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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

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

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Box 77, Folder 9, American Jewish Committee - 79th Annual Meeting, 1985.

A G E N D A

STEERING COMMITTEE

COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MAY 1, 1985

LEO NEVAS, CHAIRMAN

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- I ✓ The Bitburg Controversy
- II ✓ AJC Policy on South Africa
- III Mission to Washington, April 17-18  
- Middle East  
- Soviet Jewry
- IV Report on Recent Developments in Latin America
- V End-of-the-Decade-Conference-for-Women, Nairobi

80. The dynamic nature of the situation in South Africa will necessitate
81. periodic review of the measures outlined here.



85-570-7

53. (e) Increasing the number of Blacks and other non-whites in management  
54. and supervisory positions.  
55. (f) Improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment  
56. in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and  
57. health facilities.

*South Africa efforts*

58. We endorse Congressional resolutions that condemn South Africa's  
59. "homelands" policy, and that call for a study by the Secretary of State  
60. of the recent violence in that country. We also support investigation of  
61. this violence by South African human rights groups.

AMERICAN JEWISH



62. Furthermore, we recommend the following new and continuing activities  
63. for AJC nationally and at the chapter level, and for individual members:

*considers the following programming*

64. (a) Encouraging US government officials and officials of ~~Western~~ *democratic* govern-  
65. ments to exert strong diplomatic pressure on the South African  
66. Government to end apartheid;  
67. (b) Speaking out against apartheid in international fora;  
68. (c) Working with South African organizations dedicated to the promotion  
69. and protection of human rights and to free unjustly jailed, detained or  
70. "banned" persons.  
71. (d) Giving ~~financial~~ support to educational, including vocational, programs  
72. to train Black South Africans to participate fully in the economic  
73. and public life of their country;  
74. (e) Encouraging US companies operating in South Africa to comply with the  
75. code of fair employment practices outlined above and to use their  
76. influence within the public and private sectors in that country to  
77. secure basic human rights for Blacks;  
78. (f) ~~Joining in peaceful protest, study seminars and dialogues on apartheid~~  
79. and South Africa directed towards peaceful change.

*Tutu principles*

*freedom of mobility*

~~Consistent with the principles of AJC~~

*- working in coalition with other groups in the advancement of the above activities*

*In the face of <sup>history and</sup> Jewish tradition,*

26. must come from South Africans themselves. But in the face of a brazen  
27. ~~and motivated by the~~ violation of fundamental human rights, inaction - passivity - is incon-  
28. ceivable.

29. We must act to strengthen those forces in South Africa seeking nonviolent  
30. change, including trade unions, church groups, human rights and other  
31. voluntary agencies, educational and professional associations and others;  
32. and also US companies that practice non-discrimination, provide training  
33. and other benefits for Black workers, and work steadily, ~~if privately,~~  
34. for the elimination of apartheid.

35. We must send a clear and unequivocal message to the South African  
36. Government, and therefore, we support ~~proposed,~~

37. (a) Federal legislation that would ban US bank loans to entities owned  
38. and controlled by the South African Government, unless, and until  
39. that Government abandons discriminatory practices;  
40. (b) The restriction of exports earmarked for use by the South African  
41. military <sup>and</sup> police.

42. We endorse federal legislation that would require US companies  
43. operating in South Africa with 10 or more employees to comply with the  
44. following principles within two years or face appropriate US Government  
45. sanctions:

46. (a) Non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and work  
47. facilities.  
48. (b) Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.  
49. (c) Equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work.  
50. (d) Initiation and development of training programs that will prepare,  
51. in substantial numbers, Blacks and other non-whites for supervisory,  
52. administrative, clerical and technical jobs.

*good faith efforts*

## STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

1. In its November 1934 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. Violence  
5. bred by apartheid has led to the ~~killing~~<sup>deaths</sup> of numerous Blacks and to further  
6. violation of civil liberties. On March 21, 1985, twenty-five years after the  
7. Sharpeville massacre, police gunfire at Uitenhage felled 19 Blacks. Two  
8. days later, the South African Government banned meetings by twenty-nine,  
9. largely Black, anti-apartheid groups, underscoring the exclusion of Blacks  
10. from participation in public life.

11. Americans, including American Jews, have condemned the escalation of  
12. violence in South Africa and have continued to express their outrage at  
13. the South African categorization of Blacks and other non-whites as inferior  
14. to whites in fact and in law. Jewish tradition reveres law as an instrument  
15. of justice. Twisting the law to make it an agent of racial discrimination  
16. is odious and offensive.

17. South Africa's scheme of legalized racism is devoid of elementary  
18. humanity. Measures such as the influx control laws and the Group Areas  
19. Act must be revoked; brutal practices such as forced removals to the  
20. so-called "homelands" must be abandoned; detention without trial must  
21. cease; and South Africa's Black majority must be enfranchised into the  
22. political system if freedom is ever to cast its light on South Africa.

23. What can we, outside the country, do to encourage the peaceful democ-  
24. ratization of South Africa's society? The answer is not simple. As  
25. outsiders, we recognize that our role is limited - that basic changes



# The American Jewish Committee

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

April 24, 1985

Dear Friend:

The Annual Meeting is almost upon us and I look forward to seeing many of you next week. As you will note from the attached schedule of events, there will be a full program of sessions dealing with such international issues as the Middle East, South Africa, East-West relations and Soviet Jewry, and Ethiopia.

Our Steering Committee meeting will take place on May 1st, from 10:00 a.m. to noon, and will take up, among other items, consideration of a proposed change in AJC's position on South Africa. Important information and policy implications concerning South Africa and the other foreign policy issues addressed during the Washington mission last week will be presented for the Steering Committee's consideration. It is especially important, therefore, that you make every attempt to be present. The recommendations of the Steering Committee will be referred to a special plenary session on South Africa scheduled for May 1st at 4:30 p.m., at which time a full debate on AJC policy is expected.

I very much look forward to seeing you at the Annual Meeting.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Nevas  
Chairman  
International Relations Commission

LN/es

Enclosures

85-550-42



# The American Jewish Committee

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

DATE: April 24, 1985

TO: Steering Committee of the Commission on  
International Relations

FROM: Leo Nevas, Chairman

RE: 79TH ANNUAL MEETING, May 1-5, 1985

A number of sessions at this year's Annual Meeting will be of particular interest to members of the Steering Committee. I very much hope you will be able to attend as many of these as possible.

## Wednesday, May 1

10:00 a.m. - Noon Steering Committee of the Commission on  
International Relations: Business Meeting

Location: Louis XVI West Suite  
Fourth Floor

4:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Plenary Session: AJC's Policy on South Africa

Location: Hilton Room  
Lobby Level

6:00 p.m. - 7:45 p.m. Committee on AJC Center for Pluralism in Israel  
(by invitation)

Location: Vanderbilt Suite  
Fourth Floor

## Thursday, May 2

7:30 a.m. - 9:00 a.m. Working Group on Western Europe  
(by invitation)

Location: Herbert Hoover Room  
Fourth Floor

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, President ■ THEODORE ELLENOFF, Chair, Board of Governors ■ EDWARD E. ELSON, Treasurer ■ SHIRLEY M. SZABAD, Secretary ■ ALFRED H. MOSES, Chair, National Executive Council ■ EMILY W. SUNSTEIN, Associate Treasurer ■ ROBERT S. JACOBS, Chair, Board of Trustees ■ RITA E. HAUSER, Chair, Executive Committee ■ DAVID M. GORDIS, Executive Vice-President ■

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Thursday, May 2 (continued)

9:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.

Plenary Session: "West European Jewry Today"

Speakers: Dr. Ady Steg, President  
Alliance Israelite Universeile

Samuel Toledano, President  
Federation of Jewish Communities  
in Spain

Tullia Zevi, President  
Union of Italian Jewish Communities

Location: Empire Room  
Lobby Level

12:30 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.

Plenary Luncheon: "East-West Relations 40 Years  
after World War II"

Speaker: Alois Mertes, State Minister,  
Foreign Office, Federal Republic  
of Germany

Location: Empire Room  
Lobby Level

Friday, May 3

7:30 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.

National Task Force on Soviet Jewry

Location: Louis XVI West Suite  
Fourth Floor

10:45 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.

Program Forum: "Toward New Strategies: The U.S.S.R.  
and Soviet Jewry"

Speakers: William Hyland, Editor,  
Foreign Affairs

Robie M. Palmer, Deputy  
Assistant Secretary of State  
for European Affairs

Location: Hilton Room  
Lobby Level

Friday, May 3 (continued)

2:30 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.

Workshop: The South African Issue in the  
Communities

Location: Hilton Room  
Lobby Level

Saturday, May 4

10:00 a.m. - Noon

Shabbat Service

Speakers: Simha Berhani, Ethiopian  
Jew living in Israel

Ambassador Eugene Douglas,  
United States Coordinator  
for Refugee Affairs

Ralph Goldman, Executive  
Vice President Emeritus,  
American Jewish Joint  
Distribution Committee

Location: Hilton Room  
Lobby Level

Sunday, May 5

8:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

Plenary Breakfast: "We Are One or Are We?"  
Issues in American Jewish-  
Israeli Relations

Speaker: Avraham Burg, Advisor on  
Diaspora Affairs to the  
Prime Minister of Israel

Panelists: Participants in the Matthew &  
Edna Brown Young Israeli  
Leadership Program

Location: Empire Room  
Lobby Level

10:00 a.m. - Noon

Plenary Session: "Israel's Position in the  
International Arena"

Speaker: Hon. Benyamin Netanyahu, Israeli  
Ambassador to the United Nations

Location: Hilton Room  
Lobby Level

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

International Relations Steering Committee  
March 11, 1985

Chairman, Leo Nevas

In Attendance:

Lay

Frank W. Brecher  
Robert T. Cutler  
Theodore Ellenoff  
Howard I. Friedman  
Dr. Susan A. Gitelson  
Hans Goldschmidt  
E. Robert Goodkind  
Prof. Howard L. Greenberger  
Bee Hoffman  
Philip E. Hoffman  
Charlotte Holstein  
Gerald Jeremias  
Nicholas Lane  
Richard Maass  
Alfred H. Moses  
Leo Nevas  
Lawrence S. Phillips  
Mervin H. Riseman  
Henry Sherman  
Carol Betty Siegler  
George Szabad  
Carolyn Tumarkin

Staff

Kenneth Bandler  
David Geller  
David Gordis  
George Gruen  
David Harris  
Allan Kagedan  
Jacobov Kovadloff  
Ritz Reznik  
Zachariah Shuster  
Marc Tanenbaum  
Bert Gold  
Selma Hirsh

Leo Nevas opened the meeting with the suggestion that the issue of South Africa, which was listed on the agenda, be considered more fully at another meeting because of the number of questions before the Steering Committee today.

Richard Maass stated that the current AJC position, which does not support economic sanctions against South Africa, should be maintained.

Marc Tanenbaum noted that there was considerable pressure for economic sanctions at the congressional, state and local levels and that there was particular pressure from Black and church groups. He proposed that a sub-committee of the Steering Committee be formed to consider recommendations on this issue, for reporting back to the Steering Committee. Leo Nevas agreed.

Mr. Nevas asked Howard Friedman to report on the current situation in the Middle East. Mr. Friedman announced that he and other Jewish leaders would be meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Washington that afternoon. He said he hoped for a conciliatory meeting. He said he would tell the Egyptian leader

that the Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be solved by hoping that the United States will solve it. He would tell Mubarak that the Jordanians must negotiate directly with Israel with no preconditions.

Mr. Friedman also reported on the Board of Governors mission to Italy. The group had hoped to get a statement from the Pope reaffirming his commitment to Vatican Council II, and also de jure recognition by the Vatican of Israel. The Pope was told by the visiting AJC leaders that his refusal to give de jure recognition leaves the impression in the Arab world that parts of the civilized world do not recognize the legitimacy of Israel. It was also pointed out to the Pope that he already does things that amount to de facto recognition, such as receiving the Prime Minister of Israel. While the Pope did make an excellent statement reaffirming Vatican II, he offered nothing on the issue of Israeli recognition. Mr. Friedman added that the mission to Italy received very extensive media coverage.

Frank Brecher noted that the Vatican will continue to refrain from recognizing Israel as long as it sees a possibility of reverting Jerusalem to its 1947 U.N. partition plan status as an international city. He added that AJC should encourage the U.S. government to change its own position on Jerusalem.

Mr. Friedman pointed out that the Vatican no longer insists on internationalizing Jerusalem, but wants statutory arrangements for holy places.

Frank Brecher asked what is the current U.S. position.

George Gruen said the U.S. government's position is to leave the final status of Jerusalem to negotiations between the parties concerned.

Marc Tanenbaum said that the recent meeting with the Pope was the best ever. He noted that the meeting was part of a large and complex process to lay the groundwork to move the Vatican towards de jure recognition of Israel. This process includes quietly meeting with the Vatican Secretary of State over the past three years. Rabbi Tanenbaum noted that the Vatican is in a siege mentality regarding the safety of Christians in the Middle East, and that it fears massacres of Christians if the Vatican establishes diplomatic relations with Israel.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that AJC will be publishing a pamphlet with the full texts of the AJC and Papal statements, a review of AJC-Vatican relations since the 1950s, and photos of the recent audience. He said the documents would have a significant impact on Catholic hierarchies around the world.

Philip Hoffman asked if the pamphlet would refer to previous visits with the Pope.

Howard Friedman said that it would.

Leo Nevas asked Charlotte Holstein to report on the Board mission to Spain. She complimented Jacobo Kovadloff on his assistance and leadership in staffing the delegation. During the trip the group discussed with Spanish officials the following issues: establishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel,

international terrorism, Soviet Jewry, Spain's U.N. voting record, and the Nairobi U.N. Conference on Women. The Spanish Jewish community asked the group not to discuss the current talks in Spain to give the Jews equal rights with other citizens. Meetings took place with Foreign Minister Moran, Jewish community head Sam Toledano, and Israeli representative Shmuel Hadas. Prime Minister Gonzalez has made a commitment that diplomatic relations will be established when Spain joins the EEC. Hadas said this probably will not happen this summer as originally hoped. Foreign Minister Moran noted that air links with Israel, technical assistance received from Israel, and cultural exchanges already exist. However, when the group pressed him on diplomatic relations with Israel, Moran became aggressive about Israel's occupation of the West Bank and he noted the long-standing friendship of Spain with the Arab world.

Ms. Holstein noted that the Spanish Jewish community, which was very hospitable to the delegation, view themselves as temporary residents of Spain. Some, in fact, retain citizenship of Morocco, Algeria and other countries of origin. Many encourage their children to make aliyah or send their children abroad for university education. A major effort is underway to raise funds for the Jewish day school near Madrid.

Ms. Holstein recommended that AJC continue to press Spain to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel, give support to the center for Christian-Jewish studies in Spain, encourage Spanish officials to visit Israel, offer hospitality for Spanish officials visiting the U.S., encourage Spain to vote in international forums with the other Western democracies, share materials with Spanish officials and women on the Nairobi women's conference, and continue to maintain staff contact and lay missions to Spain.

Theodore Ellenoff reviewed the Board Institute in Israel, which, he pointed out, coincided with the 25th anniversary of the Israel Office. The major topics of discussion with Israeli officials included religious pluralism, the economy, U.S.-Israel relations, and Ethiopian Jewry. Dinners were given honoring Prime Minister Shimon Peres and outgoing U.S. Ambassador Sam Lewis. Mr. Ellenoff noted that in a brief meeting with President Haim Herzog, Herzog said he sees the religious question and the growing strength of the orthodox community as the central issue for Israel today. Herzog regards Meir Kahane as a nuisance and his policies as inconsistent with Judaism. Every official the Board met with said that AJC can make its best contribution in helping Israelis understand pluralism and how it is practiced in the U.S., but made relevant to the Israeli context.

Leo Nevas asked Al Moses to report on the Board mission to Hungary.

Mr. Moses reported that before the group left for Israel, a meeting took place in Washington with Mr. Ferenc Havasi, the second ranking member of the Hungarian leadership. Present at the meeting for AJC were Mr. Moses, David Gordis, David Geller, and Hyman Bookbinder. The Hungarian Ambassador to the U.S. was also present. The Hungarians raised the subject of Hungary's Most-Favored-Nation status (Hungary has the best record on human rights and compliance with the Helsinki Accords among the Soviet-bloc countries and is seeking a multi-year waiver rather than the current annual review.) AJC raised, among other issues, the subject of Soviet Jewry.

In Hungary meetings were held with government officials, representatives of the Jewish community (which numbers some 80,000), the U.S. ambassador and church officials. David Geller, who staffed the mission, noted that the issue of re-establishing diplomatic relations with Israel was raised with Havasi, who answered that Hungary only "suspended" relations with Israel in 1967, and renewal is under (passive) consideration. 60,000 Israelis have visited Hungary, and, in recent months, Israelis have entered Hungary on their Israeli rather than second-country passports. A number of Hungarian Jews have been permitted to visit their families in Israel.

Charlotte Holstein asked if the missions to Italy and Hungary had raised the issue of the Nairobi Women's Conference. After receiving negative responses, Ms. Holstein noted her surprise that the subject had not been raised at all.

Robert Cutler noted that much of Ms. Holstein's report on Spain was reminiscent of the focus of the 1967 AJC mission to Spain. At that time, Sam Toledano was also talking about getting Spain to accord diplomatic recognition to Israel.

Howard Greenberger said that on the subject of pluralism AJC should work on introducing Sephardi culture to students in American Jewish schools.

Marc Tanenbaum noted that, through the International Sephardic Education Foundation (ISEF), the AJC supports such activities in Israel. In addition, George Gruen maintains relations with Sephardi leaders in the U.S.

Rabbi Tanenbaum then expressed his deep appreciation to Robert Goodkind and Ted Ellenoff, and to the IRD staff, for planning the missions to Israel, Italy, Hungary and Spain. He said that the AJC role in Israel and relations with the Israeli government must be examined. The missions to other countries confirmed that there is a role to play in the bilateral context to advance Jewish interests. He noted that there is no doubt that AJC is taken seriously by foreign governments. He said that, when thinking about the next mission, Strasbourg, the seat of the European Parliament, should be given serious consideration.

Leo Nevas called upon George Gruen.

George Gruen noted that, with the departure of Lois Gottesman from AJC, and the decision of the National Affairs Department to phase out the Arab influence section, the library was planning to cancel subscriptions to a number of Arab student and Islamic publications. He asked that the Steering Committee take up this matter.

Leo Nevas noted that, while the matter is important, it is an administrative question and should not be discussed by the full steering committee.

Marc Tanenbaum noted that the concern expressed by Dr. Gruen is that there may be a loss of the Arab influence program all together. He said an IRD sub-committee is necessary to demonstrate the importance of this issue.

Leo Nevas proposed that a future meeting of the Steering Committee be held in Washington, D.C., and that the occasion be used to discuss issues of current concern to AJC with foreign policy figures. Most of the Steering Committee members indicated their willingness to participate in a meeting of either one or two days.

Leo Nevas then expressed the view that the recent AJC missions to various European countries represented an important beginning, but that it was necessary now to concentrate on follow-up programs dealing with these and other countries.

Mervin Riseman reported on Soviet Jewry. Since the last meeting of the Steering Committee, the condition of Soviet Jews has not improved. The arrest and imprisonment of (private) Hebrew teachers has continued, and recently Moscow television aired a 65-minute film blending the themes of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. Though it is impossible to say at this early date, there is no indication that Mikhail Gorbachev, the incoming Soviet leader, will be more forthcoming with regard to Soviet Jews. Indeed, in past instances, when asked about the condition of Soviet Jews by parliamentarians and other public figures in Britain and Canada, Mr. Gorbachev responded heatedly, saying that this was an internal affair. On the other hand, members of the recent Soviet delegation visiting the United States, led by Politburo member Shcherbitsky, made curious statements about Soviet Jews. State Bank Chairman Alkhimov, who was quoted in early January as having stated to U.S. Commerce Department official Lionel Olmer that "50,000 Jewish emigrants" would be no problem if trade relations between the Soviet Union and the United States improved, said privately in the U.S. that he was misquoted as to the numbers of Jews but left the impression that he did not entirely repudiate the January statement.

Reporting on recent AJC activities, Mr. Riseman noted that, together with several other Jewish organizations, AJC had sponsored an advertisement in the Washington Post on the question of how better Soviet treatment of Jews could assist in improving bilateral relations.

Mr. Riseman also reported on a meeting he recently attended with James Buckley, the president of Radio Liberty, on the issue of allegations of anti-Semitic broadcasts. The meeting was very friendly and Mr. Buckley promised to provide transcripts of several of the broadcasts in question. From the material received so far and from the discussion, there is no indication that the charges made against Radio Liberty are valid. Mr. Riseman also spoke with Congressman Larry Smith, a member of the House Subcommittee on International Operations, which oversees Radio Liberty, who had travelled to the Radio's headquarters in Munich to interview staff and review transcripts concerning the anti-Semitic charges. Mr. Riseman said that he intended to follow-up on the matter of Radio Liberty.

Nicholas Lane said that it is difficult to assess whether the leadership change in the Soviet Union will be good or bad for Soviet Jews. What is necessary is for American Jews to be involved in the effort to assist Soviet Jewry on a sustained basis. Their participation should include travel to the Soviet Union to see the problem first-hand, which would also serve to encourage further participation in the advocacy movement.

Richard Maass reported briefly on the activities of the Jacob Blaustein Institute (JBI). Recently a pamphlet detailing JBI activities appeared, which will prove a useful device for encouraging greater public knowledge of JBI work. The Institute selected Prof. Roger Clark of Rutgers University Law School to serve as the third Sakharov Fellow and he is preparing a study dealing with religious intolerance, a topic currently on the U.N. agenda. To illustrate the influence of JBI work, Mr. Maass pointed to a meeting that Sidney Liskofsky arranged between a U.N. Rapporteur on the subject of the right to know one's human rights and a former JBI Sakharov Fellow, Prof. Pechota, who had completed a JBI study of this topic. The U.N. Rapporteur has since incorporated many of the ideas and proposals in the JBI study in her own work. The concept here, as with other subjects such as the right to leave, is to influence the framework and content of international thinking on the key human rights concepts. Because of all the worthwhile projects it approved, JBI has exhausted its budget for the 1984-85 year, underscoring the funding limitations placed on JBI activities, not to speak of the many more worthwhile endeavors the Institute could undertake.

Jacob Kovadloff reported on South America. Plans have been set in motion for a conference in Buenos Aires on the subject of pluralism and identity, and for a pan-American conference on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Vatican Council II, to be held in Brazil in the fall of 1985. The Brazilian conference will be co-sponsored by that country's National Conference of Bishops and CELAM, the Latin American Conference of Catholic Bishops, along with the AJC. In addition, discussions are now in progress for the publication in Spanish of books on human rights published by the Jacob Blaustein Institute, to be issued through the University of Buenos Aires.

Marc Tanenbaum noted that there were important opportunities for AJC programmatic work in South America. The new president of Brazil, Tancredo Neves, with whom Jacob Kavodloff has met, has been a friend of the Jews and of Israel in the past, and has frequently opposed arms sales to Arab countries. Nevertheless, the Arab League and the PLO are important forces in Brazil. Furthermore, the assurances given by President Alfonsin of Argentina to AJC and other Jewish organizations regarding his state's votes on Israel-related issues at U.N. bodies have not been implemented, requiring further contact from us. Finally, the situation in Uruguay, where democracy has been restored, offers significant possibilities for AJC activities.

George Szabad reported briefly on future activities of the Polish-American/Jewish-American Task Force relating to international relations. The Polish-Americans have undertaken a project to work to eliminate anti-Jewish references from the Oberammergau Passion Play; the Jewish participants have agreed to write a paper dealing with the human rights situation in Poland.

Submitted by Kenneth Bandler and Allan Kagedan

April 1985-cpa/tp/sm/smm  
 I022 (IRD-2)  
 85-550-39

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 30, 1985  
 to *Marc Tanenbaum - S.A.*  
 from EILEEN FOSTER  
 subject YOUR ANNUAL MEETING ASSIGNMENTS

Attached is the round-up of staff responsibilities for this year's Annual Meeting. As you know, field staff participation was cancelled for budgetary reasons. This has made the assignment process more difficult, hence the lateness of this notification and the fact that there are many more multiple assignments than usual.

Because the number of people working the meeting is smaller than usual, we are counting on your cooperation in completing all of your assignments. Please make note of when, where and how we are expecting your help by going through all of the pages to find all of your assignments. If you cannot fulfill an assignment, you are responsible for getting a substitute; leave a note for me in Headquarters giving the details.

PLEASE NOTE that times and rooms shown on the attached pages may still be subject to some change; please be sure to pick up a copy of the printed weekend program to double check.

JOB DESCRIPTIONS are attached for all assignments except that of reporter. Those of you who have reporting assignments have already heard from Sonya Kaufer. I would like to re-emphasize, however, the importance of Sonya's request that reporters get copies of outside speakers' presentations or notes and leave them in Headquarters marked for her attention.

WHEN YOU GET TO THE HOTEL, please stay away from the AJC Registration Desk staffed by Sadye Olivieri and her crew. You may pick up your badge and a copy of the printed program in Headquarters, the Barron Suite on the 4th floor of the Waldorf.

This round-up of staff assignments will be posted in Headquarters throughout the weekend so that everyone is clear who is responsible for what.

AN IMPORTANT NOTE ABOUT THE ANNUAL DINNER: If you are asked by Sadye to delay taking your seat or to move from your assigned seat, please accede to the request gracefully. The Troubleshooting Desk only "bumps" staff as a last resort and Sadye must have your cooperation if she makes such a request.

See you at the meeting...

*Eileen*

EF/br  
 Attachment

## STAFF ASSIGNMENT JOB DESCRIPTIONS

### "OVERALL CHARGE"

In addition to the obvious that applies to all sessions -- seeing that the meeting goes smoothly, starts and ends on time, etc. -- staff members listed as being in overall charge of a meal session should have received tickets for outside presenters or panelists. If you do not already have the tickets, please contact Nancy Merjos.

### "SESSION MANAGER"

In general, session managers are expected to be on the alert for all possible problems. In particular:

1. Before the session begins, check that all mikes are in working order. This means arriving at least 15 minutes before the scheduled start of the session.
2. Direct program participants to the dais or reserved table; take care of any other requirements they may have.
3. Close the doors of the room when the program portion begins.
4. If necessary, move floor mike(s) into the center of the room when the discussion is about to begin.
5. Ask chatting groups to move away if they are congregating at the back or just outside of the room.
6. Notify Phyllis Booth or send a runner to Headquarters if more chairs are needed, if the air conditioning needs adjusting, if something that should have been distributed at the meeting is missing, etc.

### "STAFF HOSTS AT THE ANNUAL DINNER GENERAL RECEPTION"

Please report to Sadye Olivieri by 6:15 P.M. Those of you who have worked this beat before know that congestion can be a serious problem and we need your help to move people away from the elevators and AJC Registration Desk in the Ballroom Foyer as soon as possible. The best way to do so is to station yourself at or near an elevator, holding seating lists for distribution. As guests get off the elevator, note what they are wearing and proceed as follows:

1. For men in black tie, women in evening dress, or anyone in clerical garb, ask for their names and check the seating list. If they are listed as being on the DAIS, they should be escorted to the Dais Reception in the West Foyer of the Ballroom.
2. Give all other guests a seating list or direct them to the long registration table, where seating lists will also be available.

over...

3. Try to move chatting groups away from congested areas and into the Reception itself -- where the band is playing and the bars are set up.
4. Familiarize yourself with the location of the checkroom, rest rooms, pay telephones, so you can give directions.
5. Once the rush of guests coming off the elevators has slowed and the elevator area is no longer crowded, you should move into the General Reception. Here, you are really "hosting" -- look for guests standing alone, introduce yourself, chat and, whenever possible, introduce them to other guests nearby.
6. When the hotel staff flickers the lights to signal the end of the Reception (they will be responding to instructions from Phyllis Booth), circulate and ask guests to move into the main part of the Ballroom for the dinner as quickly as possible. Please do not go to your seat until all the guests have left the Reception for dinner.

#### "DAIS RECEPTION WORKERS"

Your job is to help the dais captain get guests lined up for the dais march, and to undertake any other assignments given to you by Marsha Turken. Please be sure to report by 6:15 P.M.

#### "TROUBLESHOOTERS"

Your assignment is simply to do anything Sadye Olivieri asks -- look for particular staff or lay members, run errands, etc. It is crucial that you stay close by the Troubleshooting Desk and not get involved in conversations, as Sadye often has to communicate via discreet signals.

#### "BOOK SALES"

Copies of books by the two presenters will be available for sale at a discount at a table outside the meeting room. Payment by cash or check is required. Please "be ready for business" at 7:15.

**WEEKEND RESPONSIBILITIES**



Overall Charge	Shula Bahat
Ombudsman & Staff Assignments	Eileen Foster
Catering, & Front Desk Liaison	Nancy Merjos
Meeting Room & Audio Visual Arrangements	Phyllis Booth
Registration Desk	Sadye Olivieri Flora Levine Eleanor Nunez Rose Triebwasser
Headquarters	Brenda Rudzin Pamela Bailey Sandra Gandelman
Stockroom	Mario Nunez Louis Jusino Edward White
Weekend Reports	Sonya Kaufer
Photographer & "AJC Journal" Reporting	Adam Simms
Press Room	Morton Yarmon Randall Czarlinsky Leonard Fink Haina Just Joyce Kaplan

ASSIGNMENTS AT INDIVIDUAL SESSIONS

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1

10:00 AM      \*International Relations Commission      Louis XVI Suite West  
Steering Committee      (4th floor)

Overall Charge & Session Manager:  
Marc Tanenbaum  
Reporter:      David Harris

\*National Affairs Commission      Conrad Salon  
Business Meeting      (4th floor)

Overall Charge & Session Manager:  
Irving Levine  
Reporter:      Ellen Isler

\*PLEASE NOTE: Central registration staff CANNOT cover these meetings. Please assign a departmental secretary to be on duty at the hotel for the duration of this meeting. You will be responsible for taking attendance if you need a list.

Noon      Board of Governors Luncheon      Basildon Room  
(3rd floor)

Overall Charge:      Shula Bahat  
Session Manager:      Phyllis Booth  
Reporter:      Marsha Turken

3:00 PM      OPENING PLENARY SESSION      Hilton Room  
(Lobby)

Overall Charge:      James Rudin  
Session Manager:      Alan Mittleman  
Reporter:      Judith Banki

4:30 PM      PLENARY SESSION      Hilton Room  
(Lobby)

Overall Charge:      David Harris  
Session Manager:      Kenneth Bandler  
Reporter:      Harold Applebaum

7:45 PM      PLENARY SESSION      Hilton Room  
(Lobby)

Overall Charge:      Linda Steinberg  
Session Manager:      Judith Banki  
Reporter:      Marilyn Braveman  
Book Sales:      Larry Grossman  
Betty Reiser

**THURSDAY, MAY 2**

7:30 AM

#\*Center on Immigration  
and Acculturation Breakfast

Louis XVI East  
(4th floor)

Overall Charge & Reporter:  
Gary Rubin

#\*Ad Hoc Committee  
on Western Europe Breakfast

Herbert Hoover Suite  
(4th floor)

Overall Charge: David Geller  
Reporter: Tamar Podell

\*IFAP Screening

Basildon Room  
(3rd floor)

Overall Charge: Joseph Giordano

**PLEASE NOTE:**

# Staff members in charge of the two breakfast sessions are responsible for taking attendance and submitting the list to Nancy Merjos for billing purposes.

\*No registration staff will be assigned to these sessions. If additional staff is required, please make appropriate assignments from among departmental professional staff.

9:00 AM

PLENARY SESSION

Empire Room  
(Lobby)

Overall Charge: David Harris  
Session Managers: Alan Kagedan  
David Geller  
Reporter: Kenneth Bandler

11:00 AM

Jewish Communal Program Forum

Basildon Room  
(3rd floor)

Overall Charge: Yehuda Rosenman  
Session Manager: Leora Isaacs  
Reporter: Steven Bayme

Interreligious Program Forum

Hilton Room  
(Lobby)

Overall Charge: James Rudin  
Session Manager: Judith Banki  
Reporter: Inge Gibel

12:30 PM

PLENARY LUNCHEON

Empire Room  
(Lobby)

Overall Charge: Eugene DuBow  
Session Managers: Josie Task  
Anita Watkins  
Reporter: David Singer

2:00 PM	Pick up Justices Marshall & Brennan: Samuel Rabinove	
2:30 PM	PLENARY SESSION	Hilton Room (Lobby)
	Overall Charge: Josie Task Session Manager: Jill Craner Reporter: Lois Grayck	
5:00 PM	*FUNDRAISING COCKTAIL RECEPTION	Empire Room (Lobby)
	Overall Charge: Arthur Feuer Lee Goldstein	
<b>*PLEASE NOTE:</b>	Central Registration staff does not cover this event routinely; please make appropriate arrangements.	
6:30 PM	Dais Reception	Ballroom West Foyer (3rd floor)
	Overall Charge: Marsha Turken Captain: Eugene DuBow Hosts: David Harris Haskell Lazere Sara Marks James Rudin Registration: Brenda Rudzin Nancy Merjos Runner: Marilyn Rothman	
6:30 PM	GENERAL RECEPTION	Astor Salon (3rd floor)
	Overall Charge: Phyllis Booth Troubleshooting: Sadye Olivieri Harold Applebaum Jill Craner Staff Hosts: Richard Foltin David Geller Inge Gibel Joseph Giordano Joanne Hoffman Tamar Podell Betty Reiser	
7:30 PM	79th ANNUAL DINNER	Grand Ballroom
	Overall Charge: Shula Bahat Session Manager: Eileen Foster Reporter: Josie Task	
10:00 PM	PRESIDENT'S RECEPTION	Astor Salon
	Overall Charge: Nancy Merjos	

**FRIDAY, MAY 3**

7:30 AM

Legal Committee

Louis XVI East  
(4th floor)

Overall Charge: Samuel Rabinove  
Reporter: Richard Foltin

National Committee on Women's Issues

Basildon Room  
(3rd floor)

Overall Charge: Linda Greenman  
Session Manager: Betty Reiser  
Reporter: Linda Greenman

National Membership Cabinet

Louis XVI Center  
(4th floor)

Overall Charge & Reporter:  
Eileen Foster

Task Force on Soviet Jewry

Louis XVI West  
(4th floor)

Overall Charge & Reporter:  
David Harris

9:30 AM

PLENARY SESSION

Starlight Roof  
(18th floor)

Overall Charge: Linda Steinberg  
Session Manager: Anita Watkins  
Reporter: Sonya Kaufer

10:45 AM

International Relations Program Forum

Hilton Room  
(Lobby)

Overall Charge: Marc Tanenbaum  
Session Manager: Kenneth Bandler  
Reporter: Alan Kagedan

National Affairs Program Forum

Basildon Room  
(3rd floor)

Overall Charge: Irving Levine  
Session Manager: Marilyn Braveman  
Reporter: Samuel Rabinove

12:15 PM

PLENARY LUNCHEON

Empire Room  
(Lobby)

Overall Charge: Gary Rubin  
Session Managers: Lois Grayck  
Joseph Giordano  
Reporter: Francine Etlinger

3:00 PM

Concurrent Workshops

Workshop Coordinator: Harold Applebaum

South Africa

Hilton Room

Overall Charge: Marc Tanenbaum  
Session Manager: Alan Kagedan  
Reporter: Kenneth Bandler

Immigration

Ballroom Foyer West

Overall Charge: Irving Levine  
Session Manager: Richard Foltin  
Reporter: Ellen Isler

Campuses

Conrad Salon

Overall Charge: Yehuda Rosenman  
Session Manager: Larry Grossman  
Reporter: Steven Bayme

4:15 PM

PLENARY SESSION

Basildon Room  
(3rd floor)

Overall Charge: Eugene DuBow  
Session Manager: Marilyn Braveman  
Reporter: Harold Applebaum

SATURDAY, MAY 4

8:00 AM

Trustees Breakfast

Astor Salon  
(3rd floor)

Overall Charge: Arthur Feuer & Rita Blume  
Reporter: Rita Blume

10:00 AM

SABBATH SERVICES & DISCUSSION

Hilton Room  
(Lobby)

Overall Charge: Alan Mittleman  
Session Manager: Sara Marks  
Reporter: Marilyn Rothman  
Marsha Turken

Noon

KIDDUSH

Starlight Roof  
(18th floor)

Overall Charge: Alan Mittleman

12:15 PM

PLENARY LUNCHEON

Starlight Roof  
(18th floor)

Overall Charge: Yehuda Rosenman  
Session Managers: Pauline Sherman  
Sara Marks  
Reporter: Robert Rosenbaum

2:30 PM Chapter Leaders/National Officers Conrad Salon (3rd floor)

Overall Charge: Eugene DuBow

Sabbath Study Session Herbert Hoover Suite (4th floor)

Overall Charge: Steven Bayme  
Reporter: Alan Kagedan

IFAP Films Vanderbilt Suite (4th floor)

Overall Charge: Joseph Giordano

SUNDAY, MAY 5

8:00 AM PLENARY BREAKFAST Empire Room (Lobby)

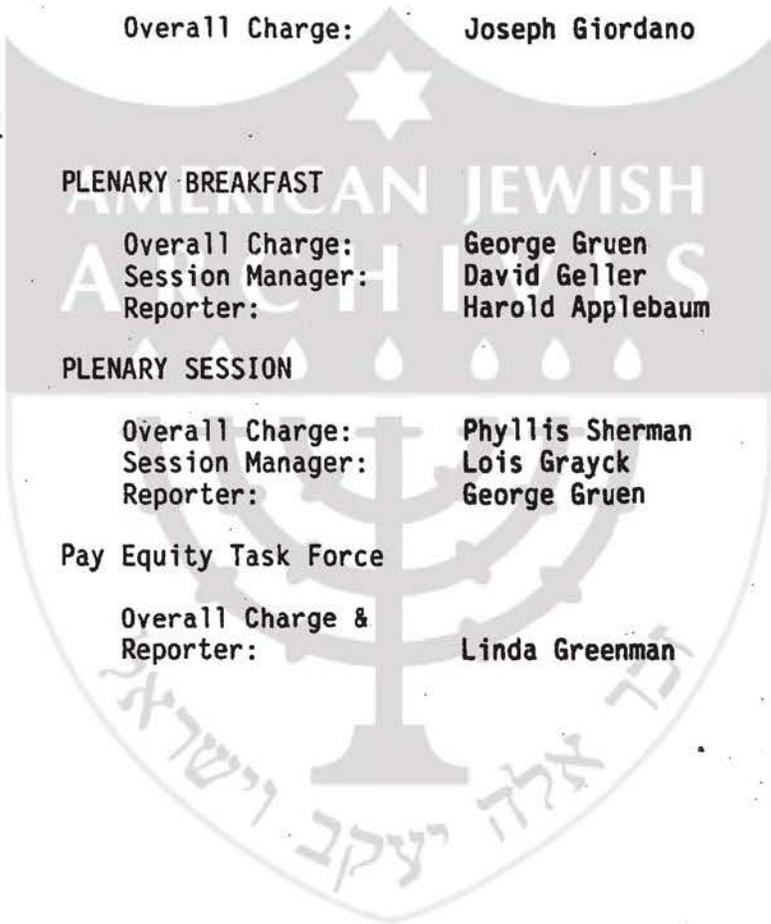
Overall Charge: George Gruen  
Session Manager: David Geller  
Reporter: Harold Applebaum

10:00 AM PLENARY SESSION Hilton Room (Lobby)

Overall Charge: Phyllis Sherman  
Session Manager: Lois Grayck  
Reporter: George Gruen

Noon Pay Equity Task Force Basildon Room (3rd floor)

Overall Charge & Reporter: Linda Greenman



# Fallacies About Israel's Ties with South Africa

Allan L. Kagedan, Ph.D.





**Allan L. Kagedan**, Ph.D., is the policy analyst in the Division of International Organizations of the American Jewish Committee's International Relations Department.

Currently, the world's attention is focused on South Africa, whose unjust apartheid system has evoked international condemnation. In response to public pressure, Western governments have begun to impose sanctions on Pretoria, raising the question of what relations other countries should entertain with it.

In the public debate over policy toward South Africa, some, in the United States and elsewhere, have argued that other countries should sever all ties with it until apartheid is eliminated; others contend that the causes of abolishing apartheid and upholding Western security are best served by continued Western ties with Pretoria. Whatever position one takes, many countries, including black African states, do conduct public or private economic, diplomatic, political or military relations with the South African government.

A number of commentators in American newspapers and magazines have begun to single out Israel for special condemnation for its relationship with South Africa, alleging, indeed, that "an alliance" exists between the two countries. For example, some recent articles in the Christian Science Monitor, the Chicago Sun-Times, the Nation, and the Pittsburgh Courier assert that Israel and South Africa are closely linked through trade and weapons sales and that the two societies are alike.<sup>1</sup> In addition, studies published by the United Nations, pro-PLO organizations or independently have concocted the allegation that the two countries are plotting against other African countries, that South African Jews are "agents" of the "alliance" between Israel and South Africa, and that the two societies share similar historical roots.

An analysis of the allegation that Israel is an ally of South Africa reveals that this notion is the product of an alliance of anti-Israel propagandists. This canard is filtering into the American media, having been accepted by writers who are unable to demonstrate its truth and presumably are unaware of its provenance.

### Trade and Military Relations

Peter Allen-Frost, writing in the Christian Science Monitor, claims that "Pretoria and Jerusalem have formed an alliance of pragmatism ... they have moved into a close, almost symbiotic relationship," in part because of their "brisk trade."

What is the nature of Israel's trade with South Africa? Israel trades less with South Africa in absolute terms than do Western nations and even black African states. In fact, in 1983 the value of U.S. exports to South Africa was 32 times the value of Israeli exports; the value of West German exports was 30 times as great; and the value of exports from other African states was four times as great. In that same year, 1983, South African exports to other African states totaled \$796 million, those to Israel only \$142 million.<sup>2</sup>

Reluctant to admit the relative insignificance of trade between Israel and South Africa, Alexander Cockburn, in the Nation, alleges that South African diamonds are processed in Israel at great profit. He concedes, however, that these diamonds are bought and sold at international diamond exchanges. There is no way countries -- if they are not totalitarian -- can control the sale and purchase of diamonds through third parties. Besides, the Soviet Union and black African countries are also diamond sellers, and the origin of a particular diamond is difficult to ascertain.

Not only is Cockburn's article inaccurate, it is incomplete. He does not, for instance, mention that Arab oil-producing states provide South Africa with at least 76 percent of its oil -- earning billions of dollars while meeting a key South African economic and military need.<sup>3</sup> Cockburn also neglects to mention that in 1982 Israel's exports to black Africa exceeded its exports to South Africa.<sup>4</sup>

The second pillar of the argument that Israel and South Africa are allied is the assertion, made by Cockburn, Allen-Frost, Marable and others, that the two countries have an "extensive" military relationship. The facts are otherwise. Israel has repeatedly asserted that it has adhered to the 1977 UN embargo on arms sales to South Africa.<sup>5</sup> A Congressional research study issued in 1984 was unable to find any evidence to the contrary. Even if one accepted as true various reports of Israeli military sales to Pretoria since 1977, these alleged sales are minor in comparison with the actual sales of other countries. The Congressional report mentions allegations that Israel provided South Africa with two drone aircraft, a bomb-disposal device, and training for South African-backed, anti-Communist guerrillas in Angola led by Jonas Savimbi.<sup>6</sup> It compares these alleged sales to known post-1977 sales by France (360 air-to-surface missiles, 300 surface-to-air missiles, 10 Mirage F-1A fighter aircraft, and 100 armored cars) and by Italy (36 Atlas Impala training attack aircraft).<sup>7</sup>

The emphasis that Israel's critics place on foreign support for the South African armed forces obscures the fact that Pretoria is largely self-sufficient militarily. In response to the 1977 arms embargo, South Africa developed an indigenous arms industry, reducing the percentage of its defense budget devoted to arms purchases abroad from 70 to 15 between 1966 and 1982.<sup>8</sup>

Why do American writers provide highly exaggerated reports of

Israel's trade and military relations with South Africa? The very fact that Israel is unfairly singled out for condemnation reveals a hidden agenda of some of these critics: tarnishing the image of the Jewish state. Proponents of the notion that Israel and South Africa are allied often prejudge the issue and then seek to justify their view.

As the source of their information on Israel-South Africa ties, Cockburn and Marable cite Israeli Foreign Affairs, a misleadingly named news bulletin edited by a "Jewish progressive," Californian Jane Hunter. What sources does Jane Hunter use as a basis for her allegations? The footnotes in an article on Israel and South Africa in the April 1985 issue of Israeli Foreign Affairs are revealing. TASS, the official Soviet news agency, is mentioned, along with reports submitted to highly politicized, anti-Israel UN bodies, a French-language book published by a Canadian Arab organization, and several English-language books by PLO supporters.<sup>9</sup>

In other words, Hunter provides no independent or objective verification of her claims, which means, in turn, that Cockburn, Marable, and others, writing in the mainstream American press, also have no basis for calling Israel an ally of South Africa. The notion of an Israel-South Africa alliance is, quite simply, an invention. Its purveyors, wittingly or unwittingly, are disseminating anti-Israel propaganda.

### Contemporary Differences, External and Internal

Why, in the view of the proponents of the alliance notion, are Israel and South Africa "allies"? Their answer: the two countries are "similar." Similarity arguments may be divided into those focusing on external relations and those emphasizing internal conditions.

Peter Allen-Frost claims that what unites Israel and South Africa is that they share a "siege mentality." This misleading notion is now almost a commonplace among some writers on the topic. In the first place, in its bilateral relations, Israel is not nearly as "besieged" as South Africa. Israel has excellent ties with the United States, Canada, and Western European countries, while South Africa is the target of sanctions by them. Recent media reports indicate that Israel's ties with black African states and with several East European countries, including Poland, are improving. How is this in any way comparable to South Africa's world position?<sup>10</sup>

Still, critics argue, are not both countries similar in that they are surrounded by enemies? Of course, both Israel and South Africa face problems with hostile neighbors, but this makes them no more similar than a murder victim and a suicide: both have died, but for rather different reasons. The question is, why do the two nations face opposition? The reasons are utterly distinct. Israel faces opposition from the Arab world because, with the exception of Egypt, no Arab state is willing publicly to recognize Israel's right to exist. This policy of

nonrecognition dates back to 1948, long before Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The PLO's covenant explicitly rejects Israel's right to exist and seeks its liquidation. The Arab-PLO program is not aimed at altering internal Israeli ethnic relations nor even at securing Israel's withdrawal from the territories it occupied in its 1967 defensive war; its aim is to eliminate the manifestation of Jewish sovereignty in the Middle East.

South Africa's neighbors oppose it because of its cruel and unjust internal policy of apartheid. They do not, themselves, have designs on South African territory, claiming it as their own.

Here one comes to the second type of argument alleging resemblance between the two states: "The greatest distinction between Israel and South Africa is that Zionism is legally non-discriminatory while apartheid is legally racist. And yet ... in practice the results are comparable."<sup>11</sup> But again, contemporary conditions in Israel and South Africa cannot be compared. Israeli Arabs enjoy the right to vote -- one-person-one-vote -- and freedom of movement, including the freedom to reside where they wish. Indeed, Israeli Arabs possess key civil and political rights that black South Africans seek.

To extend Israeli citizenship to Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza would necessitate formal Israeli annexation of these territories. Whereas the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza strive for separation from Israel, South African blacks want full integration in their country. The situations and goals of the two groups are fundamentally different. Recently, moreover, Israel welcomed thousands of Ethiopian Jews, removing any question, if there ever was one, of its devotion to racial equality.

### **Global Menace**

Independent anti-Israel writers and persons working for the United Nations or Palestinian organizations inflate the alliance notion into an imaginary global threat. In July 1983, an International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel was held in Vienna under the auspices of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid. The Conference Declaration, echoing a theme found in other UN documents, states that the Israel-South Africa "alliance" constitutes "a grave menace to peace and stability in Africa and the world, and a serious challenge to the United Nations." The "collaboration" between these two states, the Declaration continues, is directed against "the independent states of Africa and the Arab world."<sup>12</sup>

Elaborating on this far-fetched theme, James Adams, a British journalist who covered the Arab world for many years, describes how, united, Israel and South Africa will limit black Africa's "freedom to develop economically and to take independent political action." By gaining military self-sufficiency, he claims, these two nations, in a

"pincer movement," will secure a controlling influence over Africa.<sup>13</sup> To lend credence to this fantasy, the Soviet and Syrian media have leveled the absurd charge that Israel and South Africa are developing "racist" biological weapons capable of killing blacks and Arabs while sparing whites.

### South African Jews

Grasping at straws, anti-Israel publicists also point to the 119,000-member South African Jewish community to allege the existence of an Israel-South Africa "alliance." Polemicists term the South African Jews an "important link in ... [the] Zionist design" to create this "unholy alliance."

Omitting the fact that the South African Jewish community was formed only in the 20th century, long after the establishment of apartheid, and that many of its members actively oppose apartheid, writers try to identify Jews as agents of Israel working with the South African government. They label normal contact between South Africa's Jews and Israel -- visits, charitable donations, cultural events -- as evidence of an Israel-South Africa "axis." Charitable private donations to Israel are termed "a South African transfer of funds to Israel," as if this were a government-to-government project. Speaking engagements of Israeli representatives are described as "official" meetings between South African and Israeli leaders. An Israeli comedian's arrival in South Africa is cited as evidence of extensive cultural exchange.<sup>14</sup>

### Inventing History

The word "alliance" implies affinity and shared objectives. Anti-Israel publicists from the PLO and Arab and Soviet-bloc states and their supporters have sought to distort history and portray Israel's founders as "virulent" racists. The authors of one book claim that "the relationship between Israel and South Africa is something more than pragmatic ... [it] is ordinary and natural, for it flows from the nature of Zionism," which mandated European colonization of an undeveloped region.<sup>15</sup> Phillip Oke, a representative of the Christian Peace Conference, which has been identified as a Soviet-front organization, told a UN body on Nov. 5, 1984, that Israel, like South Africa, is a "racist settler state."<sup>16</sup>

No historical analogy can be drawn between the origins of Israel and the development of South Africa. Zionism's impetus was not colonization for profit or proselytism. It was a wish to overcome European hostility toward Jews and Jewish traditions. In Russia, for example, a tsarist version of apartheid limited the movement of Jews to a borderland region, away from political and economic centers, and restricted Jews to certain occupations. Government-sanctioned pogroms against Jewish communities led Jews to fear for their lives. Zionism's cultural

program was not directed at "enlightening" other peoples; its focus was on the revival of Jewish culture. Zionism should be seen in the same context as African movements for self-determination in the 1950s and 1960s, and not as a variant of 19th-century European colonialism.

South African apartheid sprang from markedly different historical conditions. Its roots lie in the South African slave trade of the early 1700s, administered by the Dutch East India Company. In the 19th century the white Transvaal Republic's constitution provided for "no equality in church or state for blacks." The Republic established separate areas for the two races, and required blacks visiting white areas to carry passes. Legally mandated residential restrictions and the pass requirements provided prototypes for current South African "homelands" and "pass laws." Nowhere in Zionist history can one find slavery, doctrinal statements favoring inequality, or discriminatory legal decrees. Indeed, Zionism's founding father, Theodor Herzl, pledged that, after liberating the Jews, he would help to liberate African blacks. And Israel's declaration of independence, adopted on May 14, 1948, provides for "equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants, irrespective of religion, race or sex ...."

#### Propaganda Alliance

Who is behind the campaign to identify Israel and South Africa as allies? The "List of Participants"<sup>17</sup> in the Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel is revealing. The Arab and Soviet-bloc governments attended; so did representatives of the UN Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Nongovernmental organization participants included the Arab League and the Arab Labour Organization, the PLO, and Soviet-front organizations such as the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions. Working together, these states, UN agencies, and private organizations were able to pass resolutions condemning the "Israel-South Africa Alliance" and push them through the UN General Assembly and other UN bodies. Furthermore, they were able to use UN units, such as the Centre against Apartheid, to prepare "studies" and hold meetings to legitimize this theme. Over time, this politically motivated falsehood has found its way into mainstream U.S. and other media.

The high priority that the Arab and Soviet blocs have assigned to this propaganda ploy is indicated by its constant repetition in statements made by their representatives at the 1985 UN General Assembly. A Soviet representative called (Oct. 15, 1985) the equation of Zionism with racism "historic," and her Czech colleague compared (Oct. 11, 1985) Israel's policy toward the West Bank and Gaza with "South Africa's practices." The PLO spokesperson identified (Oct. 16, 1985) Zionism with apartheid, and the Iraqi delegate made (Oct. 14, 1985) the false claim that the Israeli and South African regimes "were the same, and based their policies on the 'inferiority' of groups of peoples." "Friends" from Vietnam (Oct. 11, 1985) and Zimbabwe (Oct. 16, 1985)

joined the anti-Israel chorus. Apparently, these representatives believed in the standard propaganda gambit of repeating a lie so often that it begins to gain acceptability.<sup>18</sup>

Arab and Soviet-bloc publicists reach beyond the UN in their effort to link Israel with South Africa in the American mind. Beginning in 1983, Novosti, the Soviet government press agency, distributed an English-language pamphlet in the United States giving a Soviet perspective on the world arms trade. In addition to blaming America for all commerce in weapons and denying Soviet arms trading, the pamphlet accuses "Tel Aviv" of forming a "veritable military alliance" with South Africa. Similarly, a U.S.-based group called the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, which in July 1985 sponsored an academic tour group that was greeted warmly by Yasir Arafat, refers to Israel's policies as "apartheid-like" in its September 1985 newsletter.<sup>19</sup>

What are the aims of anti-Israel propagators of the notion of an Israel-South Africa alliance? Two objectives may be discerned. For their part, Arab states hope to depict Israel as illegitimate so that it will be ostracized like South Africa; they also hope to generate support among black Africans for the Palestinian cause. The political motivation behind Arab and PLO "concern" about relations between Israel and South Africa becomes transparent in paragraph 19 of the Declaration of the UN Conference on the Alliance between Israel and South Africa, which reads: "The conference expresses the hope that no State would resume relations with Israel so long as it continues collaboration with South Africa...." The canard that Israel and South Africa are allies serves as a tool to restrain black African states from renewing relations with Israel. If Arab states were truly opposed to apartheid, they would not be reaping huge profits on oil sales to Pretoria.<sup>20</sup>

The Soviet Union, its supporters, and surrogates have another reason for disseminating the Israel-South Africa alliance notion. The USSR is engaged in a campaign to vilify the United States in the Third World in order to undermine the U.S. image there and hence increase Soviet influence. By linking Israel with South Africa, and in turn by linking Israel with the United States, the Soviets have constructed a false syllogism designed to enhance their own stature on the African continent and throughout the Third World. Indeed, some analysts rate the Soviet Union's ability to criticize the United States and other Western powers for their South African ties as one of the chief assets of its African strategy.<sup>21</sup>

The Arab and Soviet blocs and their supporters, then, disseminate elaborate myths about relations between Israel and South Africa to serve clear political objectives. Why have a few American commentators embraced these false notions? This is a difficult question to answer. In some cases, their use of the alliance notion trumped up in the midst of public condemnation of South Africa seems to be an expression of hostility toward Israel. For instance, a history professor at Appalachian State University who traveled to the Middle East courtesy of

the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, returned to compare Israel's treatment of Palestinians with South African apartheid.<sup>22</sup> In other cases, the alliance canard may have been employed for the simple reason that it is sensational. Yarns about plots, conspiracies, and secretly concluded alliances speak to an often unhealthy need in the public psyche to believe in a secular demonology. Irresponsible publicists have always exploited this human failing.

The Boston Globe recently editorialized that the notion of an alliance between Israel and South Africa is nothing more than "propaganda by Soviet-bloc nations and their Third World allies."<sup>23</sup> Fortunately, the American public is rejecting this propaganda. Media reports misrepresenting ties between the two states serve only to divert public attention from the injustice being visited on blacks and other nonwhites in South Africa.

#### Notes

1. Mark A. Bruzonsky, "Israel Is Too Much Like South Africa," Chicago Sun-Times, Sept. 11, 1985; Peter Allen-Frost, "South Africa and Israel: An Alliance of Pragmatism," Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 25, 1985; Alexander Cockburn, "Apartheid Alliance," Nation, Aug. 17/25, 1985; Manning Marable, "Who Profits from Apartheid, Part II," Pittsburgh Courier, Mar. 9, 1985.
2. International Monetary Fund, Direction of Trade Yearbook (Washington, D.C., 1985). For a fuller discussion of trade and military relations between Israel and South Africa, see Kenneth Bandler and George E. Gruen, Israel and South Africa (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1985).
3. Shipping Research Bureau Report, 1984.
4. International Monetary Fund, Direction of Trade Yearbook (Washington, D.C., 1983).
5. Note Verbale from Israel to the UN Security Council, Sept. 4, 1979.
6. Memorandum, Brenda Branaman, Analyst in African Affairs to Hon. Walter E. Fauntroy, Congressional Research Service, Sept. 5, 1984, pp. 21-24.
7. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
8. Aaron S. Klieman, Israel's Global Reach (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985), p. 53.
9. "Israel and South Africa," Israeli Foreign Affairs, April 1985. Hunter's sources include documents from the UN Centre against Apartheid, Les Editions Canada Monde-Arab, and several pro-Arab writers.

10. "Mobutu: Other African States May Renew Ties with Israel," Christian Science Monitor, May 15, 1985; "Israelis Say Poles Will Restore Limited Ties," New York Times, Oct. 18, 1985.
11. Bruzonsky, "Israel Is Too Much ..."
12. International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, Vienna, 11 to 13 July, 1983 (United Nations Centre against Apartheid, October 1983), p.1.
13. James Adams, Israel and South Africa: The Unnatural Alliance (London: Quartet Books 1984), p. 200.
14. Alfred T. Moleah, Israel and South Africa (Washington: Palestine Research and Educational Center, 1984), p. 9; Rosalynd Ainslie, Israel and South Africa: An Unholy Alliance (United Nations Centre against Apartheid, July 1981), pp. 6-7; Richard P. Stevens and Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri, Israel and South Africa: The Progress of a Relationship (New York: New World Press, 1976), pp. 1-2.
15. Moleah, Israel and South Africa, p. 5; Stevens and Elmessiri, Israel and South Africa, p. 2.
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# 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."<sup>1</sup>

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*\*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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> More than 6,700 African students came to Israel for training in agriculture, medicine and other developmental fields.<sup>4</sup> Several thousand Israelis served in Africa.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> 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."<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup> Between 1963 and 1974 more than \$1 billion worth of armaments were shipped to South Africa, mostly from France.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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."<sup>15</sup> 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.

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3. Brenda Branaman, "Israel: Relations with Africa", Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, September 5, 1984.
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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.
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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

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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)<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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).

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## Union Seminary board votes to divest of South Africa holdings

By Tony Chappelle

Religious News Service Correspondent

NEW YORK (RNS) — The board of directors of Union Theological Seminary, one of America's most prestigious ministerial schools, voted Monday to divest itself of holdings in companies with "major direct involvement" in South Africa.

The directors gave their investment committee the task of defining what actually constitutes the transacting of business with South Africa, as well as the job of deciding on a schedule for divestment.

"The board vote followed a year-long period of study," said Dr. Donald W. Shriver, Jr., in a statement Monday night. Officials at the school emphasized that the action was not the result of three weeks of student demonstrations and court cases at nearby Columbia University over that institution's South African-related investments.

The Union Theological Seminary endowment totals approximately \$33 million, according to school officials. At this time they would not estimate the portion that might be eventually divested.

Divestment of holdings in companies doing business in the Republic of South Africa has been on the minds of board members for some time now, and certainly at least since last summer, when President Shriver appointed the Policy Research Group on Seminary Investments to question finances going toward apartheid-ruled South Africa.

But the student body of this small, independent, ecumenical graduate school has also maintained pressure for a strong public pronouncement against South Africa's policy of racial separation.

In November, a group known as the Committee on Southern Africa drew up a seven-point resolution that, among other proposals, called for an end to U.S. federal, state and church organizations' military, financial and commercial support of South Africa. The resolution gained widespread approval within the seminary's administration and student body and was distributed to religious and political figures, as well as to all Ivy League seminaries.

The resolution was adopted at about the same time Bishop Desmond Tutu, the winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, participated in a week-long series of services at Union focusing on international issues. The month before, the Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and founder of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, visited the seminary for the premiere of a documentary about his anti-apartheid work. Mr. Boesak told the large crowd in James Chapel, "The very fact that the movement in South Africa exists, which has become a mass movement in less than a year, is our people's way of praying to God that this last chance would not pass us by."

But the most impressive protest made by the Union anti-apartheid sympathizers was the April 3 demonstration in front of the South African Consulate in New York. Ninety-one members of the seminary community, including President Shriver, were arrested for disorderly conduct as they blocked the entrance.

Following the arrests, student activist Walter Parrish said many Union board members say they became aware of the seriousness of anti-apartheid sentiment around the seminary.

While school officials stress there is no connection between the Columbia University divestment protest and the decision by Union to divest, last Wednesday at least 15 Union students joined Columbia students to block a university building entrance as part of a three-week-long demonstration to force the university to drop \$32.5 million in South Africa-related investments.



# The American Jewish Committee

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

April 4, 1985

REMINDER

Several members who participated in our Mission to Hungary have suggested to Al Moses and myself that we have a get-together during the Annual Meeting. This will give us a chance to reflect on our trip and relive some of the great moments we had together. We'll also have a chance to discuss the Dohany Synagogue which several of you thought we should support.

We'll be meeting on Friday, May 3rd ... at 4:30 p.m. .... at the Waldorf (Baron South).

I look forward to seeing you.

A vizontlatasra!

David Geller  
International Relations Department

DG/es

85-560-9

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 "applepie 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.

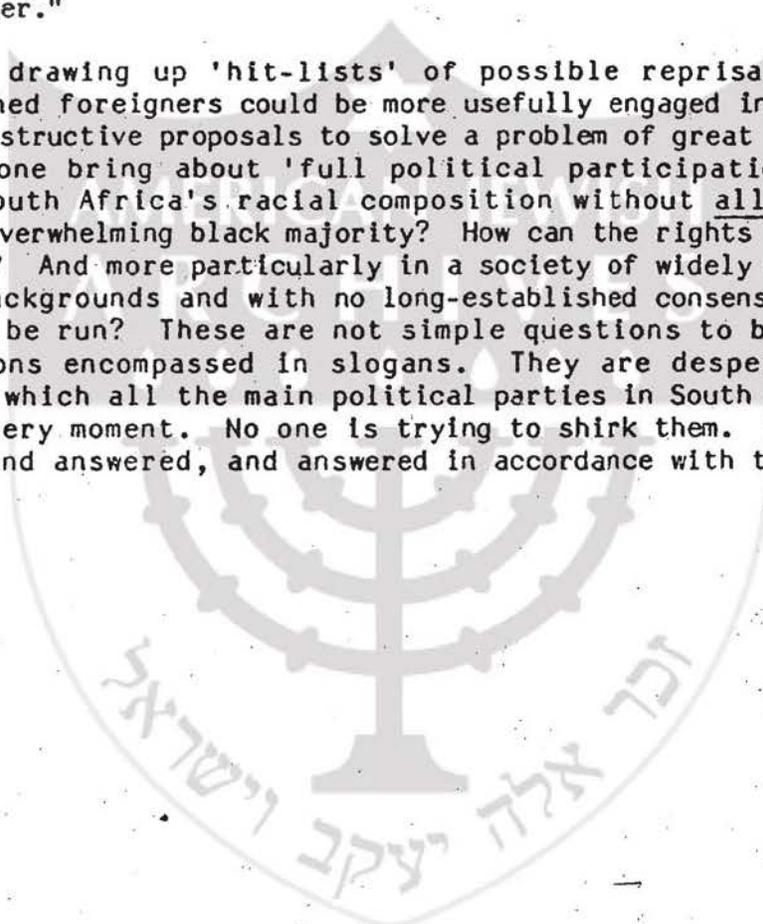
I am well aware of the vigorous campaign being waged in city governments, State Houses, on campuses and in Congress. I know that several cities, including New York City, have withdrawn their pension funds from companies doing business in South Africa. I know that the Solarz, Berman and Gray bills will 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



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
165 E. 56 St., New York, NY 10022

DATE: 4/3

FROM: DAVID A. HARRIS

TO: MHT

Please circulate to:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- For approval
- For your information
- Please handle
- Read and return
- Returned as requested
- Please telephone me
- Your comments, please
- As requested

REMARKS:

O: SHULA  
BAHAT  
RECENT

A MENDED RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY  
THE WESTERN REGIONAL ADVISORY BOARD  
MARCH 29, 1985 IN SAN DIEGO

RESOLUTION: SOUTH AFRICA

WHEREAS, House Bill 2001 has been introduced into the Oregon House of Representatives, introducing disinvestment and divestiture proceedings against South Africa; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of the Portland Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has indicated its desire to support HB 2001; and

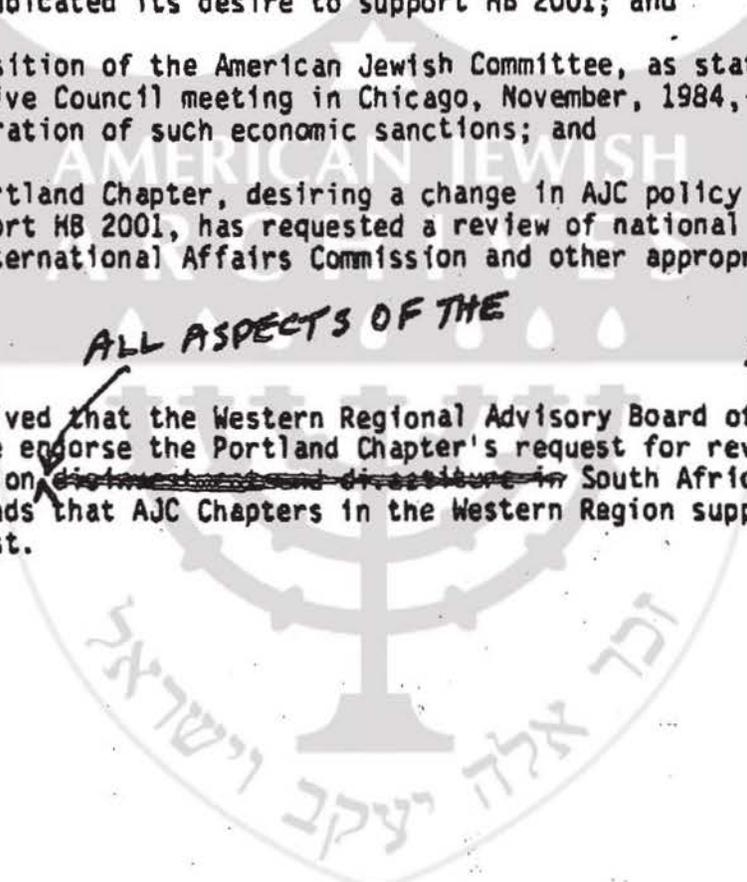
WHEREAS, the position of the American Jewish Committee, as stated at the National Executive Council meeting in Chicago, November, 1984, does not include consideration of such economic sanctions; and

WHEREAS, the Portland Chapter, desiring a change in AJC policy to allow the Chapter to support HB 2001, has requested a review of national policy on this issue by the International Affairs Commission and other appropriate national AJC bodies.

ALL ASPECTS OF THE

ISSUE INCLUDING  
DIVESTITURE AND  
DISINVESTMENT

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 ~~disinvestment and divestiture~~ in South Africa. The Board further recommends that AJC Chapters in the Western Region support the Portland Chapter's request.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FROM: LOTTE ZAJAC

DATE:

4/11/85

TO:

M.T.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

FOR YOUR INFORMATION  RETURN

AS REQUESTED  LET'S DISCUSS

REMARKS:

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# Group hits \$10M a day Israeli aid

By J. ZAMGBA BROWNE

Amsterdam News Staff (4)

While hunger and homelessness plague the Harlems of America, the State of Israel continues to receive over \$10 million a day in U.S. aid, a prominent Black organization declared here Tuesday.

The National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) also linked the Middle East crisis to deteriorating living standards for millions of Afro-Americans.

Dr. Gerald C. Horne, NCBL chief spokesman said current U.S. aid to Israel is targeted to feed an "instiable war machine and has fueled the highest inflation in the world... a whopping 400 percent."

He said the NCBL has called for an immediate and total withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories, including the West Bank, Gaza, Golan Heights and Southern Lebanon.

NCBL, an activist group of judges, lawyers, legal personnel and law students, recently sent a high level delegation headed by Dr. Horne to Israel, the West Bank and Gaza to assess the situation in the region.

In addition to briefing Black and

Arab-American members of Congress about the trip, Dr. Horne said the delegation will produce a book focusing on deprivation of human rights of Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Dr. Horne told the Amsterdam News he cannot understand how the U.S. State Department could grant human rights certificate to Tel Aviv—a condition precedent for aid when his delegation witnessed massive violations of human rights standards.

"Thousands of books are banned from the occupied territories. Newspapers are censored almost daily. Right to counsel has been eviscerated. Torture is commonplace, and confiscation of Arab lands is frequent," Dr. Horne noted.

He added that there are over one million Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza while illegal Israeli settlements have mushroomed the Jewish population to some 30,000.

After meeting with Jewish and Arab lawyers, journalists, mayors, activists—all of whom were united in opposition to Israeli occupation, Dr. Horne said his delegation discovered the following:

That the airlifting of Ethiopian Jews

# Group hits \$10M aid

(Continued from Page 4)

to Israel may not have been motivated by humanitarian consideration as it first appeared to be. "Israel wants to resettle more Jews in the West Band and Gaza, while chasing away Palestinians," he explained.

Until recently, Dr. Horne said many leading rabbis questioned the "Jewishness" of the Ethiopians and many still to today, that is why he said a number of them have been forced to undergo "conversion" procedures.

Dr. Horne also noted that some Ethiopian Jews had been resettled in the occupied territories with \$2.5 million in U.S. aid and he termed this "a papable violation" of U.S. law which forbids use of funds for such purpose.

The NCBL director also underscored the growing military and nuclear relationship between Israel and racist South Africa, which he said has been

condemned repeatedly by SWAPO, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Frontline States (Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania).

Dr. Horne also underscored the further development of NCBL's relations with the increasingly important Arab-American community, which he termed as a "useful complement to our long-standing ties with the Jewish community in this country."

Meanwhile, the New York based American Jewish Congress has termed an account of the Middle East crisis by the NCBL as "a nasty compound of ignorance and malevolence."

Giving the past record of the National Conference of Black Lawyers on the Middle East, Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress declared that what is reported was entirely predictable.

(Continued on Page 38)

M.T.

4/4/85

Marc -

Your comments on  
the attached, please.

I am waiting for some  
info. to clarify a few  
footnotes.

Otherwise, the text is complete.

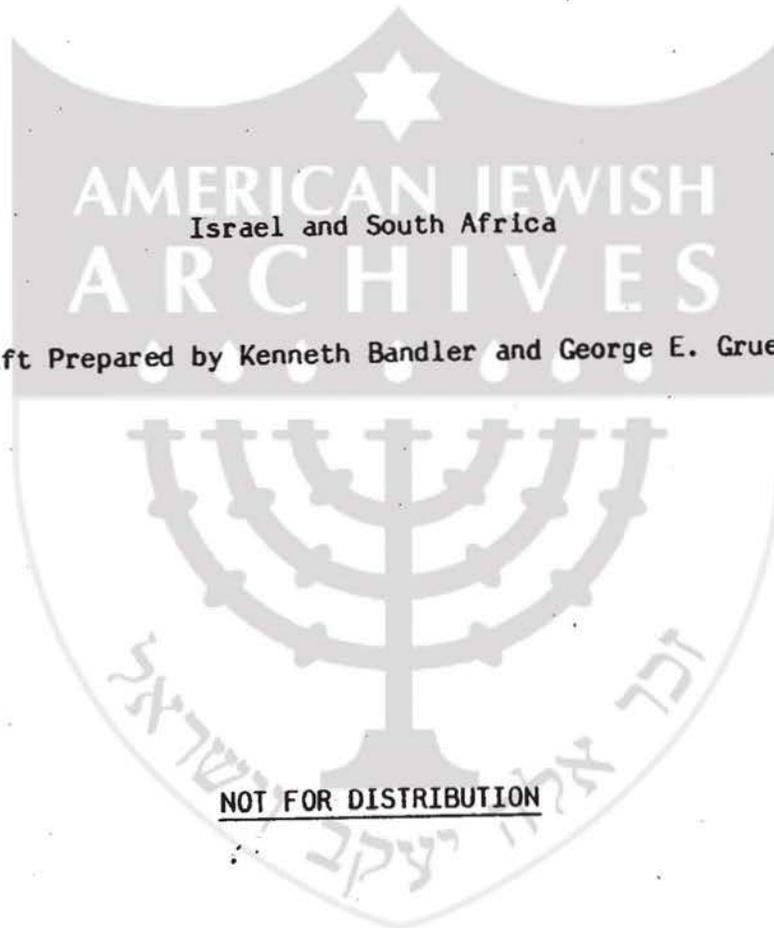


Gen

NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

DRAFT

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(Draft Prepared by Kenneth Bandler and George E. Gruen)

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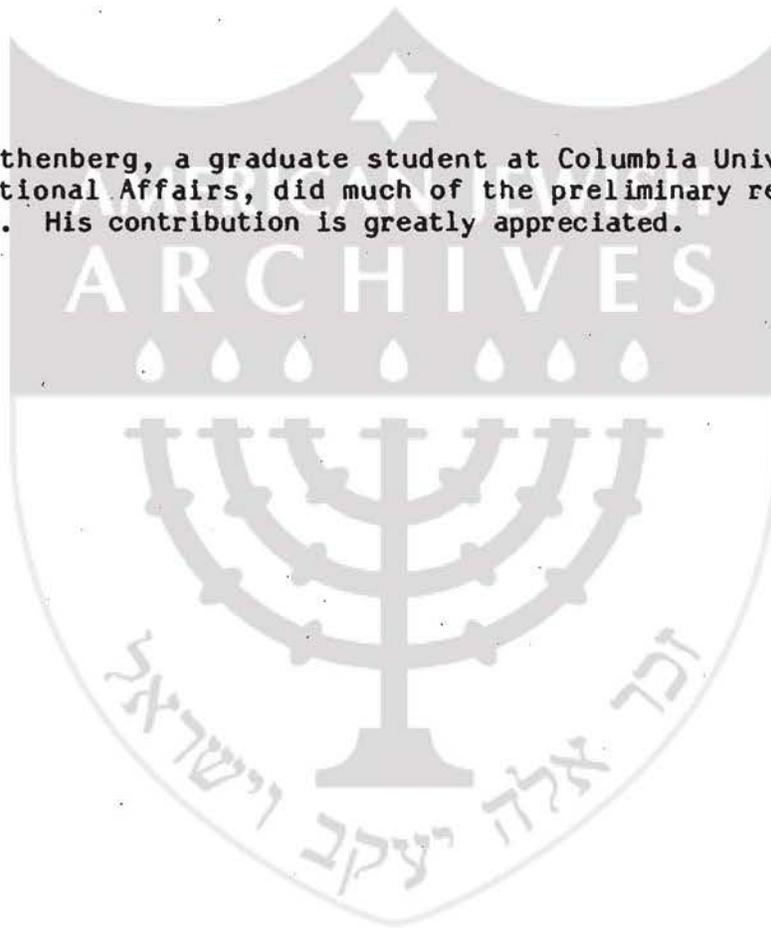
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*Kenneth Bandler is Research Analyst, Israel and Middle  
East Affairs Division, International Relations Department*

*Dr. George E. Gruen is Director of the Israel and Middle East  
Affairs Division.*

Acknowledgement

Michael Rothenberg, a graduate student at Columbia University's School of International Affairs, did much of the preliminary research for this report. His contribution is greatly appreciated.



## 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."<sup>1</sup>

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. <sup>At least 4</sup> ~~Some 4~~ 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.<sup>2</sup>

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 <sup>e</sup> ~~o~~ <sub>1</sub> 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.<sup>3</sup> More than 6,700 African students came to Israel for training in agriculture, medicine and other developmental fields.<sup>4</sup> Several thousand Israelis served in Africa.<sup>5</sup>

✓ Although African-Israeli relations cooled in the early 1870s, 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 enormous 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 44 African states trade with South Africa.<sup>6</sup> 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. Kenneth Adelman, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, asserts that this trade is "growing by leaps and bounds." South Africa's exports across its northern borders increased by 60% between 1980 and 1981. 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."<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup>

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 sincere 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> Israel's arms transfers to South Africa before 1977, such as the sale of ~~two~~ 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.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup> Between 1965 and 1974 a total of \$358 million worth of armaments were shipped to South Africa, \$213 million from France.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, in the early 1980's France was building a \$1.2 billion nuclear power station 17 miles north of Capetown.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> 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...and speculation."<sup>16</sup> 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. Kenneth Adelman, "The Club of Pariahs", Africa Reports, November-December 1980, p. 10.
7. American Jewish Congress News, 1976, p. 1.
8. Near East Report, September 3, 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. *Leah Hadari*, "Israel and S. Africa: The Apartheid and the Realities," Analysis,

<sup>4</sup>  
14. Yitzhak Santis, "Israel and South Africa: A Lie Well Sold", Israel horizons, 1980, p.3.

<sup>5</sup>  
15. Washington Post, January 11, 1984.

<sup>6</sup>  
16. United Nations Secretary General, "Implementation of the Declaration of Denuclearization of Arrrica", September 1980.

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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 can be found in the statistics for South African trade with the other countries.

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.

Nevertheless, Israel's trade with South Africa is still minimal.

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.

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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.

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Put  
some  
update  
in  
table I.

## 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  
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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)<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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).

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



MEMORANDUM

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** April 15, 1985  
**to** Area Directors  
**from** Harold Applebaum  
**subject** Annual Meeting Debate on South Africa

The attached memo by Allan Kagedan provides a useful framework for a consideration of policy options on South Africa.

As noted in my memo of April 7, we are soliciting the recommendations of chapter leadership for the May 1st debate at the Annual Meeting.

We hope you will find it possible to schedule a special Board or committee meeting during the coming week, keeping in mind the fact that we need to receive your report on or before Monday, April 29th.

Please solicit responses to the specific proposals listed in Allan's memo. Your report should advise us how many people participated in the discussion and should record the vote on each proposal. Additional recommendations should also be included. (Should you conduct a telephone round-up, that fact should be noted).

Your cooperation in ensuring your Board's input in this important policy debate will be greatly appreciated.

All best regards.



HA/pb  
Att.  
cc: D. Gordis  
M. Tanenbaum ✓  
E. DuBow

**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



# The American Jewish Committee

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

DATE: April 24, 1985

TO: Steering Committee of the Commission on  
International Relations

FROM: Leo Nevas, Chairman

RE: 79TH ANNUAL MEETING, May 1-5, 1985

A number of sessions at this year's Annual Meeting will be of particular interest to members of the Steering Committee. I very much hope you will be able to attend as many of these as possible.

## Wednesday, May 1

10:00 a.m. - Noon Steering Committee of the Commission on  
International Relations: Business Meeting

Location: Louis XVI West Suite  
Fourth Floor

4:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Plenary Session: AJC's Policy on South Africa

Location: Hilton Room  
Lobby Level

6:00 p.m. - 7:45 p.m. Committee on AJC Center for Pluralism in Israel  
(by invitation)

Location: Vanderbilt Suite  
Fourth Floor

## Thursday, May 2

7:30 a.m. - 9:00 a.m. Working Group on Western Europe  
(by invitation)

Location: Herbert Hoover Room  
Fourth Floor

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Thursday, May 2 (continued)

9:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m. Plenary Session: "West European Jewry Today"

Speakers: Dr. Ady Steg, President  
Alliance Israelite Universelle

Samuel Toledano, President  
Federation of Jewish Communities  
in Spain

Tullia Zevi, President  
Union of Italian Jewish Communities

Location: Empire Room  
Lobby Level

12:30 p.m. - 2:30 p.m. Plenary Luncheon: "East-West Relations 40 Years  
after World War II"

Speaker: Alois Mertes, State Minister,  
Foreign Office, Federal Republic  
of Germany

Location: Empire Room  
Lobby Level

Friday, May 3

7:30 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. National Task Force on Soviet Jewry

Location: Louis XVI West Suite  
Fourth Floor

10:45 a.m. - 12:15 p.m. Program Forum: "Toward New Strategies: The U.S.S.R.  
and Soviet Jewry"

Speakers: William Hyland, Editor,  
Foreign Affairs

Robie M. Palmer, Deputy  
Assistant Secretary of State  
for European Affairs

Location: Hilton Room  
Lobby Level

Friday, May 3 (continued)

2:30 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.

Workshop: The South African Issue in the  
Communities

Location: Hilton Room  
Lobby Level

Saturday, May 4

10:00 a.m. - Noon

Shabbat Service

Speakers: Simha Berhani, Ethiopian  
Jew living in Israel

Ambassador Eugene Douglas,  
United States Coordinator  
for Refugee Affairs

Ralph Goldman, Executive  
Vice President Emeritus,  
American Jewish Joint  
Distribution Committee

Location: Hilton Room  
Lobby Level

Sunday, May 5

8:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

Plenary Breakfast: "We Are One or Are We?"  
Issues in American Jewish-  
Israeli Relations

Speaker: Avraham Burg, Advisor on  
Diaspora Affairs to the  
Prime Minister of Israel

Panelists: Participants in the Matthew &  
Edna Brown Young Israeli  
Leadership Program

Location: Empire Room  
Lobby Level

10:00 a.m. - Noon

Plenary Session: "Israel's Position in the  
International Arena"

Speaker: Hon. Benyamin Netanyahu, Israeli  
Ambassador to the United Nations

Location: Hilton Room  
Lobby Level

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4/29/85

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

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. Violence
5. bred by apartheid has led to the killing of numerous Blacks and to further
6. violation of civil liberties. On March 21, 1985, twenty-five years after the
7. Sharpeville massacre, police gunfire at Uitenhage felled 19 Blacks. Two
8. days later, the South African Government banned meetings by twenty-nine,
9. largely Black, anti-apartheid groups, underscoring the exclusion of Blacks
10. from participation in public life.
11. Americans, including American Jews, have condemned the escalation of
12. violence in South Africa and have continued to express their outrage at
13. the South African categorization of Blacks and other non-whites as inferior
14. to whites in fact and in law. Jewish tradition reveres law as an instrument
15. of justice. Twisting the law to make it an agent of racial discrimination
16. is odious and offensive.
17. South Africa's scheme of legalized racism is devoid of elementary
18. humanity. Measures such as the influx control laws and the Group Areas
19. Act must be revoked; brutal practices such as forced removals to the
20. so-called "homelands" must be abandoned; detention without trial must
21. cease; and South Africa's Black majority must be enfranchised into the
22. political system if freedom is ever to cast its light on South Africa.
23. What can we, outside the country, do to encourage the peaceful democ-
24. ratization of South Africa's society? The answer is not simple. As
25. outsiders, we recognize that our role is limited - that basic changes

26. must come from South Africans themselves. But in the face of a brazen  
27. violation of fundamental human rights, inaction - passivity - is incon-  
28. ceivable.

29. We must act to strengthen those forces in South Africa seeking nonviolent  
30. change, including trade unions, church groups, human rights and other  
31. voluntary agencies, educational and professional associations and others;  
32. and also US companies that practice non-discrimination, provide training  
33. and other benefits for Black workers, and work steadily, if privately,  
34. for the elimination of apartheid.

35. We must send a clear and unequivocal message to the South African  
36. Government, and therefore, we support:

37. (a) Federal legislation that would ban US bank loans to entities owned  
38. and controlled by the South African Government, unless, and until  
39. that Government abandons discriminatory practices;

40. (b) The restriction of exports earmarked for use by the South African  
41. military<sup>and</sup>/police.

42. We endorse federal legislation that would require US companies  
43. operating in South Africa with 10 or more employees to comply with the  
44. following principles within two years or face appropriate US Government  
45. sanctions:

46. (a) Non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and work  
47. facilities.

48. (b) Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.

49. (c) Equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work.

50. (d) Initiation and development of training programs that will prepare,  
51. in substantial numbers, Blacks and other non-whites for supervisory,  
52. administrative, clerical and technical jobs.

53. (e) Increasing the number of Blacks and other non-whites in management  
54. and supervisory positions.
55. (f) Improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment  
56. in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and  
57. health facilities.

58. We endorse Congressional resolutions that condemn South Africa's  
59. "homelands" policy, and that call for a study by the Secretary of State  
60. of the recent violence in that country. We also support investigation of  
61. this violence by South African human rights groups.

62. Furthermore, we recommend the following new and continuing activities  
63. for AJC nationally and at the chapter level, and for individual members:

64. (a) Encouraging US government officials and officials of Western govern-  
65. ments to exert strong diplomatic pressure on the South African  
66. Government to end apartheid;
67. (b) Speaking out against apartheid in international fora;
68. (c) Working with South African organizations dedicated to the promotion  
69. and protection of human rights and to free unjustly jailed, detained or  
70. "banned" persons.
71. (d) Giving financial support to educational, including vocational, programs  
72. to train Black South Africans to participate fully in the economic  
73. and public life of their country;
74. (e) Encouraging US companies operating in South Africa to comply with the  
75. code of fair employment practices outlined above and to use their  
76. influence within the public and private sectors in that country to  
77. secure basic human rights for Blacks;
78. (f) Joining in peaceful protest, study seminars and dialogues on apartheid  
79. and South Africa directed towards peaceful change.

80. The dynamic nature of the situation in South Africa will necessitate
81. periodic review of the measures outlined here.



85-570-7

H. EUGENE DOUGLAS

U.S. COORDINATOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS  
AND  
AMBASSADOR AT LARGE

President Reagan appointed H. Eugene Douglas as United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs and Ambassador at Large on March 17, 1982. Ambassador Douglas joined the Department of State in February 1981 under Secretary Alexander M. Haig, Jr., as the Senior member of the Policy Planning Staff.

Prior to his appointment, he was the Director of International Trade and Government Affairs of the Memorex Corporation, a high technology information storage and communications company, headquartered in Santa Clara, California.

Ambassador Douglas brings an active and varied background of extensive international experience to his current duties with the U.S. Government. As a recognized authority on international, political, economic, and technological matters, he is a frequent speaker before business, political, academic, and Government audiences in the United States and abroad. He has served on the Steering Committee of the Computer and Communications Industries Association, the Boards of Directors with the American Alpach Foundation, the U.S.-Mexico Chamber of Commerce, the National Advisory Committee of Southeast Asia Hill Tribes Survive, Inc., the International Research and Exchanges Board, the Thai Support Foundation, the International Institute of

Humanitarian law, and on the Board of Governors of the Council for National Policy. He served as a Commissioned Officer in the United States Navy during the Vietnam period of 1966-1971.

A native of Texas, Ambassador Douglas was born on October 5, 1940, educated in the United States and abroad at the Universities of Vienna, Austria, and Barcelona, Spain. He holds a B.A. Degree from the University of Texas and an M.A. and Certificate of the European Institute from Columbia University in New York.

Ambassador Douglas has traveled widely in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, and he is fluent in French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Thai.

He, his wife, the former Elisabeth Maria Welkert, and son Christopher live in Fairfax County, Virginia.

85-964-13

H055-Douglas Bio

/gn-3/27/85

**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.

Krugerands

In 1984, \$500 million worth of Krugerands 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

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

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New York, NY 10022

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## 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 Israeli 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** April 10, 1985

**to** Subcommittee on South Africa

**from** Allan Kagedan

**subject** Update on the Sullivan Principles

memorandum

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.

Special Committee of the Board of Governors on  
The Proposed AJC Center for Pluralism in Israel

Minutes of Meeting of April 11, 1985

Attendees

Leo Nevas, Chairman  
Dr. Morton Blaustein  
E. Robert Goodkind  
Dr. David Gordis  
Philip E. Hoffman

Shula Bahat  
Dr. George E. Gruen  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
William Trosten

Summary of Discussion

David Gordis began the discussion by noting that the field of intergroup relations has been an integral part of the work of the AJC Office in Israel since its inception in 1962. The idea of consolidating these various activities within the framework of a special center or institute goes back to the period immediately following the Six-Day War of 1967, which presented new challenges and opportunities in the area of Arab-Jewish relations. Indeed, he had just received from Bert Gold an extract of a speech made by Mr. Gold to the AJC Annual Meeting in May 1968, in which he had proposed the establishment in Jerusalem of an Institute of Human Relations Center to focus on the various aspects of intergroup relations, including relations between Arabs and Jews, among Muslims, Christians and Jews, between the religious and secular groups within the Jewish population, and among the diverse ethnic groups, notably, the Ashkenazi Jews of Western and Eastern European origin, and the Sephardim and Orientals, Jews from Mediterranean and Islamic countries.

Dr. Gordis pointed out that there were two issues for the Special Committee to examine, the substance of the program and the manner in which it is to be organized or "packaged." He noted that increasingly Israelis have been coming to us, asking us to share with them the relevant experience we have had in the United States and to work in partnership with Israeli groups who are also concerned with these issues. While our experience may be different, there are like minded groups in Israel, who share with us a commitment to Jewish and democratic values and seek to promote an atmosphere of tolerance within a pluralistic society.

The AJC office in Israel is already engaged in a variety of activities in this sphere. For example, Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff, the director of the office, has just sent us a copy of a new study on the Christian presence in the Jewish State. The AJC has also recently cosponsored conferences on religious pluralism and on means of bridging the socio-economic gap between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. We have also given seed money and organizational support to civil rights organizations and groups such as Interns for Peace.

Among the questions for the committee to consider are: 1) whether we can increase our effectiveness by increasing the visibility of our operation, and 2) whether there are suitable and willing partners in Israel for this? With regard to the second question, the answer was clearly in the affirmative. Dr. Gordis cited as examples: a) the approach to us from the Israel-Diaspora Institute at Tel Aviv University to cooperate in a program of education for democratic values; b) the proposal to us by Avram Burg, the advisor on Diaspora affairs to Prime Minister Peres, to undertake jointly a consultation and interdisciplinary research on the implications for intergroup relations of the different experiences of Jews in the Diaspora, where they have lived as minorities, and in the State of Israel, where a Jewish majority controls the government and must relate to non-Jewish minorities; and c) the request from the Ministry of Education for help in improving Arab-Jewish relations. The committee should consider whether this is to become a central focus for AJC work in Israel and what guidelines, structures and operational principles need to be developed.

Leo Nevas recalled that when he was in Israel for a six month period in 1978-79 he was involved with Dr. Resnikoff on some aspects of this work and he was very impressed by the positive response within Israel to our support for programs to bring Arab and Jewish youth together as well as work at the Hebrew University to promote Christian-Jewish dialogue. Thus intergroup relations has long been part of our activities in Jerusalem.

Robert Goodkind inquired whether it was planned to have a formal Israeli advisory board, such as the one created by Mr. Gold's Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations, or whether we should limit ourselves to ad hoc contacts with receptive indigenous groups? Dr. Gordis replied that he favored the latter approach, since there was a danger of our being perceived as being outsiders who come to tell the Israelis what to do. Mr. Goodkind agreed that it was useful to have partners, but that it need not be formalized. George Gruen noted that each of the AJC office directors, starting with Maximo Yagupsky, had an informal group of Israelis to whom he turned more or less regularly for advice. But this has never been a formal Israeli advisory board of the kind established by the ADL, which not only reviews the program but reportedly also makes a significant financial contribution to help cover its expenses. Dr. Gordis said that no separate AJC lay structure in Israel was being contemplated.

Mr. Goodkind said that he was enthusiastic about the general concept of an AJC center for pluralism and believed that it should be a major thrust for the Committee in its program in Israel. He added that he also saw this as a way to get the AJC leadership, as individuals, to become more involved with Israel on a personal basis, e.g., through participation in conferences and colloquia. He envisaged the possibility of a conference in Israel each year, sponsored by the relevant national program departments with Israeli partners. The International Relations Department would naturally deal with political issues such as Arab-Jewish relations, while the Jewish Communal Affairs Department would be brought in for conferences on Jewish identity, National Affairs with its expertise in ethnic diversity could contribute to conferences on Ashkenazi-Sephardi relations, Interreligious Affairs for conferences dealing with Christian-Jewish relations, etc. Dr. Gordis added that he could see the Jacob Blaustein Institute involved in conferences dealing with issues of human rights.

Morton Blaustein noted that his correspondence with Howard Friedman had related to the process not the substance of the issue under discussion. Thanks to clarifications he had received that matter was now finished. As for the content of the proposal, Dr. Blaustein stated that he was for it. He inquired, however, whether we can establish a center for pluralism without adversely affecting existing programs, in terms of financial, staff and lay commitments? Will we sacrifice something else if we do this?

Dr. Gordis noted that we were at an interesting point of transition in our Israel Office. Dr. Resnikoff was planning to retire and we are looking for a suitable replacement. In addition, we concluded some time ago that the political reporting function of the office -- alerting us to developments and maintaining political contacts -- needed beefing up. We discussed these needs with the Board of Governors and they approved an initial six months allocation of \$50,000. Since no one has yet been hired, we have this sum available. We are not talking of a major budgetary increase that will significantly take money from our programs. Regarding funding, he noted that many loyal supporters of Israel shared our concerns and hopefully would contribute additional program money. Moreover, programming dollars go a long way in Israel, in contrast to capital funding. He expected that an expanded Israel program would attract special project funds.

Mr. Nevas said that creation of a center for pluralism would entail some budgetary expenses, noting that the \$50,000 for political reporting was proposed before discussion of the center. We should face up to the fact that to run a meaningful program in Israel will require some additional money. Dr. Gordis reiterated the importance of strengthening our presence in Israel. He noted that we currently spend only about one percent of our budget of \$18 million on our Israel operation. If we are serious and see it as an important element in contemporary Jewish life we should be prepared to commit additional funds.

Mr. Goodkind remarked that with regard to targeted gifts, he believed that AJC members were prepared to give more. Moreover, he saw the potential for a major gift of \$1 million to \$2 million for a "Center for Pluralism," where the donor would want a name attached. A quiet, discrete campaign by the officers approaching five key persons should produce the desired result. Dr. Blaustein suggested that we might try to convince the person who is leaving a \$4 million bequest to the AJC to give us a million now! He noted that during the recent visits to Israel he found considerable confusion between the AJCommittee and the AJCongress. He wondered what were the differences in activity and style of operation.

Marc Tanenbaum responded that in recent years many more American Jewish organizations have established an Israeli presence. He noted that the ADL had two full time professionals. They maintain close contact with the Israel government and report back to ADL in the U.S. They also do a certain amount of intergroup relations work. Essentially they see their role as interpreting the Israel Government's position to the American public and tend to accept the official Israeli line rather uncritically. The AJCongress is less assertive and more moderate in its political stance. It tends to cultivate academics and cultural personalities. It helps to handle the numerous Congress tours and their annual dialogue. The CJFWF and AIPAC have also recently opened up offices. As for the

Committee, in addition to the work mentioned above, we operate a program for Christian and other important visitors, we have a useful library specializing in American life and American Jewry, we support such intergroup relations efforts as Interns for Peace, and are active in the field of Israel-Diaspora relations, quality of life in Israel, and issues of tolerance.

Dr. Gruen added that the publications of the AJC's office have also made a unique contribution. While it was published, Ammot, an Israeli journal of opinion, was a major forum for discussion of issues, somewhat akin to Commentary. For more than twenty years AJC has been publishing Tefutsot Israel, which is the most widely used source of information in Hebrew on contemporary Jewish life in the United States and other Jewish communities worldwide. It provides teachers and leaders with translations of major articles, studies and statements on current issues in the Jewish world. It has been a useful vehicle for educating Israelis on Jewish life in the Diaspora and underscores the objective diversity and pluralistic nature of Jewish life today.

Mr. Nevas suggested that some of the confusion between the AJCommittee and the AJCongress, which we find also in the U.S., is due to the similarity of the names and the fact that the initials are the same.

Philip Hoffman inquired as to what was meant by pluralism and what did we wish to accomplish? Dr. Gordis replied that we did not wish to impose our views but to share our experience with the Israelis in the hope of having some modest impact on intergroup relations in Israel. He noted that today there was coexistence of diverse groups, but it was coexistence with severe problems. Israelis understand the value of tolerance, but some consider it only as a necessary evil. We feel that pluralism is a virtue. There is a value to a society to be composed of a variety of groups, each of whom contributes to the society and from which every group can gain nourishment. We have experience in the productive interrelationship of groups through the sharing of agendas, experiences and information. We hope to make a small but meaningful contribution to intergroup relations in Israel.

Mr. Nevas noted that we have seen the misuse of diversity and the exacerbation of problems as a result of the use by some Israeli politicians of these differences to attract voters. Rabbi Tanenbaum pointed out that the way Israeli society evolves also has its repercussions for us. The success of the Orthodox in Israel to introduce religious legislation has resulted in similar attempts to have American legislation enforce Jewish religious law. Moreover, the acts of anti-Christian religious fanatics, e.g., the refusal to permit the rebuilding of Baptist Church in Jeruśalem, can harm our interreligious work in this country, if Israel is perceived as indifferent to the civil and human rights of Christians in its midst.

Rabbi Tanenbaum added that while our work in Israel currently was interesting and important, it lacked an overall design and strategy. We tend to react to Israeli proposals. We need long range planning as to what issues and problems we see ahead and ask ourselves what programs we as AJC can put together. Mr. Nevas noted that we in the U.S. have produced Rabbis Kahane and Levinger and that should not be the hallmark of our export to Israel.

Mr. Goodkind noted that Israelis tell us that we should present constructive views of pluralism. Practically every Israeli leader we met during the Board of Governors' Institute asked us to become more directly involved. Dr. Blaustein wondered whether the initiative had not come from us, since Shulamit Aloni said she had been asked to give her view about AJC opening a center for pluralism. Rabbi Tanenbaum noted that President Herzog had spontaneously made this suggestion to us, without being coached by anyone.

Dr. Gordis said that there were some Israelis, like Shmuel Katz, who wrote that American Jews should first put their own house in order before giving advice to the Israelis. Dr. Gordis conceded that we shared a lot of problems with Israel, including what it means to be Jewish in a modern, increasingly secular society, but these issues can best be dealt with in common discourse. We have to ask ourselves where are our strengths and where we can make a constructive contribution.

Mr. Goodkind suggested as a next step for the special committee to develop a statement or prospectus containing major objectives, as already set out, but including also a statement of the rationale for this proposal. The timetable he was considering was to have a preliminary draft for submission to the Board of Governors for its June 24th meeting.

Mr. Nevas noted that there was a general consensus of support for the proposed center and inquired whether we should have an additional meeting, since some members of the committee were unable to attend today's meeting.

Dr. Blaustein suggested that the rationale was essentially contained in what David Gordis and Marc Tanenbaum had said. He suggested another meeting for about one and half hours during the annual meeting, when the out of town members of the committee should be available.

In response to Dr. Blaustein's question about the search for an alternate site for the Israel Office, Dr. Gordis reviewed the various proposals that had been considered and had been rejected as unsuitable either because of location or price. In the meantime, the AJC has extended the lease on the present quarters for another year. Dr. Blaustein agreed that there was a need for conference rooms in the Israel headquarters, but a capital expenditure of \$1 million did not seem feasible unless it came from a special gift. In response to a query to him, William Trosten said that in theory it should be possible to attract such a gift, but one should also keep in mind the upkeep and maintenance costs of a large structure.

Dr. Blaustein inquired what kind of personnel the office required since there were several central program areas. Dr. Gordis outlined these areas as Israel-Diaspora relations, intergroup relations and promotion of pluralism; political work, including conveying our point of view, presenting and relaying back to us information on Israeli and other issues of Jewish concern, e.g., endangered Jewish communities, relaying back to us information, and relating to the political and intellectual leadership of the country; the service functions, including the library information center, Tefutsot Israel and other publications, and acting as an area office for AJC program departments and membership. The person who is to take charge must understand, coordinate and ad-

minister the whole program with the help of assistants. But the director must be able personally to take hold of either the political or intergroup relations area, depending on his or her own expertise. The number two person would have to have strength in the other major area. Both persons would have to be Americans with fluency in Hebrew and be the kind of persons to whom Israelis would relate. He added that Dr. Resnikoff had indicated a readiness to remain on as a part-time consultant.

Mr. Goodkind suggested that paragraph two of the statement outlining the objectives of the proposed center for pluralism should also refer to "sources for democracy and tolerance including intergroup tolerance." He found that paragraph eight was misleading. Dr. Gordis suggested eliminating paragraph eight since the promotion of strengthened Israel-Diaspora ties was among the overall objectives of the AJC and was not limited to the Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations. Rabbi Tanenbaum indicated that it was necessary to work out the perceptual confusion in Israel between the Institute and the Israel Office of AJC.

Mr. Hoffman expressed the view that the proposed center for pluralism was one of the most important projects that the AJC could undertake.

(Minutes prepared by G.E. Gruen.)

GEG:og/ar  
F099-Minutes (4/11/85)



CENTER FOR PLURALISM

DRAFT

The Center for Pluralism which we are considering has a number of primary objectives:

- (1) To sponsor research studies on the interaction of the diverse elements in Israel's pluralistic society - - religious and non-religious; Jews of Sephardi and Ashkenazi origin; Israeli Jews and Arabs; Israeli Jews, Christians and Moslems;
- (2) To sponsor religious-historical studies on values and teachings in Jewish tradition with emphasis on sources that uphold the unity of the Jewish people and support the concept of religious pluralism; as well as sources for democracy and intergroup tolerance.
- (3) To bring to the attention of the Israeli public information based on the intergroup experience and practice in the United States and other democratic societies, and to foster interdisciplinary examination of the relevance and applicability of the findings to the Israeli scene;
- (4) To undertake a series of textbook analyses of religious, social science, history and literature school books in terms of what Israel's diverse religious and ethnic groups teach about each other. The content analyses would seek to identify negative caricatures and stereotypes, and seek to promote positive teachings and knowledge about the "out-group." (Similar studies have already been undertaken on Israeli textbook teachings about Diaspora Jewry, and vice versa.);
- (5) To sponsor a series of conferences, seminars, and institutes led by Israeli and American experts that would introduce the findings of these researches and studies into public consciousness and intergroup behavior;
- (6) To publish and disseminate widely scholarly research, essays, books, and pamphlets that would stimulate thinking about these intergroup issues;
- (7) To stimulate discussion in the print and electronic media about the importance of fostering positive intergroup attitudes and behavior.
- delete* (8) To integrate and disseminate the creative programs of the Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations promoting strengthened Israeli-Diaspora ties through the new AJC Center.

March 8, 1985 (Revised to include changes suggested at April 11, meeting.)

35-550-26

April 22, 1985

The Honorable  
John Heinz  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Heinz:

I was privileged to be present at the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee hearing on the morning of Tuesday, April 16th, presided over by yourself when you and some of your Senate colleagues made statements and when Senators Kennedy and Weicker gave evidence. Permit me to address you not only on the issues before your Committee, but also on the other bills which are pending before your Senate as they are relevant towards the issue on which I would like to make my submissions.

Firstly, I believe that there is as you yourself drew attention to, a distinction between measures which are directed against the Government of South Africa and those which are directed against the country and its people. There appears to be in the minds of many people, (and I may say that this clearly does not apply to you), a confusion as to what is against apartheid and what is against South Africa and its people.

What South Africa needs is education, jobs, and an improvement in the quality of life of its Black people. Anything which inhibits growth in our economy will hinder the process of peaceful reform. History shows that economic advancement inevitably leads to greater political rights and makes the process of political change much easier. South Africa does not need more unemployment, polarization, and processes leading to violence. If I may submit for your consideration the following: The issues should not be whether apartheid is good or bad, but how does one get rid of apartheid? And secondly, what should be substituted in its place? To the two issues one must add the

The Honorable  
John Heinz

April 22, 1985

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following questions: (1) are the means of change to be violent or peaceful, (2) what would and what should be the nature of the system after change (3) in whose sphere of influence would South Africa be after change and I use the term "sphere of influence" in its broader sense as meaning either the West or East block.

I believe that like myself you who would like to see an end to apartheid and whereas it is clear that the actual change will have to come about as a result of the efforts of the South African people and the problems of South Africa must be solved by its own people, this does not in my view, mean that others within the United States or elsewhere may not or should not express their views or make their own value judgements on systems of government in other countries. I also believe that like myself you are committed to peaceful processes. I for one am opposed to violence having been through a war and seen violence, to me it is utterly abhorrent.

In so far as the nature of the system after the change is concerned, our party the Progressive Federal Party, believes that it must be a democratic system in which all of South Africa's people participate and that it must come about after a process of negotiation culminating in a national convention. In so far as the place of the future South Africa is concerned, we are committed to seeing that while it maintains its independence and determines its own destiny, its place is in the ranks of the nations with Western values and that its great resources including its minerals, should be available not only for its own people, but by the beneficiation of such resources and its exports be available to the people of the West. During my short visit to the United States, I have unfortunately been brought under the impression that there appears to be a tendency in some quarters for the debate to take the form that those who do not support disinvestment must automatically be regarded as supporting apartheid and therefore racists, whereas in my view the debate should be focused on the real issues I have set out above. Opposing disinvestment does not mean that one is a racist, the very contrary is the case. The process of change having started in South Africa, economic and political advancement need as experience demonstrates go together and one needs greater economic growth in order to enable this to occur. I would ask you to consider an alternative method to combat apartheid namely in that instead of there being less investment in South Africa that there should be greater investment in South Africa. That investment by United States firms in our country should be encouraged perhaps even by incentives of a tax nature provided

The Honorable  
John Heinz

April 22, 1985

page 3

that at least some of their profits are directed specifically towards the improvement of the standard and quality of life of the Black people and in particular towards their education and their training. Obviously the obligation to provide these services rests upon the South African people as a whole, but our resources are limited, our capacity to grow economically is limited, particularly having regard to the time span within which change should take place. Assistance to do this would not only be desirable but necessary if the problems are to be solved within a relatively short time.

Opposition to apartheid in South Africa has not been limited to a few individuals nor to any particular group but many thousands of South Africans have over many years consistently stood up to be counted in their objection to discrimination on grounds of color or race. Different people have chosen different paths to express their views. My colleagues in the Progressive Federal Party and I chose to do so through the medium of Parliamentary opposition and our voices have been heard on many issues whether relating to civil rights, removal of people, pass laws, migrant labor, citizenship, opposition to the homelands policy, and much more. So our credentials on opposition to apartheid, I believe, cannot be brought in issue. We are however, as I pointed out, committed to peaceful change. What has been built up in South Africa in human and material resources and wealth should not be destroyed in the process of change but should rather be available for all its people.

For your information a copy of a letter which was addressed by the Chairman of our Party to Senator Edward Kennedy when he was recently in South Africa and my own short curriculum vitae are attached for your information.

I fully understand the desire of your colleagues and yourself to make statements on your value standards. I fully appreciate the role that the United States plays in global politics, but I am confident that a legislature of the standing, experience and ability which yours has will before it acts, address itself to all the issues including those which I have sought to raise. Should you wish to receive from me a more detailed view on our alternative proposals or any facts relating to our economy in particular the need for job creation, I would be very happy to submit them to you on request.

Yours sincerely,

Harry Schwarz, M.P.

HS/pmf  
Attachments

COLIN BULLOCK  
P.O. BOX 1475  
CAPE TOWN 8000

10th January, 1985.

Senator Edward Kennedy,  
Heerengracht Hotel,  
Cape Town.

Dear Senator Kennedy,

I write to you both because of my concern for the people of my country and because of the great respect I have for your late brother Robert, who I knew and with whom I was associated during his visit to South Africa. I know that you share my respect for your late brother and that you share his care and concern for the individual human being.

I recall the words he used in his sensitive, yet powerful address in Cape Town way back in June 1966.

"We stand here in the name of freedom. At the heart of that Western freedom and democracy is the belief that the individual man, the child of God, is the touchstone of value, and all society, groups, the state, exist for his benefit."

I shall try to avoid adding to the kaleidoscope of views, impressions, interpretations which have been put to you during your few hectic days in South Africa. Rather will I limit my comments to the vitally important issue of a strategy for achieving fundamental change away from apartheid in South Africa.

In relation to the fashioning and implementation of such a strategy then:

1. The South African society is not a static one in which two monolithic groups - one black, the other white - are locked into unyielding and mortal conflict.

The South African society is an evolving, changing one where, in spite of the policy of the Nationalist Government and the restrictive laws of apartheid, changes away from apartheid in the direction of a greater sharing in social benefits, economic opportunity and even political power are constantly taking place. I share with many fellow South Africans the frustration at the slowness and the unevenness of the pace at which these changes are taking place. I am concerned that many of these 'organic' and fundamental changes in our society are not reflected or accommodated in the laws or constitutional structures.

Nevertheless this groundswell of forces for change is there and is gathering momentum and is starting to make its impact felt on the policies and structures of apartheid.

A simple illustration of the 'organic' - if not statutory - shift in relevance and importance that has now taken place in the South African society is the difference in the character of Bobby's visit to South Africa in 1966 and your visit here in 1985.

Bobby and you started from the same base, you shared a common philosophy, you came with a similar objective. In 1966 Bobby's visit was essentially a 'white' one in which Blacks in South Africa played a relatively minor role. Back in 1966 Whites seemed to represent overwhelmingly the realities of political power and importance in South Africa. Not so in 1985. The character of your visit reflects the reality of the growing relevance and rising political importance of black South Africans in spite of their exclusion from the statutory instruments of political power.

2. If change away from apartheid is going to be achieved with the maximum speed and be accompanied by the minimum of violence than it will have to be achieved by the interaction of forces welling up inside South Africa. While external factors are relevant, and may at times play either a positive or a negative role, fundamental change, liberation, the dismantling of apartheid, the restructuring of a new society based on human freedom and individual liberty - call it what you will - cannot be imposed from outside. It must take place inside South Africa and must be achieved by the actions of South Africans for South Africans.

Any attempt from outside South Africa to contribute to significant and fundamental change inside South Africa must be directed to strengthening the forces and accelerating the process of peaceful fundamental change within the body of the South African society. Attempts to impose change from outside - as opposed to attempts to strengthening the forces working for peaceful fundamental change within South Africa - will not accelerate the process of change but increase the temper of conflict and the level of violence in South Africa. This, with disastrous consequences, not only for the people of South Africa, but for the concept of human freedom and individual liberty in this corner of the globe.

3. There are a variety of forces for change operating in the South African society but of these the most potent are undoubtedly those generated by economic development.

It is these forces that have accelerated the process of urbanisation and shattered the myth of Verwoerdian grand apartheid. It is these forces that have founded a new stable black urban community, and forced a new upward mobility for Blacks in education, in skills, in employment, and led to the establishment of black trade unions, and made Blacks an increasingly important part of the total consumer force.

It is these forces that have led to a million and one points of inter-racial contact and co-operation in the economic if not the political fields. It is these forces that have made Blacks more important and more relevant and, in a fundamental way, more powerful.

These forces have not yet persuaded the Nationalist Government to dismantle the structure of apartheid but they are starting to have an eroding effect on the Nationalists' confidence in the efficacy and the viability of these structures in a modern industrial South Africa.

These forces are making a constant and growing impact on the thinking of many white South Africans. They have certainly made the leaders of the free enterprise business community aware of the urgent need for fundamental change away from apartheid.

It is these forces that increase the economic muscle of black South Africans so that they are in a stronger position to bargain for their rights and fight for their liberation.

It is these forces that promote peaceful change from within South Africa that must be strengthened and encouraged.

As you know full well there are no guarantees of success in politics. But I am convinced that the route most likely to produce the earliest and most fundamental change away from apartheid is the route of accelerated economic development in South Africa.

As one who cares for this country and is aware of your concern for people, their liberties and the conditions under which they live, I ask you to give serious thought to the views I have expressed to you in this letter.

I know that the human aspect of what you have seen and heard in South Africa will have made a deep impression on you. I know too that you will face many conflicting interests when you return to your own country. In a life where many decisions are difficult and tough and often require great qualities of perception and of courage, I trust that you will decide to use your talents to assist the people of South Africa in a positive way and that you will do nothing to damage or retard the process of peaceful and fundamental change in my country.

Yours sincerely,

Colin Eglin, M.P.  
National Chairman  
Progressive Federal Party.

Translation from Spanish from EL PAIS,  
Madrid, April 8, 1985

SPAIN WILL ESTABLISH OFFICIAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL BEFORE  
JOINING THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY - by Ignacio Cembrero, Beirut

The ambassadors of the Arab countries in Madrid are considering that Spain will establish diplomatic relations with Israel during the current year, before Spain will join the EEC. That, according to a major report made public last March by one of the most influential publications related to the Middle East, the Lebanese magazine Al Mustakbal (<sup>The Future</sup> ~~El Futuro~~) which is published in Paris and usually reports the positions of the moderate Arab countries.

The author of the article, Abdul Karim Abulnashr mentioned in this piece reports from Arab ambassadors and minutes of meetings between the King Juan Carlos, the President, Felipe Gonzalez and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fernando Moran.

"The non-recognition of Israel means for Spain an exception in relation to other European countries which were able to have close relationships with both parties" (the Arabs and Israel).

"Because of this, Spain should think one day to establish similar relations." With these words, Gonzalez answered to the General Secretary of the Arab League, the Tunisian, Chadli Klibi, who visited him in Madrid.

BJB/4/30/85

## España establecerá relaciones con Israel antes del ingreso en la CEE

IGNACIO CEMBRERO, Beirut  
Los embajadores árabes acreditados en Madrid consideran que España establecerá relaciones diplomáticas con Israel este mismo año, antes de su ingreso en las comunidades europeas, según un largo informe dado a conocer el pasado mes de marzo por una de las publicaciones más influyentes en Oriente Próximo, la revista libanesa *Al Mustakbal (El Futuro)*, editada en París y que refleja los puntos de vista de los países árabes moderados.

El periodista Abdul Karim Abulnasr cita informes de embaja-

dores árabes y actas de encuentros del rey don Juan Carlos, Felipe González y Fernando Morán con responsables árabes. "El no reconocimiento de Israel constituye para España una excepción en relación a los demás países europeos, que han conseguido mantener estrechas relaciones con ambas partes" (la árabe y la israelí). "Por todo esto", añadió, "España podría pensar un día en establecer relaciones similares". Con estas palabras textuales contestó González al secretario general de la Liga Árabe, el tunecino Chadli Klibi, que le visitó en Madrid.

EL PAIS, lunes 8 de abril de 1985

ap

**Allanza Popular**

PRESIDENTE

Génova, 13  
Telf.: 419 20 27 - 419 40 08  
Madrid - 4

Mr. Jacobo KOVADLOFT  
Director South American Affairs and  
Spanish Media  
The American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

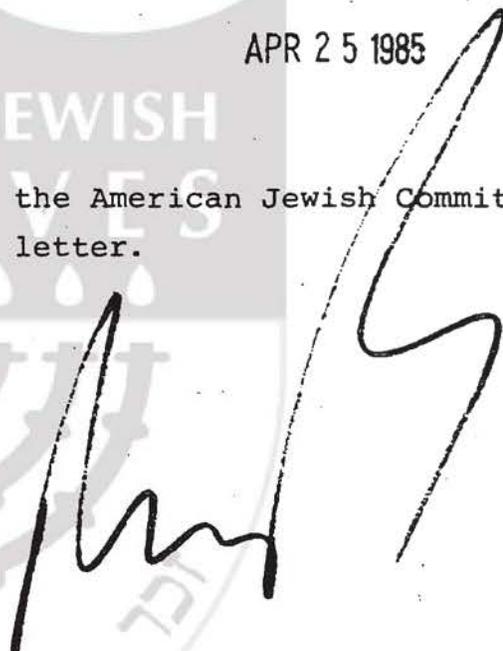
Madrid, 15 de abril, 1985

APR 25 1985

Dear Sir:

I acknowledge receipt of the American Jewish Committee's  
report, as well as your friendly letter.

Sincerely yours,



Manuel Fraga Iribarne

JC/jt

South Africa

# ajc pittsburgh

RECEIVED

**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.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** March 21, 1985  
**to** Leo Nevas, Chairman, International Affairs Commission  
**from** Merritt Yoelin, Chairman, Portland Chapter  
**subject** SOUTH AFRICA: AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE POLICY

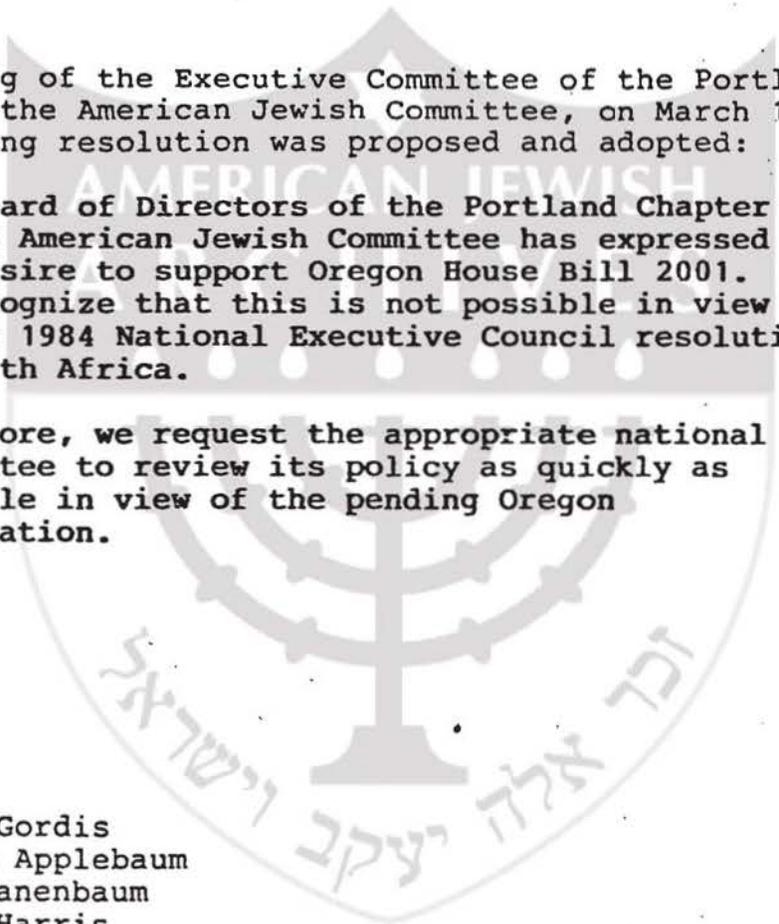
At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Portland Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, on March 15, 1985, the following resolution was proposed and adopted:

The Board of Directors of the Portland Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has expressed its desire to support Oregon House Bill 2001. We recognize that this is not possible in view of the 1984 National Executive Council resolution on South Africa.

Therefore, we request the appropriate national committee to review its policy as quickly as possible in view of the pending Oregon legislation.

MY:mlb

- cc: David Gordis  
Harold Applebaum  
✓ Marc Tanenbaum  
David Harris  
Western Regional Advisory Board



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** March 21, 1985  
**to** Western Regional Advisory Board  
**from** Merritt Yoelin, Chairman, Portland Chapter  
 Executive Committee, Portland Chapter  
**subject** RESOLUTION: SOUTH AFRICA

WHEREAS, House Bill 2001 has been introduced into the Oregon House of Representatives, introducing disinvestment and divestiture proceedings against South Africa; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of the Portland Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has indicated its desire to support HB 2001; and

WHEREAS, the position of the American Jewish Committee, as stated at the National Executive Council meeting in Chicago, November, 1984, does not include consideration of such economic sanctions; and

WHEREAS, the Portland Chapter, desiring a change in AJC policy to allow the chapter to support HB 2001, has requested a review of national policy on this issue by the International Affairs Commission.

Be it here resolved that the Western Regional Advisory Board of the American Jewish Committee join with the Portland Chapter in its request for a review of national policy on disinvestment and divestiture in South Africa.

MY:mlb

cc: David Gordis  
 Harold Applebaum  
 Marc Tanenbaum  
 David Harris  
 Neil Sandberg  
 Ernest Weiner  
 Bonnie Feinman  
 Hinda Beral  
 Joan Tamis  
 Barbara Hurst  
 Diane Steinman

# 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 of 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 Employees' 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.

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 Afrikaaners, the majority white population?

Those who do not understand the particular psychology of the Afrikaaners, 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 Afrikaaner 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-

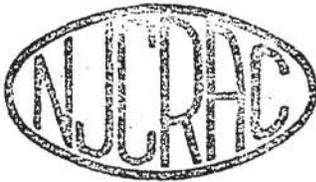
asures, that is, economic sanctions, would ultimately help or hurt the very Black South Africans it is intended to assist..."

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 Israeli 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





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.

If you are interested in receiving the full text of the March 9 Congressional Quarterly special report, which discusses the political climate surrounding the discussion of sanctions, background on apartheid, the history of U.S. policy toward the Republic of South Africa, and whether, and to what extent, the U.S. should escalate pressure for an end to apartheid, please contact me. Also available on request is a policy background report prepared by the Civil Rights Division of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: Economic Disengagement in South Africa: Divestiture.

Please continue to share information and press clips about local activities on this issue with me.

MP/11

O, EX, DTF, EO, CHAIR, NAT-EX

Enc.



RECEIVED FOR ARCHIVAL

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** March 21, 1985  
**to** Leo Nevas, Chairman, International Affairs Commission  
**from** Merritt Yoelin, Chairman, Portland Chapter  
**subject** SOUTH AFRICA: AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE POLICY

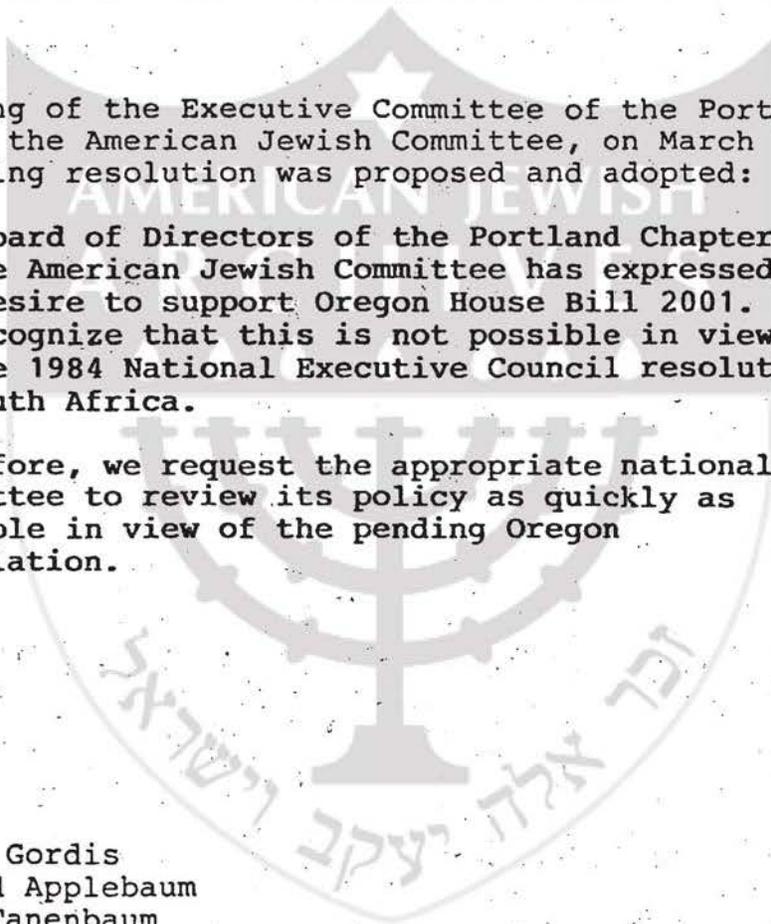
At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Portland Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, on March 15, 1985, the following resolution was proposed and adopted:

The Board of Directors of the Portland Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has expressed its desire to support Oregon House Bill 2001. We recognize that this is not possible in view of the 1984 National Executive Council resolution on South Africa.

Therefore, we request the appropriate national committee to review its policy as quickly as possible in view of the pending Oregon legislation.

MY:mlb

cc: David Gordis  
Harold Applebaum  
Marc Tanenbaum  
✓ David Harris  
Western Regional Advisory Board



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** March 21, 1985  
**to** Western Regional Advisory Board  
**from** Merritt Yoelin, Chairman, Portland Chapter  
Executive Committee, Portland Chapter  
**subject** RESOLUTION: SOUTH AFRICA

WHEREAS, House Bill 2001 has been introduced into the Oregon House of Representatives, introducing disinvestment and divestiture proceedings against South Africa; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of the Portland Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has indicated its desire to support HB 2001; and

WHEREAS, the position of the American Jewish Committee, as stated at the National Executive Council meeting in Chicago, November, 1984, does not include consideration of such economic sanctions; and

WHEREAS, the Portland Chapter, desiring a change in AJC policy to allow the chapter to support HB 2001, has requested a review of national policy on this issue by the International Affairs Commission.

Be it here resolved that the Western Regional Advisory Board of the American Jewish Committee join with the Portland Chapter in its request for a review of national policy on disinvestment and divestiture in South Africa.

MY:mlb

cc: David Gordis  
Harold Applebaum  
Marc Tanenbaum  
✓ David Harris  
Neil Sandberg  
Ernest Weiner  
Bonnie Feinman  
Hinda Beral  
Joan Tamis  
Barbara Hurst  
Diane Steinman

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

rpr

84-550-81

Wednesday, May 1, 1985

7:45 P.M.

THE HOLOCAUST: REMEMBRANCE AS THE SOURCE OF HUMANITY'S RENEWAL

Introduction by MAYNARD I. WISHNER, Former President of the  
American Jewish Committee

THIS GENERATION LIVES BETWEEN THE WATERSHED EVENTS OF THE NAZI HOLOCAUST AND THE REBIRTH OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. THE RECENT OBSERVANCES OF YOM HASHOA, UNDERScoreD BY THE FUROR -- THE JUSTIFIED FUROR -- OVER THE FORTHCOMING VISIT OF CHANCELLOR KOHL AND PRESIDENT REAGAN TO THE BITBURG MILITARY CEMETERY HAVE ILLUMINATED HOW PROFOUNDLY JEWS EVERYWHERE HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY THE TRAUMA OF THE NAZI HOLOCAUST. THAT CONTROVERSY HAS ALSO DISCLOSED HOW DIFFERING HAVE BEEN THE RESPONSES OF THE NON-JEWISH WORLDS IN THE UNITED STATES, AND PARTICULARLY IN WEST GERMANY.

WE ARE NOT HERE TONIGHT TO DISCUSS THE BITBURG FIASCO, ALTHOUGH OUR THEME CLEARLY WILL SHED INSIGHT ON THIS PROFOUND CONCERN. OUR PURPOSE THIS EVENING IS TO EXAMINE "THE HOLOCAUST" AND THE ROLE OF REMEMBRANCE AS THE SOURCE OF HUMANITY'S RENEWAL.

WE COULD NOT HAVE THREE MORE COMPETENT PEOPLE TO HELP US UNDERSTAND THIS DIFFICULT BUT VITAL ISSUE THAN OUR SPEAKERS THIS EVENING.

OUR FIRST SPEAKER IS DR. DAVID S. WYMAN, WHO IS AUTHOR OF THE WIDELY ACCLAIMED BOOK, "THE ABANDONMENT OF THE JEWS." DR. WYMAN IS A PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS, AMHERST, AND HAS TWICE BEEN CHAIRMAN OF THE UNIVERSITY'S JUDAIC STUDIES PROGRAM. THE GRANDSON OF TWO PROTESTANT MINISTERS, PROFESSOR WYMAN IS A SPECIAL ADVISOR TO THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL. IT IS A PRIVILEGE TO INTRODUCE PROFESSOR WYMAN TO THIS AUDIENCE.

DR. YAFFA ELIACH IS PROFESSOR HISTORY AND LITERATURE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUDAIC STUDIES AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE. SHE IS THE FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES, DOCUMENTATION AND RESEARCH, THE FIRST OF ITS KIND IN THE UNITED STATES.

PROFESSOR ELIACH IS THE AUTHOR OF MAJOR WORKS ON THE HOLOCAUST, MOST PROMINENT AMONG THE, "HASIDIC TALES OF THE HOLOCAUST." BORN IN VILNA, SHE SPENT THE EARLY YEARS OF HER CHILDHOOD IN NAZI OCCUPIED EUROPE IN GHETTOS AND IN HIDING PLACES.

SHE SERVED ON THE U.S. HOLOCAUST COMMISSION, AND IS NOW A MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COMMISSION. WE ARE HONORED TO HAVE DR. ELIACH SPEAK TO US NOW.

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF WHAT WE HAVE HEARD FOR ALL OF TODAY? TO HELP US EXPLORE THAT QUESTION, WE HAVE THE BENEFIT OF THE INSIGHTS OF RABBI MARC TANENBAUN, AJC'S DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, FORMERLY OUR NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS. MARC, AS WE KNOW, HAS BEEN A LEADER IN WORLD REFUGEE, HUNGER, AND HUMAN RIGHTS CAUSES DURING HIS 25 YEARS OF ASSOCIATION WITH AJC. HE IS THE AUTHOR OF SEVEN BOOKS DEALING WITH THESE THEMES. WE ARE PLEASED NOW TO HEAR MARC'S OBSERVATIONS.

RPR

# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE



**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*

79th ANNUAL MEETING  
MAY 1-5, 1985  
WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL  
PARK AVENUE AT 50TH STREET  
NEW YORK, NY 10022  
(212) 355-3000

**CONTACT: Press-** Joyce Kaplan  
Leonard Fink  
Ralph Bass

**TV-Radio-** Randall Czarlinsky  
Haina Just

**PRESS ROOM: VERTES SUITE, 4TH FLOOR**

**FOR RELEASE AFTER 6 P.M.  
THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1985**

NEW YORK, May 2. . . Pointing to the need for more effective teaching about individual liberty and constitutional rights, Associate Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., today cited "the increasing role which conflicting values play in the international cold war, since our American values are not only being challenged by the Soviet bloc but scrutinized closely by the emerging neutral nations."

The task of achieving the constitutional ideal of liberty and individual dignity protected by law "must be the work not just of judges and lawyers but of all of us," Justice Brennan stated.

He spoke at the Dinner of the 79th Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Committee, continuing through Sunday at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, after he had received the AJC's highest award, the American Liberties Medallion. He continued:

"Our constitutional guarantees and the Bill of Rights are tissue-paper bastions if they fail to transcend the printed page. No matter how well they may be written, the guarantees have no meaning without understanding and their import. If our citizens learn only what is written on the paper, they understand little about the basic sources of protection for human rights."

"There is a danger that in our anxiety to win the race of space and technology, we may neglect the struggle of values," Justice Brennan said. That, he felt, was because "we tend to take our values for granted as we cannot take our technology for granted."

Discussing the responsibilities of citizenship, Justice Brennan stated that "the turbulence witnessed in other places cannot obscure the fact that crises at hand and in prospect are creating, and will create, more and more collisions between the citizen and his government."

/more/

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

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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

The need for vigilance to prevent government from whittling away the rights of the individual was never greater, he added, pointing out that "today, as rarely before, case after case comes to our Court which finds the individual battling to vindicate a claim under the Bill of Rights against the powers of government, federal and state."

As cities continue to grow and as an expanding proportion of people live in the vast urban and suburban areas, Justice Brennan observed, "there is a growing danger of political helplessness or uselessness on the part of the individual voter."

The worst feature of this tendency toward political helplessness and anonymity, Justice Brennan suggested, is that such feelings are unwarranted by the facts.

"I would suggest," he said, "the individual citizen is becoming more, rather than less, meaningful as a political participant, for two reasons. On one hand, it is indisputable that government, at all levels, affects ever-expanding sectors of our lives. More people work for the government, and receive benefits from the government than ever before, and the interdependence is always increasing."

Another reason why the individual citizen is more, rather than less, important politically, Justice Brennan stated, was that "as a result of such recent trends as legislative reapportionment and basic constitutional reform among the states, each citizen's vote surely counts a good deal more than it has in the past."

Adding a personal note, Justice Brennan evoked the enthusiasm of his audience when he said: "As for myself, I don't think you need put any credence in those media suggestions that at my age, through death, imbecility or dotage, my seat may become vacant in the reasonably near future."

In presenting the Committee's American Liberties Medallion to Justice Brennan "for a lifetime of exceptional service to the cause of liberty and human rights," Arthur J. Goldberg, former Supreme Court Justice and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and Honorary President of the American Jewish Committee, described him as "one of the truly great Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States."

"Throughout his tenure on the Court," Ambassador Goldberg said, "the Justice has demonstrated a deep and abiding commitment to the principles of human liberty and equality enshrined in our Constitution and the Bill of Rights."

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.

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# NEWS

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

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PRESS ROOM: VERTES SUITE, 4TH FLOOR

FOR RELEASE AFTER 7:30 P.M.  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 1, 1985

NEW YORK, May 1, 1985 .... David S. Wyman, Professor of History at the University of Massachusetts and special adviser to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Board, in an address tonight on "Faith in Humankind: The Meaning of the Holocaust," asked:

"Would the reaction be different today? Would Americans be more sensitive, less self-centered, more willing to make sacrifices, less afraid of differences now than they were then?"

Professor Wyman put his questions to the opening plenary session of the 79th Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Committee, continuing through Sunday, May 5, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Sharing the platform with him was Prof. Yaffa Eliach, author of Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust.

Stating that "One does not wish to believe the documented facts," Professor Wyman, author of the book, The Abandonment of the Jews, a recent Present Tense Literary Award winner, told the audience:

"America, the land of refuge, offered little succor. American Christians forgot about the Good Samaritan. Even American Jews lacked the unquenchable sense of urgency the crisis demanded. The Nazis were the murderers, but we were the all too passive accomplices."

America's response to the Holocaust, said Professor Wyman, was the result of action and inaction on the part of many people. In the forefront, he said, was Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose steps to aid Europe's Jews were "very limited": "He had little to say about the problem and gave no priority to rescue."

Professor Wyman apportioned equal blame to the State Department, where, he said, "callousness prevailed." Its officers, "mostly old-stock Protestants, tended strongly toward nativism. Little sympathy was wasted on East Europeans, especially Jews."

/more/

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

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CSAE 1707

Nor did Professor Wyman spare American Jews. The effectiveness of their leaders, he said, "was severely limited by their failure to create a united Jewish movement and by their lack of sustained action."

Although he credited American Jewish organizations with carrying out valuable rescue and relief work overseas, Professor Wyman quoted a War Refugee Board warning that "one of the problems is to get all the groups, particularly the Jewish groups, to work together and stop fighting among themselves."

Professor Wyman noted that:

\* The American State Department and the British Foreign Office had no intention of rescuing large numbers of European Jews. On the contrary, they continually feared that Germany or other Axis nations might release tens of thousands of Jews into Allied hands.

\* Although authenticated information that the Nazis were systematically exterminating European Jewry was made public in the United States in November 1942, President Roosevelt did nothing about the mass murder for fourteen months, then moved only because he was confronted with political pressures he could not avoid and because his administration stood on the brink of a scandal over its rescue policies.

\* The War Refugee Board, which the President then established to save Jews and other victims of the Nazis, received little power, almost no cooperation from Roosevelt or his administration, and grossly inadequate government funding.

\* Because of State Department administrative policies, only 21,000 refugees were allowed to enter the United States during the three and one-half years the nation was at war with Germany.

\* The reasons repeatedly invoked by government officials for not being able to rescue Jews could be put aside when it came to other Europeans who needed help.

"The Holocaust was certainly a Jewish tragedy," said Professor Wyman. "But it was not only a Jewish tragedy. It was also a Christian tragedy, a tragedy for Western civilization, and a tragedy for all humankind. Yet comparatively few American non-Jews recognized that the plight of the European Jews was their plight too.

"Most were either unaware, did not care, or saw the European Jewish catastrophe as a Jewish problem, one for Jews to deal with. That explains, in part, why the United States did so little to help."

Discussing another aspect of the Holocaust, Yaffa Eliach, Professor of History and Literature in the Department of Judaic Studies at Brooklyn College, quoted a Hasidic rabbi: "There are events of such overbearing magnitude that one ought not to remember them all the time, but must not forget them either. Such an event is the Holocaust."

Professor Eliach, who is founder of the Center for Holocaust Studies as well as author of Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust, also repeated the words of another distinguished rabbi: "The suffering and testimonies, when told by Holocaust survivors, are a song, a hymn of praise, a testimony to the eternity of the Jewish people and the greatness of their spirit."

"Even when uprooted from the ghetto," said Professor Eliach, "shipped away from their familiar surroundings, and thrust into the Kingdom of the Night, during the first weeks and months in the concentration camp, many victims managed to stay together, mostly in groups of two: two brothers, two sisters, father and son, or mother and daughter. They were able to hold on to each other and to some shreds of a lost past."

Others, she added, even when left totally alone, "their last surviving relatives having disappeared forever into the maw of the crematorium, held on to a belief in their ancestors and family, whose strength and protective merit could transcend the reality of imminent death."

As the war continued, Professor Eliach stated, the condition of the victims was deteriorating: "As the executioner perfected his methods, he made Job's Satan look like a novice. Eventually the concentration-camp reality could have put even Dante's Inferno to shame. Many inmates lost their last surviving family member and were robbed of all shreds of individuality; their very appearance was destroyed."

But, Professor Eliach added, even that could not completely rob man of his capacity for faith and friendship.

AJC Honorary President Maynard I. Wishner was chairman of the plenary session.

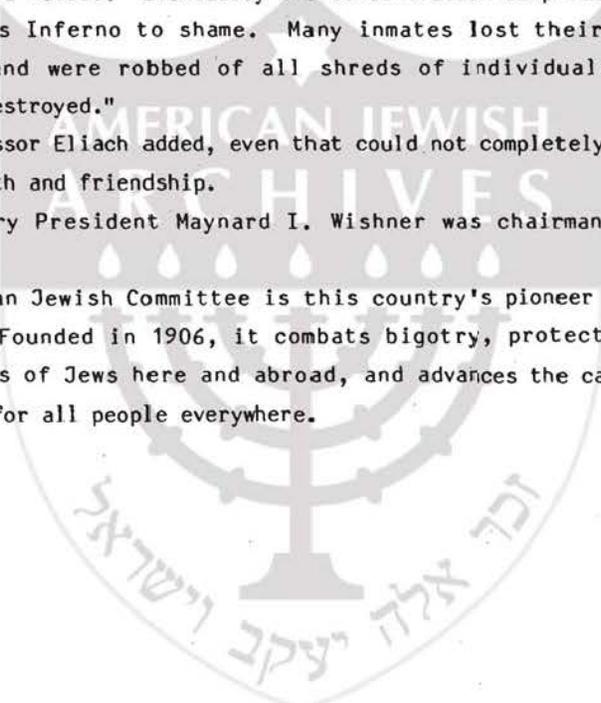
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G048-Wyman P.R.

RB:ar - 4/18/85

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# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE



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*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

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PRESS ROOM: VERTES SUITE, 4TH FLOOR

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, May 4 . . . In an effort to gain a better understanding of Jewish life in America, 10 young Israeli leaders have arrived in the United States to participate in the American Jewish Committee's 79th Annual Meeting, which continues through Sunday, and to embark on the first leg of a three-week visit of five U.S. cities.

The 10 political and business leaders, including two mayors, chosen by the AJC's Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations, are participants in the Matthew and Edna Brown Young Israeli Leadership Program. They are the third group of emerging Israeli leaders who have come to America to participate in one of the few systematic efforts to provide Israelis with a first-hand understanding of American Jewish life.

They arrived in New York from Israel yesterday, and will participate in a plenary session Sunday morning on "We Are One or Are We? Issues in American Jewish-Israeli Relations." Some of the Israelis will also appear on a panel with their American counterparts.

Following the plenary session, the Israelis will visit national Jewish organizations and meet with representatives from the branches of Judaism before departing for Washington on May 7. During their four-day Washington visit, they will visit with State Department and Congressional leaders and examine the role of Jewish political activity.

The balance of their schedule is:

May 12-14, Atlanta, examining interethnic and interreligious relations.

May 15-17, Kansas City, examining the organization of a small Jewish community and its integration into the business community.

May 18-21, Boston, examining Jewish education in America.

- more -

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

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CSAE 1707

The group, which is due to return to Israel May 23, includes:

Amit Anter, an editor of Al Hamishmar, the Mapam daily, and a member of Mapam's Central Committee;

Moshe Barner, architect, member of the National Religious Party Executive Committee;

Eliyahu Dekel, army captain, management consultant with Tsiklon in Kiryat Shmona, from Cochin, India;

Lior Dushnitsky, managing director of Ezra Bitzaron Co., a construction and development company, a member of the Herut Party;

Limor Hoenig-Livnat, assistant to the general secretary of the Herut Party;

Nissan Krupsky, mayor of Nes Ziona, one of the oldest aliya settlements (1883), a member of the Labor Party's Central Committee;

Liora Lenger, public affairs specialist, member of the Labor Party;

Yael Nachmias, assistant to Minister of Immigrant Absorption Yaacov Tsur;

Zeev Pearl, mayor of Safed, a member of the Herut Party;

Nitza Sela, staff member, Department of International Relations of Mapam.

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.

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# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE



**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, April 24. . . A score of non-Jewish religious and ethnic groups have joined veteran and Jewish organizations in protesting President Reagan's plan to visit the German military cemetery at Bitburg, where 47 Waffen SS soldiers are among its 2,000 dead.

Commenting on the numerous expressions of support by Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Italian, Black, Hispanic and Asian national and local organizations, Howard I. Friedman, President of the American Jewish Committee, stated that "reactions over the last few days from Americans of many backgrounds and faiths have reinforced our conviction that the Bitburg cemetery cannot be an appropriate symbol for reconciliation."

Mr. Friedman cited a number of messages sent by leaders of the non-Jewish groups to President Reagan, including one from Arie R. Brouwer, general secretary, National Council of Churches of Christ, USA:

"We view with dismay your decision to make an official visit to Bitburg Cemetery. A visit to the cemetery where Nazi war criminals are buried exacerbates wounds rather than heals them. We ask you to reconsider this unfortunate decision so that the world may know this nation's total disdain for the policy that produced the Nazi Holocaust."

Dr. Eugene Fisher, director of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops Secretariat for Christian-Jewish Relations, praised President Reagan's decision to commemorate the Holocaust during his trip to West Germany, but added the decision did not resolve "the real question: Why is he going to go and pay tribute to the Waffen SS?"

"These were not just kids drafted into the army," Dr. Fisher said, "but an elite corps whose ideology was to kill the innocent."

He added that the Waffen SS "not only butchered Jews but also killed unarmed American prisoners of war. The Nuremberg court declared them a criminal association."

Aloysius A. Mazewski, President of the Polish American Congress, Inc., told President Reagan:

/more/

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

"Americans of Polish descent are dismayed by your announced decision to attend ceremonies in memory of German soldiers, including members of the notorious SS division, killed in World War II, while declining to pay tribute to the countless victims of the Nazi-German Holocaust."

Matthew G. Nizza, Chairman of the Commission for Social Justice of the New York Order of Sons of Italy in America, stated that "to honor the graves in which Nazi SS officers are buried is to pay homage to those who willingly participated in the most infamous act of genocide in the history of our planet."

Mr. Friedman also quoted the following message of support the American Jewish Committee had received from the Rev. Gardner Taylor, pastor of the Concord Baptist Church of Christ in Brooklyn:

"Along with great number of black people we join you in outrage at the planned visit of President Reagan to the Bitburg Nazi cemetery containing the graves of barbarous mass murderers and criminals against our common humanity."

Mr. Friedman also quoted part of a joint telegram to President Reagan in which leaders of a coalition of white ethnic, Black, Hispanic, and Asian ethnic groups told the President: "We feel that your visit to the military cemetery at Bitburg would insult the memory of the Americans, Europeans and North Africans who died at the hands of the Nazis."

The joint statement continued: "We add our united voice to the chorus of the Jewish people, American veterans organizations, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, a majority of the United States Senate, including leaders of your own party, and thousands of American families who continue to mourn for fathers, husbands, brothers and sons slain by the Nazis during World War II, in urging you to cancel your visit to the cemetery."

Among other leaders of national groups who protested President Reagan's visit were Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director, NAACP; Raul Yzaguirre, President, National Council of La Raza; Joseph M. Trevino, Executive Director, League of United Latin American Citizens; S. Andrew Chen, National President, Organization of Chinese Americans; Joseph Tateishi, Redress Director, Japanese Americans Citizens' League; Le Xuan Khoa, Executive Director, Indochina Resource Action Center; John Kromkowski, President, National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs; and Fred Rotondaro, Executive Director, National Italian American Foundation; Andrew Athens, National Chairman, United Hellenic American Congress; Joaquin Avila, President and General Council, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Dr. Myron Kuropas, Supreme Vice President, Ukrainian National Association, National Ethnic Liaison, Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine; Anthony J. Fornelli, Past President, UNCIO National; Julian E. Kulas, member, Board of Directors, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

Among the local signatories were Stanley Balzekas, Jr., President, Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture; Edwin Cudecki, former Chairperson, Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education; Ross Harano, Chairman, Mayor's Advisory Council on Asian Affairs, City of Chicago, former Midwest District Governor, Japanese American Citizens League.

Others were Mitchell Kobelinski, President, Copernicus Foundation, former President, Polish American Congress; Winston Liang, President, Greater Chicago Chapter, Organization of Chinese Americans.

Also joining in the statement were Edward Marciniak, President, Institute for Urban Life, Loyola University, former President, National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs; Rev. Herbert Martin, President, Chicago Southside Branch, NAACP; Ray Romero, Chicago Regional Director, Associate Counsel, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Connie Seals, Chairperson, Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education; Maria Medina Seidner, Chairperson, ASPIRA Inc., of Illinois, Past President, National Association for Bilingual Education; Rev. Vilis Varaberga, President, Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

Speaking for the American Jewish Committee, Mr. Friedman stated:

"Let it be clearly understood: there can be no reconciliation with the unspeakable horrors perpetrated by the SS. The SS were the chief agents of Hitler's war against the Jews; they manned the ramparts of the Holocaust kingdom. It would be morally obscene for the President of the United States -- however well-meaning his intentions -- to lay a wreath at a cemetery containing SS graves."

Two other AJC officials, Rabbi A. James Rudin, National Director of Religious Affairs, and Irving M. Levine, Director of National Affairs and Director of the AJC's Institute for American Pluralism, issued a joint statement:

"It is heartwarming that such a diverse group of American ethnic and religious leaders have declared themselves so emphatically as being opposed to President Reagan's Bitburg cemetery visit. It is an issue that has touched deep emotional chords among all sections of the American public whose memories of why we fought against Nazi brutality have not been extinguished by time. Their voices heard now will make it more difficult for their children to forget the Holocaust and its meaning to all mankind."

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.

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# ANNUAL MEETING

- 1-40 THE MORAL IMPERATIVES OF RELIGION
- 2-40 AJC'S POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA
- 3-40 THE HOLOCAUST-REMEMBRANCE AS THE SOURCE OF HUMANITY'S RENEWAL
- 4-40 EUROPEAN JEWRY TODAY (2 Tapes)
- 5-40 JEWISH COMMUNAL AFFAIRS: "JEWISH CULTURAL CREATIVITY"
- 6-40 INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS: "AMERICA'S BLACK CHURCHES - PERCEPTIONS OF JEWS, JUDAISM & ISRAEL"
- 7-40 EUROPE 40 YEARS AFTER WORLD WAR II
- 8-40 REPORTS FROM THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE, MEMBERSHIP CABINET AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES
- 9-40 79th ANNUAL DINNER PRESENTATIONS
- 10-40 Breakfast Meeting on WOMEN'S ISSUES
- 11-40 MARGINALITY AND INVOLVEMENT: THE AMERICAN JEWISH OPTION
- 12-40 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: TOWARD NEW STRATEGIES "U.S.S.R. and SOVIET JEWRY"
- 13-40 NATIONAL AFFAIRS: "CHURCH & STATE - THE ONGOING DEBATE"
- 14-40 THE NEW SOCIAL CONTRACT
- 15-40 REPORTS FROM THE CONCURRENT SESSIONS
- 16-40 SABBATH SERVICES (2 Tapes)
- 17-40 HOW THE MEDIA PORTRAYS THE FAMILY
- 18-40 WE ARE ONE OR ARE WE? ISSUES IN AMERICAN JEWISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS (2 Tapes)
- 19-40 ISRAEL'S POSITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA (2 Tapes)

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# ANNUAL 50<sup>TH</sup> MEETING

## POLICY BACKGROUND

### SOVIET JEWRY: WHAT NOW?

Background Memorandum for  
International Relations Program Forum  
Friday, May 3, 1985, 11:00 A.M.

Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to leadership in the Soviet Union has aroused hope for some liberalization of Soviet policies, domestic and foreign. Though experienced Soviet-watchers warn that entrenched bureaucracy will make change difficult, this may be the time when a thaw between East and West becomes possible.

Gorbachev was much influenced by his mentor, Yuri Andropov, under whose regime the more restrictive anti-Jewish measures, which began during the latter part of Brezhnev's tenure, were continued and indeed strengthened. Emigration declined precipitously: 1982 - 2,688; 1983 - 1,314; 1984 - 896. So far this year, 61 have emigrated in January and 88 in February. In 1979, emigration totaled 51,320.

Of particular concern has been the harsh campaign against Jewish education, resulting in the sentencing of six Hebrew teachers to long terms in prison camps. The teachers were tried on trumped-up charges involving alleged possession of narcotics and weapons. Articles in the Soviet press indicated that Jews use drugs as part of their religious rituals.

Anti-Semitic writings and broadcasts in the Soviet media continue, making the most outrageous charges, including the allegations that Zionists and Nazis worked together and that Jews are an untrustworthy and disloyal Fifth Column wherever they are. Recent television broadcasts on several Jewish activists attempt to portray them as subversives working with the CIA.

Notwithstanding the bleakness of this picture, there are a number of knowledgeable authorities who believe that a combination of internal and external political and economic considerations might, especially after Gorbachev has succeeded in consolidating his power, bring about a positive change in relations with the West, perhaps even leading to some liberalization regarding emigration. It is hoped that current Reagan Administration efforts to create a more positive climate for bilateral relations, including arms negotiations, will lead to a lessening of tensions, which would be a necessary, if not sufficient, pre-condition for positive movement on the Soviet Jewry question. Other observers, however, are more skeptical of the likelihood of liberaliza-

tion in the U.S.S.R. under Gorbachev, suggesting that he has not ascended to his present position by being a "closet liberal."

The new Soviet leadership will have sufficient opportunity to signal a more positive approach. They could do so, clearly, by increasing emigration, freeing some of the Prisoners of Conscience and allowing long-term refuseniks to leave. Also, the Helsinki follow-up meetings, which are scheduled to take place during the next year -- the Experts Meeting on Human Rights in Ottawa in May 1985; the Cultural Forum in Budapest in October 1985; the Experts Meeting on Human Contacts in Berne in April 1986 -- provide occasions for Soviet flexibility. In the meantime, it is important for organized Jewry in the West to review strategies and tactics to determine what leverage exists and how effectively it can be used.

### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The Jackson-Vanik Amendment, part of the Trade Act of 1974, denies Most Favored Nation (MFN) status to non-market (socialist) countries who restrict emigration. Since it is believed to have been a major factor in inducing the Soviets to permit more than 250,000 Jews to emigrate, it has been suggested that the President use the waiver provision of the Amendment to recommend extension of MFN for a one-year period, as a way of attempting to persuade them to liberalize their policy again.

Would this help? Is it wise to make concessions when we are witnessing some of the harshest Soviet anti-Jewish action in the last decade? Should we wait for some sign or concession from the Soviets? What would we consider to be an appropriate or satisfactory gesture?

2. It has often been the case that during a time of "cold war," human rights issues are considered priorities. When the situation begins to change and governments begin to negotiate political, military and economic issues, human rights concerns may recede in importance on the bilateral agenda or, perhaps, even be seen as an impediment to improving trade and other relations. Indeed, we have witnessed a decisive effort to exclude such issues as Afghanistan from the current Geneva negotiations.

Should we urge the U.S. government to raise the Soviet Jewry issue as part of the current arms negotiations? More broadly, will Jews be seen as creating an obstacle to peace by emphasizing a specific "Jewish issue" as against the general issue of disarmament and peace?

ANALYSIS OF PENDING LEGISLATION ON SOUTH AFRICA

BILLS BEFORE CONGRESS

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

A. ENHANCING HUMAN RIGHTS

1. Legal enforcement of the Sullivan Principles
2. Condemnation of violence in the RSA and a request for an investigation by the Secretary of State
3. Condemnation of the RSA "homelands" policy

B. RESTRICTING IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

1. Banning importation of RSA gold coins or Kruggerands
2. Banning importation of coal and uranium from the RSA
3. Banning export of nuclear technology and other goods to the RSA
4. Banning export of "militarily significant items" to the RSA

C. DISCOURAGING INVESTMENT

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

D. DIPLOMATIC ACTIONS

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

over...

## EXPLANATORY NOTES

U.S. Investment in South Africa: As of December 1983, direct United States investment in the Republic of South Africa was estimated at \$2.2 billion. In addition, U.S. financial institutions held \$3.6 billion in outstanding loans to RSA borrowers, although only \$146 million of this was loaned directly to the RSA Government. U.S. investors also held \$8 billion worth of shares in RSA mines, and U.S. firms employed 127,000 Blacks.

Krugerands: \$500 million worth of Krugerands were sold in the United States in 1984.

Nuclear Technology: The U.S. Government states that it supplies only safety-related equipment for South Africa's nuclear program.

Uranium and Coal: Currently, the United States imports 30% of its uranium from South Africa, and 60% of its imported coal.

Honorary Consulates: The Republic of South Africa has "honorary" consulates--small facilities run by local residents--in eight American cities.

April 1985  
85-100-93

New York Times

# Holocaust Board Unlikely to Quit Over Reagan's Trip, Member Says

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

A key member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council said yesterday that the 65-member body, despite feelings of deep anguish, would probably not quit to protest President Reagan's planned visit in the next month to a German military cemetery.

"It would be a dramatic and emotional reaction, but not the most sensible thing to do," said Hyman Bookbinder, a member of the executive committee of the council, which was established by Congress in 1980 to create a memorial to the six million Jews who died at the hands of the Nazis in World War II.

"We now see the work of the council as even more important," Mr. Bookbinder said in an interview. "We must help the President understand the full significance of the Holocaust, the real meaning — namely, that war and genocide are not identical."

speeches and conversation at the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, which is to begin today in Philadelphia.

Reactions yesterday demonstrated again the cause has become a visit to the cemetery would be the visit.

In Tel Aviv, the Israeli government said that the visit would be a "major honor" and that it would be "a very important" since both

Washington Post

# Dole and Wick Join Critics Of Reagan Trip to Cemetery

TRIP, From A1

he is preparing a summary of foreign press reaction, much of it critical, for the president to peruse.

cancel the visit in a letter written before Reagan reaffirmed his commitment to the trip in a telephone conversation with Kohl last Friday.

Boenisch said that U.S.-German relations

to Kohl and didn't want one he considers a friend."

"It is crystal clear that Kohl is unlikely to change his mind," said another official familiar with the U.S.-German negotiations of the visit. Reagan is even more unlikely to change because he has given his word.

Meanwhile, a score of non-Jewish religious and ethnic groups added their voices to the chorus of protests against the Reagan visit. Howard I. Friedman, president of the American Jewish Committee, said that the protests of black, Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Hispanic and Asian national local organizations "have reinforced our conviction that the Bitburg ceremony cannot be an appropriate symbol for reconciliation."

White House officials confirm that the president's liaison had tried in vain to get a survivor Elie Wiesel to cancel his visit to the Bitburg cemetery. Wiesel had tried in vain to get a survivor Elie Wiesel to cancel his visit to the Bitburg cemetery.

# Reagan Defends Visit to German Cemetery

TRIP, From A1

He announced today his choice of a concentration-camp site to visit in May and was scheduled to award the Congressional Gold Medal to Holocaust author and death-camp survivor Elie Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council.

"Why then should anyone visit, and by doing so, honor their cemetery as though they had been nothing but ordinary soldiers who died in World War II?" Wiesel asked.

The Rev. Billy Graham, a long-time Reagan friend who spoke to the president about the issue a few days ago, said, "Christians and Jews alike should pray for the president because his motives were peaceful motives. He was trying to be a peacemaker. But I don't think that he and his advisers or [West German] Chancellor [Helmut] Kohl and his advisers thought through the implications."

In defending the decision to visit the Bitburg cemetery, Reagan noted that leaders of the nations that were U.S. enemies in World War II

# Baltimore Sun President to visit Nazi graves

# Jewish spokesmen criticize decision

By Robert Timberg

SANTA BARBARA, Calif. — The White House announced yesterday that President Reagan will visit a German military cemetery when he goes to Europe next month, provoking an immediate outcry from na-

without focusing on the main agenda of Nazism — the 'final solution' of the Jewish people and the murder of many other innocent victims.

"If the president of the United States can visit a German cemetery," the rabbi continued, "he can certainly visit Dachau or Bergen-Belsen, two of the most infamous Nazi death camps, both in Germany."

Upon hearing the news, Hyman Bookbinder, Washington representative of the American Jewish Congress, said he immediately called the office of the White House communications director, Patrick J. Buchanan, and urged that Mr. Reagan focus on the Holocaust during speeches in Europe.

If he does not, Mr. Bookbinder said, the "anguish" among Jews that resulted from the earlier decision not to visit a concentration camp will be justified."

Denver Post

# Jewish leader assails Reagan for sticking to cemetery-visit plans

By Virginia Culver

President Reagan's decision to visit a German military cemetery was an "outrageous step," a Jewish leader said Monday.

"What I don't understand is his stubbornness of sticking with the decision," said Judith Banki, associate director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee.

Banki, in Denver for a speech, said she can understand why the United States wants to strengthen its ties "with a new Germany."

"We Jews, too, realize there is a new Germany. But it's one thing to say the past is past and another to deny or try to level out the past. What's what is so distressing about the decision to visit a German military cemetery."

To blunt the criticism, the White House since has announced the president also will visit a concentration camp where Jews died during World War II.

But Jews and others still are upset that his plans include the visit

to a cemetery where some of Hitler's SS troops are buried.

The administration first said the cemetery contained bodies of American servicemen, which it does not, and of 14-year-old German boys, who were drafted to fight in Hitler's army.

"That's true," said Banki, adding, "there are no separate cemeteries for 14-year-olds."

Reagan's scheduled visit to the cemetery, she said, "seems to be an attempt to diminish the distinction between the murderers and the victims. There is a difference between war and genocide, but that difference seems to be fuzzy in the president's mind and actions."

Banki was in Denver to discuss the influence of the New Religious Right on the Jewish community.

Jews are particularly concerned over the "theological imperialism" of some members of the New Right, in which Banki said "they discuss Christian values rather than moral values."

Jews accept and welcome sup-

ported at having to expression of conscience permits compelled to do to undo the may cause."

solutions asking at the cemetery coming after a Wednesday by 53 s of Americans this decision," ten (D-Ore), one

Solarz (D-N.Y.) can it ever be, to pay tribute to service to the possible."

late George P. apitol ceremony, for understand took part in the Nazi horror."



Reagan greets Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee at the White House where the president addressed the group.

Chicago Tribune

Time Magazine

Chancellor Helmut Kohl hoped to promote. Some Reagan aides added that, although the President was advised to stop at Dachau, he was reluctant to go through the wrenching experience of visiting the camp. At a news conference last month, Reagan rambled into an even less understandable explanation: among the German people, he said, there are "very few alive that remember even the war, and certainly none of them who were adults and participating in any way." Besides being so obviously untrue, Reagan's statement shocked Jews and many others for whom the horrors of the Holocaust should never be forgotten or dismissed. As Hyman Bookbinder of the American Jewish Committee pointed out last week, Kohl himself is to visit one of the concentration camps this Sunday.

AP Photo

Your AJC at work

# ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

AMERICAN JEWISH  
AFFAIRS

A Special Report  
of the International  
Relations Department

By **Kenneth Bandler**  
and **George E. Gruen**

זכור אלה יעקב וישראל



## 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."<sup>1</sup>

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*\*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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> More than 6,700 African students came to Israel for training in agriculture, medicine and other developmental fields.<sup>4</sup> Several thousand Israelis served in Africa.<sup>5</sup>

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.

Israel-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.<sup>6</sup> 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."<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup> Between 1963 and 1974 more than \$1 billion worth of armaments were shipped to South Africa, mostly from France.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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."<sup>15</sup> 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.

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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

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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)<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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).

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