitions list sales to South Africa.

Mitchell -- U.S. to oppose all IMF loans to South Africa. Prohibits krugerrand imports into U.S.

Hawkins -- Secretary of Labor to analyze possible prohibition against pension fund investment in South Africa, U.S. Fair Labor Standards Act and Civil Rights Act enforcement for employees of US companies in South Africa, increase educational aid to black South African students.

General legislation in Export Administration Act that affects South Africa.

"Contract sanctity:" Senate sought to prohibit economic sanctions affecting

any exports subject to contracts or trade agreements. House sought to allow suspension of contracts or agreements in response to gross violations of human rights, acts of terrorism, acts of military aggression or nuclear weapons tests. Compromise allowed suspension of contracts if President determined a "breach of peace" posed a serious threat to U.S. national security interests. Compromise died with EAA. Will be an issue again this Congress.

Nuclear Export Restrictions: Restricted exports of goods, technology, equipment to nuclear facilities to countries not accepting IAEA safeguards.



AJC POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA

Presentation to the NJCRAC Plenum
San Francisco, California
February 18, 1985

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

by David A. Harris
Deputy Director
International Relations Department

The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, NY 10022

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
FOR LIMITED DISTRIBUTION ONLY

AJC POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA

PRESENTATION TO THE NJCRAC PLENUM, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
February 18, 1985

by David A. Harris
Deputy Director
International Relations Department
American Jewish Committee

The American Jewish Committee last issued a statement on apartheid in South Africa in 1977. Why, then, did we choose, in 1984, to review various policy alternatives and to issue a new statement on the subject of South Africa?

There are a number of explanations. First, there has been a rapidly changing situation in South Africa. You will recall that in November 1983, a new constitution to partially enfranchise Coloreds and Indians passed among white voters by a margin of nearly 2-1. Nearly a year later, in September 1984, the new structure, including a tricameral legislature, went into effect. In response to this and other developments, Black townships erupted and well more than 100 people were killed, there were many arrests, and property damage was extensive. Tens of thousands of school children began boycotting the school system. This was followed later in the fall by the much-publicized arrests of nine black trade union and political leaders. Protests quickly grew in the United States in front of the South African Embassy in Washington, the Mission in New York, and other points of South African diplomacy and commerce in the United States. To quote a producer of the ABC-TV program "Nightline," South Africa has become an "ascending issue" for the American news media.

Second, during the 98th Congress (1983-1984) there was a flurry of legislative activity. Perhaps best known is the Solarz Bill which has three main components: a) legal imposition of fair employment standards on American companies operating in South Africa; b) prohibition against American banks making loans to the South African government, except to educational, housing, and health facilities on a non-discriminatory basis; and c) a ban on the importation of Krugerrands.

There were other legislative proposals as well. Representative William Gray of Pennsylvania proposed a ban on new investments by U.S. companies in South Africa. Representative Howard Berman of California sought the prohibition of sales to South Africa of military and police equipment and restrictions on the sale of computers. Representative Julian Dixon, also of California, sought to impose restrictions on International Monetary Fund lending to South Africa. Indeed, the Dixon proposal did become law in modified form. The other legislative initiatives passed the House of Representatives but died with the impasse over the Export Administration Act. The advent of the 99th Congress augurs further legislative efforts to impose economic sanctions on South Africa with a number of bills having already been introduced in both houses of Congress and many more in prospect.

Third, the 1984 presidential bid of Rev. Jesse Jackson also served to focus increased attention on the issue of South Africa, as did the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu in the fall of 1984. This award gave much publicized platforms to Bishop Tutu to address the moral and ethical repugnance shared by much of the civilized world with regard to the racist system of apartheid in South Africa.

Fourth, the increasing attempts to reconcile differences and re-establish alliances among American blacks and Jews in recent months has also served to focus attention on the South African issue. Many American Black leaders refer to South Africa as "their Israel," and have asked of American Jews the same understanding and support for the struggle against the white supremacist regime in Pretoria as American Jews ask of Blacks concerning support for Israel.

As a result of this changing political context, many of our members urged that AJC formulate a new policy statement on the subject of South Africa to reflect recent developments and growing concern. Simultaneously, pressure had been growing on our chapters across the country who are increasingly faced with decisions about how to respond to a flurry of proposals for divestiture of stock holdings by city councils and state legislatures; by calls for disinvestment by American companies; by growing protests and demonstrations of a relatively broad spectrum of the community; by picketing of shops selling South African gold coins; etc. Pressure was also coming from the Black community, to which I have already referred, and from the Christian community, parts of which had long been concerned with the South African issue. And, of course, on the international scene, South Africa continued to be a major target of attack at international forums, often in company with Israel. In a speech to the U.N. on November 21, 1984, Israeli Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, responding to a Special Committee report, even had to refute the preposterous charge that Israel was the "wellspring of apartheid."

In attempting to formulate the AJC position, we went through an intensive process of deliberation and consultation. We met with officials from the State Department, the Israeli Government, the European Economic Community, the AFL-CIO, the Afro-American Institute, the Institute for International Education, academic specialists on South Africa, and, as is always our practice, with Jews from the country concerned. In addition, we gave very careful attention to the extensive literature on the question of economic sanctions and their effectiveness, or lack thereof, in recent history.

In November 1984, we invited Helen Suzman, the founder of the Progressive Federal Party, the official opposition party in South Africa, to join us for our National Executive Council meeting in Chicago. Ms. Suzman, a Jew, has long been a courageous advocate for democracy for all races in South Africa and for a dismantling of the system of racial separation. In fact, in 1983, she was nominated, together with Bishop Tutu, for the Nobel Peace Prize. She joined with us in three separate meetings in Chicago, and I think it would be useful to quote at some length from that which she said in one of her speeches:

"All of you here tonight are, I am sure, anxious to know what you, as Americans, can do to hasten real change in South Africa -- to set it on the path toward a true democratic society.

I wish I had the answer to this complicated question -- for there are several aspects to be considered -- moral, economic, punitive, reform -- all interwoven. The moral aspect is the simplest -- it is a value judgment you have to make for yourselves, if, that is, the decision to disengage or divest is envisaged as a method of distancing oneself from any association with the abhorrent system of apartheid -- institutionalized race discrimination -- to put it simply -- to keep one's hands clean.

Such a course of action has a simple appeal. And so, too, does disengagement with a view to its punitive effect. But it also does other things -- it removes you from a position of exercising any influence over the course of future events. The vacuum created by U.S. disengagement would be filled by others less concerned with reform and the pace of change -- slow enough in all conscience -- would be even slower.

There are those who believe that total economic collapse would facilitate a Black revolution and Black majority rule. Such a course could only be advocated by people sitting safely thousands of miles away, for a Black revolution would have no chance of success, as anyone who knows anything about the strength, ferocity, and competence of the South African police and army will agree. The key to peaceful change in South Africa lies, I believe, in the opposite direction -- in the expansion of the economy, in the increasing acquisition of skills among Blacks, in increasing consumer power among Blacks, in developing economic muscle among Blacks, which can be used to demand social and political change. And Western nations that urge reform should stay in South Africa and use their influence to this end. Moreover, despite the gulf that exists between rhetoric and prevailing practice in human rights, there are international codes of conduct with regard to such rights that have been widely established and accepted, albeit, reluctantly by some, as just and proper aims of humanity. Not even a superpower like the Soviet Union or a defiant small country like South Africa is comfortable when charged with infringement of these codes. The U.S. must protest loudly against apartheid's outrageous violation of human rights."

I know we all share in an unqualified condemnation of apartheid and all that it represents, and we recognize the uniquely repugnant features of the legalization of a system based on racial discrimination. We, at AJC, had been periodically speaking out on the subject for 25 years or more, but, in effect, our statements ritualistically condemned apartheid but went no further in recommending courses of action to reform the system. The issue before us in 1984 was, therefore, how we might go forward, that is, how we might design a

course of action to achieve our shared goals of peaceful democratization of the country and extension of civil and political rights to all of South Africa's population.

At the same time, however, there are a number of difficult questions we have had to ask ourselves:

***How do we press for democratization and yet, at the same time, seek to preserve the security of the 120,000 South African Jews who could find themselves in the middle of a potentially combustible situation in which their lives, and the lives of countless others, could be imperiled?

***Do we run the risk, by becoming prominent in the anti-apartheid struggle in the West, of bringing harm to the Jewish community in South Africa, which could be the victim of reprisals by the white minority government?

***How do we prevent a recurrence of the situation some 15 years ago when South Africa imposed restrictions on the transfer of funds by Jews to Israel in retaliation for Israel's donation to the Organization of African Unity? South Africa's Jewish community is, per capita, the second most generous contributor to the United Israel Appeal.

***And how do we deal with the issue of relations between South Africa and Israel? Although the facts strongly suggest a rather minimal economic relationship between the two countries, the perception in many quarters is otherwise. Indeed, we should all bear in mind that Israel's bilateral trade with South Africa represents 0.6% of South Africa's total trade, ranking Israel twentieth in the list of South Africa's trading partners, well behind the United States, Western Europe, Japan, Black Africa, the Arab states, and probably even the Soviet bloc members of COMECON.

***How do we deal with the very real question of South Africa's strategic and economic importance in the world? At the very southern tip of the African continent, and blessed with a wide variety of minerals, the fact is that South Africa's economic, geographic, and strategic importance to the West remains an issue that one simply cannot ignore?

***How do we seek to develop a position which would, in fact, encourage the kind of positive, if gradual, democraticization of the country, rather than having precisely the opposite effect, which would be to create a siege mentality among the Afrikaners, the majority white population?

Those who do not understand the particular psychology of the Afrikaners, who view themselves as white Africans and whose roots on the continent go back several centuries, and who assert a historic claim to the land on which they live, do not understand the extraordinary complexity of the situation. And those who think that punitive economic sanctions against South Africa would necessarily achieve the desired results, may not, again, understand either the make-up of the Afrikaner population in particular, or the resourcefulness of the dominant minority population. These characteristics have been amply demonstrated in the South African response to the oil embargo, for example. The South Africans have developed a three-fold approach to countering the oil embargo: 1) import substitution; 2) increased self-sufficiency (the SASOL plants which convert coal to oil are now world-renowned and provide as much as 40% of

the country's domestic oil needs); and 3) circumvention of the embargo. Oil loses its national identity very quickly in a free-trading world market, and no shortage of countries, particularly self-righteous Arab states that vigorously condemn the South African system in public forums but provide the country with much of its energy needs, exists to undermine the attempted embargo. And the arms embargo, too, though costly to South Africa, has also not, to date, achieved the desired result. The South African military is considered strong and capable of dealing with any current combination of threats from neighboring African countries. Whether it will be able to develop the sophisticated technology to respond to advanced Soviet weaponry which might be introduced into neighboring countries, or what impact extended expended guerilla warfare and terrorism would have, remains to be seen. But, for the foreseeable future, the South African military retains the upper hand in the area. This is not, of course, to suggest that South Africa would not be adversely affected by economic sanctions, but rather that the sanctions are not currently likely to result in the desired impact on government policy.

We considered carefully and ultimately rejected two of the most popular strategies, namely, divestiture of stock funds and disinvestment. We did so because, though support for these approaches may make for good domestic politics, they appear to contradict our desire for evolutionary change by: 1) withdrawing whatever sources, albeit limited, of leverage the U.S. private sector currently has; 2) transferring ownership of those American firms to South African or other non-American businessmen not subjected to the same public pressures to maintain fair employment practices; 3) hurting some 70,000 Black workers employed by U.S. firms who would suffer the loss of their jobs; and 4) hampering the development of Black trade unions, a concept that all of us should actively support and encourage, for it has been in part the role of American companies that has nursed along the development of Black trade unions.

We have simply not found the evidence to suggest that economic sanctions, particularly when they are unilaterally rather than multilaterally imposed, work. And we have found the policy of divestiture to reflect nothing more than simplistic symbolism. To quote Clifton Wharton, the Chancellor of the State University of New York and a severe critic of apartheid:

"Should universities and other institutions divest themselves of stock in companies that remain in South Africa? I do not think so. I continue to believe that stock divestiture is at best a simplistic symbolism that fails to understand the complex interrelationships between firms and their suppliers. In today's multinational trade in raw materials, plant location is rarely an adequate gauge of true dependence.... Aside from their brief publicity value, divestiture campaigns inflict no "punishment" on South Africa. While divestiture might salve the egos of those activists who are indiscriminately anti-big business, it would have no direct effect on the real matters at hand. Somebody else merely buys the stock."

And, frankly, we need to be honest with ourselves. While no one argues the perniciousness of the South African system, or, for that matter, the uniqueness of apartheid, is it the only truly repugnant system in the world? Without in any way minimizing the situation in South Africa, we need to ask ourselves: Why

not also seek to impose economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, Iran, Cambodia and other countries that have practiced genocide, widespread torture and other massive violations of human rights?

The position adopted by AJC in November contains the following points: 1) it unequivocally condemns the system of apartheid, the banning and detentions, the policy of forced resettlement, the lack of enfranchisement of Blacks and the only partial enfranchisement of Indians and Coloreds, the lack of due process, and the Influx Patrol and Group Areas Laws; 2) it praises the awarding of the Nobel Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu; 3) it supports educational programs for Blacks, both in South Africa and the United States, as a practical means for developing a growing Black leadership sector capable of becoming the motor for social change; 4) it supports the concept of the Sullivan Principles and calls on all American companies not currently subscribing to those principles, nearly 150 of 350 U.S. firms operating in South Africa, to adopt those standards; 5) it calls on all Common Market firms to adhere to the EEC Code of Conduct and accordingly practice fair employment standards; and 6) it calls on the United States and other Western countries to use appropriate public and private bilateral and multilateral channels to vigorously press for widespread democratization in the country and to seek, as part of this process, to achieve specific goals, e.g. an end to forced resettlement, an end to detentions, an end to bannings, the abrogation of the Mixed Marriage and Immorality Acts, and enfranchisement of the nation's Black majority.

Subsequently, on December 10, in condemning the arrests of trade union leaders, AJC's president Howard Friedman applauded "the major escalation of public calls for the elimination of apartheid -- including the use of dramatic non-violent civil disobedience." And on Christmas Day, December 25, the AJC, together with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, conducted a much-publicized vigil in front of the South African Embassy in Washington. Similarly, a number of our members in cities across the country have participated in protests and demonstrations. The one cautionary note concerns some other actors and agendas in the protest movement. For example, the president of the Boston chapter of Transafrica, the organization that launched the current round of protests, is quoted in The New Republic (January 21, 1985) as stating, "There is a special burden on the American Jewish community regarding South Africa, because of ties between the State of Israel and South Africa...the burden on the American Jewish community is to be visibly criticizing Israel for these ties." Our chapters have occasionally found themselves in a difficult position, wanting to support public protests and to demonstrate against the South African regime, but, at the same time, being unable to associate themselves with the programmatic agendas of some other participating organizations.

One of our chapters responded exceptionally well to this dilemma. Let me quote from the report of the chapter director in that city:

We felt that we did not need to be forced into a position with which we were not comfortable for the sake of our coalition, but that we should firmly and politely explain that: 1) different groups must be allowed to engage in the types of activity they feel most effective, 2) the litmus test must not be that we join an activity another group is committed to, and 3) there is indeed genuine division whether economic mea-

asures, that is, economic sanctions, would ultimately help or hurt the very Black South Africans it is intended to assist..."

We began to undertake a series of other types of activities to demonstrate our concern about the issues: We sent a letter to all of the rabbis asking that they speak out against apartheid in conjunction with Martin Luther King's birthday; we may be organizing an interfaith Sabbath for Christians and Jews to speak out against apartheid; we used the forum of a Black-Jewish clergy meeting, following a Martin Luther King service, to discuss the issue with the Black clergy; we have sent articles on the Ethiopian rescue to the local press, which, although tangential to the issue of South Africa, does answer the charges that Israel is a racist society; and we are bringing the issue up at the next meeting of our Black-Jewish Dialogue.

Finally, we recognize that the issue of South Africa will be with us for many months and years to come, and that we will be required, as a consequence, to review our position at frequent intervals and to assess the merits of our stance in light of undoubtedly changing circumstances. Clearly, if the situation deteriorates, we will have to reconsider our basic assumptions. Thus it seems a very safe guess that, although several years may have passed between the last AJC statement and our current one, it will be much sooner between the formulation of this statement and our next one.

I036-Speech
March 29, 1985



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 19, 1985
to Harold Applebaum
from Susan Abravanel
subject Oregon Bill: South Africa

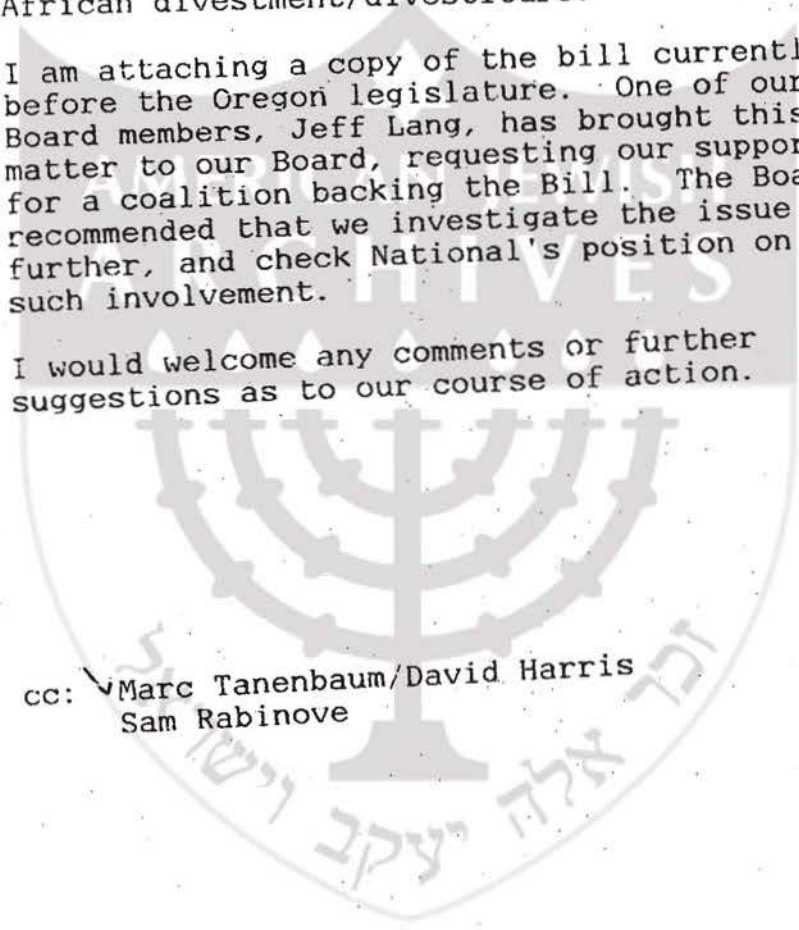
MEMORANDUM

Thank you again for taking the time to discuss AJC's position concerning South African divestment/divestiture.

I am attaching a copy of the bill currently before the Oregon legislature. One of our Board members, Jeff Lang, has brought this matter to our Board, requesting our support for a coalition backing the Bill. The Board recommended that we investigate the issue further, and check National's position on such involvement.

I would welcome any comments or further suggestions as to our course of action.

cc: Marc Tanenbaum/David Harris
Sam Rabinove



House Bill 2001

Sponsored by Representatives CARTER, BAUMAN, BURTON, CEASE, EACHUS, FAWBUSH, GOLD, J. HILL, L. HILL, HOOLEY, HOSTICKA, MASON, McCracken, WHITTY, Senators HENDRIKSEN, McCOY, WYERS, FADELEY (at the request of Oregon Rainbow Organizing Committee; Portlanders Organized for South Africa's Freedom; Black Student Union of the University of Oregon; Student Bar Association, Black and Asian Law Student Association, Associated Students of the University of Oregon; Graduate Teaching Fellows Federation of the University of Oregon (Local 3544 of the AFL-CIO); Oregon Assembly for Black Affairs)

SUMMARY

The following summary is not prepared by the sponsors of the measure and is not a part of the body thereof subject to consideration by the Legislative Assembly. It is an editor's brief statement of the essential features of the measure as introduced.

Defines excluded countries as those practicing apartheid.

Prohibits new investment of Public Employees' Retirement Fund, Industrial Accident Fund and short term funds in firms doing business in excluded countries. Prohibits state deposits in banks making new loans to such countries. Directs prudent divestment of present investments in excluded firms within two years. Prohibits public contract with persons who trade with or invest in excluded countries. Prohibits expenditure of public funds for travel in excluded countries.

Declares emergency, effective on passage.

A BILL FOR AN ACT

1
2 Relating to state investments; and declaring an emergency.

3 Be It Enacted by the People of the State of Oregon:

4 SECTION 1. (1) The Legislative Assembly condemns the apartheid policies of the Republic of South Africa
5 and of Namibia.

6 (2) The Legislative Assembly finds that apartheid is a system of legalized racial segregation and economic
7 and political exploitation of 18 million black South Africans and Namibians that:

8 (a) Denies the right to vote to black citizens.

9 (b) Forces families to separate when a parent obtains work in a white area.

10 (c) Forces all black citizens 16 years of age or older to carry a passport that indicates the district to which the
11 citizen is confined.

12 (d) Allocates 87 percent of the land to whites that make up 16 percent of the population, but only 13 percent
13 to black citizens who make up 72 percent of the population.

14 (e) Forces removal of over two million black citizens to so-called "homelands" where the infant mortality
15 rate stands at 240 per 1,000 in comparison to 12 per 1,000 for the balance of the population.

16 (f) Invests over 10 times per pupil in white children's education as in black children's.

17 (g) Does not allow black workers to strike or engage in collective bargaining.

18 (3) The Legislative Assembly further finds:

19 (a) The law of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and in Namibia enforces a social, political and
20 economic structure which institutionalizes inequality solely based on race.

21 (b) The apartheid system is absolutely abhorrent to the fundamental principles of human rights and
22 standards of justice and individual freedom.

23 SECTION 2. As used in this section:

NOTE: Matter in bold face in an amended section is new; matter *[italic and bracketed]* is existing law to be omitted.

1 (1) "Apartheid" means any of the following acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining
 2 domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing
 3 them:

4 (a) Denial to a member or members of a racial group or groups of the right to life and liberty of person:

5 (A) By murder of members of a racial group or groups;

6 (B) By the infliction upon the members of a racial group or groups of serious bodily or mental harm by the
 7 infringement of their freedom or dignity, or by subjecting them to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading
 8 treatment or punishment; or

9 (C) By arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment of the members of a racial group or groups;

10 (b) Deliberate imposition on a racial group or groups of living conditions calculated to cause its or their
 11 physical destruction in whole or in part;

12 (c) Any legislative measures and other measures calculated to prevent a racial group or groups from
 13 participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country and the deliberate creation of
 14 conditions preventing the full development of such a group or groups, in particular by denying to members of a
 15 racial group or groups basic human rights and freedoms, including the right to work, the right to form recognized
 16 trade unions, the right to education, the right to leave and to return to their country, the right to a nationality, the
 17 right to freedom of movement and residence, the right to freedom of opinion and expression and the right to
 18 freedom of peaceful assembly and association;

19 (d) Any measures, including legislative measures, designed to divide the population along racial lines by the
 20 creation of separate reserves and ghettos for the members of a racial group or groups, the prohibition of mixed
 21 marriages among members of various racial groups, the expropriation of landed property belonging to a racial
 22 group or groups or to members thereof;

23 (e) Exploitation of the labor of the members of a racial group or groups in particular by submitting them to
 24 forced labor; and

25 (f) Persecution of organizations and persons by depriving them of fundamental rights and freedoms because
 26 they oppose apartheid.

27 (2) "Excluded bank" means any depository bank or depository, as defined in ORS 295.005, which makes or
 28 participates in making any loan to a government, governmental agency or quasi-public agency of any excluded
 29 country after the effective date of this 1985 Act, as determined by the procedure described in this 1985 Act.

30 (3) "Excluded country" means any nation or international territory ruled by the system of apartheid.

31 (4) "Excluded firm" means any business organization which conducts business in any excluded country, as
 32 determined by the procedure described in this 1985 Act.

33 (5) "Subject investment funds" means:

34 (a) Public Employes' Retirement Fund described in ORS 237.271;

35 (b) Industrial Accident Fund described in ORS 656.632;

36 (c) The Common School Fund;

37 (d) The Oregon War Veterans' Fund; or

38 (e) Funds in the custody of the State Treasurer that are not required to meet current demands.

39 SECTION 3. (1) The State Treasurer shall prepare and report to the public annually a list of excluded
 40 countries, excluded banks and excluded firms. Banks or firms proposed to be listed as excluded shall be so
 41 notified in writing and shall be given a copy of this 1985 Act. Sixty days after the mailing of such notice, such

1 banks or firms shall become excluded banks or firms unless the State Treasurer has received from the bank or
2 firm an affidavit as follows:

3 (a) In the case of a bank, that the bank has not made or participated in the making of any loan to a
4 government, governmental agency or quasi-public agency of any excluded country after the effective date of this
5 1985 Act.

6 (b) In the case of a firm, that the firm, taken together with its subsidiaries, parents and affiliates, has no
7 employes in any excluded country, produces no earnings from operations in any excluded country and invests no
8 funds in any form in any excluded country.

9 (2) Subject investment funds in the custody of the State Treasurer shall not be deposited in any excluded
10 bank.

11 (3) Subject investment funds shall not be invested in any excluded firm unless the State Treasurer personally
12 or by authorized designee certifies in each instance that failure to make the investment in the excluded firm
13 would cause specifically identified immediate financial loss to the subject investment fund.

14 (4) Any investment of a subject investment fund held in an excluded firm on the effective date of this 1985
15 Act shall be prudently divested within two years unless the State Treasurer personally or by authorized designee
16 certifies in each instance that failure to retain the investment in the excluded firm would cause specifically
17 identified immediate financial loss to the subject investment fund.

18 (5) The State Treasurer shall report all investments in excluded firms to the public annually.

19 **SECTION 4.** Sections 2 and 3 of this Act are added to and made a part of ORS chapter 293.

20 **SECTION 5.** Section 6 of this Act is added to and made a part of ORS 279.011 to 279.061.

21 **SECTION 6.** No public contracting agency shall enter into any public contract, including a personal service
22 contract, with any person who trades with or invests in an excluded country, as defined in section 2 of this 1985
23 Act.

24 **SECTION 7.** No public funds of the state or any political subdivision shall be expended on travel expenses
25 of any public officer or employe to an excluded country, as defined in section 2 of this Act.

26 **SECTION 8.** This Act being necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health and safety,
27 an emergency is declared to exist, and this Act takes effect on its passage.

[start]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



27.2.1985

Transcript item 4:

Intro: In an interview on the ABC Radio Network in the USA last night, SA Foreign Minister Roelof Botha were questioned on a variety of issues related to SA political/constitutional developments. The interview was conducted by Michael Jackson. (Programme broadcast on 2000 radio stations with a listenership of 27 million). Here follows full transcript:

MJ: Your country is so rich and beautiful, and in some ways troubled. Obviously your country needs progress towards accomodation and not regression to antipathy. In which direction is SA heading?

PIK: We are clearly moving in the direction of greater concensus amongst the leaders of our various communities. The new constitutional dispensatio proves this beyond any doubt, and on January 25 the State President announced new guidelines for negotiations with our Black communities in many important spheres of life. So we realise that the whole of Southern Africa - also those neighbouring states - all of us will require stability, co_operation and a form of concensus among each other as to the future also ⁱⁿ the political field. We realise this and we are working at it.

MJ: The new dispensation has been called a historic one. But, if I was Black and one of your Black citizens, would I see it that way?

PIK: Frankly, the Black leaders of Southern Africa do not see it that way ... there's no need to mislead you. But, quite a number of important Black leaders welcomed the State President's announcement and it is now up to all of us what are we going to do about this? In other words, I believe we have entered a completely new era ... a new negotiating era with Black leadership in order to try and find a reasonable understanding with one another. I believe there are a sufficient number of moderate Black leaders in SA who share with us the basic view that conflict can resolve nothing.

/....

There can be no winners in a conflict situation .. only losers. I believe that it is this basic concept of wanting SA to advance and progress that will prove to be stronger than the people who try to work towards violence and conflict.

MJ: If you were a Black SA, would you be happy to live in such a state? If you were Black, what reforms would you call for?

PIK: If you were a Black American, what reforms would you call for in the USA? Only 12 percent of the American nation is Black and it took the USA 300 years to achieve full integration. In SA, 82 percent is Black ... I wonder how long it would have taken the USA to achieve integration with that proportion. My government is aware of the need for reform. We are firmly on that road and we believe we can accommodate the reasonable interests of all the communities, including the Blacks.

MJ: This change that is coming about is it because of necessity, pragmatism and pressure ... or is it because the people in control feel that the situation has been unjust and that changes should be made?

Pik: The SA Government very strongly believes that we should apply in our political and constitutional life, the principles which we follow in our religious life the moral norms, standards and values which we demand for ourselves should be our guiding line in constitutional reform. So that even if the whole world should suddenly change tomorrow and start praising and commenting favourably on SA's present situation, that still would not resolve our problem . We have to resolve our problems ourselves. with Black leadership and according to our values and standards because if we are untrue to ourselves then we will destroy ourselves irrespective of whether there is conflict or not. I do not believe that an individual or a nation can live contrary to what you believe in.

/.....

pik 3

MJ: Prof Deon Geldenhuys, Prof in Political Science at RAU, made the statement that for the first time in SA's history, absolutely no one is satisfied with the status quo. How do you respond to that?

Pik: Basically I suppose there is a lot of truth in that. My own government is not satisfied with the state of affairs and that is why we intend to seriously, earnestly and urgently to work towards further change at a rate which we hope the public (all the various communities) can absorb. Your problem is the moment when one starts on a road to reform, that there is the danger of expectations that can not be fulfilled immediately or to the full extent that it was expected. That is a danger one finds throughout human history in processes of this nature. But despite that danger we are going ahead, believing that the vast majority of all our people (Blacks, coloured, White, Asian) do desire in the first instance stability and progress, and we stand ready to work towards a just dispensation for all our peoples.

MJ: Am I correct that there are about 23/24 million Africans, about 5 million Whites, 3 million Coloureds and about 1 million Asians.

Pik: It is not correct in parts. We consider/ourselves to be Africans. My people have been here as long as the American people have been in the USA. But secondly, it is over-simplification merely to refer to 20 or 23 million Blacks ---- within our midst we have the independent states of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. States recognised by the USA, United Nations and the OAU. In the same way that the states that got their independence from SA have their citizens working for wages in SA, so too do the independent states of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland have their citizens working in SA for a living. Those 3 states do not claim the right to exercise political rights within the Rep of SA on account of the fact that their citizens are being employed in SA.

/.....

pik 4

Fact is, it is true that millions of Black people in SA owe allegiance to, are loyal to and identify with the nation to which they belong. For example, the Zulus. The Zulus form a people and nation and they are proud of that. The same applies to the Vendas, Tswana, Sothos, Xhosas and Swazi. We did not create the situation. Peoples were not created by government fiat or ideology and any government in power in SA, irrespective of the colour of that government, will have to take account of this diversity. Otherwise you are going to run into very great difficulties. We admit and we say that in our cities we have vast numbers of people today who through inter-marriage and permanent settlement do not identify with the homelands, their countries of origin ... and particularly in respect of these people, we must look afresh at our plans.

MJ: The walls of apartheid are not going to come tumbling down all of a sudden. How would you define apartheid now?

Pik: Originally that word was intended to mean nothing more and nothing less than self-determination, community development but it was turned into a word carrying severe racial stigma. The concept that is being denounced and condemned (if we take the meaning ascribed to apartheid by our critics) I will also condemn. We do not refer to that word anymore at all. We have, in my opinion, entered a new era in which the accent falls on community development, joint decision making in matters of national concern, and yet, protecting minorities in respect of diversity in culture, language and matters of that nature.

MJ: The word was not invented by the National Party, but, I believe by General Smuts.

Pik: I am not sure about that. Whoever invented that did not intend it to mean what the United Nations and our enemies eventually ascribed to it. As far as we are concerned, that concept is not used here but only by our enemies because of the particular content /.....

pik 5

that they have given to the word namely one of racial superiority, degradation of people of colour, inhuman ... dehumanising processes against people of dark colour. I reject that concept. That is not my government's view. We accept that all human beings are born equal in dignity and we are sincerely trying to find a way out of the dilemma of plural diversity without conflict and without turbulence.

MJ: Apartheid is understood here in the USA as being a system of racial separation that says where people can live, with whom they can live, with whom they can marry, what schools they can attend and even where they can be buried.

Pik: No because some of the elements that you have mentioned are presently being reviewed ... there is a Parliamentary Committee now investigating some of the laws you mentioned ... laws regarding marriage and sexual intercourse across colour lines. As far as the rest of the aspects you have mentioned: in SA we have White Afrikaans speaking schools and ^{White} English speaking schools and I have heard no one calling that racialistic. The same applies with many of the Black communities in fact, UNESCO reports that a child learns faster in his own mother tongue . **But apart from that** in respect of what you mentioned we are investigating these matters with a view of changing them. This is part of the new era.

MJ: Do you feel that the USA is becoming accidentally or deliberately the catalyst for maybe explosive change?

Pik: We all know that the Soviet Union thrives on turbulence and conflict. As far as we are concerned, there are elements within the communist hierarchy all over the world with connections in SA stirring up trouble, trying to distort every change that we make here and portraying it as cosmetic changes. We have no doubt about it that what the Soviet Union is interested in and a large number of international organisations (even in the Western World)-that they are not interested in the welfare of the Black people of SA. If they were interested they would compare the

pik 6

quality of life, the political, social and civil rights of Blacks here with that elsewhere in Africa. You never see such comparisons for the simple reason that any objective comparison with the rest of Africa will prove to you that the Black worker in SA is far better off, he is better housed, has better medical services, better infrastructure ⁱⁿ and/a host of other social or cultural nature are far better off than elsewhere in Africa. Pressure is being put on SA by liberal Americans who think that they are serving their own liberal consciences ... but who are not. Disinvestment, for instance, which Senator Kennedy and other on Capitol Hill are propagating, is merely another form of instigating and propagating violence and trouble. Eventually, millions of Blacks will find themselves out of jobs because of disinvestment. We have at present 1 and a half million workers from our neighbouring states in SA - the majority of them have entered SA illegally, at the risk of being arrested, to work for food and wages. If disinvestment succeeds, must we send these people back? They might in turn be maintaining large families back home in their own countries. We can not see why such pressure must be put on us it is almost as if we are being punished for concepts of the past at a time when we are moving away from a lot of the regulations and laws and practises of the past. What is the purpose of this unless a sophisticated mechanism is being created to prevent reform, to prevent a better life for Black people and to prevent my Government from making a deal and coming to an agreement with Black leadership.

MF: Your government's recent decision to arrest a number of influential Black leaders appears to run contrary to what you have been saying.

/.....

pik 7

Pik: In SA it is no offence to oppose the SA government. It is done everyday. At least that is recognised by Americans that SA has the only free press in Africa. SA has opposition parties and free elections one can out-vote the government. No one gets in trouble for opposing the Government. SA has newspapers criticising the government more harshly than any paper in the USA would criticise their government. But, whether you are a teacher, doctor, labourer the law applies in SA to all equally. If labour leaders or whoever contravene the law in the USA ... are they exempted from the law merely because they belong to a certain profession. The outside world thinks that we are acting against Black labour leaders. This is not true. We have introduced legislation legalising Black trade unions ... now where else on the African continent do trade unions exist. Black leadership in Africa do not allow this at all. SA allows this ... we create the machinery for bargaining. In a situation where SA ought to have been congratulated for doing this, it is now accused of arresting people belonging to trade unions when they transgress the law.

ends. rwatt

[end]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



OFFICIAL STATEMENTS BY THE STATE OF ISRAEL
OPPOSING RACISM, APARTHEID AND ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA

"...Obviously, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which, irrespective of historical and sociological reasons, tends to cause humiliation to others because of their race or color. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Hebrew heritage if we would not be critical of such a policy...we abhor any form of racial discrimination and humiliation, and I believe that the South African government and enlightened public opinion in South Africa respect the candor with which we express our opinion..."

---- Ambassador I.D. Unna, then Israel's Ambassador to South Africa, September 3, 1978.

"Israel will comply with Security Council Resolution 418 (1977)¹ and, accordingly, Israel will not provide South Africa with arms or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment."

---- Note verbale from Israel to the UN Security Council, September 4, 1979. Israel's position of opposition to the provision of arms to South Africa has been repeatedly reaffirmed at the United Nations.

"...it is no wonder that almost 80 years ago, Theodor Herzl, the founding father of modern Zionism, compared the oppression of Blacks in Africa to that which the Jews themselves had suffered, and he vowed that when he had witnessed the redemption of his own people, Israel, he would work for freedom in Africa..."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, Israel's UN Representative, before the General Assembly, November 8, 1979.

"As a multiracial people of all colors and backgrounds, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which causes humiliation to others on account of their race or color. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Jewish heritage if we were to leave the slightest doubt in anybody's mind that we abhor any form of racism, racial discrimination or humiliation."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, before the UN General Assembly on Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa, November 12, 1980.

"...The State of Israel rose as a response to injustice and sufferings. It remains committed to social and racial equality. [The Israelis are] a people coming from the four corners of the earth. Many of them are of different origins and hues. All passionately reject racism. As recently as last December an international congress against racism was held in Tel Aviv. Representatives of teacher unions from different countries joined to study how to educate the young generation to tolerance and mutual understanding between peoples and races, how to alert it to the dangers of racism. In this spirit a call to the teachers of the world has been issued."

---- Ambassador of Israel before the UN Commission on Human Rights, Geneva, February 16, 1981.

¹ The Security Council voted unanimously on November 4, 1977 to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

"We have never missed an opportunity to publicly denounce apartheid and to associate ourselves with United Nations condemnations of apartheid. I express once again our total opposition to apartheid and to racism in any form."

---- Prime Minister Menachem Begin, interview with Afrique a la Une, June 1982.

"...nothing unites the people of Africa and the people of Israel more than a hatred of racism. Our people have suffered more than anyone else from racism, have fought and still fight, more than anyone else against this most horrible disease that still persists among mankind.

"Israel and its Government have consistently condemned publicly the policy of Apartheid, and I take this opportunity to express once more our abhorrence of Apartheid and of any form of racism wherever it may occur."

---- From remarks by President Chaim Herzog during the visit to Israel of Liberian President Dr. Samuel K. Doe, August 23, 1983.

"Israel is not a simple observer which merely sympathizes with the victims of racism and oppression. Our views have been shaped by bitter historical and emotional experience spanning centuries. Moreover, to no less an extent, our abhorrence of racism is rooted in the social norms which comprise an integral part of Judaism's teachings."

"Israel's position concerning apartheid and other manifestations of racial discrimination is clear: we oppose bigotry completely and unreservedly wherever and whenever it emerges. We have made this position known to the Government of South Africa on numerous occasions. By this direct approach, rather than through acrimonious rhetoric, we believe that the cause of eliminating racial discrimination is better served."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, before the UN General Assembly, November 17, 1983.

"...Israel categorically condemns racism in all its forms, including Apartheid. We are a people who have suffered more from racism, murderous racism, than any other. This is why the founder of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote that after liberating the Jews from the evil of racism he would strive to liberate the oppressed blacks. And this is why the state that was founded in his vision, Israel, has repeatedly expressed its revulsion of and opposition to Apartheid, both in world forums and directly to the Government of South Africa...direct communication is the most effective means to bring about a change in South African racial policies."

---- Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's UN Representative, before the General Assembly, November 21, 1984.

(Prepared by the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division of the International Relations Department).

85-580-4
I079-Statement on Apartheid
/gn/ar-2/28/85

Transcript: report by Fanus Venter, Washington: 28.2.1985

The strategy behind disinvestment.

There is a conspiracy in the American Congress to withhold information on SA from the American community. This is a difficult statement to make the facts are there, but my sources of information can not be revealed. This can best be illustrated by a recent event which occurred during the visit of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu to the USA where he also had the opportunity to meet with Pres Reagan.

The day after Chief Buthelezi met with Pres Reagan, he was invited to have discussions with prominent members of the American Congress on Capitol Hill. In the office of congressman Walker of Pennsylvania, several other congressmen had the opportunity to question Chief Buthelezi about South African issues. Chief Buthelezi gave his views on the future of SA and also discussed the topic of disinvestment - he made it very clear that the presence of American companies in SA was a vital issue in the development of the country as a whole. Chief Buthelezi also stressed the importance of personal visits to SA by congressmen. One of the members of the Black congressional caucus, congressman Conniers of Michigan, in reaction to the invitation by Chief Buthelezi to congressmen to visit SA, then revealed the conspiracy by Black caucus members and other leftist members of the House of Representatives to boycott such visits to SA. In fact, Mr Conniers said in the presence of Chief Buthelezi that an agreement existed not to make any personal visit to SA to gauge for themselves what the changing circumstances are. This comment was directed towards Mr Howard Wolpe of Michigan, the present Chairman of the Africa sub-committee of the House of Representatives. The implication of the remark - which Mr Wolpe acknowledged - was that this agreement was not confined to the Black caucus in Congress. /.....

ult.
haus

his implies that Congressmen in responsible posts deliberately void authoritative information on changing circumstances in SA. Mr Wolpe himself is guilty of this, having once before silenced a witness who was intent on giving evidence of the positive change underway in SA. In addition, an organisation of leftist and Catholic groups this Wednesday delivered a letter to Congress calling for more pressure on SA. They compare the situation in SA with that of the Civil Rights Movement of the USA and added a long list of the typically rethoric comments always being made about SA. They pleaded for exactly those anti-SA measures that have to serve before for Congress early in March and also demanded the independence of SWA^m anibia with no conditions for such independence attached. Some of the issues debated by this organisation, "The Clergy and Laity Concerned" are taken from Congress documents. ~~of~~ The 250 who signed the letter to Congress included Walter Fauntroy, Jesse Jackson and others names that can be traced to the Trans Africa Group which has been involved in anti-SA protest actions and which has in the past had definite connections with the Sandinistas, Granada, etc. This letter can be interpreted as a desperate attempt by the far left groups in the USA to regain control over the battle against SA and to give it greater momentum.

e

It has already been proved that it is a definite object of Trans Africa to withhold information on SA from the American public because it will do damage to their own cause. For them, the issue is one of gaining political platforms as Black-issue advocates and the isolation of SA from the USA and the West. What I have been able to report here can be qualified but security reasons prevents me from revealing my sources of information.

Fanus^V enter, Washington.

3/85

SOUTH AFRICA: ACTIVITY GUIDELINES

During 1984, the question of how Americans might assist in the effort to eliminate apartheid, South Africa's policy of legally-entrenched discrimination, has become a significant public issue in many American cities.

The American Jewish Committee, which has long been concerned with the problem of apartheid, addressed the issue most recently in a Statement on South Africa, adopted by its National Executive Committee in November 1984. Geared toward the national debate over policy on South Africa, the Statement also implies guidelines for chapter activity. If your chapter is approached to participate in anti-apartheid activities, these guidelines may be helpful.

General Approach

*AJC unequivocally condemns apartheid; it also realizes that there are legitimate differences of opinion on what are the most effective means of improving the condition of black South Africans. AJC believes that non-violent change serves the best interests of all South Africans and is the surest path to dismantling apartheid. Agents of non-violent change within South Africa include numerous anti-apartheid human rights agencies, trade unions, church groups, legal bodies and professional and business associations.

Protest

*AJC endorses citizen protest against apartheid that can take the form of peaceful demonstration, seminars, and interreligious or intergroup dialogues on apartheid. Participation is advised only when other participants impose no requirement of support for specific U.S. policies toward South Africa, and do not advocate violent change. Also, attempts to allege invidious connections between Israel and South Africa - when Israel is a minor trading partner of that country - must be opposed. Such manipulative activity harms the anti-apartheid cause.

Public Diplomacy

*AJC encourages the U.S. government and public figures to protest against apartheid, both publicly and privately.

Education

*AJC favors U.S. government and private programs to train qualified black South Africans to acquire technical and other training to prepare them to participate fully in the economic and public life of their country.

Encouraging Internal Change

*AJC urges U.S. companies operating in South Africa to apply fair employment standards to their black workers, and to permit them to join trade unions. U.S. companies should also initiate on-the-job training programs, and provide health services. Enhanced black participation in economic life can fuel peaceful change.

*The AJC at this point does not support divestment; there is no conclusive evidence that it is an effective weapon against apartheid. So far, South Africa has resisted economic pressures by finding new trading partners and by increasing its self-sufficiency. Furthermore, departure of U.S. firms from South Africa, caused by divestment activities, will harm the 70,000 black workers employed in them; it may also cripple the multi-racial trade union movement, recognized by, and based in, U.S. companies.

Consonant with its commitment to promote and protect human rights, the American Jewish Committee will continue to work for the elimination of apartheid, a flagrant denial of fundamental freedoms.

Prepared by the International Relations Department's Division of International Organizations.

85-570-4
3/22/85

8.3.1985

Item 1: Transcript

Intro: Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the National State of Kwazulu, gave a report-back to his government and people following his visit to the USA and Canada the visit was highlighted by the numerous statements made by Chief Buthelezi on the undesirable effects of the USA disinvestment campaign against SA. Chief Buthelezi says:

Even if the struggle within SA is a domestic issue, western nations have an obligation to aid Blacks in their struggle for liberation. I pointed out (to those with whom I met) that the West could in fact aid Black South Africans by putting increased pressure on Pretoria to abandon apartheid and to move towards real reform. They could also aid Black SA with financial backing for educational and developmental projects which we in SA need so urgently in order to help ourselves.

I repeatedly emphasised when talking about the pressures that America could bring to bear on SA, that I was not advocating just any pressure. I was advocating pressure which would not have adverse consequences and which would not amount to "bashing" Black South Africans and Blacks in the neighbouring states while attempting to rap Pretoria on the knuckles.

I conveyed to President Reagan, Mr George Bush, Schultz and Crocker, congressmen and senators that when it came to the question of disinvestment they should clearly understand that rank and file Black South Africans did not support disinvestment as a feasible and working strategy. In calling on Pretoria to bring about real change, I asked Mr Reagan to realise himself that constructive engagement would necessitate using the technique of the carrot and the stick. And I urged him to use that technique. I told him that though ordinary Black citizens have not yet seen the results of such a policy, it was nevertheless one that should be praised as being in the right direction.

/.....

buthe 2

It is a policy that will in time bear fruits. Many people criticised me for unconditionally supporting Pres Reagan's policy of constructive engagement. South Africans (Whites) must become aware that the question of apartheid and the American response to it has become part and parcel of the American political scene. Everywhere I went I found concern among Americans that the changes they perceive to be in the air might be illusionary. I found genuine concern for the fact that while State President P.W. Botha talks in the language of change, he seems incapable of translating that language into practical terms and to mobilise Black opinions behind him. Every hesitancy on the part of the SA Government to take on real reform adds fuel to those who argue for violence as a solution to the problems, and gives more credibility to those who call for harsh economic sanctions against SA. Mr Botha has certainly brought time in the eyes of a great many Americans, but they do not see his actions in a mood of euphoria. Mr Botha has heightened expectations that change will take place in SA. If he fails, those American politicians who seek policies of confrontation will see their efforts gathering momentum.

Where ever I went I stressed that it is also the responsibility of Blacks in SA to bring about radical change in SA ... but to do so without destroying the foundations of future economic growth and without destroying the prospects of establishing an open and democratic society. I told these audiences that they should not be surprised when they get different signals from Black South Africans because we are not a monolithic society (entity). I was often asked about Bishop Desmond Tutu's views and those of the reverend Allan Boesak ... but I refused to be drawn into a mud-slinging session about that.

/.....

buthe 3

I did not regard it as my priority to attack other Black leaders. But every where I was told about Bishop Tutu's statements on those Black SA leaders who were "working along with the system". I found this statement repeated ad nauseum with especial reference to the disinvestment campaign. I did not speak for myself but for millions of Blacks when I stated that if there was disinvestment, Black people would suffer more than Whites would. I can not see my opposition to the disinvestment campaign as being construed as though I would work within the system (of the SA Government). My audiences were startled when I read out to them the speech of Bishop Desmond Tutu when he was enthroned as Bishop of Johannesburg, when he stated that he had never supported disinvestment but that he would consider supporting disinvestment in two years' time should there be no change in SA.

I find it dangerous for men of the cloth to play divisive roles by denegrating those whose political strategies differ from their own. One can only condemn the actions of all men of the cloth who fan the flames of Black disunity which have cost us already so many lives of Blacks in the sub-continent. I am also appaled by the character assassination against myself by some of my Black brothers and sisters. An example is the statement by Mrs Winnie Mandela that I worked along with the apartheid regime. I was hurt by that statement. I have always had a warm and cordial relationship with her husband, Nelson Mandela. It is mean and nasty to try and make us enemies. Ever Black leader and organisation in SA have the democratic right to put their own views to the people ... but the creating of rifts in the Black SA society by using the kind of language which Winnie Mandela used, is unforgivable.

.ends rwatt

8.3.1985

Item 6: Translated transcript.

Intro: The leader of SA's official opposition party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert of the P.F.P., has addressed the Oxford University Student's Union in England on the reform process currently underway in SA and the need not to isolate SA at this stage. Dr Slabbert took part in a debate on a motion calling for the total isolation of SA. He said such isolation would be a terrible mistake. Afterwards, he spoke to Jan van Niekerk:

SLABBERT: Firstly, I pointed out that there could be no "total" isolation and that it made the motion a ridiculous one. Such a motion would then have to involve churches, the Red Cross, Amnesty International and even myself - total isolation would mean that I myself could not make use of an opportunity such as this debate. What they intended is that an external factor could influence the domestic situation in SA in a critical manner. I will question such a theory. I isolated 3 external factors - foreign governments, foreign companies and foreign pressure groups. I tried to tell the students that in each of these three instances, the pressure being exerted will more often than not be contra-productive and damage the original intention of peaceful reform and change.

I named two examples: firstly the success achieved by a pressure group to isolate SA from world participation in sport events. This did result in change within SA. Ironically, the same group that applied such pressure will now deny changes in SA as cosmetic and insignificant. The other example I pointed out was that of the arms boycott against SA. I showed that the embargo was successfully implemented but that it did not produce the desired results - in fact, through ARMSCOR, SA has become self-sufficient in the manufacturing of arms and the export of such SA warfare products.

/.....

slabbert 2

Such action is contra-productive. Those who believe that violence is the only means to achieve change in SA will not be impressed by these arguments of mine - because they do not believe in reform through a gradual process of change. In SA, violence will create a situation of siege in the country where no one will be the victor not those advocating change through violence nor those trying to halt change through violence. Everyone will lose if violence is the only means to change the status quo.

I pointed out that isolation and violence were 2 of the characteristics of the old apartheid-policy in SA as we came to know it over the past 30 years - ~~mg~~ where we forced people to become isolated. But, now that SA is moving away from isolation - painfully and with difficulty - it will be ironic if the world attempts to isolate SA and to encourage through violence, changes in SA's domestic affairs. SA knows from experience that isolation and violence will not be successful inside the country. It will be ironic if the world considers these two "instruments" the only means to bring about change.

QUESTION: In what manner do you think can a pressure group like this(the students' union) make a contribution towards change in SA?

SLABBERT: They can help by opening up the debate on SA. Not to write-off SA or to condemn SA in such critical fashion. Implicit in my reaction to the motion by the students was the idea that the participation in debates, the participation in exchange of cultural matters, participation in sport could presently help more to achieve change.

/.....

slabbert 3

People tend to forget that tyrants flourish in isolation. But world involvement can not cover up what is wrong in a country. We must get away from the simplistic and stereotype views usually held by foreign student bodies on SA. At the same time we must acknowledge that within SA we have a great responsibility to show that there is earnestness in our attempts to bring about reform to show the world that they need not just listen to the arguments of SA Whites, but that cognisance must be taken of the reaction of SA's Blacks. The world must reconsider its views on SA and SA must help the world to see that the situation in SA is changing.

QUESTION: Is the lack of knowledge about events in SA not appalling as shown by some of the speakers in this debate?

SLABBERT: I would have despaired if I did not know that even SA students were at times ignorant about events and developments inside their own country. One will have to accept such "enthusiasm" as inevitable.

.ends rwatt

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 12, 1985
to Members of the Academic Advisory Council
from Harriet S. Bogard *HSB*
subject SOUTH AFRICA

The members of the St. Louis Chapter of the American Jewish Committee are seeking to inform themselves about the economic issues of divestiture and disinvestment vis-a-vis South Africa.

The Chapter is interested in the political, economic, legal and social impact of these policies on all the population groups in the Republic of South Africa.

We would appreciate it if the members of the Chapter's Academic Advisory Council would comment on these issues as well as any others you might think pertinent.

Enclosed for your convenience is a stamped return envelope and the background material sent to the Board members.

May we have your reply by March 26?

Thank you for your help.

HSB:pw
 enclosures

- bcc: David Levy
- John Levy
- Petie Karsh
- Eugene DuBow
- Harold Applebaum
- Adam Simms
- David Harris
- Marc Tanenbaum ✓

Dealing With Apartheid

What can Americans do to promote reform in South Africa's racist system?

Chanting "Freedom, yes—apartheid, no," demonstrators gathered near the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C., one day last week. They beat a drum and shouted their slogans, and then 17 of them marched up to the embassy door and quietly submitted to arrest. In Boston more than two dozen protesters picketed the local office of Deak-Perrera, a currency dealer that also sells South Africa's gold Kruggerand. The demonstrators hoped to be arrested, but no one would oblige them. In New York City another crowd assembled at the South African Consulate; the organizer, a retired Army platoon sergeant named Robert A. Johnson, handed police a list of the protesters who expected to be arrested—and were in due course. In Seattle protesters gathered outside the home of Joseph Swing, South Africa's honorary consul, and two of them volunteered for arrest.

The protests are just one part of a vast and diverse grass-roots crusade against South African racism—and against Ronald Reagan's approach to dealing with it. Demonstrations against apartheid have spread to at least 20 American cities. So far, nearly 2,000 people have been arrested since the campaign began late last year, and although no one has been sentenced to jail yet, the marchers have delivered a powerful message. For four years the president has pursued a policy of "constructive engagement," essentially an attempt to coax white South Africa into better behavior. For a while the policy seemed to be working. Then violence exploded in a black shantytown known as Crossroads. South African security forces killed 18 rioters, and while blood was still being spilled, police rounded up 8 moderate black political leaders, charging them with treason. The riots and arrests suggested that constructive engagement isn't working and that America must find new ways to act against apartheid.

Sanctions: The most outspoken critics advocate complete "disinvestment"; they insist that American business must simply get out of South Africa. Across America, state and local governments, colleges and universities, churches and other conscience-stricken organizations have been disinvesting for

years, pulling their money out of banks and corporations that deal with South Africa. Now the movement has spread to Congress, where members of both parties agree that something must be done about apartheid—although far short of total disinvestment. So far, liberals and conservatives have not been able to agree on a "consensus bill" imposing new sanctions on Pretoria. But a coalition of Democrats and a few liberal Republicans may yet manage to put Reagan on the spot, forcing the president to wrestle once again with the difficult question of how to promote peaceful change in the world's most racist system of government.

Any attempt to impose reform on South Africa leads quickly to painful moral questions (page 40). Is this brand of oppression any more evil than varieties that exist in so many other countries? Will outside pressure make things better for South Africa's downtrodden majority, or worse? Will foreign interference persuade the whites to give in, or prompt them to circle their wagons in stubborn defiance? The government of President Pieter W. Botha has infuriated conservative South African whites by scrapping certain aspects of apartheid. Further reforms are expected from a Parliament in which,

for the first time, some nonwhites are now allowed to play a minor role. Doesn't that count as progress? "South Africa is changing," its foreign minister maintained in an interview with NEWSWEEK. But the changes don't go far enough or fast enough for most blacks. In a separate interview, Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, insisted: "We don't want apartheid liberalized. We want it dismantled" (page 32).

Stake: Western governments and businesses have a stake in South Africa's future, just as they bear a share of the responsibility for its present condition. The Reagan administration has made Botha's regime the linchpin of its own regional policy, which is aimed at stopping the spread of Soviet influence. U.S. business has \$2.3 billion invested in South Africa; when bank loans and stockholdings are counted, Americans have sunk some \$14 billion into a country

that has become an international pariah.

By local standards, U.S. companies are enlightened employers (page 35). The question is: are they helping to change a racist system, or are they propping it up? Despite the current South African recession, most nonwhite employees of U.S. companies are better off, socially and materially, than they used to be. But South Africa's 3.4 million "Colored" and Asian inhabitants are still second-class citizens, and its 24 million blacks don't count as citizens at all. "I don't see much evidence of political progress in my daily life," says Sylvia Vollenhoven, a black Cape Town journalist who is married to a white Englishman (page 34). "Four years of constructive engagement and I still can't sit next to my husband on a train."

Struggle: Sooner or later, South Africa's 5 million whites will be forced to share their power, and if they resist long enough they may lose everything. Already some radical blacks have given up on peaceful change. Many nonwhites are beginning to question the nonviolent principles preached by Tutu and other moderates. "The struggle is escalating," says Mzwai Piliso, a Zambia-based



Off limits: A color line in Cape Town



Smoking rubble in Crossroads: To some, the ri

official of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), which has fielded a ragtag force of guerrillas armed by the Soviet bloc. "At the present moment we see blacks and whites as equal. But the more my brothers die, the more prejudice I have."

Black anger has increased since Botha pushed through a new Constitution last year. It established separate houses of Parliament for Coloreds (people of mixed ancestry) and for Asians (mostly of Indian extraction) but excluded the blacks altogether. To conservative white South Africans, even that mild reform was an act of betrayal. But Botha was staking his political future on a slow and partial reform of apartheid, with support from the conservative administration in Washington.

Hints: Botha has done away with many forms of "petty apartheid," permitting integration in sports and in some hotels and restaurants, for example. Addressing Parliament last January, he seemed to offer the blacks more substantial reforms. Botha hinted at the possibility of political concessions to the blacks, and he seemed to be saying that he accepted their permanent presence in urban areas reserved for whites.



Marchers in Washington: An impatient message from the grass roots

this fatal course on every terrain."

Botha's government also offered to release imprisoned ANC members who received life sentences in the early 1960s for plotting to overthrow the government. All they had to do was to renounce violence. Nelson Mandela, 66, the imprisoned leader of the ANC, refused Botha's offer. "Let him renounce violence," Mandela said from his cell. "Let him say he will dismantle apartheid." Last week, however, another ANC prisoner accepted the government's terms. Denis Goldberg, 51, the only white man convicted with Mandela and other ANC leaders, was released from prison and flown to Israel, where his daughter lives on a kibbutz. Goldberg quickly called for "massive economic action against South Africa" and criticized the United States and Israel for cooperating with Botha.

That concession enraged the diehard Conservative Party, which for years has been nibbling away at Botha's right flank. "This means that the government has finally scrapped separate development," party leader Andries Treurnicht said, using the formal term for apartheid. "We will fight

brushwork, the iron skeleton of apartheid is very much intact. The government maintains that blacks are not even citizens of South Africa, but of stark, artificial "homelands" that have been set up across the country (map). Over the years, some 3.5 million blacks have been forcibly removed,



and the subsequent treason arrests suggested that Reagan's policy of 'constructive engagement' with the white government wasn't paying off

PROFILE OF A PARIAH: RICH MEN, POOR MEN

South Africa's main attractions are its rich mineral deposits, cheap labor, stable environment—and a \$100 billion-a-year economy. These natural resources, together with a geopolitically strategic location at the tip of Africa, have prompted the United States to develop a tremendous stake in the country's future. Despite South Africa's pariah image, American firms have invested \$2.3 billion in a broad range of South African enterprises. When bank loans and stockholdings are counted, the figure for total American investments rises to \$14 billion.



according to unofficial estimates. Many blacks who work in white cities are separated for months or years from families left behind in the hard-scrabble homelands.

Recently the authorities temporarily suspended the forced-removal program, under which another 2 million blacks faced dislocation. And last week the government said that the status of all remaining "black spots"—black communities in areas reserved for whites—would be "reconsidered." A concession was even made to the 80,000 or so inhabitants of Crossroads, who have been struggling to preserve their unsanctioned settlement outside Cape Town. The government said that Crossroads and an adjacent squatter camp would be "redeveloped" into permanent townships with proper municipal services.

Ideal: Liberal whites in South Africa applaud many of Botha's reforms. "One must concede that there have been real changes here," says opposition leader Helen Suzman, who has fought long and courageously for civil rights. But people like Suzman are liberal only in the South African context. Most of them, including Suzman herself, would not grant majority rule to blacks

without some form of special protection for whites. As they see it, the ideal of one man, one vote goes impossibly far in the present circumstances. Industrialist Harry Oppenheimer suggests—"cynically, if you like"—that if blacks had full rights, some African "demagogue" would eventually treat whites, Coloreds and Asians "as badly as they have treated the blacks in the past."

Guerrilla action by the ANC, though relatively modest, has confirmed the fears of many whites. The ANC is armed by the Soviet bloc, and a few of its members are communists. Although South Africa's powerful security forces keep the guerrillas on the run, the ANC occasionally does real damage. In May 1983 a car bomb it planted outside a military headquarters in Pretoria killed 17 people and wounded 188.

The ANC has long been outlawed, and two years ago a new umbrella group, the United Democratic Front, was formed to fill the political vacuum. The UDF espouses nonviolence, but government officials charge that it is merely a front for the ANC. In an effort to clip the wings of the UDF, eight of its leaders were arrested at the time of the Crossroads riot; together with eight

INTERNATIONAL

others who were already in custody, they will stand trial for their lives on charges of plotting to overthrow the government.

Constructive engagement is intended to head off violence, inside South Africa and elsewhere in the region. The policy was designed by Chester Crocker, the assistant secretary of state for African affairs. In an article he wrote in 1980, Crocker argued that the Carter administration had tilted too far toward Black Africa, with little to show for it. He insisted that reform in South Africa and a settlement in the disputed territory of Namibia were unlikely to be achieved by further alienating Botha's government. He believed, and still does, that Botha was sincere when he said, in 1979, that South African whites must "adapt or die."

Crocker argues that by cooperating with Pretoria as much as possible, Washington can encourage the white regime to reform its own system and make peace with neighboring black governments. By playing "honest broker" in the region, he hopes to negotiate Namibia's independence from South Africa, to ease Cuban troops out of Angola and to reduce Soviet influence in the region. Beyond brokering, the administration tacitly supports UNITA, a pro-Western guerrilla movement in Angola led by Jonas Savimbi, an ally of white South Africa.

Credit: "It has been our view from the beginning that the way you get the South African government to move forward on ending apartheid is by breaking down the siege mentality that has influenced them for years," Crocker told NEWSWEEK. Although the administration deplored the arrest of the UDF leaders, Crocker insists that he is pleased with the results obtained so far through constructive engagement. "There's ferment, there's change," he maintains. "We don't say it's satisfactory, we're not endorsing it; we're just saying that a lot is taking place." From a regional perspective, the administration can take some credit for the peace agreement that was signed last year by South Africa and Marxist Mozambique. On Namibia, Crocker remains optimistic, despite the failure, to date, of protracted negotiations with Pretoria. "In my judgment, South Africa wants a settlement," he says. "But of course they also want the best deal they can get."

Critics argue that Botha is playing for time at home and abroad, and that constructive engagement helps him stall. "The white minority government interprets constructive engagement as tacit encouragement—'do your own thing, but don't embarrass us,'" says Donald Woods, the dissident white journalist who escaped from house arrest in South Africa seven years ago and now campaigns against apartheid from Britain. The Rev. Jesse Jackson argues: "Constructive engagement has meant more military intelligence shared with South Africa, more bank loans, more trade, more acceptance of South African diplomats, more

refusals at the United Nations to condemn apartheid."

U.S. business has its own constructive-engagement program in South Africa. Of the 350 American firms operating there, 128 concerns, including most of the big ones, subscribe to a code of conduct known as the Sullivan Principles. First drawn up seven years ago by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a black Baptist minister from Philadelphia and a member of the General Motors board of directors, the code commits employers to desegregation and equal opportunity. Last December the code was toughened; among other things, it now requires signatories to "support the ending of all apartheid laws." Says Sullivan: "The standard is set. We have equal pay for equal work. We have recognized, free black trade unions. We have started a ripple that could become a wave that could become a tide."

Half a Loaf: Sullivan's critics maintain that apartheid is as strong as ever where it really counts—in the denial of basic civil rights—and that the corporate code makes institutionalized racism look better without achieving fundamental reform. "The Sullivan system is half a loaf at too high a price," says Jennifer Davis, a white South African who is executive director of the American Committee on Africa in New York City. "The government still reaps the benefits of apartheid."

Many people believe, however, that outsiders can push the government and its white supporters only so far. They maintain that disinvestment, in particular, would hurt blacks far more than whites. If American business suddenly bailed out of the already shaky South African economy, local blacks and laborers from other African countries would presumably be the first to lose their jobs. U.S. Ambassador Herman Nickel likens disinvestment to economic sabotage. "It's all very easy to put sugar in the crankcase," he says, "but not at all easy to get it out again." Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the KwaZulu homeland and a moderate foe of apartheid, calls disinvestment "tactical madness." In a recent speech to business leaders in New York, he said disinvestment "would rob American businessmen of the positive role they could play [in South Africa]—the only role, in fact, that Americans can play."

Opponents of disinvestment also maintain that it would force South African whites back "into the laager," the stubborn defensive posture that Afrikaners are said to adopt whenever someone challenges them. And by abandoning white South Africa, the



UNITA troops in Angola: Washington plays a regional game

argument goes, America might eventually lose access to the country's strategic geographic position and its vast reserves of strategic minerals, including 89 percent of the platinum in the noncommunist world, 84 percent of the chrome and 93 percent of the manganese. American companies also might be forced to auction off their facilities at fire-sale prices, and the new owners might have less sympathy for nonwhite workers.

ogy. Camay adds that "any loss of jobs would be part of the sacrifice that has to be made in order to achieve change."

Atlanta's Mayor Andrew Young, the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, also believes that any action taken against business interests should be "very specific. A general call for disinvestment will never happen," he says, "and would probably be difficult to implement. But you can select a single corporation and focus on that, one at a time." Young thinks that other selective commercial sanctions could be helpful. He advocates an airline embargo against South Africa, which he says would be relatively easy to enforce, but he opposes an oil embargo "because it is almost impossible to monitor the ships on the sea."

Randall Robinson, head of TransAfrica, the black lobby that organizes the daily protests in Washington, says that all of his colleagues "are agreed on the absolute necessity for a program of escalating American sanctions against South Africa. Whether we start with or end with disinvestment is the only question," he adds. Across the country, a



Botha and Crocker: How much progress is enough?

Two Views of the Future

Tutu and Pik Botha disagree on the pace of change.

The foreign minister of white South Africa and the black bishop of Johannesburg could both be described as moderates, each in his own context. Roelof F. (Pik) Botha, 52, is an assertive spokesman for a government that has made modest—some say cosmetic—changes in apartheid. Those reforms have been attacked by both black nationalists and diehard whites, but Pretoria has been encouraged by the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa. Like Botha, Bishop Desmond Tutu, 53, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, finds himself somewhere in the middle. Tutu strongly opposes apartheid, but he also disapproves of the violence that is advocated by radical blacks.

Recently Botha was interviewed in his home near Pretoria by NEWSWEEK's Nairobi bureau chief Ray Wilkinson and South

have to start by hoping that everyone is a saint until proven otherwise. . . . But I have to say that a lot of us were skeptical from the very beginning.

Botha: Further reform initiatives were announced after the riots in Crossroads took place, important reform initiatives which affect the people of Crossroads themselves. This ought to serve as a clear indication of the government's determination to implement its program of reform despite adverse circumstances. However, the government is equally determined to ensure that change in South Africa takes place in a controlled and orderly manner. The decision to arrest and detain some members of the [United Democratic Front] was taken by the attorney general after studying a dossier submitted to him by the South African police. The decision was not taken by the government. In fact, the government only became aware of these arrests after they had been made.

ON APARTHEID

Botha: The South African government is committed to change or to repeal laws and practices which discriminate in a negative, inhumane or humiliating way against people on account of the color of their skin. Yes, South Africa is changing. But it is changing at a pace which we believe the white voters can absorb. . . . My government cannot be a party to a change which will [destroy] not only the

well-being of the whites, but also that of our black friends.

Tutu: We don't want apartheid liberalized. We want it dismantled. You can't improve something that is intrinsically evil. . . . All of our efforts are turned to the removal of apartheid, so the only questions that are still at issue are how this is going to be effected: by violence, or by dialogue?

ON MAJORITY RULE

Botha: We cannot achieve majority rule on the basis of one man, one vote—not only because the whites are against it, but because all moderates [of any race] are against it. If you could remove all the whites tomorrow from the face of South Africa, you would be no nearer to a political solution, because there is no way you

are going to force the various black people into a unitary system. . . . [Majority rule would] force the strongest group to the top which would then discriminate against and dominate all the other groups.

Tutu: It was only [recently] that we got this quite preposterous notion that South Africa is made up of several nations. It was a smart ploy to retain power in the hands of the whites by Balkanizing South Africa and saying that blacks formed different nations, whereas whites coming from different ethnic backgrounds by some strange alchemy were able to exist here as one nation. We have to point out that at the present stage in the evolution of black thinking, there is no notion of partitioning South Africa. We want a unitary state in which it is not race that counts, but the fact that you are a human being.

ON DISINVESTMENT

Tutu: My view is that disinvestment could initially have far more psychological impact than material impact. It would be a blow to the confidence of those who are perpetrating this vicious system. While we cannot guarantee that it will push them to the negotiating table with authentic leaders of every section of the community, it is our last chance. It is a risk worth taking. . . . I have to keep saying that I am not myself presently advocating disinvestment. But the argument [that blacks would suffer most from it] is moral humbug. . . . It is no use being well-to-do when you are a slave.

Botha: If Washington were to enforce a policy of disinvestment, the black people of South Africa would suffer immensely—and so would the 1.5 million black workers from neighboring states. . . . Some harm would be done to South Africa's economic interests, but it would force us to design alternatives, which might be a good thing if you consider the profitable arms industry we have built up as a result of the arms boycott against us.

ON CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT

Tutu: It has made things quite desperately bad for blacks. I told [President Reagan] that things have gone very bad. If constructive engagement continues as it is, for my part am not going to meet any officials of the administration, as my small protest. . . . I didn't believe it was leading anywhere before. Now [since the riots in Crossroads and the treason arrests], it has been completely discredited.

Botha: In international diplomacy every country serves its own interest. I assume that President Reagan embarked on this different style with the intention of furthering the interests of the United States. I hope that U.S. foreign policy is more sophisticated than to operate on the basis of wanting to be repaid [for its patience with



The foreign minister: Movement white voters can absorb

African correspondent Peter Younghusband. In Johannesburg, Tutu granted an interview to Wilkinson. Subsequently both men were asked for additional comment on the riot in Crossroads and the arrest of several black leaders on treason charges. Below are excerpts from their remarks.

ON THE RECENT TURMOIL

Tutu: What we have seen lately is the classical situation of giving with one hand and taking back with the other. When people were beginning to get excited about [the government's new reform] initiative, we were suddenly struck by cold reality. Whatever credibility these reform moves by the government may have engendered, they have been seriously undermined by the recent arrests and rioting. I suppose we



MARK PETERS

The bishop: An evil cannot be improved

South Africa] . . . The United States and South Africa [have] . . . a common interest in removing communism, in developing the regional economy, in developing a free-market system, all of which open up opportunities for the United States. My government proceeds on the principle of what is in the best interests of South Africa. If this clashes with American global policy, then it is regrettable, but our interest will come first with us, just as American interest will be of paramount importance to Washington. As it happens, our interests seem to concur.

ON THE SOVIET THREAT

Botha: It is extremely interesting to see United States reaction when there is the slightest talk of Soviet penetration in Central America . . . So I find it surprising when Americans cannot understand my concern over 30,000 Cuban troops in Angola, in the vicinity of my own country . . . The threat to South Africa is that the Soviets pose as friends of black-liberation movements, [give them] military and ideological training and then infiltrate them back into this country to try to achieve political power through violent means . . . The real and immediate threat is subversion.

Tutu: The most serious threat to the stability of South Africa is apartheid, not the Russians . . . If apartheid were to be removed today, South Africa would be amazed at how eagerly the world wants to embrace it. And we would be such a tremendous country, a country that would be helpful in developing the rest of Africa. We have the potential to be the breadbasket of Africa. Technologically we are in advance of many parts of this continent, and yet we are spending so much of our energies trying to defend the indefensible.

INTERNATIONAL

wide variety of economic sanctions already have been applied to South Africa. So far, five states (Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan and Nebraska) have enacted laws prohibiting the investment of public funds in companies doing business with South Africa or specifying that state money cannot be deposited in banks that have made loans there. Disinvestment measures are planned or pending in 27 other state legislatures.

Two dozen cities have moved in the same direction. Oakland, Calif., recently banned any new investment of public money in financial institutions that do business with South Africa. Last year New York City began to withdraw \$665 million in pension money from banks and companies that deal with South Africa, and a measure calling for further disinvestment was introduced in the city council last month. In addition, dozens of American churches and at least 38 colleges and universities have decided to back away from South Africa.

Power: Now it is Congress's turn. "It is impossible for an embattled Caucasian minority to hang on to all the power and money . . . and to deny blacks political and economic opportunity," says Richard Lugar, the Indiana Republican who chairs the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He believes the main objective of U.S. policy should be to "bring about a much stronger evolution of South African thinking and a change in institutions to permit power sharing with black citizens." Lugar and other conservatives have been urging Reagan to speak out against apartheid more forcefully. And late last year 35 House Republicans wrote to the South African ambassador demanding "a demonstrated sense of urgency about ending apartheid."

Last week an effort was under way in Congress to unite liberals and conservatives behind a single bill imposing new sanctions on South Africa. Three House Democrats—William H. Gray III of Pennsylvania, Stephen J. Solarz of New York and Howard Wolpe of Michigan—were promoting legislation similar to a measure that Gray sponsored last year. That proposal, which passed the House but failed in the Senate, would have barred all new U.S. investments in South Africa, including bank loans; it also would have made the Sullivan Principles mandatory for American employers there and would have prohibited the sale of Krugerrands in the United States. "We ought to distance ourselves from financing apart-

heid," said Gray. To argue that economic sanctions would hurt the black majority, he added, "is almost tantamount to saying that you can't get rid of slavery because the side effect would be unemployment."

By late in the week the search for a consensus bill appeared to be a failure. Rep. Robert Walker, a Pennsylvania Republican who helped to draft the letter to the South African ambassador, said many members of this party had "reservations" about any bill that did not also take a position against injustice in communist countries. Walker planned to introduce his own "fairly comprehensive" bill. Measures like the Gray proposal "are fine for posturing," he charged, "but they do not ultimately change things in South Africa. I hope to produce something that will lead to Senate approval and will be signed by the president."

'Trigger': The key battle will be fought in the Republican-controlled Senate. Lugar and Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas will propose legislation containing what one aide calls a "trigger approach" similar to the one proposed by Tutu—imposing sanctions after 18 months or so if South Africa fails to meet specific goals for dismantling apart-



The ANC's Pretoria bombing in 1983: Confirming white fears

heid. On the Democratic side, Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Alan Cranston of California will propose a ban on new investments, new bank loans and the sale of Krugerrands. They hope to attract support from liberal Republicans, such as Mark Hatfield of Oregon and Connecticut's Lowell Weicker, the only senator to be arrested so far in the protests at the South African Embassy. It is unlikely, however, that Reagan would sign any bill written by Democrats. He might even veto a more modest proposal sponsored by his own party.

But sticking to constructive engagement may not be enough to solve a problem that has become dangerously volatile. Bishop Timothy Bavin, Tutu's predecessor as Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, still hopes for a compromise, but he concedes: "I find it difficult to believe that there will be peaceful evolution." Robert Jaster, an analyst at Lon-



Vollenhoven and family: Little help from constructive engagement

PHOTOS BY MARK PETERS

Fighting the 'Love Laws'

Sylvia Vollenhoven, a South African journalist, and Bob Seddon, a television technician, fell in love five years ago. "Most couples get champagne and congratulations when they become engaged," Vollenhoven recalls. "We got discouragement and dire warnings." Sylvia, who is black, and Bob, who is white, went to England to marry. Their four-year-old son, Ryan, is listed on his birth certificate as Colored—and illegitimate. In the eyes of South African law, Sylvia and Bob's wedding never happened.

Sylvia and Bob never hold hands or kiss in public. "I still cannot . . . go to most movie houses near our home, swim at many beaches or freely visit friends in the African townships," Vollenhoven says. "The fact that Bob and I can live together is not witness to the government's much-vaunted change of heart. It doesn't mean apartheid is coming apart at the seams. It merely means we are prepared to buck the system at every turn, and to put up a fight for what most married couples take for granted."

Interracial love and sex have existed in South Africa since whites first settled there in 1652. After four years of painstaking genealogical research, Hans Heese, a professor at the University of the Western Cape, in Cape Town, has just published a book claiming that as many as 1,000 white families—including some of the most prominent supporters of apartheid—are descended from the unions of Europeans with blacks or Asians. "There is no such thing as 'racial purity' among any group in South Africa," says Heese. An Afrikaner who cheerfully acknowledges his Colored ancestry, Heese has heard from many whites

who support the book. "It is the Colored who are more upset," he says. "They don't want to be associated with the whites."

Some Afrikaners are predictably outraged by Heese's findings. "Rubbish!" said Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party and a former chairman of the Broederbond, the white secret society that framed the rules of the current apartheid. No revisionist research is likely to undo the Afrikaners' belief in white supremacy—and it may only harden their already ferocious commitment to the system.

Anguish: There has been some progress. For the past four years there has been a steady decline in the number of prosecutions under South Africa's "love laws"—the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts, which forbid interracial sex or marriage. Parliament will almost certainly drop the legislation from the books this year. It may ease the anguish of those couples who have defied the laws and had their private relationships exposed to state censure and control.

State pressure can be particularly devastating when interracial sex is adulterous. There have been claims that Pretoria has used allegations of interracial adultery, for example, to discredit one of the country's most forceful opponents of apartheid. State security police apparently gave reporters tape recordings and anonymous pamphlets purporting that the Rev. Allan Boesak, head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), was having an affair with a white woman.

The whisper campaign against him hit the front pages of

The Star, the country's largest daily. At first Boesak, 38, who was behind the WARC's 1982 declaration that apartheid is a heresy, denied the accusations. Then he confessed that he had had "a relationship" with a 30-year-old white divorcee who had worked in his church. The Colored minister, who is married and has four children, was suspended from the Dutch Reformed Mission Church—the Colored branch of the white Afrikaner church. Boesak may have to resign his church positions, and one of South Africa's most eloquent antiapartheid voices may be muted.



Boesak: Devastating pressure

NANCY COOPER with PETER YOUNGHUSBAND and RAY WILKINSON in Cape Town

don's International Institute for Strategic Studies, foresees "a seething, sloppy, messy affair with a lot of violence, rather than a sudden uprising."

Donald Woods thinks there will be a replay of "the white-man-in-Africa syndrome" in South Africa. "There comes a point," he says, "where the whites realize the system can't go on the way it is, so there is a desperate scrambling for alternatives. But it always just scratches the surface of reform; they can never bring themselves to bite the bullet of one man, one vote. By the time whites accept the inevitable, it will be too late." If there is any chance that Woods is

right, the United States might be well advised to improve its connections with the black South African leadership, including moderates like Buthelezi and left-wing organizations such as the ANC. "We feel it inappropriate to identify a successor to the present government, or to play God with South Africa," says Crocker. But Woods insists that "when blacks are running South Africa—and they eventually will—they will remember who their buddies were."

For now, U.S. policymakers and all campaigners against apartheid have to assume that there is still a chance for peaceful compromise. Revolution may indeed be on the

way, but white South Africa is a powerful political, economic and military machine its day of reckoning could be postponed for years or even decades. In the meantime steadily escalating pressure from the outside may have some beneficial effect, even if it is not, by itself, decisive. Guided by their consciences as well as their self-interest, the United States and other democratic nation will soon have to decide how much pressure is enough.

RUSSELL WATSON with RAY WILKINSON and PETER YOUNGHUSBAND in South Africa; RICHARD MANNING in New York; JANI WHITMORE and JOHN J. LINDSAY in Washington; DONNA FOOTE in London and bureau report

'A Dream World'

Working for Caltex is as good as it gets.

Ten years ago, Tommy Garcia gave up his job as an upholsterer and went to work for Caltex, a big American oil company. "The pay and conditions were better," he explains. Today Garcia is a foreman at the Caltex refinery outside Cape Town. The South African government classifies him as Colored because of his mixed race. Of the 13 men who work under Garcia, four are white. That used to matter, but it doesn't mean much anymore to Garcia or to the men, white and Colored alike, who take orders from him. "It's simply a job there to be done," says the 36-year-old foreman. "Desegregation grows on you."

"We are today a completely desegregated operation," Denis T. Fletcher, chairman of Caltex Oil South Africa, says proudly. So desegregated, in fact, that the company's payroll records no longer identify employees by race. Executives say that about 48 percent of the 2,086 workers are nonwhite: predominantly black and Colored, with a few "Asians," mostly people of Indian ancestry. Regardless of race, employees work together, eat together and are paid at the same rates. Fletcher bristles at any suggestion that conditions such as these are merely cosmetic reforms designed to make apartheid more presentable to the rest of the world. Among other things, he points out that the company has "a totally integrated network of Caltex dealers throughout the country. We have them all shades of black, white and brown," he says. "That's not cosmetic. These changes are here to stay."

American companies in South Africa are expected to do more than sell goods and earn profits; they are asked to be social engineers as well, reforming a racist system from within. Most of the big concerns subscribe to the recently expanded Sullivan Principles, which now commit them to work for the eventual elimination of apartheid. The companies claim that they are doing a good job of peacefully undermining institutionalized racism, and many of their nonwhite employees seem to agree. But are the companies going far enough, fast enough? Are they helping to eliminate apartheid outside the work place, or are they simply making it more palatable?

Limits: The Caltex operation deserves close study precisely because it has achieved so much. Working for Caltex is about as good a deal as nonwhites can get in South Africa. But it soon becomes clear that there are limits on what an enlightened employer can do to improve the lives of Colored, black and Asian employees. "Caltex is not in a position to actively go out and oppose the government on government policies," says

Fletcher, who is a South African citizen. Off the job, nonwhite employees are still second-class citizens, if they count as citizens at all. Friendships made in the work place usually become inoperative on the outside. "At university I had some white friends," says Nazeema Abrahams, a 26-year-old Indian woman who is the senior chemist in the refinery's laboratory. "But university is a little

dream world. Perhaps, in a way, what is happening inside Caltex is a little dream world, too. Outside, apartheid is still as strong. It is something to be scared of."

Caltex is owned jointly by Texaco and Chevron (formerly Standard Oil of California), and like any other private enterprise, it is in business primarily to make money. Fletcher says that South Africa "has always proved to be a very satisfactory market for us, and of course we have been able to remit dividends out of the country." Because the government classifies the oil industry as a strategic concern, the company can't release figures on production and revenues. But spokesman Keith Bewick says that, in general, "1984 was a good business year for Caltex." Unlike workers in other industries, such as automobiles, Caltex employees don't have to worry that the current recession in South Africa will cost them their jobs. This economic cushion helps to minimize racial tensions at Caltex facilities.

Fletcher says that Caltex began to desegregate a good 20 years ago and had to feel its way along at first. "We were told initially that if we employed black drivers for petrol-delivery tankers, the government would impose 'job reservation' on us," he recalls, referring to the official practice of reserving some jobs for whites. But there were never enough skilled whites to go around. "We took the law into our own hands, as it were, and employed a black driver," says Fletcher. "Today our driver fleet is basically 100 percent nonwhite. Now some 300 people other than whites have very well-paying jobs in that category. The same is true in computers and accounts."

Tommy Garcia's official



PHOTOS BY MARK PETERS

Hickson and foreman Garcia: 'Desegregation grows on you'

title at the refinery is "acting zone foreman." On his shift, he is responsible for everything that happens in one of the plant's four zones. "A zone foreman like Garcia must know every valve and pipe in his area," says operations manager Paul Buley. "We may have an emergency only once every six months, but when we do, the zone foreman must act to prevent a mishap that could cost hundreds of thousands of dollars or something even worse." The job is so important that potential foremen remain on "acting" status for as long as a year while the management assesses their performance.

He's the Boss: Among the white men who work for Garcia is Arthur Hickson, 44, a senior control-room operator. "I like Tommy Garcia," he says. "He likes me. I have more time in on the job than he does, but I don't mind taking orders from him. He's the boss." Hickson came to Caltex from a whites-only municipal job, and he admits: "I felt a little strange at first working alongside nonwhites." But now, he claims, he's "a more tolerant person for the experience." Hickson earns more than \$500 a month; Garcia, with less seniority but a little more rank, earns about the same.

Buley says that management sometimes applies "reverse discrimination" in favor of nonwhites. They are less likely, for example, to be punished for lateness. "Nonwhites have to live much farther away from the refinery than whites," Buley explains. "In a way, they are victims of their environment, and so we are much more lenient toward them on things like time infringements." That doesn't sound like much of a concession, but inevitably some white workers are put out by the treatment that nonwhites



Fletcher: Setting an example



Workers at the refinery: Can American companies reform a racist system from within?

receive these days. "Sometimes when you walk into an office unannounced, you can sniff an air of resentment," says Haadi Salasa, a Colored systems analyst in the computer section. "The question of color hangs in the air. But this kind of thing probably happens everywhere," he adds. "The system here works pretty well," says a white employee who does not want to be named. "But there are some hard-nosed Afrikaners on the work force, and antiblack feelings are not far below the surface among them."

Subsidies: Hurt feelings are soothed to some extent by new company programs that benefit both whites and nonwhites. Caltex has invested about \$500,000 in a nearby housing development for nonwhites that is being built by black entrepreneurs. And last year the company began subsidizing the payments on some home mortgages, which currently carry interest rates of around 20 percent. So far, 371 white employees and 187 nonwhites are taking advantage of the program. Haadi Salasa was able to buy a \$17,500 home when the company put up half of the \$3,500 deposit and acted as guarantor for the rest. "Caltex has given me a good deal," he says. "American companies generally are doing a lot of good for South Africa."

Caltex also spends about \$265,000 a year to support education at various levels. It contributes to schools and universities, and it spends \$25,000 a year to provide 50 scholarships for employees' children and other students. Eustace Twentey, the son of black van driver Griffiths Twentey, is studying natural sciences at the University of Cape Town; Caltex pays his tuition and gives him a grant of \$250 a year. And when she took a year's leave of absence to study for a degree, Nazeema Abrahams received a grant of \$1,500 from the company.

"It covered my fees, but I lost a salary of around \$7,500," she says with some feeling.

"I think Caltex could have been a little more generous. Perhaps they could have paid half my salary." Nevertheless, as one of only 17 women among the 650 employees at the refinery, Abrahams is satisfied with her present job: acting senior chemist in a 24-member lab. At first, "some men resented taking orders from a woman," she says. "But they found out I wasn't so bad." Even now, however, she believes that her gender is a bigger obstacle to advancement than her race. "If I am slower in getting to the top, it will probably be because I am a woman," says Abrahams. "Still, male chauvinism is much less evident in Caltex than in the broader social scene in South Africa."

How much more progress can Caltex make? "I think we are doing everything that is known to us at the present time," says Fletcher. "As opportunities present themselves, we will look at them, but I don't think there is anything much more we can do." Salaries and benefits can always be increased, but can the company do anything to obtain political rights and social justice for its nonwhite employees? The Sullivan Principles, after all, now require signatories such as Caltex to "support the ending of all apartheid laws." Fletcher cautions: "It must be clearly understood that Caltex will never be a party to any illegal activities." Nor does the company plan to oppose the government politically. "We will continue to work as we have worked in the past," says Fletcher, "setting the very best example as an employer in South Africa."

Predictably, Fletcher opposes disinvest-

INTERNATIONAL

ment. "When people say that by withholding investment they are going to force this government or any other government to change, to me that's absolute rubbish," he declares. Like other executives of U.S. companies, Fletcher believes that the withdrawal of American business from South Africa would only hurt the nonwhites. "I am firmly convinced that if Caltex stopped operating, there would be a very willing buyer, from South Africa or some other foreign source," he says. "I wonder if the purchaser would have the same positive approaches and motivations as American companies."

Endorsement: Advocating disinvestment can be prosecuted as a crime in South Africa. But even if it were legal, few if any of Fletcher's nonwhite employees seem inclined to differ with him on the subject. "After my experience here I wouldn't want to work for a South African company again," says Albert Swartz, a Colored assistant manager in the printing department. "American companies like Caltex offer many more opportunities." Abrahams argues that "disinvestment would not hurt the economy much, and it would not crack the apartheid system. It will take something more than disinvestment to do that," she says. "Perhaps something close to revolution."

By themselves, American companies cannot reform all of South African society. Desegregation doesn't exactly stop at the factory gate, but it quickly loses momentum. Outside the work place, nonwhites still have limited political rights or none at all. They still must live in their own areas, usually at a great distance from their jobs. Petty apartheid is steadily diminishing, but "grand apartheid," the fundamental racist system, remains intact.

Even at a place like Caltex, employee attitudes reflect this basic, brutal reality. On the job, whites and nonwhites are almost always civil to each other and often are downright friendly. After work, they may go out together for a beer or two. But then the curtain comes down between them. "Truthfully, there isn't a lot of mixing once we leave work," says Arthur Hickson. "We tend to go our own

way," adds Tommy Garcia. "I think this is normal anywhere in the world." What isn't normal, of course, is that in South Africa whites and nonwhites are forced to live in worlds apart. There is distance between the races, maintained by law and by fear. It is just too difficult and too risky to be full-time friends, and on both sides of the color line, people cannot bring themselves to break through the barrier.

RAY WILKINSON in Cape Town



Abrahams: Good chemistry

JOHN RUBYTHON

The Moral Dilemma

Are we sure we know what's best for South Africa?

Why now? Apartheid is always worth attacking, but why are protesters marching through the streets of U.S. cities at this particular time, and why are Americans debating a change in their country's behavior toward South Africa? On the face of it, the white regime in Pretoria has made some progress lately. Not enough, to be sure, but if a man's measure can be taken from the enemies he has made, it must be acknowledged that South Africa's cautious reformer, President Pieter W. Botha, is despised by many of the reactionary whites who used to support him. If South Africa is slowly moving in the right direction, does it make sense for outsiders to put more pressure on Botha?

It probably does. But meddling has its price, no matter how high-minded its motives may be. If they are honest with themselves, foreigners who wage war on apartheid soon confront some troubling moral questions: Are we imposing unrealistic standards on white South Africa? Are we going to make things worse by interfering there? Are we sure that we know what is best for South Africa? The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame and a former chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, visited South Africa twice, in 1958 and again 20 years later. "The longer I was there," he confesses now, "the more confused I became." The campaign against apartheid is a form of selective morality. People who choose to focus on this particular form of evil may have an uneasy feeling that they are ignoring other evils, some of them arguably as bad as apartheid. "What we condemn in South Africa we should condemn in the rest of the world," says Father Hesburgh.

Rights: White South Africans boast that "their" blacks are better off than the citizens of any Black African country. If 1.5 million blacks from other nations willingly cross the border looking for work, how bad can things be? Elliott Abrams, the State Department official who monitors human rights, contends that more change is occurring in South Africa than in nations like Cuba or Chile and that nonwhites have more political freedom in South Africa than anyone does in the Soviet Union. "A Soviet Bishop Tutu probably would be dead by now," he says, "and certainly would not be

allowed to travel." The Reagan administration, of course, persists in believing that any noncommunist regime, however unsavory or repressive, is preferable to Soviet-style "totalitarianism"—a distinction that probably makes little sense to the actual victims of injustice.

Inevitably, foreigners look at South Africa through their own lenses. "Ever since Jimmy Carter and Andrew Young, there's been a vague notion in America that South



Man without a country: A resettlement truck carts off a victim

Africa is like Georgia," complains a British expert on South Africa, D. G. Austin of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Some white South Africans also draw a comparison between apartheid and racial discrimination in the United States. "I am sure Americans remember what it was like when similar laws and practices were changed in the Deep South of their own country," says Arnim Koch, a Cape Town businessman. "It caused tensions, a lot of conflict, and above all it took time. You could say that South Africa is now going through its own civil-rights crisis."

In fact, America's racial discrimination—past or present—is not at all like

apartheid. "The fight against racism is the same here as it was in the United States," says white South African novelist Nadine Gordimer. "But [in America] the difference was that racism was being imposed by the people, not by the law. In South Africa, it is government legislation that is racist." "There's no other system like apartheid in the world," argues Colored poet and playwright Adam Small. "Even though it might not be the most oppressive system, it's the only one founded on skin color, and it creates a physical and spiritual hell for all those people who aren't white." If apartheid is uniquely evil, then perhaps it is uniquely worth opposing, especially in a country like the United States, which has at least some leverage on South Africa's white regime.

Apartheid was founded on weakness, not strength. The ancestors of today's Afrikaners, Dutch and French Huguenot settlers who arrived at the Cape in the 17th century, had relatively few racial prejudices. But over the centuries, the Afrikaners were sorely beset—by aggressive black tribes and particularly by the land-grabbing British. With no European homeland to fall back on, the Afrikaners became a clannish and fearful people. "It was the fear of annihilation that was at the root of Afrikaner thinking," says Willem A. De Klerk, a distinguished Afrikaner author. "And it was this 'angst' that led to a system of absolutism, which served as a guarantee of survival." The Afrikaners' National Party won a general election in 1948 on a platform of apartheid, which means "apartness" in Afrikaans, and it has held power ever since. The strength of white rule should not be underestimated. "I think South Africa is a stable repressive regime," says Austin. "The whites are so efficient and the blacks are so docile."

Warning: South African blacks are becoming less docile. And thanks in part to the selection of Desmond Tutu for the Nobel Peace Prize, they are attracting more support overseas. Conservative white South Africans warn that foreign interference will do more harm than good. It is to be expected that defenders of the status quo would adopt that position, but outsiders are not obliged to go along with it. In fact, the moral issues in South Africa may be simpler than they appear at first. Apartheid is evil, and perhaps one cannot eliminate an evil by continuing to invest in it, or by speaking softly to the people who are responsible for perpetuating it. There is a danger that foreign pressure could make things worse in South Africa, but the larger risk, and the greater moral failure, lies in acting too timidly.

RUSSELL WATSON

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS BY THE STATE OF ISRAEL
OPPOSING RACISM, APARTHEID AND ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA

"...Obviously, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which, irrespective of historical and sociological reasons, tends to cause humiliation to others because of their race or color. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Hebrew heritage if we would not be critical of such a policy...we abhor any form of racial discrimination and humiliation, and I believe that the South African government and enlightened public opinion in South Africa respect the candor with which we express our opinion..."

---- Ambassador I.D. Unna, then Israel's Ambassador to South Africa, September 3, 1978.

"Israel will comply with Security Council Resolution 418 (1977)¹ and, accordingly, Israel will not provide South Africa with arms or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment."

---- Note verbale from Israel to the UN Security Council, September 4, 1979. Israel's position of opposition to the provision of arms to South Africa has been repeatedly reaffirmed at the United Nations.

"...it is no wonder that almost 80 years ago, Theodor Herzl, the founding father of modern Zionism, compared the oppression of Blacks in Africa to that which the Jews themselves had suffered, and he vowed that when he had witnessed the redemption of his own people, Israel, he would work for freedom in Africa..."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, Israel's UN Representative, before the General Assembly, November 8, 1979.

"As a multiracial people of all colors and backgrounds, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which causes humiliation to others on account of their race or color. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Jewish heritage if we were to leave the slightest doubt in anybody's mind that we abhor any form of racism, racial discrimination or humiliation."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, before the UN General Assembly on Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa, November 12, 1980.

"...The State of Israel rose as a response to injustice and sufferings. It remains committed to social and racial equality. [The Israelis are] a people coming from the four corners of the earth. Many of them are of different origins and hues. All passionately reject racism. As recently as last December an international congress against racism was held in Tel Aviv. Representatives of teacher unions from different countries joined to study how to educate the young generation to tolerance and mutual understanding between peoples and races, how to alert it to the dangers of racism. In this spirit a call to the teachers of the world has been issued."

---- Ambassador of Israel before the UN Commission on Human Rights, Geneva, February 16, 1981.

¹ The Security Council voted unanimously on November 4, 1977 to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

"We have never missed an opportunity to publicly denounce apartheid and to associate ourselves with United Nations condemnations of apartheid. I express once again our total opposition to apartheid and to racism in any form."

---- Prime Minister Menachem Begin, interview with Afrique a la Une, June 1982.

"...nothing unites the people of Africa and the people of Israel more than a hatred of racism. Our people have suffered more than anyone else from racism, have fought and still fight, more than anyone else against this most horrible disease that still persists among mankind.

"Israel and its Government have consistently condemned publicly the policy of Apartheid, and I take this opportunity to express once more our abhorrence of Apartheid and of any form of racism wherever it may occur."

---- From remarks by President Chaim Herzog during the visit to Israel of Liberian President Dr. Samuel K. Doe, August 23, 1983.

"Israel is not a simple observer which merely sympathizes with the victims of racism and oppression. Our views have been shaped by bitter historical and emotional experience spanning centuries. Moreover, to no less an extent, our abhorrence of racism is rooted in the social norms which comprise an integral part of Judaism's teachings."

"Israel's position concerning apartheid and other manifestations of racial discrimination is clear: we oppose bigotry completely and unreservedly wherever and whenever it emerges. We have made this position known to the Government of South Africa on numerous occasions. By this direct approach, rather than through acrimonious rhetoric, we believe that the cause of eliminating racial discrimination is better served."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, before the UN General Assembly, November 17, 1983.

"...Israel categorically condemns racism in all its forms, including Apartheid. We are a people who have suffered more from racism, murderous racism, than any other. This is why the founder of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote that after liberating the Jews from the evil of racism he would strive to liberate the oppressed blacks. And this is why the state that was founded in his vision, Israel, has repeatedly expressed its revulsion of and opposition to Apartheid, both in world forums and directly to the Government of South Africa...direct communication is the most effective means to bring about a change in South African racial policies."

---- Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's UN Representative, before the General Assembly, November 21, 1984.

(Prepared by the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division of the International Relations Department).

85-580-4
I079-Statement on Apartheid
/gn/ar-2/28/85

St. Louis American

Week Of March 7-13, 1985

NAACP Takes Stand Against Apartheid

NEW YORK — The NAACP National Board of Directors at its meeting on Feb. 16 in New York, approved a policy position opposing corporate activity between the South African government and American corporations.

The following is the text of the approved policy:

"1. That the NAACP oppose corporate activity between the South African public sector (government) and U.S. corporations.

"2. That the NAACP encourage signatory companies of the Sullivan Principles to enter into "Fair Share" type relationships with non-white organizations in South Africa.

"3. That the NAACP encourage signatory companies of the

Sullivan Principles to use the facilities of black institutions such as the African Bank.

"4. That the NAACP seek funding for an economic fact-finding study tour of South Africa.

"5. That the NAACP oppose U.S. public sector investment in corporations doing business with the South African government.

"6. That the NAACP endorse the Sullivan Principles as a minimum standard for corporations doing business in South Africa and that the NAACP encourage signatories of the Sullivan Principles to sign Fair Share agreements.

"7. That the Small Business Administration be maintained as an independent agency and that those programs impacting on minority business development be expanded."

**Goward Cleared
Of Taking Bribe**

Aldermanic



March 15, 1985

Memo

TO: NJCRAC Member Agencies

FROM: Marlene Provizer, Director of Domestic Concerns

RE: Apartheid and Issues of Economic Sanctions and Divestment

As you may be aware, the proposition on apartheid passed by the 1985 NJCRAC Plenum includes the following strategic goals:

The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue and extend its opposition to apartheid and to the repression and denial of civil liberties and trade union rights by the Republic of South Africa;
- express opposition to the Administration's policy of "constructive engagement";
- support federal legislation calling for mandatory enforcement of the "Sullivan principles" codifying fair employment practices and labor organization rights for employees of U.S. firms doing business in South Africa;
- study federal, state and local proposals for divestment, as well as proposals to review Jewish communal portfolios, with a view toward taking a position on them;
- work in coalitions with other concerned groups to advocate our position in opposition to apartheid and to encourage a more activist opposition by the U.S. government;

Many member agencies have indicated an interest in additional information on the complex issues of economic sanctions and divestment. We plan to share with all member agencies a detailed summary of the proceedings of the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Black-Jewish Relations, held just prior to the Plenum, that initiated NJCRAC's internal study process of these issues.

Meanwhile, you should find the enclosed background materials useful:

1. An excerpt from a March 9 Congressional Quarterly special report on sanctions and South Africa that discusses arguments in support of and in opposition to economic sanctions and divestment, and specific legislation likely to be considered by the 99th Congress.
2. A January 28, 1985 Washington Post article that describes U.S. trade and other economic ties with the Republic of South Africa.
3. A February 8, 1985 Washington Post article that discusses state and local laws, as well as pending legislation, requiring or promoting divestment of funds invested directly or indirectly in the Republic of South Africa.

Minutes

Western Regional Advisory Board Meeting

San Diego, California

Friday, March 29, 1985

Excerpt on discussion regarding Portland Chapter's Resolution on South Africa:

Steven Swig (San Francisco), Co-Chair of the Region announced that the next important issue is brought to the meeting at the request of the Portland Chapter. He noted that in many state legislatures bills have been introduced pertaining to economic sanctions against South Africa, and that such bills go beyond the discussion at the National Executive Council meeting in Chicago last November at which time no position was taken on the issue of economic sanctions. He also said that this issue may be reconsidered at the national level. For an opening statement outlining AJC's current position, Mr. Swig called upon Howard Miller, President of the Los Angeles Chapter.

Mr. Miller, remarking that we were entitled to know his biases, based on his visit to South Africa 15 years ago. During that trip, he visited Soweto and observed 5 trials against Blacks for not carrying their passes, which were over in 15 minutes. He spoke with Winny Mandel (on her front lawn because no more than one person was allowed inside), Helen Suzman and Harry Openheimer. He also noted that from his own observance that South Africa has the single most efficient police force in the world.

Why the present outcry against apartheid? The recent attention on South Africa has been a product of some liberalization of apartheid policies, media focus on Bishop Desmond Tutu and the belief that it is an ascending issue.

At AJC's November 1984, NEC meeting, the agency applauded the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Desmond Tutu, criticized apartheid, called for increased education of Blacks, called on all American companies operating in South Africa to apply fair employment practices toward Blacks and urged the United States government, and all other western governments, to work vigorously through appropriate bilateral and multilateral channels, for the democratization of South African society.

— Congressman Solarz has taken the lead in proposing legislation, calling for 1. instituting fair employment practices by American companies operating in South Africa; 2. a ban on bank loans to South Africa; and 3. a ban on the sale of Krugerrands in the United States.

— Congressman Berman has introduced a bill to ban the sale of military and high-technical (i.e. computer technology) items to South Africa.

Many institutions in the U.S. are discussing whether to remove their investment funds from businesses operating in or assisting South Africa.

A recent 60 Minutes report shows some relaxation of petty apartheid, but the grand strategy of the South African government is maintained by stating that Blacks are citizens of their regional homelands. Indeed, one Black province is marketing itself as a tax haven for corporations wishing to move there.

U.S. commercial presence is beneficial because 1. by maintaining some presence we can exert pressure (i.e. extending Sullivan principals); and 2. if we disengage, others will be substituted who may not care as much about social changes in South Africa.

The South African Jewish community numbers 120,000, most of Lithuanian background, and they are subject to some anti-Semitism. Although the Jewish Board of Deputies has taken a strong position against apartheid, it is feared that if American Jewish communities get too involved there may be a backlash against the South African Jewish community. About one-half of 1% of South African trade is conducted with Israel. Black Africa trades with South Africa much more than does Israel. There is today a re-examination of ties with South Africa from within Israel.

As to Black-Jewish relations in the U.S., some Black leaders view South Africa as a major issue.

Noting that the issue is a complex one, Mr. Miller stated that the question before the group is whether we should do more than our last NEC statement, whether it be to support the Solarz or Berman bills, or disinvestment and/or divestiture. Acknowledging that we ought to do more, Mr. Miller suggested that representative Solarz may have provided us with a lead. He also noted that Portland's mention of disinvestment and divestiture in its resolution may perhaps narrow the focus of any national AJC debate.

Larry Levin (Denver), asked how the NEC position was developed regarding this issue.

Dick Weiss (Los Angeles), noted Helen Suzman's position that divestiture and disinvestment would not be helpful in ending apartheid. Howard Friedman stated that as to the proceedings at the NEC, prevailing view was in opposition to those strategies and no position was taken. Those vehicles were seen as counter-productive and would be harmful to Blacks who work for American companies. Nevertheless the situation has deteriorated in recent weeks and many people are re-examining the situation in South Africa.

There are complex ramifications in prohibiting U.S. companies to invest in countries with whose politics we disagree. In addition Mr. Friedman noted a recent South African Chamber of Commerce statement calling for a program by the government to encourage full participation.

Mr. Friedman cautioned the group not to take a position that just makes us feel better. On the other hand we should act to have a demonstrative effect. He also noted Prime Minister Botha's program of gradual increase of political participation for all persons, and the attempts at pushing the United States (i.e. Chester Crocker) to act more vigorously against South African apartheid.

Mr. Swig introduced Merritt Yoelin, chair of the Portland Chapter to present the Portland Chapter resolution on South Africa.

Mr. Yoelin noted that a bill, HB 2001, has been introduced in the Oregon House of Representatives regarding divestiture and disinvestment of certain Oregon state funds in firms doing business in South Africa. The Portland Chapter wanted to support HB 2001 but in consideration of current National AJC policy it was advised it could not do so. (Please see Harold Applebaum memo of February 28, --Exhibit 1.)

Mr. Yoelin continued that the resolution before the Advisory Board requested that the appropriate National bodies review AJC's policies relating to South African apartheid.

Bruce Ramer, Western Regional Chair noted : 1. the issue needs to be treated with careful consideration not emotion; 2. the Oregon issue is pertinent only to that state; 3. events are changing in the U.S. and South Africa; 4. a re-study at the National level is necessary. Then Mr. Ramer moved to amend the resolution by dropping the four phrases beginning with WHEREAS and concluding with the request to national to review AJC policy "including disinvestment and divestiture.

Mr. Yoelin noted that the WHEREAS statements provide the background for moving the issue for debate and therefore opposed the motion to amend.

Mr. Miller suggested that the WHEREAS statements define the thrust of the Portland Chapter's resolution and therefore opposed the motion to amend.

Martin Kellner (Los Angeles), noted that his company does business, although only a small part of it, in South Africa. He continued that the existing AJC statement spells out support of the original Sullivan principles. Reverend Sullivan now asks that foreign businesses become involved with the host country to speed the dismantling of apartheid. Most American companies there are presently putting these revised Sullivan principals into effect and this should affect the government of South Africa.

Mr. Kellner continued to say that the horrible practice of apartheid is diminishing in a way that people can live with. In addition the South African Jewish community believes that the original Sullivan principles and the modified principles will lead to an acceptable level of freedom and economic equity. He knows of no South African Jew calling for such methods as the Portland Chapter would like to support. Focusing on the "Addendum to Backgrounder on South Africa", from the 1984 NEC meeting (con, item 5), Mr. Kellner noted a long history of anti-Semitism in South Africa. He continued that although many Jews are well-to-do businessmen they are liked by neither the Afrikaans, nor the Blacks. The South African Jewish community is the fourth largest diaspora community, and although many want to leave South Africa and sell their businesses there are no buyers.

Mr. Kellner then moved to table the original Portland motion and recommended that AJC defer any decision on tightening the screws, until after Howard Freidman and other leaders have returned from a visit of AJC leadership to South Africa.

Gordon Rosenblum (Denver), seconded the motion.

Walter Keen, (Los Angeles), noted that the percent of U.S. GNP represented by U.S. investments in South Africa is not that significant.

John Marshall (Phoenix), noted that the vote of the NEC, after hearing Ms. Suzman, reflected the desire not to negatively impact upon Black jobs or the Jewish community. In opposing Mr. Kellner's motion, Mr. Marshall said that the Board should not wait for Howard Friedman's trip to South Africa because to commence discussions at that time will result in inactivity for too long a period.

Carl Koch (Seattle), noted that perhaps the Western Regional Advisory Board may not have the kind of expertise to deal with this issue. He suggested that the International Affairs Commission has the expertise and therefore they should deal with this issue.

Irwin Fried (Orange County), noted that Bruce Ramer's comments were most appropriate and did not conflict with Howard Friedman's views.

Dick Weiss (Los Angeles), suggesting that there was no conflict between Bruce Ramer and Howard Friedman's views indicated that he shares Mr. Ramer's view that the resolution should not be tied to the Oregon situation.

Dick Giesberg (Los Angeles), said that although AJC may not be on the cutting edge of change, that we should at least be sensitive to the issues and that National should take positions in light of changing current events.

Noting Mr. Giesberg's comments, Mr. Swig said that the cover letter with this resolution, to National AJC requested that they deal with this issue quickly.

Gordon Rosenblum (Denver), suggested that we take a more overall view on Africa, which no one else is doing and that we should publish a thoughtful statement on the larger situation there.

Eileen Lerman (Denver), agreed with Mr. Rosenblum and also suggested that we get the statistics on how many American companies are following the Sullivan principles and with what results.

Howard Friedman noted that National's position was not taken out of fear. Until now, AJC has not endorsed divestiture or disinvestment because those policies may not be helpful, not out of lack of courage. He continued that we should not do something just to make ourselves feel noble. He hoped that the resolution would pass and suggested that this issue be put on the agenda for the Annual Meeting.

Neil Sandberg, Western Regional Director, noted that at a recent meeting, UCLA Professor Sklar, an expert on Africa, did not now support divestiture or disinvestment. Rather, Professor Sklar suggested legislation to prevent new bank loans to South Africa and to prohibit the sale of Krugerrands in the U.S.

Mr. Yoelin noted the following statistics regarding U.S. business involvement in South Africa: out of a total of 350 U.S. companies operating in South Africa, 135 companies (including GM, Mobile, IBM and American Express) have signed on to the Sullivan principles. 31 of the Fortune 500 companies conduct business in South Africa. While U.S. total investment in South Africa amounts to 1%, this investment represents 1/2 of the petroleum industry; 70% of the computer industry; and 1/3 of the auto industry. These statistics are from the Wall Street Journal article of March 11, 1985 quoting from the Investors Responsibility Research Center.

Mr. Yoelin introduced the following resolution to take the place of that which was disseminated to the Board in advance:

" Be it here resolved that the Western Regional Advisory Board of the American Jewish Committee endorse the Portland Chapter's request for review of AJC National policy on all aspects of the South African issue including divestiture and disinvestment. The Board further recommends that AJC Chapters in the Western Region support the Portland Chapter's request."

This motion was seconded by Carl Koch of Seattle.

Support for this resolution was unanimous.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 3, 1985
to Subcommittee on South Africa
from Allan Kagedan
subject Current Bills Before Congress

Bills Before Congress

There are twenty-three bills before the current session of Congress dealing with the Republic of South Africa (RSA). A brief summary of each bill is attached. One may divide the bills, and the actions they propose, into the following categories:

A. ENHANCING HUMAN RIGHTS

- 1) Legal enforcement of Sullivan Principles
- 2) ~~Condemnation of violence in RSA~~ and request for Secretary of State investigation
- 3) Condemnation of "homelands" policy

B. RESTRICTING IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

- 1) Ban on import of RSA gold coins or Kruggerands
- 2) Ban on import of coal and uranium
- 3) Ban on export to RSA of nuclear technology and other goods
- 4) Ban on export of "militarily significant items"

C. DISCOURAGING INVESTMENT

- 1) A ban on investment or new investment by US persons in RSA
- 2) A ban on US bank loans to RSA firms
- 3) Prohibition of investment in RSA by "Certain Employee Funds"
- 4) Prohibition of Commodity Credit Corporation from investing funds in RSA
- 5) Denial of Foreign Tax Credit for taxes owed to RSA

Bills Before Congress (cont')
Memo April 3, 1985

D. DIPLOMATIC ACTIONS

- 1) Sever diplomatic relations with RSA within two years if apartheid is not abolished
- 2) Close down RSA "honorary consulates"

Explanatory Notes

US Investment in South Africa

As of December 1983, US direct investment in RSA was estimated at \$2.2 billion. In addition, US financial institutions held \$3.6 billion in outstanding loans to RSA borrowers; only \$146 million of this is loaned directly to the RSA Government. US investors also held \$8 billion worth of shares in RSA mines, and US firms employed 127,000 blacks.

Kruggerands

In 1984, \$500 million worth of Kruggerands were sold in the United States.

Nuclear Technology

The US Government states that it supplies only safety-related equipment for South Africa's nuclear program.

Uranium and Coal

Currently, the US imports 30% of its uranium from South Africa, and 60% of our imported coal is from RSA.

Honorary Consulates

RSA has "honorary" consulates - small facilities run by local residents - in eight American cities.

AK:DG

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to prohibit the importation of South African krugerrands or other gold coins minted in South Africa or offered for sale by the Government of South Africa.

INTRODUCED: 01/30/85

H.R.925 BY HAWKINS, AUGUSTUS (D-CA) -- Pension Plan South African Investments Reporting Act of 1985

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to amend the reporting and disclosure requirements of Title I of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to require from each employee pension benefit plan an annual report to the Secretary of Labor describing investments by the plan in South Africa.

INTRODUCED: 02/04/85

H.R.926 BY HAWKINS, AUGUSTUS (D-CA) -- South African Labor Relations Reform Act of 1985

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to require the Secretary of Labor to analyze the labor practices of South Africa and to propose changes in U.S. policies which would promote changes in those practices, and for other purposes.

INTRODUCED: 02/04/85

H.R.997 BY DELLUMS (D-CA) -- South African Policy, Provisions

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to prohibit U.S. persons from making or holding any investment in South Africa, and for other purposes.

INTRODUCED: 02/06/85

H.R.1098 BY FAUNTROY (D-DC) -- South African Human Rights and Conditionality Act of 1985

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to prohibit new loans by U.S. persons to the Government of South Africa, to prohibit new investments in business enterprises in South Africa, to prohibit the importation of South African krugerrands or other gold or silver coins, to prohibit the importation of coal and uranium from South Africa, to prohibit exports to South Africa of nuclear items, to prohibit exports of goods or technology to or for use by the South African Government and for other purposes.

INTRODUCED: 02/19/85

SEARCH OF 3,386 BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS TO FIND 23 MEASURES:

ON KEYWORD SUBJECT OF:
SOUTH AFRICA
SOUTH AFRICAN KRUGERRANDS

H.R.295 BY COLLINS, CARLISS (D-IL) -- Export of Military Items to South Africa, Prohibition

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to prohibit the export of certain militarily significant items to the Republic of South Africa and to provide for notification to the Congress of the proposed issuance of a validated license for an export to the Republic of South Africa, with the Congress being able to prevent the issuance of any such license by enactment of a joint resolution of disapproval.

INTRODUCED: 01/03/85

H.R.501 BY BERMAN (D-CA) -- Export Administration Act of 1979, Amendment

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to amend the Export Administration Act of 1979 to impose export controls on certain exports to South Africa, and for other purposes.

INTRODUCED: 01/07/85

H.R.632 BY ROEMER (D-LA) -- South African Human Rights Act of 1985

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to ban new investment by United States persons in South Africa, to require United States persons to comply with certain employment principles in doing business in South Africa, to prohibit United States banks from making loans to enterprises in South Africa, and for other purposes, in order to distance the United States from the abhorrent apartheid policies of the South African Government and to send a clear signal to that regime to modify those racist policies or face further economic isolation.

INTRODUCED: 01/24/85

H.R.821 BY MITCHELL, PARREN (D-MD) -- Importation of South African Coins, Prohibition

H.R. 1133 BY RANGEL (D-NY) -- Exports of Nuclear Technology to South Africa, Prohibitions

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to prohibit the export or other transfer to the Republic of South Africa of nuclear material, equipment, and technology.
INTRODUCED: 02/19/85

H.R. 1134 BY RANGEL (D-NY) -- Internal Revenue Code of 1954, Amendment

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to deny the foreign tax credit for any tax paid or accrued to the Republic of South Africa.
INTRODUCED: 02/19/85

H.R. 1135 BY RANGEL (D-NY) -- Tariff Schedules of the United States, Amendment

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to prohibit the importation of coal and of certain articles of uranium, if the product is of the Republic of South Africa or Namibia.
INTRODUCED: 02/19/85

H.R. 1298 BY DELLUMS (D-CA) -- South Africa Investments, Prohibition

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to prohibit U.S. persons from making or holding any investment in South Africa.
INTRODUCED: 02/27/85

H.R. 1357 BY HAYES (D-IL) -- Certain Employee Funds, Prohibition on South African Investment

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to prohibit funds contributed by employees to stock bonus, pension, or profit-sharing plans of their employers from being used for investments in South Africa.
INTRODUCED: 02/28/85

H.R. 1358 BY HAYES (D-IL) -- South Africa Political Sanctions Act of 1985

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to require diplomatic relations to be severed with the Republic of South Africa if that country does not abolish the system of apartheid within 2 years.

INTRODUCED: 02/28/85

H.R.1460 BY GRAY, WILLIAM (D-PA) -- Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to express the opposition of the United States to the system of apartheid in South Africa, and for other purposes.

INTRODUCED: 03/07/85

H.R.1671 BY MITCHELL, PARREN (D-MD) -- Commodity Credit Corporation,
Prohibition of Assistance to South Africa

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to prohibit the Commodity Credit Corporation from extending any loans, credits, guarantees, or other financing to the Republic of South Africa.

INTRODUCED: 03/21/85

H.R.1812 BY LOWRY (D-WA) -- Functions of Honorary Consular Officer of the
Republic of South Africa, Prohibition

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to prohibit any person from exercising any functions of an honorary consular officer of the Republic of South Africa.

INTRODUCED: 03/28/85

H.C.R.50 BY COYNE, WILLIAM (D-PA) -- Resolution Concerning Honorary South
African Consulates in the United States

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to honorary South African consulates in the United States.

INTRODUCED: 02/06/85

H.C.R.64 BY MRAZEK (D-NY) -- Resolution Concerning South African Homelands
Policy

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the policy of separate development and the forced relocation of South African blacks to designated 'homelands' is inconsistent with fundamental American values and internationally recognized principles of human rights and should be discontinued.

INTRODUCED: 02/21/85

S.147 BY PROXMIRE (D-WI) -- South African Human Rights Act of 1985

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to prohibit United States banks from making loans to enterprises in South Africa and to ban new investment by United States corporations in South Africa and for other purposes in order to distance the United States from the abhorrent apartheid policies of the South African Government and to send a clear signal to that regime to modify those racist policies or face further economic isolation.

INTRODUCED: 01/03/85

S.635 BY KENNEDY (D-MA) -- Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

A bill to express the opposition of the United States to the system of apartheid in South Africa and for other purposes.

INTRODUCED: 03/07/85

S.C.R.6 BY GLENN (D-OH) -- Resolution Concerning the Forced Relocation of South Africa Blacks

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the policy of separate development and the forced relocation of South African blacks to designated 'homelands' is inconsistent with fundamental American values and internationally recognized principles of human rights and should be discontinued.

INTRODUCED: 01/22/85

S.J.R.96 BY KENNEDY (D-MA) -- Resolution Condemning the Violence of Apartheid in South Africa

CAPTION (OFFICIAL TITLE):

Joint resolution condemning the violence of apartheid in South Africa and requesting an investigation by the Secretary of State.

INTRODUCED: 03/26/85

DO YOU WISH TO ADD TO OR CREATE A FILE OF MEASURES?.....yes

ENTRY ERROR

yes

ENTER NAME OF MEASURE FILE (OR 'NAMES').....ajc:south africa

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 4, 1985

to Marc Tanenbaum

from David M. Gordis

subject Correspondence: H. I. Friedman/
Sidney Pulitzer re South Africa

memorandum

You might want to share the enclosed material with the sub-committee on South Africa.





The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 2, 1985

Mr. Sidney C. Pulitzer
Wembley Industries, Inc.
P.O. Box 51119
New Orleans, Louisiana 70151-9988

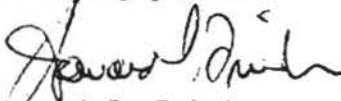
Dear Mr. Pulitzer:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 18, together with its enclosures. I found your letter most thoughtful and provocative.

We are particularly mindful of the considerations you have outlined in your letter, while at the same time sharing your own concern regarding the repugnance of a system of apartheid. Our own policy in this area is one that is motivated by a desire to see the South African Government more emphatically describe as a national objective some kind of sharing of political power with the vast majority of its citizens while at the same time preserving its own essential character as a society rooted in free institutions and values. It is a delicate objective to be accomplished and simple-minded approaches to it are not helpful.

Again, thank you very much for sharing your thoughts with me.

Sincerely yours,


Howard I. Friedman

HIF/rt

Wembley Industries, Inc.

966 South White Street, New Orleans, Louisiana, 70125, (504) 822-3700, Telex 682 1123
P.O. Box 51119, New Orleans, Louisiana 70151-9988

March 18, 1985

SIDNEY C. PULITZER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Howard I. Friedman, President
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 E. 56 Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Friedman:

The matters relating to the present publicity on apartheid in South Africa go well beyond MORAL issues, and require much thought if the position of American Jews is to truly reflect wisdom. If we are truly interested in helping the blacks of South Africa improve their plight, and if we arm ourselves with the complete facts, we will understand that the simplistic solution, a narrow opposition to apartheid, will ACCOMPLISH JUST THE OPPOSITE.

At the outset, let me emphatically state I support peaceful progress to an orderly improvement of human rights worldwide. The question to be resolved is how best to accomplish that end. As loyal Americans, we must also consider our interests as well.

The recent negative press about the apartheid policy in South Africa is extremely dangerous to American interests. Wherever western idealism has imposed the "one man, one vote" rule in the name of human rights, individual freedom has usually lost way to dictatorship. As to the continent of Africa, there have been no exceptions to this rule.

Generally, the dictatorship is a communist-type, with unbelievable human rights atrocities (Idi Amin, et al.), a collapsing standard of living, and STARVATION. The African countries where starvation is the worst are communist. Our food helps the starving, but it also keeps in power those governments who care little for human life. Strangely, the press remains silent about the politics behind this catastrophe. The black African Jews are only a smattering of the victims.

Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia), ruled by Mugabe, is the most recent example. Remember, Ian Smith was removed to establish a black democracy. Instead, the two-party system has been dissolved and we now have dictatorship. Key industries such as banks and most large businesses have been nationalized (stolen) by the government. Formerly the profits were reinvested in Rhodesia, steadily raising the standard of living for all its people. Now the funds are sent to the Swiss bank accounts owned by the political rulers. Whites have fled, living standards are dropping, and another communist dictatorship rides roughshod over human freedom. Mugabe kills his opponents.

Angola used to be considered the most beautiful country in all of Africa. It was a tourist mecca, more magnificent than Miami. Today it is a gigantic slum. The standard of living has disintegrated, and dictatorial fear haunts the people, kept in control through Cuban troops.

In all of the continent of Africa, guess where the standard of living for blacks is the highest? It is South Africa! But you say, what about their dignity and freedom? Believe it or not, in So. Africa the freedom and opportunities for blacks, right now as you read these words, are well advanced OVER ANY OTHER BLACK AFRICAN NATION.

Do you value human life? Surely genocide is repugnant to you! Do you know how many blacks are killed by other blacks in Africa, particularly in the socialist dictatorships aligned with Moscow? If we criticize South Africa, can we remain silent on the mass murders in other countries? Since GENOCIDE IS NOT TAKING PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA, are we misdirecting our efforts?

Do you know that the present Botha government is the most liberal, courageous, and progressive government ever to take office in that country? They are improving human rights as quickly as possible without tearing the country apart. Quiet support behind the scenes through our government would strengthen Prime Minister Botha's ability to change social conditions. But public opposition polarizes opinion and plays into the hands of the far right, freezing change and aiding the communists, who use the resulting dissatisfaction to further their cause.

Uninformed Americans assume the black population of South Africa is similar to American black citizens. Except for the color of skin, nothing is similar. The African blacks are divided among many different tribes, who speak different languages, have different cultures, and don't get along too well among themselves. Prior to the formation of the South African government, bloody wars were waged constantly. Without the overall stability of the South African government, the black tribes would return to their internecine raids and killings.

Educating these people to the kind of democracy, literacy, and civic responsibilities necessary to work together in a modern western society as now exists in South Africa will take time if it is to succeed in an orderly, peaceful manner.

If you doubt any of these facts, may I suggest you contact a few Americans and South Africans whom you consider really knowledgeable on South Africa? An important religious leader like yourself needs this crucial information. And because Israel and South Africa are such close allies (that alone says plenty), surely there are opinions of some qualified Israelis you could seek out.

Whenever I find my position in agreement with that of the Soviets, I question my assumptions, because the odds are, the Russians are working against American interests. The Soviets want an immediate shift to a black-ruled South Africa. Any action we take to weaken the present government assists Russia. Think carefully: does that really help our goal of improving human rights? Even with their best face for public view, do you feel the Soviets are advocates of human rights? Of course not! Their reasons are materialistic and dangerous to our country, our freedom, world peace, and the future freedom of our children. And they couldn't care less about human rights.

South Africa is a crucial ally of the United States. The question is, how do we treat our friends? If push ever comes to shove, we're going to need her more than most Americans know. She has the 6th largest standing army in the world, and secures the tip of Africa to protect the much-needed oil shipping routes. Over 24,000 ships annually pass the Cape of Good Hope to supply the West. Her GNP is the largest of any country in Africa. The Soviets want this plum!

If the Soviet Union gained control, she would dominate the combined world production of such critical resources as:

90% - Uranium; 90% - Platinum; 85% - Gold; 80% - Vanadium; 75% - Manganese; and 96% of the Chrome!

These minerals are "strategic metals," without substitution. In the making of most modern weapons and most devices like washing machines or autos, chrome is indispensable.

There are those who say it's unimportant who controls these resources, as they must still sell to us, their customers. This is a fallacy. During war they will sell us nothing. If the lack of this material causes us to be less properly equipped to fight, more of our young men and women will die in battle. Furthermore, to military planners of antagonistic nations, such potential weakness adds incentive to initiate hostilities.

But if such governments do sell to us during peacetime, the price will be higher, and again, the profits will go to the corrupt politicians, not to the blacks who labor to produce the wealth. Human rights aren't even considered.

Rights advocates opposing current South African policies have not admitted to themselves that an end to the apartheid policy, WITHOUT A VIABLE SUCCESSOR POLICY THAT IS FAIR TO BLACK AND WHITE ALIKE, WILL LEAD TO MAJOR DISASTER!

Besides, who are we to pontificate? America required a bloody civil war to end

slavery, and a century of preparation to break down our walls of prejudice. We still have a long way to go! And our population ratio of black to white was the opposite of that in South Africa. Their job is multiples more complex.

I urge you to use your influence and powers of persuasion in a positive way. Write your Senators and Congressmen in support of South Africa as long as steady improvement in human rights is being made. Do it NOW! Become INFORMED! You will find that the simplistic solution, though it has "moral appeal," is actually destructive to the values we embrace, and could produce another communist dictatorship.

One more thing you should know. Other voices in the U.S. opposing the apartheid policy are hardly sincere idealists. Intelligence Digest provides information on the TransAfrica militant black lobbying group based in Washington, D.C.:

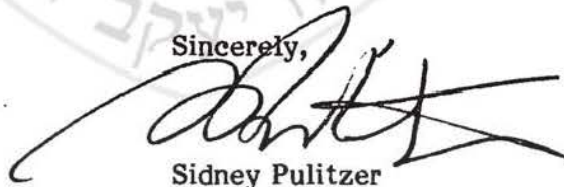
"TransAfrica and a number of members of Congress want the overthrow of South Africa's current government, and its replacement by terrorist groups which are financed by Moscow and pledge a Marxist-Leninist government if they are victorious.

"TransAfrica and its leader, Randall Robinson, have been vocal supporters of the regimes in Angola, Mozambique, Cuba, the Grenadian Marxist leader - Maurice Bishop, and Ethiopia's Communist government."

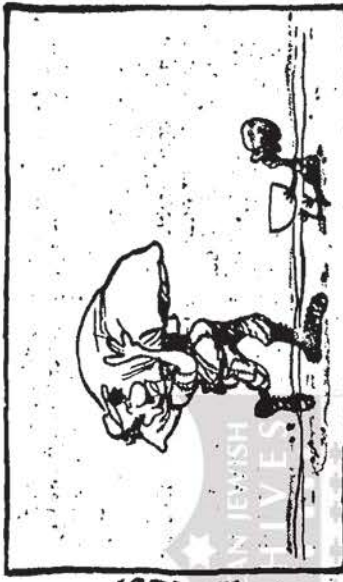
I find it abhorrent to see Jesse Jackson using this group and its policies to play the same game.

Enclosed are some informative articles which I hope you will read. In our sincere desire as Jews to help all oppressed people, our having the true facts is particularly urgent if we are to genuinely help the black community in South Africa — and not do the opposite.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sidney Pulitzer', written over a large, faint watermark of a Star of David with Hebrew text.

Sidney Pulitzer



THE GRAND SENATOR DUMB
HAS BEEN THE TARGET OF SATIRICAL
ATTACKS



SOUTHERN AFRICA

New deal in South Africa

by Eric Rydbeck

At the time of the constitutional referendum last year, I maintained that after the government victory a new phase of South African history had begun – nothing would ever again be the same as before.

Rapid developments followed. Agreements with Mozambique and Angola were concluded, the process of improving black education was set in motion, black township councils were elected and made operative, black entrepreneurs were afforded the opportunity of establishing shops in the central business districts of white cities, and so on.

Leftists and Liberals demand strictures

Optimistically, one thought that this beginning of the end of racial discrimination in South Africa would be welcomed abroad and reduce undue and unwise foreign pressure. Instead much more vigorous demands for strictures against all the South African peoples were initiated, presumably in order to force the government here to capitulate and introduce a Western-style democracy with general franchise regardless of ethnic belonging.

Apparently leftist liberals and Marxists in many European countries and in America have been encouraged by other African countries succumbing to such 'ideals'.

The conclusion is that the West must view with pleasure the consequences of such policies in nations like Tanzania, Zambia, Lesotho, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Mozambique, Angola, and so on – the list comprises practically all southern Africa's states – and Africa's for that matter. They have almost all at one time been democracies of the type approved by the West but are now all one-party states, mostly socialist with Marxist leanings or fully-fledged communist dictatorships. And most of them suffer regular coups, bloodshed, and ethnic conflict.

That seems to be the fate that the world's liberals and leftists wish for South Africa. And the policies of gradual reform of State President Botha and his government are, of course, not a good recipe for ultimate socialism in South Africa. They aim at a place for all, black, white, and brown, in the decision-making process of what apparently one day is likely to be a confederation or federation of equal states embracing free-enterprise systems. That is as far removed from communist ideologies as possible.

New assembly a blow for left and right

State President Botha's speech to the three-house parliament in Cape Town was a declaration of intent and a further move in the gradual elimination of white domination of the other groups – as well as of any ethnic group's domination of the rest. The *Sunday Times* of Johannesburg summarized what happened in the new Assembly as follows:

- A pledge by President Botha that the debate on black constitutional options is open-ended.

- A government commitment to include non-homeland blacks in interlocking constitutional structures with whites, coloureds, and Indians.
- A conditional offer of amnesty to political prisoners.
- Suspension of forced removals pending a review of government policy.
- Freehold title for urban blacks and a review of citizenship rights and influx control.

And the *Sunday Times* adds: 'Thus have many of Afrikaner nationalism's holiest cows been consigned to pasture, and by week's end it had brought significant encouragement from establishment black groups, the progressive white opposition and Western countries.' Can any harder blow have been struck against extremists on both right and left? Probably not while simultaneously safe-guarding law and order.

Liberals will claim credit for new policies

From my vantage point here it now looks as if many liberal demonstrators and pressurizers will claim that these new South African policies are the result of their strictures.

But they should remember that what happened in the historic first week of the new assembly was the culmination of reforms which had gone before it, changes which these so-called liberal politicians had called 'cosmetic'. They have yet to discover that President Botha moves firmly but with caution and only after very thorough preparation. And this is how he and his government are likely to move in the future, guided by specific South African requirements and opinions rather than by foreign politicians seeking favour with voters in their own countries by exploiting South African problems.

This further proof of South African sincerity with regard to positive change has caused some confusion in the Marxist camp. The communists had not expected anything nearly as bold at this stage.

Boycotts would bring starvation

The possibility of foreign disinvestment and boycott are viewed seriously here and in South Africa's neighbouring states. The latter have aired their views on radio and television and seem to fear sanctions more than the South Africans do.

Swaziland and Lesotho both realize that they would rapidly be ruined and reduced to starvation, and so does Mozambique – already facing hunger as a result of civil war – should US and the world isolate South Africa.

Ironically a consequential collapse of Zimbabwe's economy could very well cause a revolt against Mugabe and lead to his downfall. The same could with greater likelihood happen to Zambia and its vacillating dictator Kaunda. Nor would Botswana find it easy even to survive under such circumstances. So none of them is happy about the thought of any kind of trade sanctions against South Africa, even if some of them have expressed themselves differently in the past.

Controversial subjects will test assembly

In South Africa itself very few are for foreign sanctions against their country – even Bishop Tutu has changed his stance and will await the outcome here for two years before he decides for or against the policies

which seem to have brought him his valuable Nobel Peace Prize.

And while the first week of party-political debate in the three houses of the new assembly has shown some disagreement in the course of the traditional motions of 'no confidence' in the government, there has been unity in the rejection of efforts at foreign intervention in South Africa's internal affairs.

But the real test of the new constitution and its envisaged consensus-decisions will be when more-controversial subjects are broached and new legislation is being discussed. The most burning issue will be the future participation of urban blacks in the decision-making process, a question on which they themselves will be heard through the Forum for Blacks now to be formed.

When I revert in a month's time, the situation is likely to have clarified and comment will then be timely.

STRATEGIC REPORT

Democracy at risk in Argentina

President Raúl Ricardo Alfonsín's democratic government faces its second year beset by a multitude of problems some of which seem almost insoluble.

It is hard to say which is the most pressing. Drastic changes have to be made as regards the economy, and inflation has to be brought under control otherwise there will be difficulty in getting more loans with which to pay the interest on the burdensome foreign debt. Over-spending must be curbed in the face of never-ending demands for higher wages, and production and exports must be increased in spite of record high interest rates which militate against new investment.

Alfonsín is being pressured to comply with his promise to see justice done in the distressing matter of the thousands of people who disappeared during what has come to be known as the 'dirty war'. A decision must be reached as to whether those accused of human rights abuses should be judged by civilian or military courts, particularly in the Astiz case upon which a lot depends.

Trying to live within its means is the biggest problem now facing the government, and this, and a host of other matters, add up to very hard times ahead, a lot of bitter medicine to be swallowed, and some doubts as to whether democracy can survive.

Nobody likes austerity but the alternative is worse, but at least an encouraging sign is that the president is at last beginning to realize this.

Government must control inflation

Many observers think that inflation cannot be brought down to acceptable levels for some years. As this is caused mainly by government over-spending, obviously those relying on state jobs will suffer most while they are not likely to find employment easily in the private sector as many big firms have been driven to the verge of bankruptcy and others are suffering heavy losses.

The government has promised the International Monetary Fund and the creditor banks that the 683.4%

rise in the cost of living in 1984 will be reduced to no more than 300% by next September.

Already the powerful trade unions have called the proposed wage increases for the current year 'absurd' and threatened an eventual general strike. Various sectors are already on strike which, of course, reduces production, yet exports must be increased. It is a vicious circle which somehow has to be broken.

In addition to cutting down the number of state employees and turning a very deaf ear to incessant wage demands, the government must also get rid of various state-owned companies – veritable white elephants – which also help to drain the country dry, even if it has to give them away.

The foreign debt

The economy minister, Dr Bernardo Grinspun, whom many observers think should be replaced, has admitted that the financial system is out of control.

With interest rates averaging some 50% per month, Argentine businessmen cannot be induced to invest, less so foreigners, while inflation has also encouraged the former to salt their money away abroad. To restore confidence will need extremely harsh measures which could exact a very high social cost.

The foreign debt is now about US\$45bn, a good part of it incurred by the armed forces. Alfonsín has said that his government cannot take the same austerity measures as Brazil and Mexico for fear of being brought down together with democracy.

This month could bring to power in Brazil a president who is expected to take a very tough stance over the country's foreign debt, thus encouraging other South-American debtors to do likewise.

The consensus of opinion among businessmen, observers, and opposition politicians is that the readjustment of the much-battered economy will cause a recession, despite the assertions of Grinspun that this will not occur and that everything can be achieved without any sacrifices, which is patently absurd and impossible. The president was also taking this line until recently, but now reality seems to be catching up with him and he admits that there are hard times ahead.

Human-rights groups are pressing for justice

Alfonsín originally intended to deal harshly with what was then assumed to be a few top men who had given the orders for the kidnappings that resulted in the disappearance of thousands of Argentines and a few foreigners – the majority of whom are presumed to be dead – and lightly with those who obeyed these orders. However, it now transpires that the former were far from few. This is the most distressing of the unsolved problems.

Human-rights groups are pressuring the government to see that justice is done and also for news of missing persons. So far not one senior officer has been sentenced for crimes committed during the 'dirty war'. The nine heads of the three ruling three-men Juntas during the *de facto* government are in prison charged with encouraging kidnapping and torture, but so far nobody has been sentenced.

Alfonsín has saddened and enraged the human-rights groups by saying that a recent march on Congress

placed at the mercy of 'the thirst for power and megalomania'. In this century alone - Falin calls it our 'long-suffering century' and he is probably right - the imperialists have killed more than 100 million people already and are on the brink of resuming this terrible work.

And yet there is at last, for the first time in this century, an opportunity to make 'the earth a promised land for every people and ethnic group inhabiting it'.

The opportunity is there thanks to the Soviet Union. But, Falin says, mankind cannot expect the Soviet Union to do the job entirely on its own. Not even with the help of its existing allies.

People must only hate imperialism

What is needed is a solid front, worldwide, on the side of reason and civilization. It is not necessary for the peoples to agree about anything else, Falin says. They must only hate imperialism. And, of course, realize what a great danger imperialism presents to them. Like the animals fleeing a forest fire they must forget all about the differences that otherwise divide them. They must bury their other animosities.

Thus endangered Western Europe can make common cause with the world of Islam, Africa can unite with Asia, Latin America with, for instance, Afghanistan. On the side of the Soviet Union. And together, and with Soviet support, mankind and civilization can be rescued by once and for all crushing the imperialists.

The only hope for mankind

Once that has been done everybody, if he so wishes, can, like the animals, go his own way again and the Soviet Union, treasuring everybody's freedom and independence, will thereafter not only *not* interfere anywhere but will at all times be ready to act in defence of everybody's freedom and independence.

Falin puts it forward as the only hope for mankind and he does his best to make it an attractive proposition. It has certainly appealed to his superiors in the Kremlin, the men he is now advising.

What we are therefore likely to see is a two-front approach. On the one front there will be negotiations with the US to keep the enemy at bay. On the other front...

Zimbabwe's election violence

Our observer in Harare writes:

The British-drafted Independence Constitution guaranteed multi-party democracy until 1990 unless the prime minister, Robert Mugabe, received the unanimous vote of 100 members of parliament for his proposed change to a one party state.

The government has announced that elections for a new parliament will be held in June of this year.

The foreign minister, Witness Mangwende, has

expressed deep dissatisfaction with his country's British-sponsored constitution that guaranteed parliamentary seats for the white minority. The white seats, together with any seats that are won by the opposition party, led by Joshua Nkomo, are a stumbling block to the establishment of a one party state.

Problems with electoral roll

This election will be run for the first time from an electoral roll. In the establishment of the electoral roll there have been a number of reports indicating that all is not going well.

It is alleged that those who are not supporters of the ruling party have greater difficulty in getting on to the roll for the election. It is stated that the quickest way to get on to the roll is to be a card-carrying member of the ruling political party.

The political atmosphere in Zimbabwe is polluted by intimidation. People are being forced to attend meetings once or more a week, pay annual membership fees of \$3.50 per person. Also contributions are sought for Shiku Hero's acre at 75 cents per head. The contribution price apparently is increased when a senior man in the party visits the area.

Evidence of violence

There is widespread evidence that violence is on the increase as the country draws closer to the election. Under intimidation most of the peasants will do as they are told. Whatever the outcome of the election there must be concern for the innocent who will suffer.

There are reports of extreme violence in the Gwanda, Esigodini, and Plumtree areas. The violence that resulted in over 200 people being admitted to local hospitals was sparked off by the ruling party's Youth Brigade, because the victims were not in possession of their party's membership card.

Israelis undermining Saudi aims

A Middle East intelligence agency is blaming Israeli influence upon the Muhammadu Burhari regime in Nigeria for sabotaging Saudi OPEC objectives, and thus increasing economic and financial instability in the Arab world.

This instability is having a particularly strong impact on Saudi Arabia. The Israeli Mossad covertly aided the coup staged by Major General Buhari on 31 December 1983, and later assisted his regime in various ways.

SIS and CIA encouragement

It appears that both Britain's SIS and the American CIA are supporting or encouraging the Mossad incursion into Nigerian politics.

King Fahd and his advisers are seriously considering withdrawing the \$78bn Saudi Arabia has invested in US savings bonds. This will be only the first step of Saudi financial disengagement from America.

DRAFT

Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 5, 1985
to Area Directors
from Harold Applebaum
subject Annual Meeting Debate on South Africa

AJC policy on South Africa will be debated at a plenary session of the Annual Meeting on Wednesday afternoon, May 1.

The session has been scheduled in response to requests from several chapters for a reconsideration of the policy statement adopted at the 1984 NEC meeting. For example, the Western Regional Advisory Board adopted the following resolution on March 29:

"Be it resolved that the Western Regional Advisory Board...endorses the Portland Chapter's request for a review of AJC's national policy on all aspects of the South African issue, including divestiture and disinvestment. The Board further recommends that AJC chapters in the Western Region support the Portland chapter's request."

A subcommittee of AJC's International Relations Commission has begun the policy review process and will soon be distributing additional background material to chapter leadership.

The major point of issue is whether AJC should reaffirm or amend the policy statement of November 2, 1984, which strongly condemns apartheid but refrains from endorsing economic sanctions.

The issues are outlined in the Session Briefing backgrounder that was prepared for one of the Friday afternoon community relations workshops at the Annual Meeting. A copy of the backgrounder is enclosed along with the 1984 NEC policy statement.

Although the time is short, please schedule a Board discussion so that your leadership's views can be factored into the Annual Meeting debate.

HA/pb

POLICY OPTIONS: AJC STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

Should AJC policy on South Africa:

YES

NO

1. Restate position adopted by NEC in November, 1984:

reaffirming our opposition to apartheid;

condemning violations of civil rights and civil liberties and

supporting democratization of South African society?

Urging U.S. corporations maintaining operations in South Africa to espouse the "Sullivan Principles" by adopting equal employment policies, supporting improved health, education and housing services for blacks and pressing for racial desegregation?

2. Expand the 1984 NEC statement by:

supporting legislation requiring U.S. corporations in South Africa to apply The Sullivan Principles?

Urging U.S. corporations to disinvest (terminate operations) voluntarily from South Africa?

Endorsing local legislative proposals requiring state or municipal governments to divest their holdings in U.S. corporations operating in South Africa?

Supporting legislation

barring loans to South Africa?

banning the sale of Krugerrands in the U.S.?

forbidding the sale of military and police equipment?

3. Other recommendations:

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 10, 1985

to Subcommittee on South Africa

from Allan Kagedan

subject Update on the Sullivan Principles

The Sullivan Principles (attached), originated by Dr. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia, have received considerable attention during the current debate over how the United States can encourage peaceful change in South Africa. Supporters of the Principles see them as a means of using American business to improve the lives of South African blacks. Opponents of the Principles fall into two camps: Some, who favor more stringent economic sanctions, charge that they help only a small number of blacks; others, who object to economic sanctions generally, feel that they impose an unfair economic and administrative burden on business. What follows is a brief update on the implementation of the Principles.

The six Sullivan Principles may be divided into two types: Principles I, II, and III call for removal of discriminatory practices from the workplace; Principles IV, V, and VI go further, requiring "affirmative actions," such as company-funded job training programs, the identifying and training of potential black managers, and public support of the end of apartheid laws and practices.

Arthur D. Little rates corporations subscribing to the Principles as falling into one of three categories. Companies that have passed the "basic requirements" and comply with Principles I, II, and III, fall into category 3, "needs to become more active." Firms judged to have implemented Principles IV, V, and VI, based on a complicated point system incorporating qualitative and quantitative data, fall into category 2, "making progress," or 1, "making good progress."

In 1984, thirty-two firms were rated in category 1 (including Citicorp, Coca-Cola, Exxon, General Motors, IBM, Mobil and Xerox); fifty-one companies fell into category 2 (including Bristol-Meyers, Dow Chemical, IT&T, Westinghouse); nineteen firms were classified in category 3 (including Hoover Co., International Harvester, and Motorola).

By virtue of their placement in the first three categories, all these corporations have nonsegregated facilities, engage in fair employment practices, and pay black and white workers equally. Between them, Sullivan signatories have spent millions of dollars in health, education and job training programs for blacks, and are the companies in which the black trade unions are well established. As of 1 April 1985, counting businesses that have endorsed the Principles but not yet implemented the first three, 150 corporations employing 82% of workers in US-owned companies (about 104,000 persons), and representing 79% of total US investment in South Africa, have subscribed to the Sullivan Principles.

AJC has already affirmed its general support for the Sullivan Principles (though not by name) in its 1984 NEC Statement on South Africa. The issue now is:

1. Should AJC support city, state and federal measures mandating legal enforcement of the Sullivan Principles?
2. Should we support divestment of stock in corporations that fail to adhere to the Principles or fail to reach a certain rating level?

It may be that the utility of economic sanctions as a means of advancing human rights is best judged on a case-by-case basis. Bearing in mind what we know about South Africa, we must determine whether this particular form of economic pressure is effective in improving the condition of South African blacks, consonant with Jewish security, fair to US business, and consistent with US strategic concerns.



AK:DG

SULLIVAN PRINCIPLES

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

- Principle 1 — **Nonsegregation of the Races in All Eating, Comfort, Locker Rooms, and Work Facilities**
- Principle 2 — **Equal and Fair Employment Practices for All Employees**
- Principle 3 — **Equal Pay for All Employees Doing Equal or Comparable Work for the Same Period of Time**
- Principle 4 — **Initiation and Development of Training Programs that Will Prepare Blacks, Coloureds, and Asians in Substantial Numbers for Supervisory, Administrative, Clerical and Technical Jobs**
- Principle 5 — **Increasing the Number of Blacks, Coloureds, and Asians in Management and Supervisory Positions**
- Principle 6 — **Improving the Quality of Employees' Lives Outside the Work Environment in Such Areas as Housing, Transportation, Schooling, Recreation, and Health Facilities.**

Amplification of Principle 6, November 1984:

INCREASED DIMENSIONS OF ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE THE WORKPLACE

- **Use influence and support the unrestricted rights of Black businesses to locate in the Urban areas of the nation.**
- **Influence other companies in South Africa to follow the standards of equal rights principles.**
- **Support the freedom of mobility of Black workers to seek employment opportunities wherever they exist, and make possible provisions for adequate housing for families of employees within the proximity of workers employment.**
- **Support the ending of all apartheid laws.**

ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

AMERICAN JEWISH
AFFAIRS

A Special Report
of the International
Relations Department

By **Kenneth Bandler**
and **George E. Gruen**



ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

By Kenneth Bandler and George E. Gruen *

Introduction

The debate in the United States over the South African government's apartheid policy has emerged with renewed vigor in recent months as the political situation affecting Blacks in South Africa continued to deteriorate. Members of Congress and representatives of religious, Black and non-sectarian organizations have demonstrated at South Africa's Embassy in Washington and at its consulates in several U.S. cities. Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Committee, have participated in these protests against apartheid as well.

In Chicago last November, the AJC's National Executive Council adopted a statement reaffirming the agency's "abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination," and calling "for its speedy elimination." (See Appendix I for full text of statement.) Guided by the American traditions of democracy and pluralism and by Jewish values and teaching, the AJC's primary efforts since its founding in 1906 have been devoted to combatting violations of human rights wherever they occur.

The revived anti-South African protest activities in this country have coincided with the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu and with an increase in opposition activities within South Africa itself. For many years, a number of South African Jews, notably Parliament Member Helen Suzman, have been in the forefront of the efforts to eliminate apartheid, to give Black South African citizens their full human rights, and to democratize the entire country.

The subject of Israeli-South African relations often arises in discussions about South Africa. This is largely the result of inaccurate and misleading information on the subject disseminated by Israel's adversaries from the Third World and Communist bloc. These states, hostile to Israel, have sought to delegitimize the Jewish State by falsely labelling it "racist." Alleging ties with South Africa serves their propagandistic purpose of "proving" that "Zionism is racism." As former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Andrew Young noted in 1979, "It is unfair to link Israel to South Africa. If there is a link, you must compare Britain, Germany, Japan and the United States. All of them have links with South Africa. Israel becomes a too easy scapegoat for other problems we have."¹

**Kenneth Bandler is Research Analyst in the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division, International Relations Department; Dr. George E. Gruen is the Director of the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division. The authors wish to acknowledge the special research contribution of Michael Rothenberg, a graduate student at Columbia University's School of International Affairs, who examined the extensive literature on this subject and prepared the statistical data included in this report.*

Twenty-four countries have full diplomatic relations with South Africa. Some of these are among South Africa's main trading partners, and a number of them have military ties as well. A large number of countries that do not have formal diplomatic ties with South Africa, notably Black African and Arab states, also enjoy economic and commercial relationships with it. At least 46 African states trade with South Africa. The Black African state of Malawi, which does not even border on South Africa, has full diplomatic relations with the white minority government in Pretoria. Some of these ties have recently become more overt. For example, Swaziland and South Africa agreed last December to exchange trade representatives, and Mozambique and South Africa opened trade offices in their respective capitals after signing a non-aggression pact in March 1984. At the time, Mozambique noted that by entering into this security and economic relationship, it was in no way condoning the South African government's policy of apartheid.²

Israel does not condone apartheid, and the other countries relating to South Africa have often stated their opposition to its racist policies as well. Yet, of all these countries that constitute most of the UN membership, Israel alone is routinely and systematically singled out for condemnation in international forums. The standard used against Israel should be applied to all countries, or dropped.

In order to bring clarity to the debate on Israel-South Africa ties, the relationship must be placed in the proper perspective. This paper will do so by examining the economic and military relations South Africa has with all countries. Such an examination, based on open sources and published statistics, clearly shows that Israel's trade with South Africa is minimal. Indeed, it is considerably less than one percent of South Africa's global trade. In addition, Israel has repeatedly stated that military ties ceased after the UN Security Council imposed an embargo on arms sales to South Africa in 1977. The persistent efforts by opponents of South Africa to single out Israel, therefore, suggest that their aim is not limited to Israel-South Africa relations, but is part of the broader campaign to isolate and delegitimize the State of Israel.

Israel's Opposition to Apartheid

Israel's historically consistent and firm opposition to the apartheid policies of South Africa is rooted in the moral principles of Judaism and the history of the Jewish people. Israel has been a leading advocate of the African fight against the apartheid system in the United Nations. The Israeli delegation has consistently cast its vote against the interests of South Africa. In 1961 the delegation voted to prevent the South African Foreign Minister, Eric Louw, from presenting South Africa's case for apartheid at the General Assembly. In 1966, the delegation supported a U.N. resolution revoking South Africa's mandate over Namibia (South West Africa). In 1977, Israel supported a U.N. arms embargo to the apartheid regime. (See Appendix II for Israeli statements opposing racism and apartheid.)

The founding father of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote more than 80 years ago that after liberating the Jews, he would strive to help end the oppression of Blacks in Africa. Carrying out Herzl's promise to assist the Blacks of Africa, Israel began a large and varied development assistance program

in 1957. By 1966, Israel had established diplomatic relations with all sub-Saharan countries, except for Mauritania and Somalia, two members of the Arab League. Diplomatic relations with South Africa were maintained at a low level. During the period 1957-1973, 31 African countries received economic assistance from Israel, and 20 of these signed cooperation agreements.³ More than 6,700 African students came to Israel for training in agriculture, medicine and other developmental fields.⁴ Several thousand Israelis served in Africa.⁵

Although African-Israeli relations cooled in the early 1970s, especially under pressure of Arab oil exporting countries, which led all African countries except Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland to break diplomatic ties with Israel, economic and commercial ties have continued. Zaire restored full diplomatic ties with Israel in 1982, and Liberia followed suit in 1983. Despite the absence of full diplomatic ties with the other countries, Israel has maintained economic and commercial ties with some 22 Black African countries. Israel has 'interests sections' in friendly embassies in the capitals of a number of these countries. While these African countries routinely join in the condemnation of Israel-South African ties, they not only trade with Pretoria, but also have quietly carried on relations with Israel.

Israeli-South African diplomatic relations, meanwhile, were not elevated to the level of embassy until 1976. Israel's continued involvement with Black African nations, nevertheless, continues to outweigh its relations with South Africa.

South Africa's Economic Relations

Statistical information compiled annually by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) demonstrate that the volume of Israel-South African trade is negligible when compared to the levels of trade South Africa conducts with the industrialized nations in the West, the communist nations in the East, Black African states and the oil-rich Arab nations. (See Tables I and II.) Since the IMF relies on individual governments to supply this information, the figures may not reflect the total volume of trade. For political and security reasons, neither South Africa nor individual Arab oil exporting countries provide information on their trade. Black Africa is listed as one bloc. In such cases, we have derived information from other open sources.

South Africa's biggest trading partners, according to IMF figures, are the Western industrialized states. Among these states, the United States figures the most prominently. South African exports to the U.S. grew from \$589 million in 1975 to \$2.1 billion in 1980, but declined to \$1.5 billion in 1983. South Africa imported \$1.3 billion worth of American goods in 1975, \$2.5 billion in 1980, and \$2.2 billion in 1983.

Western Europe and Japan are not far behind the U.S. in their volume of trade with South Africa. South Africa imported \$1.4 billion worth of goods from England in 1975, \$2.2 billion in 1980, and \$1.6 billion in 1983. South African exports to England have totalled \$1.2 billion in 1975, \$1.7 billion in 1980, and \$1.2 billion in 1983. West Germany and France have also been leading trading partners with South Africa. South African exports to Japan increased from \$664

million in 1975, to \$1.5 billion in 1980, and nearly \$1.4 billion in 1983. Japanese exports rose from \$840 million in 1975, to \$1.6 billion in 1980 and \$1.7 billion in 1983.

Officially reported Soviet bloc trade with South Africa shows South Africa exporting \$10 million worth of goods to the communist countries in 1975, \$22 million in 1980, and \$24 million in 1983. Soviet bloc exports to South Africa grew from \$10 million in 1975, to \$38 million in 1980, and \$60 million in 1982. They fell back to \$22 million in 1983.

At least 46 African states trade with South Africa.⁶ As a bloc, these countries have traditionally been South Africa's fifth or sixth largest trading partner. Trade with Black Africa represented 4% of South Africa's exports and 3% of its imports in 1981 alone. South Africa's exports across its northern borders increased by more than 60% between 1979 and 1980. Moreover, several hundred thousand Blacks from five neighboring states are employed in South African industry. South African exports to Black Africa grew from \$573 million in 1975 to \$1.4 billion in 1980, but declined to \$769 million in 1983. South Africa imported \$344 million worth of goods from Black Africa in 1975, \$371 million in 1980, and \$288 million in 1983.

Other forms of economic relations between Black African states and South Africa have not waned in recent years, but grown. One recent example of this trend is the non-aggression pact between Mozambique and South Africa, created, admittedly, because of South Africa's overwhelming economic and military power. The pact encourages an increase in South African tourism to Mozambique, an increase in the number of Mozambicans employed by South Africa, and an increase in South African aid to Mozambique and use of the port at Maputo. This pact and the overall extensive ties Black Africa has with South Africa give credence to what American civil rights leader Bayard Rustin once described as "the double standard and hypocrisy that excuses or ignores Black Africa's trade with South Africa, while blaming Israel for far less volume of trade with South Africa."⁷

While the IMF figures do not provide a country-by-country breakdown of South Africa's trade with oil exporting countries, recent reports have shown that Arab oil countries figure prominently in South Africa's foreign trade picture. According to data compiled by Shipping Research Bureau, an anti-apartheid research organization based in Amsterdam, and Lloyd's Voyage Records, at least 76% of South Africa's imported oil comes from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Oman. These shipments have a market value of around \$1.1 billion annually. The exact trade figures had, until recently, been suppressed in accordance with South African laws and by the deliberate forging of log books by the suppliers.⁸

Oil is a vital strategic commodity supporting the South African economy and armed forces. The Arab argument that they have no control over where the oil companies ship the oil has been proven false by the historical record. In 1973, Arab oil exporting countries successfully pressured Exxon to cut deliveries to U.S. armed forces and Aramco to supply oil to the Arab war effort. Moreover, the Arab states have over the years tried to use oil as a weapon to influence the political policies of other countries in the Arab-Israel conflict, as

witnessed by the oil embargoes in 1967 and 1973. If the Arab oil producing countries were firm in their opposition to apartheid, they would be expected to impose an oil embargo on South Africa.

Israel's trade with South Africa pales when compared to the trading records of other countries. Israel-South Africa trade has little bearing on South Africa's economic health. South African exports to Israel rose from \$22 million in 1975, to \$95 million in 1980, and \$142 million in 1983. South Africa imported \$26 million worth of Israeli goods in 1975, \$61 million in 1980, and \$69 million in 1983. With few exceptions, Israel has had an annual trade imbalance with South Africa. In fact, recent statistics reveal that Israel accounts for only 0.4% of South Africa's imports and 0.7% of its exports. Those governments and individuals that exclusively focus on Israel-South Africa trade, without truthfully acknowledging the amounts of western, Soviet bloc, Black African and Arab trade with the apartheid regime not only distort the facts, but are attempting to manipulate opponents of apartheid for unrelated political purposes.

Foreign Military Relations

Israel supported the 1977 UN Security Council decision to impose an arms embargo on South Africa, and Israeli officials have repeatedly reaffirmed that position. (See Appendix II for statement.) Israel, nevertheless, has been routinely castigated in international forums for its alleged military ties to South Africa. Even if some ties exist, a recent study by the Congressional Research Service has noted that any continued Israeli arms deliveries to South Africa are much smaller than those of France and Italy.⁹ Naomi Chazan, an Israeli scholar specializing in African affairs who is critical of Israel-South Africa relations, has noted that the degree of Israel-South Africa military ties in no way equals that of major arms exporting nations in the West nor does it compete with Eastern European and Arab arms sales to South Africa.¹⁰ Israel's arms transfers to South Africa before 1977, such as the sale of Reshef class missile boats equipped with Gabriel surface-to-surface missiles, were aimed at helping South Africa protect shipping lanes that are vital to western interests. Such sales were of no use to the apartheid regime in carrying out repressive measures against its Black population. Because of the arms embargo, South Africa has developed a sizable domestic arms industry. South Africa, in fact, has become a net arms exporter, self-sufficient in the production of small arms and other equipment needed for counter-insurgency operations.¹¹

France, according to published reports, is South Africa's main arms supplier. In 1980 France sold 360 air-to-surface missiles to South Africa. The South Africans had a French license to produce 100 Landmobile surface-to-air missiles between 1980 and 1983.¹² Between 1963 and 1974 more than \$1 billion worth of armaments were shipped to South Africa, mostly from France.¹³ A French-built nuclear power station 17 miles north of Capetown was completed in late 1984.

The United States has also sold military-related items to South Africa. The American Friends Service Committee issued a report based on non-classified, State Department documents that claimed that during the first term of the Reagan Administration, the U.S. issued 29 export licenses worth \$28.3 million to South

Africa for goods and high technology equipment, all of which can be used for military purposes.¹⁴ The report claims that these sales were in clear violation of the U.N. embargo on the sale of military equipment to South Africa.

Although much has been written on the subject of alleged Israel-South African cooperation in the nuclear field, it amounts to pure speculation and conjecture. No conclusive evidence to substantiate these assertions has been published. The UN Secretary General cautioned in a 1980 report that "Until specific examples of actual nuclear exchanges or transactions can be cited as clear evidence of such cooperation, this whole question remains in a state of uncertainty."¹⁵ Why does the speculation on alleged Israeli-South African military ties continue endlessly, while known military arrangements between South Africa and West European states are ignored? The motivation is purely political -- to harm Israel's image through constant repetition of alleged Israeli misdeeds. Such repetition, however, does not by itself substantiate the allegations.

Conclusions

South Africa's economic viability depends greatly on its extensive foreign trade. The strength of South Africa's armed forces is dependent upon foreign military suppliers as well as oil. In both the economic and security fields Israel's interaction with South Africa is negligible when compared to South Africa's relations with other countries. If Israel were to break all ties with Pretoria, the impact on South Africa's economy and military would be hardly measurable.

The routine condemnation of Israel-South African ties by many states and individuals, who have chosen to manipulate the anti-apartheid cause for the sole purpose of delegitimizing the State of Israel, harms honest efforts to combat apartheid. Those who raise this false issue effectively reduce the anti-apartheid constituency in the United States and around the world. South African Blacks, the victims of apartheid, deserve better.

Notes

1. Reuters, September 18, 1979.
2. New York Times, March 17, 1984.
3. Brenda Branaman, "Israel: Relations with Africa", Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, September 5, 1984.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Michael Curtis, "Israel and South Africa", Middle East Review Special Report, October 1983, p. 3.
7. Letter from Bayard Rustin to Arthur Hertzberg, September 1976.
8. Shipping Research Bureau Report, 1984.
9. Branaman, p. 24.
10. Naomi Chazan, "The Fallacies of Pragmatism: Israeli Foreign Policy towards South Africa," African Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 327 (April 1983), p. 186.
11. Ibid., p. 187.
12. Ibid.
13. Curtis, p. 4.
14. Washington Post, January 11, 1984.
15. Report of the Secretary-General, "Implementation of the Declaration of Denuclearization of Africa", September 9, 1980, A/35/402, para. 37.

I029:ls-tp/gn
4/18/85

TABLE I

South African Exports

(In Millions of U.S. Dollars)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984*
<u>United States</u>	589.7	526.8	910.7	1,558.4	1,679.2	2,125.6	1,453.0	1,220.0	1,551.0	391.0
<u>United Kingdom</u>	1,255.0	1,146.6	1,512.3	1,400.5	1,146.5	1,779.2	1,313.5	1,300.0	1,219.0	189.0
<u>West Germany</u>	601.8	543.8	594.5	767.4	1,084.5	1,028.7	962.4	785.0	703.0	190.0
<u>France</u>	155.6	170.6	245.5	317.9	417.5	523.5	638.3	415.0	353.0	110.0
<u>Japan</u>	664.8	592.0	737.0	875.9	1,129.3	1,551.4	1,574.5	1,533.0	1,390.0	348.0
<u>Soviet Bloc</u>	10.2	9.3	12.1	7.9	25.5	22.7	22.4	15.0	24.0	1.0
<u>Africa**</u>	573.1	521.1	599.0	614.7	878.6	1,412.4	1,294.5	834.0	769.0	152.0
<u>Oil Exporting Countries**</u>	27.8	68.7	24.0	9.6	18.1	34.2	58.2	68.0	37.0	4.0
<u>Israel</u>	22.8	35.9	34.1	66.8	116.5	95.1	70.8	140.0	142.0	30.0
<u>Israel***</u>	40.5	45.2	54.3	80.4	153.1	117.1	103.2	166.8		

* First Quarter of 1984

** All IMF estimates are based on data reported to the specific country. If the data cannot be derived by that country, it is often estimated by that country's trading partners. In these particular sets of data, specific African, oil exporting and Middle East countries have not been identified. One could speculate that South Africa, Black African states and Arab states did not disclose these figures for political reasons.

*** These figures, submitted by Israel to the IMF, differ from the South African figures, because of different accounting methods. Such discrepancies are also found in the statistics for South African trade with the other countries. Nevertheless, Israel's trade with South Africa is still minimal.

Sources: Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. Yearbook, 1982.
Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. October 1984.

TABLE II

South African Imports

(In Millions of U.S. Dollars)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984*
<u>United States</u>	1,340.8	1,459.7	1,124.5	1,137.0	1,477.9	2,526.7	2,952.3	2,484.0	2,207.0	660.0
<u>United Kingdom</u>	1,493.9	1,185.4	971.4	1,200.2	1,490.6	2,242.0	2,500.6	2,029.0	1,697.0	445.0
<u>West Germany</u>	1,409.2	1,217.5	1,073.1	1,466.2	1,554.9	2,384.4	2,707.0	2,503.0	2,003.0	596.0
<u>France</u>	335.4	294.7	275.5	546.8	559.2	702.8	1,046.8	708.0	544.0	159.0
<u>Japan</u>	840.3	690.5	719.6	947.2	952.1	1,669.3	2,266.8	1,711.0	1,765.0	514.0
<u>Soviet Bloc</u>	10.6	13.4	10.0	8.8	21.6	38.5	51.2	60.0	22.0	6.0
<u>Africa**</u>	344.3	356.3	330.5	281.8	303.6	371.4	375.3	305.0	288.0	80.0
<u>Oil Exporting Countries**</u>	.4	.3	-	-	1.1	1.8	1.5	-	-	-
<u>Israel</u>	26.5	19.5	17.6	27.7	34.4	61.7	76.5	66.0	69.0	17.0
<u>Israel***</u>	39.2	32.5	23.9	37.5	48.4	79.2	98.4	78.4		

* First Quarter of 1984

** All IMF estimates are based on data reported to the specific country. If the data cannot be derived by that country, it is often estimated by that country's trading partners. In these particular sets of data, specific African, oil exporting and Middle East countries have not been identified. One could speculate that South Africa, Black African states and Arab states did not disclose these figures for political reasons.

*** See note *** to Table I above.

Sources: Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. Yearbook, 1982.
Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. October 1984.

Appendix I

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

The American Jewish Committee, this country's pioneer human relations organization, has been devoted since its founding to combatting violations of human rights wherever they occur. In this tradition, we reaffirm our abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination, and we call for its speedy elimination.

We applaud the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, a courageous and eloquent leader of the anti-apartheid struggle. The award symbolizes universal recognition of the justice of this cause.

Unhappily, in South Africa, voices of protest against apartheid are often silenced harshly. Lack of due process and detention without trial are prominent features of life, with attendant abuse of political power.

Recently enacted constitutional reforms, belatedly offering partial representation to Indians and "coloreds," have left the system of racial segregation intact; unfortunately, they fail to enfranchise South Africa's overwhelming black majority. The policy of "resettling" blacks in poverty-stricken "homelands" has disrupted the lives of hundreds of thousands -- perhaps millions. The influx control laws and the Group Areas Act aggravate the suffering of the black population.

The role that those outside the country can play in combatting apartheid is limited. But they can help to enhance the prospects for peaceful change, which would benefit South Africans of all races and religions.

Thus, we endorse programs by private groups and government agencies, in the United States and abroad, for educating black and other non-white South Africans to assume a prominent role in the economic and public life of their country. Education can be a powerful force for social change, a key element in dismantling apartheid.

Furthermore, all American companies operating in South Africa should be urged to apply fair employment practices toward blacks. These include desegregating the workplace, permitting workers to join trade unions providing equal pay for comparable work, initiating job training programs, creating opportunities for career advancement, and improving health, housing, and school facilities. Additionally, all European firms doing business in South Africa should be urged to adhere to the fair employment principles enunciated in the 1977 EEC Code of Conduct. Such practices by Western firms can contribute significantly to the long-term goal of building a society based on equality and justice.

Finally, we urge the United States Government, and all other Western governments, to work vigorously through appropriate bilateral and multilateral channels, for the democratization of South African society.

Adopted by the National Executive Council
Chicago, Illinois, November 2, 1984

I029-South Africa Appendix I
4/15/85:tp

84-550-81



Appendix II

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS BY THE STATE OF ISRAEL
OPPOSING RACISM, APARTHEID AND ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA

"...Obviously, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which, irrespective of historical and sociological reasons, tends to cause humiliation to others because of their race or color. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Hebrew heritage if we would not be critical of such a policy...we abhor any form of racial discrimination and humiliation, and I believe that the South African government and enlightened public opinion in South Africa respect the candor with which we express our opinion..."

---- Ambassador I.D. Unna, then Israel's Ambassador to South Africa, September 3, 1978.

"Israel will comply with Security Council Resolution 418 (1977)¹ and, accordingly, Israel will not provide South Africa with arms or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment."

---- Note verbale from Israel to the UN Security Council, September 4, 1979. Israel's position of opposition to the provision of arms to South Africa has been repeatedly reaffirmed at the United Nations.

"...it is no wonder that almost 80 years ago, Theodor Herzl, the founding father of modern Zionism, compared the oppression of Blacks in Africa to that which the Jews themselves had suffered, and he vowed that when he had witnessed the redemption of his own people, Israel, he would work for freedom in Africa..."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, Israel's UN Representative, before the General Assembly, November 8, 1979.

"As a multiracial people of all colors and backgrounds, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which causes humiliation to others on account of their race or color. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Jewish heritage if we were to leave the slightest doubt in anybody's mind that we abhor any form of racism, racial discrimination or humiliation."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, before the UN General Assembly on Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa, November 12, 1980.

¹ The Security Council voted unanimously on November 4, 1977 to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

"...The State of Israel rose as a response to injustice and sufferings. It remains committed to social and racial equality. [The Israelis are] a people coming from the four corners of the earth. Many of them are of different origins and hues. All passionately reject racism. As recently as last December an international congress against racism was held in Tel Aviv. Representatives of teacher unions from different countries joined to study how to educate the young generation to tolerance and mutual understanding between peoples and races, how to alert it to the dangers of racism. In this spirit a call to the teachers of the world has been issued."

---- Ambassador of Israel before the UN Commission on Human Rights, Geneva, February 16, 1981.

"We have never missed an opportunity to publicly denounce apartheid and to associate ourselves with United Nations condemnations of apartheid. I express once again our total opposition to apartheid and to racism in any form."

---- Prime Minister Menachem Begin, interview with Afrique a la Une, June 1982.

"...nothing unites the people of Africa and the people of Israel more than a hatred of racism. Our people have suffered more than anyone else from racism, have fought and still fight, more than anyone else against this most horrible disease that still persists among mankind.

"Israel and its Government have consistently condemned publicly the policy of Apartheid, and I take this opportunity to express once more our abhorrence of Apartheid and of any form of racism wherever it may occur."

---- From remarks by President Chaim Herzog during the visit to Israel of Liberian President Dr. Samuel K. Doe, August 23, 1983.

"Israel is not a simple observer which merely sympathizes with the victims of racism and oppression. Our views have been shaped by bitter historical and emotional experience spanning centuries. Moreover, to no less an extent, our abhorrence of racism is rooted in the social norms which comprise an integral part of Judaism's teachings."

"Israel's position concerning apartheid and other manifestations of racial discrimination is clear: we oppose bigotry completely and unreservedly wherever and whenever it emerges. We have made this position known to the Government of South Africa on numerous occasions. By this direct approach, rather than through acrimonious rhetoric, we believe that the cause of eliminating racial discrimination is better served."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, before the UN General Assembly, November 17, 1983.

"...Israel categorically condemns racism in all its forms, including Apartheid. We are a people who have suffered more from racism, murderous racism, than any other. This is why the founder of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote that after liberating the Jews from the evil of racism he would strive to liberate the oppressed blacks. And this is why the state that was founded in his vision, Israel, has repeatedly expressed its revulsion of and opposition to Apartheid, both in world forums and directly to the Government of South Africa...direct communication is the most effective means to bring about a change in South African racial policies."

----- Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's UN Representative, before the General Assembly, November 21, 1984.

(Prepared by the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division of the International Relations Department).

85-580-4
I079-Statement on Apartheid
/gn/ar/tp-4/15/85





Adopted 5/1/85

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

In its November 1984 Statement on South Africa, the American Jewish Committee reaffirmed its abhorrence of apartheid and called for its elimination. Since November, violence bred by apartheid has led to numerous deaths and to further violation of civil liberties. On March 21, 1985 -- twenty-five years after the Sharpeville massacre -- police gunfire at Uitenhage felled nineteen Blacks. Two days later, the South African Government banned meetings by twenty-nine, largely Black anti-apartheid groups, underscoring the exclusion of Blacks from participation in public life. All of these events, including those of recent months, have prompted us to reexamine our position.

Americans, including American Jews, have condemned the escalation of violence in South Africa and have continued to express their outrage at the South African treatment of Blacks and other non-whites as separate from and inferior to whites in fact and in law. Jewish tradition reveres law as an instrument of justice. Twisting law to make it an agent of racial discrimination is odious and offensive.

South Africa's scheme of legalized racism is devoid of elementary humanity. The abolition of the Mixed Marriages Act and the immorality acts is a positive but inadequate step. If freedom's bell is ever to ring in South Africa, measures such as the influx control laws and the Group Areas Act must be revoked; brutal practices such as forced removals to the so-called "homelands" must be abandoned; detention without trial must cease; and the country's Black majority must be enfranchised within the political system.

As outsiders, we recognize that our role in effecting change in South Africa is limited -- that basic changes must come from South Africans themselves. But Jewish history teaches us that, in the face of a brazen abrogation of fundamental human rights, silence is inconceivable.

We must strengthen and encourage those forces in South Africa seeking nonviolent change, including trade unions, church groups, human rights and other voluntary agencies, educational and professional associations and U.S. companies that practice non-discrimination, provide training and other benefits for Black workers, and work for the elimination of apartheid.

We support:

1. Appropriate proposed Federal legislation that would
 - (a) ban U.S. bank loans to entities owned and controlled by the South African Government, unless and until that Government makes substantial progress toward the elimination of discriminatory practices; and
 - (b) restrict exports earmarked for use by the South African military and police.

2. Federal legislation that would require U.S. companies operating in South Africa with ten or more employees to face appropriate U.S. Government sanctions if within two years they fail to comply with the following principles:
- (a) non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and work facilities;
 - (b) equal and fair employment practices for all employees;
 - (c) equal pay for all employees doing equal work;
 - (d) initiation and development of training programs that will prepare, in substantial numbers, Blacks and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs;
 - (e) to increase the number of Blacks and other non-whites in management and supervisory positions; and
 - (f) to make good faith efforts to improve the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.
3. Those Congressional resolutions that condemn South Africa's "homelands" policy, and call for a study by the Secretary of State, or by other competent and impartial agencies, of the recent violence in that country.

We would also support:

- 1. The introduction of Congressional resolutions that condemn the Group Areas Act and the influx control laws; and
- 2. Investigation by human rights groups and other nongovernmental organizations of recent violence in South Africa.

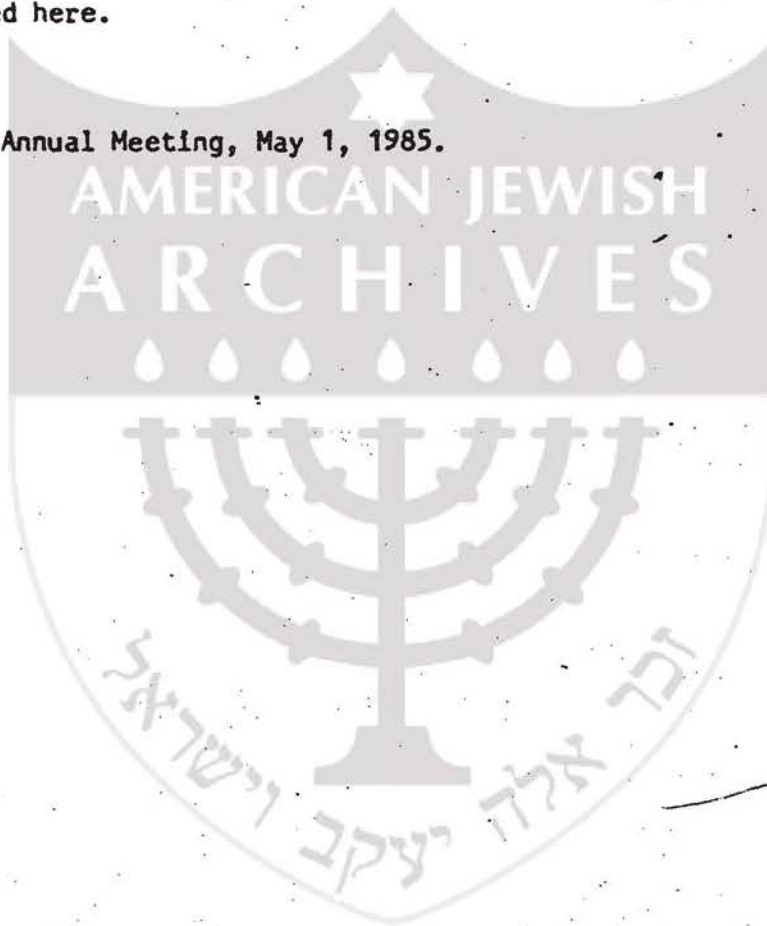
We recommend the following new and continuing activities for AJC nationally and at the chapter level, and for individual members:

- (a) encouraging officials of the U.S. Government and other of democratic governments to exert strong diplomatic pressure on the South African Government to end apartheid;
- (b) speaking out against apartheid in international fora;
- (c) working with like-minded groups, including those in South Africa, dedicated to the promotion and protection of human rights to free unjustly jailed, detained or "banned" persons;
- (d) giving support to educational, vocational, and other programs, sponsored by the U.S. Government and by private groups, to promote the full participation of Black and other non-white South Africans in the economic and public life of their country;

- (e) encouraging U.S. companies operating in South Africa to: comply with the code of fair employment practices outlined above; use their influence within the public and private sectors in that country to secure the elimination of all apartheid laws; support the freedom of mobility of Black workers to seek employment opportunities wherever they exist, and make possible the provision of adequate housing for families of employees within the proximity of workers' employment; and
- (f) working in coalition with other groups for the advancement of the principles and activities described above.

The situation in South Africa is dynamic. We will therefore periodically review the measures outlined here.

Adopted at the 79th Annual Meeting, May 1, 1985.
85-570-8
F089/IRD-3/el



5/1/85

1. In its November 1984 Statement on South Africa, the American
2. Jewish Committee reaffirmed its abhorrence of apartheid and called for
3. ~~the~~ elimination of this evil system.

4. Since November, the situation in South Africa has degenerated.
5. Violence bred by apartheid has led to numerous deaths and to further
6. violation of civil liberties. On March 21, 1985 -- twenty-five
7. years after the Sharpeville massacre -- police gunfire at Uitenhage
8. felled 19 Blacks. Two days later, the South African Government
9. banned meetings by twenty-nine, largely Black anti-apartheid groups,
10. underscoring the exclusion of Blacks from participation in public life.

11. Americans, including American Jews, have condemned the escalation
12. of violence in South Africa and have continued to express their outrage
13. at the South African categorization of Blacks and other non-whites as
14. separate from and inferior to whites in fact and in law. Jewish tradition
15. reveres law as an instrument of justice. Twisting the law to make
16. it an agent of racial discrimination is odious and offensive.

17. South Africa's scheme of legalized racism is devoid of elementary
18. humanity. The abolition of the Mixed Marriages Act and immorality
19. acts is a positive but inadequate and ~~immaterial~~ step. Measures such
20. as the influx control laws and the Group Areas Act must be revoked;
21. brutal practices such as forced removals to the so-called "homelands"
22. must be abandoned; detention without trial must cease; and South
23. Africa's Black majority must be enfranchised into the political system
24. if freedom is ever to cast its light on South Africa.

25. As outsiders, we recognize that our role in encouraging change
26. South Africa is limited - that basic changes must come from
27. South Africans themselves. But as Jewish history teaches us, in
28. the face of a brazen violation of fundamental human rights, inaction
29. is inconceivable.

30. We must act to strengthen those forces in South Africa seeking
31. nonviolent change, including trade unions, church groups, human
32. rights and other voluntary agencies, educational and professional
33. associations and others; and also US companies that practice
34. non-discrimination, provide training and other benefits for Black
35. workers, and work for the elimination of apartheid.

36. We must send a clear message to the South African Government,
37. and therefore, we will support appropriate proposed Federal
38. legislation that would:

39. (a) Ban US bank loans to entities owned and controlled by the
40. South African Government, unless, and until that Government
41. abandons discriminatory practices; and
42. (b) restrict exports earmarked for use by the South African
43. military and police.

43. We endorse Federal legislation that would require US companies
44. operating in South Africa with 10 or more employees to comply with the
45. following principles within two years or face appropriate US Government
46. sanctions:

47. (a) Non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and
48. work facilities.
49. (b) Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.
50. (c) Equal pay for all employees doing equal work.
51. (d) Initiation and development of training programs that
52. will prepare, in substantial numbers, Blacks and other
53. non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical and
54. technical jobs.
55. (e) Increasing the number of Blacks and other non-whites in
56. management and supervisory positions.
57. (f) Making good faith efforts to improve the quality of
58. employees' lives outside the work environment in such
59. areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation
60. and health facilities.

61. We endorse Congressional resolutions that condemn South
62. Africa's "homelands" policy and that call for a study by the
63. Secretary of State of the recent violence in that country, and would
64. support resolutions that would condemn the Group Areas Act and influx
65. control laws. We also support investigation of violence in South
66. Africa by human rights groups and other nongovernmental organizations.

67. Furthermore, we recommend the following new and continuing
68. activities for AJC nationally and at the chapter level, and for
69. individual members:

70. (a) Encouraging US Government officials and officials of
71. democratic governments to exert strong diplomatic
72. pressure on the South African Government to end apartheid;

SOUTH AFRICA STATEMENT p. 3

73. (b) Speaking out against apartheid in international fora;
74. (c) Working with South African organizations dedicated to
75. the promotion and protection of human rights to free unjustly
76. jailed, detained or "banned" persons.
77. (d) Giving support to educational, including vocational,
78. programs to train ^{non-white} ~~Black~~ South Africans to participate
79. fully in the economic and public life of their country;
80. (e) Encouraging US companies operating in South Africa to:
81. comply with the code of fair employment practices outlined
82. above; use their influence within the public and private
83. sectors in that country to secure the elimination of all
84. apartheid laws; support the freedom of mobility
85. of Black workers to seek employment opportunities wherever
86. they exist, and make possible provisions for adequate
87. housing for families of employees within the proximity of
88. workers employment.
89. (f) Working in coalition with other groups for the advancement
90. of the principles and activities outlined above;
91. The dynamic nature of the situation in South Africa will
92. necessitate periodic review of the measures outlined here.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE • 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 265-2000

July 8, 1985

Mr. Harry Schwarz
MP Yeoville
Parliament of the Republic of
South Africa
P.O. Box 7407
JOHANNESBURG
2000

Dear Mr. Schwarz:

Thank you for your thoughtful note. I too would welcome the opportunity to talk with you again -- either in your part of the world or mine.

You and your people have been much in our minds lately, of course. I was particularly impressed with the courage it obviously required for the Board of Deputies to issue that recent statement about Jewish rejection of racism. If, from time to time, we in America seem not to understand the terrible dilemma you face, I hope you will try not to be too offended or upset. We are indeed concerned about the security and welfare of South Africa's Jewish community -- even as we feel compelled, as you do, to give honest expression to our concern about racism.

It was a privilege to meet and talk with you. I look forward to the next opportunity.

Sincerely,

Hyman Bookbinder
Washington Representative

HB:dw

bc: Marc Tanenbaum(w/inc.)

P.O. Box 7407
JOHANNESBURG
2000



PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF SOUTH AFRICA

Tel - 833-7770

2nd July, 1985

RECEIVED 8 1985

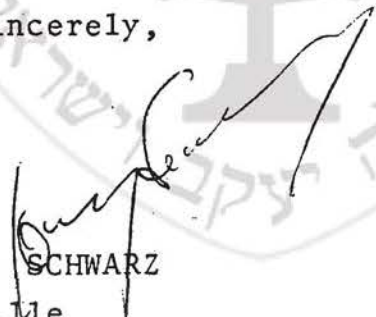
Mr. Hyman Bookbinder
The American Jewish Committee
2027 Mass. Avenue
WASHINGTON D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Bookbinder,

Thanks for the time you gave to me while I was in
the U.S.A. I hope that I will be able to see you
again in the future.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


HARRY H. SCHWARZ
MP Yeoville

/ev

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

aje

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, July 30... The American Jewish Committee today called upon the South African government to lift the state of emergency imposed last week, and to move "without delay" toward abolition of apartheid.

In a statement by Howard I. Friedman, President, and Leo Nevas, Chairman of the International Relations Commission, the human relations agency termed the imposition of the state of emergency "a defeat for the rule of law" and "a cruel repudiation of South Africans who are working for non-violent change."

The AJC predicted in its statement that "the violation of the basic rights of South Africans" would result only in more bloodshed and would cripple "peaceful efforts to eliminate apartheid," which it described as "the root cause of the tragic killings in South Africa in recent months and years."

Reiterating its "abhorrence of apartheid," which its governing bodies have denounced on previous occasions and which it now called "South Africa's scheme of legalized racism that is devoid of elementary humanity," the AJC also urged South African President P.W. Botha to meet with Bishop Desmond M. Tutu "in the interest of ending the current cycle of violence."

The full AJC statement follows:

"The South African government's imposition of a state of emergency on July 21 is a defeat for the rule of law in that country, and a cruel repudiation of South Africans who are working for non-violent change.

"Under the state of emergency, which confers broad powers of arrest on the military and police and imposes censorship on the media, more than 1,000 persons have been detained, and a number of deaths have occurred. This violation of the basic rights of South Africans will only beget more bloodshed, and will cripple peaceful efforts to eliminate apartheid, the root cause of the tragic killings in South Africa in recent months and years.

"The American Jewish Committee reiterates its abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's scheme of legalized racism that is devoid of elementary humanity. We urge South African President P.W. Botha to enter into discourse with Bishop Desmond M. Tutu in the interest of ending the current cycle of violence. We call upon the South African government to lift the state of emergency and to move without delay toward the abolition of apartheid."

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

* * * *

85-960-150
D007-(PEI-1) 7/29/85 - ar

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees.

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

Washington Office: 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel

South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707



RADIO RSA

THE VOICE OF SOUTH AFRICA

BROADCASTING CENTRE, HENLEY ROAD, TELEGRAMS & CABLES "BROADCAST" JHB
P.O. BOX 4559 JOHANNESBURG 2000 TELEPHONE (011) 714-2600

23.8.1985

Mr Adam Simms:

Sir:

We received your letter dated 17.3.'85 and were gratified to hear of your interest in South African counter-arguments to the USA disinvestment campaign. Though transcripts of all programmes broadcast on this topic are not available, I do have some transcript material which I enclose for your attention. I also enclose copies of various statements or reports on disinvestment - some of them made by your ambassador to South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel and some by Dr Chester Crocker.

It seems ironic that "outsiders" refuse to take heed of the call by South African Black community leaders not to disinvest because of the long-term negative effect it would have on the socio-economic development of the Black community. Those Blacks who would suffer first and most would be the migrant labour from across South Africa's borders! The situation in South Africa is a very complex one, and simplification through one-sided argument is a futile exercise.

I could perhaps add that the vast majority of letters from listeners in the USA which we receive reflect anti-disinvestment views and the disinvestment campaigners come in for some harsh criticisms!

Regards,

Ronnie Watt: Co-ordinator:Magazine



National Council of Jewish Women

15 East 26th Street • New York, N.Y. 10010
Telephone: (212) 532-1740

Director of Public Relations
Michele Spirn

news

For Release: Immediate Release
Contact: Michele Spirn, ext. 234

NCJW URGES ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

New York, NY--The Executive Committee of the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) meeting in New York City on January 9, 1985, issued the following topical statement which was sent to President Reagan, Members of the Congress, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, the South African Ambassador, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC), TransAfrica, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and the AFL-CIO:

"The Executive Committee of the National Council of Jewish Women urges the United States government to substantially increase its efforts to use every peaceful means available to help eliminate the abhorrent policy of apartheid, as practiced by the Republic of South Africa. The system of legally entrenched racial discrimination, which also disenfranchises the majority of its population, denies due process, and permits detention without trial, must be condemned and opposed by all who believe in human rights.

Foreign and South African industries with sites located in the Republic of South Africa should be encouraged to eliminate any discriminatory policies on the basis of color by working for fair practices in employment, health services, living conditions and education.

Government and private agencies in the U.S. are urged to support the efforts of those in South Africa who can bring about constructive democratic change before time runs out.

As Jews, too often victims of discrimination and oppression, we are sympathetic with the struggles of black South Africans for equality in their own country. It is incumbent upon the South African government to grant immediately full rights and representation to all of its people regardless of color."

Established in 1893, the National Council of Jewish Women is the oldest Jewish women's volunteer organization in America. NCJW's more than 100,000 members in 200 Sections nationwide are active in the organization's priority areas of women's issues, Jewish life, aging, children and youth, and Israel.

#

#

#