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REPORT TO THE CONGRESS PURSUANT TO SECTION 501 OF THE
COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF 1986

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Pursuant to Section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (The Act), the President has transmitted to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a report on the extent to which significant progress has been made toward ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy in South Africa. Included is the President's recommendation on which suggested additional measures, if any, should be imposed on that country.

The report concludes that there has not been significant progress toward ending apartheid since October, 1986, and that none of the goals outlined in Title I of the Act--goals that are shared by the Administration and the Congress--have been fulfilled. Moreover, the South African Government's response to the Act over the past year gives little ground for hope that this trend will soon be reversed or that additional measures will produce better results.

In reviewing the twelve-month period since the Act became law, the report describes a continuing bleak situation for blacks in South Africa who face increased repression, harassment, and--even in the case of a significant number of minors--imprisonment. Press censorship has been intensified, and illegal cross border raids by South African security forces into neighboring countries have resulted in the loss of innocent lives.

In the economic area, the report points out that sanctions have had minimal impact on interrupting South Africa's external trade because of that country's ability to find substitute markets for its products outside the United States. Where there has been a significant impact, notably in the coal and sugar industries, the loss of export markets in the United States has caused hardship among black workers who are experiencing greater rates of unemployment. Overall, South Africa's economic performance has not been robust due to the poor investment climate, unfavorable international conditions, and drought in the farming areas. Sanctions have incrementally exacerbated an already existing problem.

The report also takes note of considerable disinvestment by American companies since the beginning of the recent unrest in South Africa. The report points out that the most painful impact of this trend toward disinvestment has been the disappearance of company-funded social, housing, educational, and job training programs designed to improve living standards and career opportunities for black South Africans.

In political terms, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which followed selective measures instituted by Executive Order in 1985, sent a strong message of abhorrence of apartheid on the part of the American people. The immediate result, however, was a marked reduction in our ability to persuade the South African Government to act responsibly on human rights issues and to restrain its behavior in the region. Perhaps the single ray of hope during the period under review was the appearance of ferment within the Afrikaner community where there is increasing public discussion of "power sharing." While this and similar terms being discussed are still devoid of quantifiable substance, they may be a precursor to eventual negotiations between the South African Government and the black leadership, a goal which the U.S. Government will be seeking to promote.

Because of the President's conclusion that the economic sanctions embodied in the 1986 Act have not been effective in meeting the goals on which the Congress and the Administration agree, and his conviction that additional measures would be counterproductive, the President recommends against the imposition of any additional measures at this time, including those mentioned in Section 501(c) of the Act, and continues to believe that the current punitive sanctions against South Africa are not the best way to bring freedom to that country.

What the United States now needs is a period of active and creative diplomacy--bilaterally as well as in consultation with our allies and with our friends in southern Africa--focusing on doing all that is possible to bring the peoples of South Africa together for meaningful negotiations leading to the creation of a democratic society. The essence of this process is to state clearly what goals and values the West supports, rather than simply to reiterate what it opposes. This was the purpose of Secretary Shultz's public articulation on September 29 of the concepts which must be addressed by all South Africans to undergird a settlement of political grievances and the formation of a just, constitutional, and democratic order in South Africa. His statement delineates precisely the values that the West stands for and wishes to see negotiated by South Africans as they chart a future free of apartheid.

REPORT TO CONGRESS PURSUANT TO SECTION 501 OF THE COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF 1986

Pursuant to Section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (the Act), I am transmitting to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a report on the extent to which significant progress has been made toward ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy in that country. Included also is my recommendation on which suggested additional measures, if any, should be imposed on South Africa.

Background

In Executive Order 12571, I directed all affected executive departments and agencies to take all steps necessary, consistent with the Constitution, to implement the requirements of the Act. I am pleased to be able to report that the Act has been implemented fully and faithfully. Executive departments and agencies are to be complimented for their excellent work in carrying out this complex piece of legislation.

The legislation sets out yardsticks by which to measure the effectiveness of the approach it embodies. The specific goals are laid out in the legislation itself. The Act, in Section 101, states that it and other actions of the United States were intended to encourage the Government of South Africa to take the following steps:

- Bring about reforms leading to the establishment of a nonracial democracy in South Africa.
- Repeal the State of Emergency and respect the principles of equal justice under law for all races.
- Release Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, and Walter Sisulu and all political prisoners and black trade union leaders.
- Permit South Africans of all races the right freely to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process.
- Establish a timetable for the elimination of apartheid laws.
- Negotiate with representatives of all racial groups in South Africa the future political system in South Africa.
- End military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighboring states.

The Status of Apartheid: October 1986 to October 1987

I regret that I am unable to report significant progress leading to the end of apartheid and the establishment of a nonracial democracy in South Africa. Indeed, the following review of events in South Africa since October, 1986 provides very little hope for optimism about the immediate future.

The State of Emergency has not been repealed. Instead, the earlier decree was toughened, press restrictions were tightened, and an increasing number of foreign journalists (including Americans) were expelled. Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, and other key prisoners have not been released. Instead, the number of political prisoners detained by the Government has vastly increased, including the detention of large numbers of minors, although some detained children were later set free.

South Africa is not any closer in late 1987 to respecting free speech and free political participation by all its citizens than it was one year ago. No timetable has been set for the elimination of the remaining apartheid laws. No clear and credible plan has been devised for negotiating a future political system involving all people equally in South Africa, and many of the legitimate representatives of the majority in that country are still "banned," in hiding, or in detention. The Government of South Africa has not ended military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighboring states. Instead, such activities have been stepped up, as can be seen by Pretoria's April, 1987 raid against targets in Livingstone, Zambia; its May, 1987 incursion into Maputo, the capital of Mozambique; and the increase in unexplained deaths and disappearances of anti-apartheid activists throughout the region. The cycle of violence and counterviolence between the South African Government and its opponents has, if anything, gotten worse.

Internal Political Situation: Status of Race Relations

The absence of progress toward the end of apartheid has been reflected in generally negative trends in South Africa's internal political-economic situation during the past year.

In the recent whites-only election in South Africa, the National Party attempted to exploit a nationalistic backlash to foreign interference. Without any doubt, external factors played some role in the sizable vote totals for the National Party's right-wing opposition as well as for the ruling party itself. However the election results are interpreted, they appear to have put a brake on any inclination toward fundamental reform by the South African Government. They also helped to discredit the

anti-apartheid stand of the Progressive Federal Party and have put the current government in the position of having to deal with an official opposition which for the first time in 40 years is to the right, not the left.

Even before the elections, and more so after their conclusion, the South African Government has spared no effort to stifle domestic unrest. This round of massive unrest, which began in 1984, has been put down with harsh states of emergency. The detentions and other measures taken by the security forces during this period severely damaged the opposition groups inside the country, particularly the United Democratic Front, an umbrella organization committed to the non-violent end of apartheid. The State of Emergency has resulted in the detention of much of the UDF leadership and the silencing of much of the organization's political expression. While the State of Emergency has failed to crush the organization, it has nevertheless powerfully affected its strategies and put the organization on the defensive.

The Government has also been cool to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, a convention representing all racial groups and a wide range of social and political organizations in the Natal Province. For many months the Indaba participants have been wrestling on a provincial basis with the great questions that must be addressed by South Africans, including the creation of a nonracial legislature and the drafting of a bill of rights. This process has shown that South Africans are capable of difficult mutual accommodation to advance the cause of racial justice and representative government. Regrettably, the government has been slow to see the wisdom of encouraging such efforts at negotiated change.

Equally disturbing has been the increase in regional tensions triggered in part by a sharp expansion of South African military, para-military, and covert operations. South African security forces have in the last year raided Livingstone in Zambia and Maputo in Mozambique, in violation of international law and, in the case of Mozambique, in violation of the Nkomati Accords (which established a regime of peaceful cooperation between the South African and Mozambican Governments). These raids, purportedly directed at the African National Congress, resulted in the deaths of innocent civilians. South African forces have also been engaged in a variety of other largely covert efforts in Swaziland, Botswana, and Zimbabwe aimed at keeping their neighbors off-balance and deflecting public attention away from the imperative of change at home and toward foreign sources of support for its opponents. Our sanctions were followed by an increase in such ill-considered actions. We have made our views

known clearly, but Pretoria appears less inclined to consider external views than was previously the case.

Ferment in the White Community

A positive development has been the continuing ferment in the white South African community, reflecting, among many other internal and external factors, the messages of outrage and frustration sent by the United States and other interested nations.

Particularly notable is the debate occurring within the subcommunity of Afrikaans-speakers. The last year has seen the candidates (during the May elections) of the "independents" who broke away from their traditional philosophical home in the ruling National Party; the "revolt" of the University of Stellenbosch academics who deserted the National Party as a show of protest against apartheid; the increasing visibility of the extraparliamentary opposition, exemplified by the former head of the Progressive Federal Party, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert; and, most recently, the meeting in Dakar between leading Afrikaners and representatives of the exiled African National Congress, sponsored by Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), and hosted by Senegal's President Diouf.

Even within the government, there have been hesitant, heavily qualified statements from the Cabinet concerning "power sharing" and the need to negotiate with black leaders. South Africans have not yet identified a realistic formula on which to base and begin serious negotiations, but the issue is surfacing publicly and is being discussed. Such developments suggest that despite all the negative things that have occurred in recent years--the violence, killings, and repression--there continue to be forces at work in South Africa that yet may lead to progress toward a negotiated settlement. South Africans are continuing to seek ways out of the impasse. Today, it is clearer than ever that the travesty of apartheid is South Africa's to solve.

South African Economy

South Africa's economy is "open" by world standards in the sense that a relatively high percentage of its gross domestic product derives from a combination of exports and imports. South Africa is a trading nation, which suggests that its economy would be relatively vulnerable to our sanctions. Yet this is not necessarily the case. The nature of South Africa's exports is such that the majority of export earnings come from sales of primary products--gold and other metals and minerals--that have a

ready market internationally whether or not we choose to buy them.

After years of contending with embargoes on arms and oil, South Africa has shown itself adept at evading sanctions. The easiest way to avoid sanctions is completely overt--simply shift to new export markets. The evidence available to us indicates that South Africa has been largely successful at developing new markets, both because of their willingness to undercut competitors' prices and because of the quality of their products and the perception by much of the world that South Africa is a reliable supplier. Although the sanctions voted by Congress in 1986 potentially affect a large percentage of South African industries, many still operate at capacity--albeit with somewhat lowered profit margins--because of their success in developing new export markets. New export markets for South African agricultural products, metals, and textiles have been found in the Far East, parts of the Middle East, and Latin America and, most ironic, in the rest of Africa. In fact, South Africa's trade surplus has risen, not fallen, since we and our major allies imposed trade sanctions last year.

On the other hand, many of the commodities covered by U.S. sanctions were already facing difficult international market conditions and chronic oversupply. It seems clear that sanctions exacerbated these problems and that some of the South African export industries have suffered some damage, including the sugar, coal, and iron and steel sectors.

South Africa is slowly recovering from an economic recession that began in 1981. This recession and sanctions, combined with the absence of business confidence and the resulting decline in new investments, have been major elements in the country's poor economic performance. It is important to appreciate, moreover, that although the South African Government has been able to avoid some of the economic effects of our sanctions in the short term, the long-term effect on unemployment and growth rates may well be more serious. There is a growing consensus among economists that a combination of sanctions, South Africa's inability to attract foreign capital, and a variety of other factors will mean that, at best, South Africa's gross domestic product growth will likely hover between 2.5 and 3.5 percent per annum for the foreseeable future. Yet studies indicate that annual real growth of 5 to 6 percent will be necessary to create jobs for the 350,000 new workers who will enter the labor force each year. To the extent that our sanctions contribute to a slowdown in real growth, we will have contributed both to an increase in unemployment that

will hit blacks hardest, as population growth continues to outstrip economic growth, and to an erosion of prospects for economic progress by blacks in the future; once apartheid has ended.

In fact, economic growth and the openness of the South African economy have been among the major forces eroding apartheid. They also offer the best chance of bringing about its end. Black economic empowerment is one of the keys to progress. An open and dynamic economy provides jobs and skills for the majority of the population, provides the indispensable base for trade unions to address their grievances, and inevitably will improve educational possibilities for blacks as economic growth demands a better educated labor force.

In the overall economic context, a phenomenon worthy of note is the trend toward disinvestment among American-owned business firms in South Africa. The value of U.S. direct investment in South Africa has been cut nearly in half by disinvestment--from \$2.4 billion in 1982 to approximately \$1.3 billion in 1986. By now, it is probably less than \$1 billion. In most cases, U.S. firms have sold their South African holdings to their local managers and/or employees. Most of the rest have been sold to other firms, usually South African white-owned competitors, at fire-sale prices. In very few cases have these companies pulled up stakes altogether. Despite disinvestments, the products and services of departing U.S. firms remain generally available in South Africa. The main impact of disinvestment has been to damage fair labor standards programs. There is no question but that many projects in education, training, and community improvement funded by major foreign investors have been damaged or eliminated. During the past decade, U.S. companies have spent nearly \$200 million on such projects. Because of disinvestment, this vital source of manpower and community development assistance has been severely cut back.

The concentration through disinvestment of more of South Africa's wealth in local white hands has, at least in the short term, marginally enlarged the economic gap between the races. Blacks at present control only a minute fraction of the country's physical capital and share equity. Black-owned enterprises contribute only about 1 percent to the nation's gross domestic

product (although much more black economic activity takes place in the informal sector and goes unrecorded), and we doubt that black ownership totals more than about 2 percent of South Africa's capital stock.

Presidential Recommendations

Section 501(c) of the Act states that if the Government of South Africa has not made significant progress in ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy, the President shall include in this annual report recommendations on the imposition of additional measures from among the five listed in that sub-section.

The two sets of economic sanctions imposed against South Africa to date--by Executive Order in 1985 and by statute in 1986--have sent a clear message to the ruling white community that the American people are outraged by the institutional injustice of apartheid and the basic denial of human rights that it embodies. Although the South African white leadership has reacted defiantly toward these measures, and has chilled the bilateral diplomatic relationship as a result, the message has clearly been registered. The American people have made their feelings clear.

Yet the most important goal of the Act was to pressure the South African Government to meet the unambiguous prescriptions laid out in the Act itself. As indicated above, significant progress has not been made toward ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy in South Africa in the twelve month period since the enactment of the Act.

I have reviewed the suggested additional measures listed in Section 501(c) in light of what we hope to achieve in South Africa as well as the impact of those measures already taken. My conclusion is that the imposition of additional economic sanctions at this time would not be helpful in the achievement of the objectives which Congress, the American people, and I share. While the measures imposed by the 1986 Act have registered an important message to the white South African community, and have contributed to our efforts to broaden our contacts with black opposition groups, the impact has been more negative than positive. I am particularly concerned by evidence that these measures have caused increasing unemployment for black South African workers, especially in such industries as sugar production and coal mining. While our sanctions have accentuated the overall economic stagnation in South Africa, it is clear to me that their impact on the government itself and its political choices have not advanced our goals. The ability of that country

to evade sanctions by finding alternate markets for its exports indicates that it would be futile to impose additional measures that would also be harmful to United States strategic or economic interests. In addition, our sanctions measures have made it more difficult for the United States to persuade the South African Government to act responsibly on human rights issues, to move toward negotiations, and to restrain its behavior in the region. I believe that the imposition of additional measures, including those listed in Section 501(c), would exacerbate these negative developments without adding any additional positive benefits in support of our objectives. For these reasons, moreover, I continue to believe that punitive sanctions are not the best way to bring freedom to South Africa.

This experience has illustrated once again the very real constraints on the United States, or any other nation, that tries to impose its own solutions to South Africa's problems. It is clear that in the heat of debate over sanctions against South Africa, Americans on both sides of the issue overestimated the importance of the United States as a factor in the South African matrix. The impact of American sanctions to date has been significant neither in hastening the demise of racism in South Africa nor in punishing the South African Government.

What is needed on the part of the United States is a period of active and creative diplomacy bilaterally as well as in consultation with our allies and friends in Africa focusing on doing all that is possible to bring the peoples of South Africa together for meaningful negotiations leading to the building of a democratic society. The essence of this process is to state clearly what goals and values we in the West support, rather than simply to reiterate what we oppose.

This was the purpose of Secretary Shultz' public articulation on September 29th of the principles we believe must undergird a settlement of political grievances and the formation of a just, constitutional, and democratic order in South Africa. His statement delineates precisely the values that we in the West stand for and wish to see addressed by South Africans as they chart a future free of apartheid. It constitutes an attempt to challenge all parties in the equation with a positive vision of a post-apartheid South Africa, and to lend our moral weight to those many South Africans--a majority, I believe--who have not given up hope.

It is crucial in the coming period that we work with and, where possible, coordinate policies with our principal OECD partners. Aside from the question of the 1986 sanctions measures--which few of our key allies have adopted--our positions and policies are complementary with those of the OECD countries, particularly the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan. We must work with these nations and others to buttress the Front Line States and the region against destabilization and economic decay. We must support and encourage those South Africans, white and black, that are already at work breaking down the barriers of fear, mistrust, and ignorance of each other. We must continue to strive together through public and private endeavors to assist the non-white communities in South Africa to prepare themselves for their rightful role after the inevitable end of apartheid. Most importantly, we must, together, push firmly for progress, change, and negotiation in South Africa, leading to a just and democratic future for that troubled nation.



JAN 27 1986

RABBI ANDREW BAKER
DIRECTOR

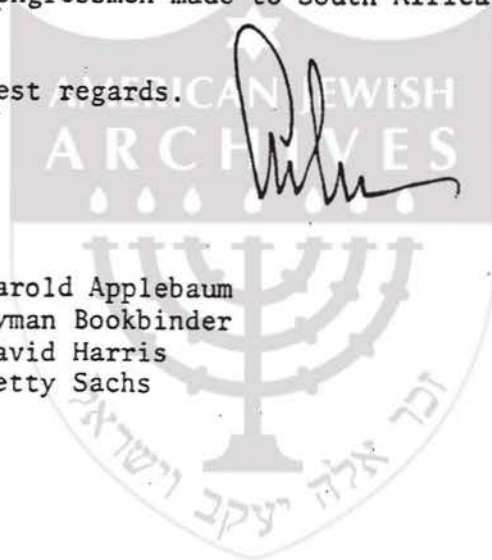
January 22, 1986

To: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

I thought you would be interested in the attached summary of Walter Fauntroy's report on the recent trip he and other congressmen made to South Africa.

Best regards.

cc: Harold Applebaum
Hyman Bookbinder
David Harris
Betty Sachs



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news release

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
January 13, 1986
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Impressions of
The Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.)
From the
Congressional Fact-Finding Mission
To the Republic of South Africa
January 5-10, 1986

INTRODUCTION--Our Purpose

As previously announced, the purpose of our mission was to review U.S. policy towards South Africa related to measures now pending before the Congress and to review the impact of recent changes in U.S. policy brought about by President Reagan's Executive Order imposing limited economic sanctions.

To make that assessment, it was our intention to meet with both the "victims" of apartheid and those responsible for the development and enforcement of the system. Among the victims, we met with township people, young Blacks, labor, church, and anti-apartheid activists and among the ruling white minority we met with leaders in business, education, and the government. In all we talked to more than 200 persons including the State President and Foreign Minister as well as the executive leadership of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Chief Minister of the Zulu Tribe.

We were denied by the South African Government our request to meet with the acknowledged leader of the South African majority population, Nelson Mandela. Moreover, we were not able to meet with Mr. Mandela's brilliant, courageous, and harassed wife, Winnie Mandela. The delegation did not have the opportunity to meet with leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) as we planned when our trip was originally scheduled for December, 1985, although I did dispatch one of my staff persons to Lusaka, Zambia for two days while the delegation was touring South Africa, to have consultations on my behalf with members of the ANC general secretariat.

The following impressions are offered in advance of a report that will be provided by the entire delegation at a later date. I have organized my impressions under three general headings:

- o Where Did We Go and With Whom Did We Meet?
- o What Did We Learn?
- o What Do I Recommend As Future U.S. Policy?

I. WHERE DID WE GO AND WITH WHOM DID WE MEET?

We landed in Johannesburg, South Africa on Monday evening, January 6, 1986. On Monday, we met with leaders of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) after which we departed for the Black township of Soweto where we met with medical Doctor Nthalu Motlana and leaders of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee.

After a tour of Soweto, we returned to Johannesburg for a luncheon meeting with Ms. Albertina Sisulu and a number of church, mixed-race and Indian leaders opposed to apartheid.

That afternoon, after a meeting with the business leaders who had gone to Lusaka to meet with the ANC at the offices of Anglo American, we drove to Pretoria where we met with Foreign Minister Rieelof "Pik" Botha. The three and one hour meeting with the Foreign Minister was followed by dinner with a number of South Africa's business leaders at the home of the U. S. Embassy's economic counselor, Roderick M. Wright.

On Wednesday, January 8, we departed Johannesburg for Capetown from which we traveled to the town of George where we met with the vacationing State President, P. W. Botha and the Minister for Development AID and Education, Dr. Gerrot Viljoen in separate meetings. Following lunch with the Foreign Minister and other government aides, we flew back to Capetown for a dinner meeting with Black and White business men involved in dialogue with the local UDF, Boycott Committees and Black community organizations.

Thursday, January 9, began with a meeting at breakfast with Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi followed by a meeting with the Reverend Allan Boesak, leader of the UDF. After lunch with Gavin Relly, Chairman of Anglo American and a host of South African education leaders, including Dr. Stewart Saunders, President of the University of Capetown, we were taken on a tour of Crossroads, the Black township outside of Capetown, by Dr. Boesak.

We met both the staff of the Health Clinic there as well as a gathering of the people of Capetown. That evening we participated in a worship service at the church of which Dr. Boesak is pastor, and later returned to Johannesburg.

On Friday, January 10, we met in the morning with President Elijah Barayi of the newly formed COSATU together with a number of his executive board members including Cyril Ramaphosa, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers. The COSATU meeting was followed by a worship service at the South African Council of Churches and meetings arranged by our host, Dr. Beyers Naude with Black youth from Soweto township, the

Detainees Parents Support Committee, Black Sash and the senior staff of the South Africa Council of Churches.

Thereafter, we prepared for departure from South Africa after learning it would not be possible to meet with Ms. Winnie Mandela or AZAPO officials.

II. WHAT WE LEARNED

I shall summarize first what we learned from face to face talks with the victims of apartheid and their representatives and then summarize what we learned from those responsible for the development and enforcement of the system.

A. The Victims

Six themes were sounded repeatedly during our discussions with township leaders, Black youth, labor leaders and anti-apartheid leaders.

1. There is a perception that the United States is aligned with the Botha regime, apartheid and their continued oppression. The limited sanctions imposed are viewed as ineffective. Public statements by President Reagan and news of American support for Unita in Angola and the National Mozambique resistance in Mozambique tend to reinforce that perception. We encountered both hostility and disappointment. The words of our Declaration of Independence were often quoted to us: "All men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness--That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it..."

In response to their disappointment with us we often quoted President Reagan's public assessment of where the American people are on apartheid often:

"This issue has touched some of the most sensitive nerves in our body politic...All of us agree that a system that deprives 73% of the country's population of basic political and human rights on basis of race is an affront to our national values and (that it is) a threat to the long term

stability of a region that is important to our national interest."

2. The victims of apartheid do not want to see apartheid Re-Formed; they want it abolished: not just pass laws, influx control, inclusion in a separate parliament, independent homelands, spruced up bantu education. They want to dismantle apartheid and establish a unitary state, not based on tribal and ethnic differences but on one person, one vote.

3. They reject constructive engagement as a policy and call upon us to implement a policy of constructive disengagement until the South African Government ends the state of emergency, withdraws the security forces from the townships, eliminates the pass laws, influx control and forced removals, releases Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, lifts the ban on the ANC, allows the exiles to return home and begins meaningful negotiations towards the establishment of a non-racial democratic government with majority rule and the protection of minority rights.

Thus, they urged that we pass stronger sanctions including a ban on all new investments even if those sanctions cause them additional suffering. Sanctions are the only non-violent tool available to the Free World to help them.

4. The level of South African Government violence and repression is escalating. The daily arrests, brutal beatings, torture, and murder of innocent men, women and children continue. We talked to three terrified Black youths from Soweto who were arrested for attending a worship service, detained beaten and sexually assaulted by security police as a part of their routine campaign to terrorize the black population. Black youth from Soweto told us it is unsafe to be out after dark because blood-thirsty SADF troops have fun shooting Blacks in the township by night.

The leaders of UDF told us they are now prohibited from holding any meetings anywhere and that they are forbidden to organize protest marches.

5. The Sullivan Principles build no pressure upon the government to change and are, therefore, useless.

6. The bitterness and despair of the oppressed masses in response to government brutality is leading inevitably to greater and greater violent responses to the repression of dissent.

B. The Government

Seven themes were sounded repeatedly by Government leaders:

1. They are about to institute reforms in their apartheid laws. The specifics will be revealed when the Parliaments convene at the end of January, 1986.
2. They reject a one person, one vote, majority rule government in a unitary state not based on ethnicity.
3. They resent U.S. sanctions as meddling in their internal affairs and frustrating their efforts at reform. Assistance from the U.S. in expanding the economy will make reform possible.
4. Opposition to the government's apartheid policies and proposed reforms is a radical, left-wing, liberal, communist plot to undermine the most stable, and militarily powerful ally the U.S. has in the region.
5. The government is not responsible for violence, murder, and torture; it is the communist dominated ANC and their UDF allies in South Africa.
6. They are carrying on negotiations with homeland, tribal, and locally elected leaders among Black South Africans. Those leaders tell them that they want independent, self governing states and not a unitary state with one man one vote majority rule not based on ethnicity. We met with one of the leaders they mentioned, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and he denied not only being in negotiations with the Regime, but also insisted that he is opposed to the homeland concept.
7. They have not begun to use their capacity to inflict violence upon the Black opposition and their "collaborators," and if the violent resistance escalates they will use considerably more!

C. The Business Community

Four themes were struck repeatedly by white business leaders in South Africa:

1. Present U.S. limited sanctions are innocuous but are dangerous in that they may lead to stronger sanctions that would cause the rand to fall and plunge the economy into chaos. They oppose further sanctions.
2. The reforms being talked about by the Botha Regime are good but are too little, too late.
3. Negotiated settlement is the only constructive course and thus Nelson Mandela needs to be released, the ban on the ANC needs to be lifted, exiled South Africans returned and good faith negotiations begun.
4. The escalating violence increases the need to talk to the ANC.

III. WHAT I RECOMMEND

I have been been traumatized by what my eyes have seen, what my ears have heard and what my heart felt as I visited with a broad cross-section of the people of South Africa. The spectrum of those with whom we had lengthy talks stretched from terrorized, embittered and determined Black youth from Soweto to the State President, P. W. Botha, on vacation at the Wilderness Hotel in the town of George; with many business, labor, church, education, government and anti-apartheid activists in between.

The picture that emerged for me is that of a white minority government and people on-the-one hand who are determined not to dismantle apartheid and who believe that with a combination of some reforms that will make its savage cruelties more palatable to its victims and the raw, naked power of their military, they will never have to give it up. On the other hand there is a Black majority with allies in the mixed-race, Asian and white communities of South Africa who will not accept the reforming of apartheid but are demanding that it be abolished and replaced with a system in which every citizen has an equal opportunity to participate in the political, social and economic life of the country.

In the middle stands the United States and the rest of the world urged by the Black majority to impose stronger sanctions as the only non-violent tool left to us to help dismantle apartheid, and warned by the white minority that stronger sanctions will only create a situation where the government

will have to become more violent in its repression of dissent, sparking a bloodbath that could destroy the nation.

I have heard both arguments in depth now from the indigenous authors of them, and I have concluded that it is worth the risk for us as people of conscience to deploy what I believe is the only non-violent tool left to us to bring about a peaceful solution to this wretched situation. Accordingly, I recommend as the future course of our nation's public policy and our people's private actions the following:

1. That we impose stronger sanctions on South Africa; at the very least a ban on all new investments.
2. That we as a matter of policy reject the proposal by some in our country that we provide aid to UNITA in Angola and the National Mozambique Resistance (NMR) in Mozambique in an effort to destabilize those countries or overthrow their governments.
3. That individual U.S. citizens of conscience should cease their cooperation with the system of apartheid by refusing to purchase goods and services from those who underpin the present government and system with their investments.
4. That we expand our program for stockpiling essential natural resources which we purchase from South Africa in anticipation of the time when the government's stubborn refusal to negotiate makes it impossible for South Africa to make those resources available for sale.
5. At the request of COSATU, I recommend that General Motors and the Ford Motor Company cease purchasing platinum from Impala Platinum Holding, Ltd. until 20,000 mine workers fired by the company last week are rehired and collective bargaining with the National Union of Mineworkers resumes.

Tired of reporter's 'double standards'

I am tiring quickly of Edwin Black's Jews-should-stop-being-friends-with-blacks articles – particularly his repeated accusations of "double standards." ("Bishop Tutu applies a double standard to Israel," CJN, Jan. 31.)

Double standards, Mr. Black must know, were not invented by blacks. They are, regrettably, the life-blood of politics. Many of our own Jewish leaders, for example, decline to publicly criticize Sharon, Eitan, et al, even though they privately loathe them. Should it surprise us, then, that many black leaders are reluctant to publicly criticize their own bigots – especially when goaded by outsiders?

Black is also perturbed that Bishop Tutu, when asked about Israel's involvement with South Africa, answered critically regarding Israeli training of South African police. What answer did he expect Bishop Tutu to make – "We of course despise anyone who helps train the security police, but if it's Israel, it's OK?" As even Black admits,

both Tutu and Jesse Jackson have been very mild in their criticism of Israel, and have gone out of their way to praise South African Jewry.

One more point about double standards. I am waiting eagerly to see if Black will take note of last month's Washington, D.C. testimonial dinner in memory of William Loeb, the New Hampshire publisher. Loeb was a prominent right-wing Republican and a well-known anti-semitic. The keynote speaker at the dinner was Vice President George Bush. I realize Black is very busy denouncing Louis Farrakhan, and anyone who didn't denounce Louis Farrakhan. But couldn't he find a moment or two to denounce Mr. Bush? Or is a tribute to an anti-semitic OK as long as it's done by a certified conservative Republican? Methinks I smell a double standard.

JOE GELLES
Cleveland

Cleveland Jewish News 2/7/86

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Bishop Tutu applies a double standard to Israel

By EDWIN BLACK
Special to the CJN

Bishop Desmond Tutu has singled out Jews in South Africa as the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement, but at the same time escalated his rhetoric against Israel, calling it a "collaborator" with the racist regime. The comments came during exclusive interviews with Tutu and Jesse Jackson during the South African Nobel Laureate's whirlwind 17-hour visit to Chicago.

ASKED WHETHER JEWS in South Africa were doing their part to oppose apartheid, Tutu answered, "Most of the outstanding whites in South Africa who have been in the forefront of the struggle for justice and peace have been Jews."

"You have Helen Suzman (Member of Parliament who, with Harry Schwartz, founded the opposition Progressive Federal Party) and many other outstanding lawyers, doctors and professional people who have been committed to the struggle."

HOWEVER, TUTU APPLIED a double standard -- referring to the involvement of Israel and Arab states in South Africa. Tutu was asked about the fact that some 70% of South Africa's oil emanates from Arab and Moslem oil states. He replied ambiguously, "I would hope that if we are looking for non-violent, for peaceful strategies and one of these is economic pressure, it goes without saying that anything that gives comfort or support to a racist regime... ought not to be happening."

In a follow-up question, Tutu was asked what Israel could do to further the anti-apartheid movement. He answered that both he and the Jews of South Africa "share this one distress: that Israel, as a government, has been known to *collaborate* with the South African government."

ASKED SPECIFICALLY what Israel should be doing, Tutu acknowledged, "I am not worried about Israel's economic involvement with South Africa. That doesn't concern me so much because I don't think it is significant. It is their collaboration over military and security things... so that South Africa is able to carry out



Bishop Desmond Tutu (left) and Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago.

"I am not worried about Israel's economic involvement with South Africa. ...It is their collaboration over military and security things."

--Bishop Tutu

such activities as hot pursuit." Tutu's reference was to the training of the South African police.

JESSE JACKSON HAS BEEN accompanying Tutu on various legs of his American tour. During the Chicago visit, the only individuals at Tutu's side were Chicago Mayor Harold Washington and Jesse Jackson. In private Jackson continually coached Tutu on "issues to be

sensitive about" in his public statements.

During the interviews, Jackson exhibited the same double standard regarding Arab and Israeli trade links to South Africa. Responding to South Africa's dependence on Arab oil, Jackson revealed, "I met with Arab ambassadors in Britain, Washington and the UN. Each time I was advised that they have a policy position against their oil going to South Africa. But if there is any evidence of oil being diverted (to South Africa) on the high seas, they will take punitive action against those corporations."

ADVISED THAT ARAB OIL and precious commodity transactions exceed even that of South Africa's greatest trading partners, Jackson remarked, "All that we can do is to make the appeal." But referring to Israeli connections, Jackson declared, "To think that our country is so generous in selling arms to Israel and that Israel would then be collaborating militarily with South Africa. Of course, it is very distasteful."

Israel's weapons sales to South Africa have been mainly naval patrol boats designed to protect international shipping lanes -- and this was prior to the UN's 1979 arms embargo. The volume of this trade is dwarfed by South Africa's main western arms supplier, France, and South Africa's own now almost self-sufficient arms industry.

Asked whether Israel's military connection was not minuscule compared to others, Jackson retorted, "It's really irrelevant. I don't think any African nation should sell Israel's enemy even a .22 pistol. (Likewise), I don't think Israel should sell, as a matter of principle and practice, to South Africa even a .22 pistol."

Continuing on the subject of trade, Jackson insisted, "So much of the slavery there is motivated by the greed for diamonds and gold. To the extent that gold and diamonds leave South Africa and go to Tel Aviv and on to New York, London, Paris, and L.A., that also is painful. *Any* trade is too much. Israel must break trade with South Africa."

Tutu's comments about Jews per se were the most positive he has made to date. Despite continuing Jewish and Israeli commitment to racial equality in South Africa, Tutu has in the past repeatedly made inflammatory remarks, according to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum,

Tutu

Continued from Page 4

international relations director of the American Jewish Committee.

Tutu's inconsistent "carrot and stick" rhetoric are part of a "slippery game he is playing with the Jewish community," declares Tanenbaum, who has recently completed a fact-finding tour of South Africa. Tanenbaum reports that Jews in South Africa are indeed duplicating the performance of Jews in the civil rights movement in America. "The general consensus among Jews is and always has been outrage over apartheid," explains Tanenbaum.

However, Tanenbaum warned that South African Jewry, established only during the 20th century, is in a precarious position. "The Marxist groups there advocating bloody revolution will not discriminate between white Afrikaaners and Jews," suggests Tanenbaum. "Yet the right wing Afrikaans Party, which sided with Hitler during the War, still maintains a strong antisemitic ideology."

Israel's involvement with the South African police has been relatively minor, according to Tanenbaum. "But I wish to God they would stop for all the obvious moral and political reasons," asserted Tanenbaum. "Israel does not even need to give a minor pretext to people to be scapegoated. They would be wise to put a moratorium on any cooperation with South Africa."

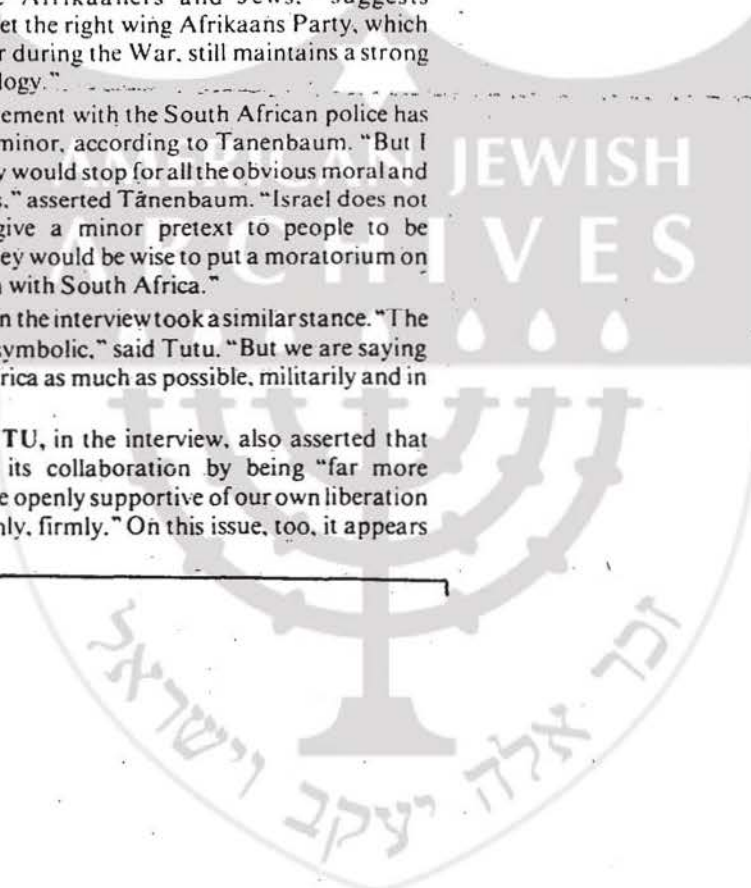
Bishop Tutu in the interview took a similar stance. "The trade is almost symbolic," said Tutu. "But we are saying isolate South Africa as much as possible, militarily and in all other ways."

BISHOP TUTU, in the interview, also asserted that Israel can end its collaboration by being "far more supportive, more openly supportive of our own liberation struggle . . . firmly, firmly." On this issue, too, it appears

the Bishop is again singling out Israel apropos the Third World mentality.

Jews have known slavery – in Africa in the time of our ancestors, in Europe in the time of our parents. For this reason they have a mandate to oppose apartheid in all ways – regardless. If Bishop Tutu wants Israel to speak louder, perhaps she should. But in that case, Bishop Tutu must open his ears and listen. Right now his hearing and vision is a little selective.

Edwin Black's syndicated weekly column is published by 36 Jewish newspapers.



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World Reports

Analyses of critical issues confronting the Jewish world

May, 1986

SOUTH AFRICA: THE SENSE OF DOOM

By Warren Eisenberg, Director
International Council of B'nai B'rith

In September, 1985 I traveled to South Africa after taking part in a mission of the American Jewish World Service to bring medical supplies to impoverished Mozambique. The journey went through Zimbabwe and Zambia, where we met with the ANC (African National Congress), exiled black South African revolutionaries. It provided unusual insights into the control South Africa exerts on the surrounding countries.

I am indebted to a number of people, including B'nai B'rith's Dr. Boomie Abramowitz, Yossie Amiel, John Moshal and Peter Martin, for their hospitality and efforts to provide with me candid views of their country, an exercise in many cases associated with pain. But others, whites, Indians, coloreds; Christians, Jews, Hindus; attorneys, newspapermen, members of Parliament, the Jewish Board of Deputies, human rights leaders, clergy, businessmen; the famous, the important, and simply people on the street, took the time to talk, to rearrange schedules to see me. There were more than one hundred people in eight days--legends like Alan Paton, the 82 year-old author who lifted the veil on the perniciousness of apartheid with his Cry the Beloved Country, and Helen Suzman, who stood as the lone voice of opposition to the government for 16 years. There were Mewa and Ela Rangobin, he on trial for treason (since freed), and she, the granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi. I saw Sheena Duncan, the head of Black Sash, the white women's rights organization and Terius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times of Johannesburg. There were the Gerings, Leonard and Nina, he, a legal defender of political victims, she, active in the education of black youth. There were just plain people who spoke openly about their fears.

TRAUMA

For South Africans, the events of 1985 traumatized their country. Resistance to morally repugnant apartheid manifested itself in demonstrations by blacks which were interrupted by the police tear gas and bullets. Violence spread and spilled over into white areas. White businessmen broke the taboo by traveling to Lusaka to see the banned, outlawed ANC. This action suggested to white South Africans that perhaps ANC and their jailed leader, Nelson Mandela, might need to play a role in any negotiation for power. Until now, this concept was treated as dealing with communist devils. Predictably, the government apartheid policy has exacerbated differences among black tribes, as well as among all ethnic and racial groups. The argument used by the government, in pointing to failure to solve the problem of racial inequity is "there is not one single black voice." And they have done their best to emphasize tribal differences, and to play blacks against each other. What's more they have established puppet rulers of bantustans who resist parting with the trappings of false power. Nevertheless there is growing sense of unity in opposing apartheid among the disenfranchised, and it is affecting whites as well.

The prime force for change has been the downturn in the economy. This once insuperable South Africa industrial economy has been hurt by droughts, by unemployment, uncertainty and a rollercoastering drop in the rand from \$1.30 in 1983 to \$.37 in the fall of 1985. These reversals in the economy, the threat of European and American disinvestment, have destroyed the illusion of South Africa's indispensability to the Western world.

South Africans talk incessantly about race and fear. For whites there is the fear of majority black rule and loss of power and status. For blacks and others disenfranchised there is fear of violence. For blacks, Asians, and coloreds, ending apartheid has long been an accepted goal. For whites, the concept has been difficult to imagine, but more of them are moving to accept the principle of equality; it is the application that conjures up uneasiness about the future.

For the government, the answer is simpler. The official line out of Pretoria is, "Apartheid is Dead."

Admittedly there have been changes, but the beast of apartheid has barely been wounded. There are cosmetic changes like the end of segregated rest rooms in certain shopping centers, the end of segregated theaters in specific locales, the elimination of the mixed marriage laws; the creation of a Parliament for Indians and coloreds, attenuated by a white veto on all actions; the integration of second class trains so that whites now ride first class and board through separate station entrances.

Until now blacks paid for elementary education and whites received it free. The result is 50 percent illiteracy among blacks and universal literacy among whites. The new plan is for a unified education department, with fees charged to all students.

However, the most pernicious features of apartheid continue. The Group Areas Act, which governs the residence and livelihood of blacks, is still in force; however, the government has announced the end of influx control which requires the use of the passbook used to verify a black's right to be present in a specific area. The new concept is for everyone to carry passbooks. But the question remains whether the government will apply more repressive measures against black activists.

All of these tortured features of legal racism have been designed to assure white supremacy. A whole racist literature was in force in the schools and the church (particularly the Dutch Reformed, which has the allegiance of most Afrikaners) to establish scientifically the inferiority of blacks. According to Alan Paton, much of this expression is dying.

The situation today makes it more difficult to perpetuate the propaganda absorbed by most whites over the last generation. They portrayed themselves as an invincible nation, rich in strategic minerals needed by the world, and impervious to outside pressure--whether from surrounding African states or potential boycotters among the Western democracies.

The Nationalist Party government of State President Botha, like its predecessors, has mesmerized its own people into believing that they are a bulwark against communism, black radicalism, and corruption in the rest of Africa. Yet South Africa does what it can to intervene and make life difficult in surrounding countries like Mozambique, where they fund terrorists to wreak destruction. Occasionally they send in their own troops to do the job. Despite the pretense of the great efficiency in South Africa's own system, blacks see corruption everywhere. "The white man doesn't want to end apartheid because he can pocket extra money from it," said a cab driver who just bailed out his brother for a passbook violation. "Can you imagine how many blacks are arrested each day?"

With whites living in opulence that rivals the best of southern California, blacks live at the edge of the Third World without, in many cases, electricity and running water. If they want to improve their lot they are expected to make payoffs to petty officials.

Nevertheless, against the backdrop of turmoil, the courts have been staking out a more positive position; newspapers, too, are struggling against repressive requirements to disclose details of stories to the government before publishing, and the more enterprising papers publish details of police violence, inquiries into brutality and editorials attacking the government. While the print media adds to public information and restiveness, state controlled television, gives limited coverage to events, and takes a line supporting government efforts.

What has developed is a schism. Activists feel the government is constipated; they see President Botha as an "apaatchik who has gone farther than he dreamed, but his job is to defend Afrikaner domination and he's run out of artful ways to deal with the present crisis."

Others see Botha paving the way for ending apartheid over a sixty year period, and intransigents are digging in for a battle to defend white supremacy. The message which haunts the country is repeated over and over: "Rhodesia held out for fifteen years. We can hold out much longer and it will be bloodier." There is one positive note, however. South Africa has an amazingly large corps of sophisticated, educated blacks, coloreds, and Indians who made it past the barricades of apartheid by dint of their own spirit and will to succeed. This puts the country in far better shape than any other African state in which colonialists left a legacy of depletion and ignorance.

SOUTH AFRICAN JEWRY

The small but productive South African Jewish community feels itself caught on the edge of the country's racial tension. There is fear of the anti-Semitism of extremist whites, just as there is fear of the anti-Zionism of radical blacks, coloreds and Asians, which can also translate into anti-Semitism.

"Jews are whites. And like most whites they fear the future. They fear the unknown," one rights leader told me. And like most whites Jews are split on their political approach to ending apartheid and finding a way to enfranchise South Africa's black majority.

There is a strong suspicion that a high proportion of South Africa's Jews joined other English speaking South Africans in a move towards the Nationalist Party, when President PW Botha cast off the most extremist elements in a drive for the center. Well educated and prosperous, the Jewish community of 118,000 boasts numerous industrialists, professors and medical professionals, as well as businessmen. Nevertheless, Jews en masse are probably more liberal than other whites. "There's a higher percentage of Jews risking their necks for us than anyone else," an ANC (African National Congress) spokesman told me when I was in Lusaka, Zambia. Said Sheena Duncan, head of a women's rights organization, "Black Sash would collapse without Jews."

Among the key businessmen who are pressing the government to end apartheid there are a substantial number of Jews. What is more, one of the liberalizing forces in interpreting the country's racial laws is the court; and there is visible Jewish presence among jurists. However, the race issue poses a dilemma for many Jews. During a Rosh Hashanah service at a reform temple in Johannesburg, the young rabbi sermonized, "We always ask ourselves 'What is good for the Jews?' What is good for the Jews is what is right. My hostess that evening informed that she agreed with the rabbi, but she suspected that a large portion of the overflow crowd was uncomfortable with the rabbi's message, which they could dismiss, because "he is an American."

Like most whites, as well as other groups in South Africa, the Jewish community is in turmoil. Despite this anxiety, the Board of Deputies of South African Jews, the governing voice for Jews, issued a strong declaration in 1985 calling for an end to racial discrimination and commitment to justice and

equal opportunity. Yet pervading the Jewish community is a deep concern about majority black rule, which is heightened not only by the government's attitude but by Jewish refugees from white ruled Rhodesia, now black ruled Zimbabwe.

Another concern of the Jewish community is the relationship with Israel. Zionism has great strength among South Africa's Jews. There is a close bond which is demonstrated by frequent traffic between the two countries. In a place as isolated as South Africa, the government seeks to make more of any existing relationship, so to a large extent it attempts to foster the notion of closeness to Israel. And it views as benign the relations between South Africa's Jews and Israel. "Many of us fear," opined one Zionist, "that under black rule this relationship will be prohibited by people favoring the PLO."

ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

In the sordidness of the world political market a popular commodity is the linking of Israel with South Africa. If, in the radical parlance of the Third World, "Zionism is racism," then it is a short step to tie the Zionist state Israel with "racist South Africa." Most damagingly, this linkage started at the United Nations where Resolution 3379, claiming that "zionism is racism," passed overwhelmingly on November 10, 1975. The thought was conceived by the Soviets, proposed by the Arabs, and executed by Third World countries as small price to pay for what they thought would be Communist and Arab economic support; besides, the chant against Zionism was also an attractive way to attack the United States and Western countries which are both capitalist and former colonial powers.

The UN's imprimatur on a repugnant concept has given substantial ammunition to Israel's enemies; but the linkage to South Africa adds another dimension. There is a mindless willingness to believe the worst about Israel as the prime supporter of South Africa. The facts notwithstanding, \$142 million in imports from South Africa (1983) and \$69 million in exports to South Africa, are treated as heinous, and significant factors, despite the fact that the imports constitute on 0.75 (three-quarters of one) percent of South Africa's total exports. Black controlled Africa's \$769 million in imports from South Africa and \$288 million in exports to South Africa, are viewed by critics of Israel as a measure of African dependence on South Africa. Trade with the United States (\$3.762 billion) in exports and imports do not raise the hackles that Israel's aggregate \$211 million does.

More significant is the fact that zealous critics pretend that trade between the Communist bloc and the Arabs is non-existent. While the overt trade does not look like much, \$48 million overall with the Soviet bloc and \$60 million with the oil exporting Arabs, a number of sources point to an under the table trade which runs deep in oil. Both the New Republic Magazine and Yosef Abramowitz in his monograph Jews, Zionism and South Africa published by B'nai B'rith Hillel, point to substantial dealings during the oil embargo which exceeded \$3 billion a year. The Saudis and the United Arab Emirates, as well

as Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Yemen are major markets for South African gold, with a value estimated to exceed \$6 billion year.

The most damaging charge used against Israel is that it supplies South Africa with arms, and while Israeli answers to the claim are fuzzy, it was reported to me in South Africa that even East German arms are part of the military stockpiling. What's more, South Africa is a major producer of weapons, and it has developed a brisk trade with Jordan, Morocco, Iraq and Somalia. Leading the battle to denigrate Israel for any trade with South Africa are many of the covert trading partners who protest the Zionist link to the white dominated "racist state."

Ironically one Israeli prime minister wanted to break relations with South Africa. That was Golda Meir, who cherished a positive relationship with a number of African states. She was dissuaded from severing ties because of the presence of the South African Jewish community. Though Israelis have long expressed their opposition to apartheid, the voice of Prime Minister Shimon Peres has been stronger. Moreover, there is a drive among some members of the Knesset to press for action against South Africa.

Despite Israel's record and supposing some action, in some quarters--communists, Arabs, radicals (including Americans), anti-Semites--the political campaign to link zionism to apartheid will continue.

EXTERNAL PRESSURE AGAINST APARTHEID

As the wind for change has grown within South Africa, external pressure has also grown. Sensing the moment, black-led groups in the United States have stepped up the campaign for legislative action to apply sanctions to South Africa for failure to end apartheid.

Hoping to hold off stringent action, the Reagan administration enunciated a policy of "constructive engagement" designed to reward positive actions within South Africa, and to underwrite multiracial programs rather than punish the Botha government for failure.

In 1985 forces in Congress which viewed these actions as ineffective, began moving to pass legislation to bar new investments in South Africa, to end the sale of Krugerrands, and to implement new measures to curtail American economic involvement. Within Congress there was also criticism that the Sullivan Principles (the work of black pastor, Reverend Leon Sullivan) designed for US firm compliance with a workforce integration code was limited to only one percent of the South African job field. The Sullivan Principles were also a cornerstone of the Reagan policy.

When it appeared the President would suffer a defeat from a Congress, bent on action, he announced limited sanctions through executive order rather than through legislation. The reaction from Pretoria was that no one was going to tell South Africans how they handle their internal matters.

What's more, the Reagan "constructive engagement policy" has been increasingly criticized as a failure, since the Botha government has shown little inclination to make sufficient changes in apartheid. Recently, the architect of the Reagan policy, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, called for "one man, one vote"; this represents a serious departure from past policy, but no one else in the administration has commented on it.

Meanwhile the Botha government has effectively banned television coverage of the daily demonstrations which has removed the sight of beating and killing blacks off from home television screens in Western countries. At the same time South Africa has embarked on a public relations campaign to deal with "disinformation."

Nevertheless, pressure continues in the United States for tougher legislation, which will be introduced in the late spring of 1986. Among Jewish groups there has been a growth of interest in supporting divestment, although the American Jewish community is split over fear that such action will adversely affect South African Jews.

The big question looming over South Africa is how can it move fast enough to balance the majority's demand for justice against an unmovable minority of whites' demands for no change, and still head off a violent explosion. A sense of doom pervades South Africa.



World Reports

Analyses of critical issues confronting the Jewish world

May 1986

Forty years after: Germans Facing History--A Personal Experience
(Delivered to B'nai B'rith Forum April 14, 1986 in Washington by
Klaus-Henning Rosen, Counsellor to former Chancellor Willy Brandt.)

It seems to belong to the nature of human beings that countries regard each other with mistrust: as long as there are national states, caution seems to be necessary. Sometimes, of course, looking over the fence at your neighbors distracts the mind from one's own affairs, and from one's own short comings.

With differing intensity we Germans have been the object of critical or even suspicious attention by our neighbors. That should not be surprising: Reviewing the past 125 years of our history, we have too often been--to put it mildly--the chief culprit in Europe.

When Jews look at Germany with special reservation and uneasiness, the reason is even more obvious: Jews are the victims of race-hatred which has been cultivated since the end of the 18th century. The roots are much further back in history. People in Germany did not like the Jews, though living with them in a symbiotic state for hundreds of years. Germans pondered how to get rid of them. Friendly ones--e.g. the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (he lived from 1762 to 1814)--suggested sending them to their Land of Promise; less friendly ones intended to deprive the Jews of their Jewishness by integrating and thus assimilating them; ill-will people--e.g. the Prussian Minister von Schroetter--even wished them slaughtered. Maybe in other European countries public opinion did not differ greatly, since race-hatred against the Jews was not merely a German phenomenon. However, only the Germans managed to let the verbal hatred be expressed in the systematically planned extermination of the Jews.

Today, 30,000 Jews live in Western Germany, some 6,000 in the Eastern part. Before 1933, they numbered 500,000 in the German Reich.

New generations--a Jewish as well as a non-Jewish one--have grown up, since the mass killings of Jews and others were brought to an end by the allied powers. So, the question is indicated: what are the traces of the murder of 5 or 6 million Jews, the persecution and death of Gypsies and Slavs as well as homosexuals, Jehovah's witnesses or Communists and Social Democrats, mentally

and physically disabled. How can the democracy that followed the Deutsche Reich--which was a German and not a Nazi Reich--cope with the cruel reality. In fact, the Federal Republic succeeded not only in the temporal but in the national sense. Above all: inheritance cannot be reduced to the assets; this national succession also comprises the debts. The waiver of inheritance is unknown in the life of nations, least of all is it possible to cancel the moral obligation.

I may deplore it, I may resist being tied up in such a continuity and to be judged by the misdeeds of those Germans who were born before me. Yet, I cannot accept the easy way by referring to the date of my birth. Nor do I regard that as a blessing--far from it. It is--for me--more a burden, if not even a disgrace, to have been left to explain, to answer, to repair, what I did not destroy. As I consider the date of my birth a favor only in that as it kept me from the necessity to do the right thing in situations in which I could have failed. The majority of Germans did so by turning off, by swallowing the decisive word, by following the easy road of a fellow traveller.

I do not accept the concept of "collective guilt" for those who paved Adolf Hitler's way: I do not consider them as being guilty of the crimes committed by the dictator and his regime. If that is so; there can also be a collective guilt for those who survived Hitler, not the less for those who were born into the defeated country or into the new republic. Guilt--lawyers are strict in that--is a very personal matter. However the lack of guilt does not exempt me from responsibility and liability. It may be uncomfortable for the posthumous to be involved in the crimes of their ancestors or their time, to be accountable for them. I myself react rather cynically upon that defense: I ask, was it uncomfortable to be interned, shaved, gassed and burned? To be one of the 6 million Jews? Is it comfortable to have survived knowing "There, but for the grace of God go I," that I could have been one of the 6 millions? Was it uncomfortable to be a Jew and to know that mere Jewishness was a death sentence under Nazi law? Who in the face of such crimes has the right to claim that mentioning them makes him feel "uncomfortable"?

II

My question was, what are the traces that the death of the millions left among the people that bore the murderers. At a first glance there seems to be a positive answer:

- * Many of the survivors came back, there is a new generation. Immigrants come from the Soviet Union and other countries. But Jews fear that they will have to leave again one day and others cannot stand life in Germany.
- * Jews have regained their place in political and cultural life, they publish the Jewish Weekly. But every week they face new Nazi papers mocking the Jews, sowing the seeds of anti-Semitism.

- * Relations between the State and the Jews are correct, even friendly. But in most cases officials just take notice of Jewish functionaries while the multitude of the 30,000 Jews live in seclusion.
- * Jewish anniversaries receive polite attention, the heads of state publish messages and praise the role of the Jews in the new democracy: they deplore the "Holocaust" which is modified by such epithets as "terrible" and "tragic". But what is all this worth when, at the same time, Jews hear a German mayor recommending the killing of rich Jews to cover the municipal budget?
- * Germans support the establishment of a holocaust memorial. But why didn't we manage to set up monuments to honor the victims of the camps?

One year ago you could follow the controversy--really a travesty--about the commemoration of May 8, 1945, the unconditional surrender of the Nazi Reich. We had a very "German" problem, i.e. a principal discussion about the nature of such commemorations. Was it a day of defeat or even a day of disgrace; or were we to regard it as a day of liberation and mourning for the 50 million victims of the Nazis and of World War II? Officials who planned your President's state visit wanted to demonstrate reconciliation transcending the tombs of soldiers. Unfortunately, the Bitburg military cemetery they chose is the burial place not of US-soldiers but of SS-soldiers. Why did we need public, in most cases Jewish protest, to remember that May 8, 1945, does not only mean the end of killing soldiers but also the liberation of the camps?

What strikes me is this: When German government officials are faced with the end of World War II, they first seem to associate it with "German" victims. Of course, many Germans lost their lives as soldiers, as civilians, and had to leave their homes. I do not minimize that. But is not the lamentation of our own losses also an insult to the many victims who had not brought up the dictator in 1933, in comparison to those who had paved the way for the evil and had been caught up with it afterwards? And isn't it also true that the inmates of the concentration camps also were Germans--even many of the Jews, too? And isn't it worth honoring the non-German victims, too? The mechanism of repression seems to be typical for Germany's approach to history, it elevates them all into the rank of victims. Everybody pretends to have suffered under the Nazis--as if the Nazis had come from some outer galaxy to Germany.

III

Germans did a lot to remove the ruins, to repair damages, to dry tears, even to learn from what the Nazis had done. However, unrestricted contentment has never been the case.

- * Germans built new towns, modern factories, continued to complete the network of the autobahns (which, for many Germans, still is the positive aspect of Adolf Hitler). Isn't it mundane to make the

destroyed country habitable again? However, this does not meet our expectation, this kind of good behavior could keep the Germans from remembering Auschwitz.

* Germans indemnified the victims and called it repair. As if money could undo what had happened. To make things worse: to some extent, they not act voluntarily but from Allied pressure. Germans endeavored to compensate former army generals and their widows more quickly; they moved to secure former Jewish property for the new owners to indemnify "German" victims. By contrast, up to now, there has not and yet been paid a general compensation for Jewish forced labor.

* Today, when politicians speak about indemnification they proudly refer to the investment for investigations into the history of Nazis rise and fall, their crimes and philosophy. There were countless special information programs for school, radio and TV stations. They have run hundreds of films and essays.

* Nevertheless, there have been and still are old and new Nazi activities, like swastikas at synagogues, soccer fans showing Nazi emblems and calling the rival fans "Jews". Whenever a discussion comes up, it is evident that lack of knowledge about Nazis is not confined to school. And at the same time politicians caution us against reducing German history to "the dark twelve years". I am not sure that the Nazi evil can be outweighed by pointing to romantically transfigured periods of German history.

* A few weeks ago, German TV-stations presented Claude Lanzmann's "Shoah": Nine and a half hours of survivors revisiting the camp site. No statistics, no technical explanation, just personal stories which moved our hearts. German TV-viewers also saw the Holocaust TV-series several years ago.. Maybe it was a soap opera, but it touched us deeply. It showed the victims as individuals, 6 million children, parents, and neighbors. The problem of picturing Nazism was the abstractness. And there was the attempt to reduce the problem to one person, Adolf Hitler, maybe together with a few scoundrels surrounding him. Of course, Adolf Hitler had planned to create the pure Aryan race. But he had not hidden his ideology. Before 1933, "Mein Kampf" published in 1924 had been sold in 300,000 copies. The problem is that, hardly anybody had ever read it. So it is a falsification to hold him responsible alone.

* Justice is the most crucial aspect of Germany's approach to recent history. Right now, the Frankfurt Court of Assizes hold the trial against three doctors accused of mass murder. They had worked on the euthanasia-program T4. Although the investigations had started as early as 1961, no medical council has been objecting against the continued practicing and making good money of these "angels of death of yonder time". The case, that will probably be the last one of

great importance, had been suspended for ten years. To the defendants--all in their seventies--justice perhaps will never be done in this world.

- * The prosecution of Nazi criminals had started well. A few weeks after the liberation of the camps the Allies put the guardsmen of Dachau, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, and other camps on trial.
- * Until 1950, between 50 and 60,000 Germans were sued for war crimes by Allied courts. In December 1945, the Nuremberg Military Tribunal had taken up its work. German courts, which had transferred their jurisdiction to the Allies, started slowly. The head of the investigation office explained later that the courts were busy with everyday crimes--illicit trade seemed to be more important than Nazi crimes. After 1950, the number of cases decreased once more and it has been but in 1958, 13 years after World War II, that a systematic investigation into crimes committed in the occupied territories and in the concentration camps was initiated.
- * Although there have been important cases, high sentences, all went very, very slowly.
- * To some extent, the reason for this reluctance can be linked up within the continuity of the judges--none of them were ever prosecuted, only a few took their leave. One former military judge said, "what had been right before 1945 could not be wrong afterwards." In the beginning, the exposure of the so far unknown Nazi crimes found a very positive coverage in the liberal press. There was optimism, morale and justice could be implanted in the new order. The Germans soon turned off when they realized that the problem in the Nuremberg trials was not to sue the individual culprit, but to detect the entanglement of all Germans in Nazism.
- * To some extent, the rapid change in the readiness to cope with history was due to a change in the Allied attitude towards the defeated country. When they entered Germany, they were determined to destroy German militarism and Nazism. Culprits should be punished, Nazi organizations liquidated, members of the Nazi party be removed from offices and management.

The German concept of re-education, as seen from today, was ineffective.

- * A huge machinery was installed to white-wash some million Nazis. With what result? In order to have commerce and administration running, the unimportant cases were dealt with priority. Many of the important Nazis got the benefit of general pardon.
- * The democratic, the anti-Nazi forces, the opposition, and the members of resistance, did not get the chance to purge the nation out of itself, as Italy did.

- * One major error: de-nazification did not take into account that many Germans had turned their back on Nazism when the defeat became obvious. They came out of World War II as not responsible. Why should they accept being held responsible furthermore by the former enemy?
- * In the end, there was the general pardon, due to the rupture within the Allies. The concept of de-nazification became brittle with the beginning of the so-called Cold War. The intensity of trials was reduced, many former enemies turned into new allies. Those in Allies' jail, except Herr Hess, soon were freed and could return to the stage. Moreover, how could the country deal with Hitlerism, when in the end the crusade against Bolshevism turned out to have been right? Suddenly Hitler's crimes seemed meaningless--against what has then appeared to be a heroic venture.

Despite all reference to human dignity and human rights in the German Basic Law/the Bonn Constitution, the chance to incorporate the ethos of the resistance against Hitler, the incomparable mass extinction, of intolerance into the new order was surrendered before the new state was founded. It had seemed that a lesson had been learned. But the Germans neither took up the investigation into how Nazism had come about, nor what had made its crimes possible. As they had turned off when crimes were committed, they closed their eyes when being confronted with history. They plunged into the reconstruction of Germany. Labor and the work ethic became the narcotic to forget the dreary past. They expected and got good marks for a perfectly working new order, later on, for being "model allies" in the new alliance.

A well-known German psychoanalyst, Mitscherlich, spoke about the Germans' "inability to mourn." It is true that it is impossible to mourn about millions of people, especially, not known personally. But are not these six millions also six million individual children, mothers, fathers? Is reference to them so difficult? The dead of Auschwitz and the other camps did not die by accident: they were murdered, murdered not by some neutral Nazis, but by Germans.

In fact, the inability to mourn in reality was unwillingness. This will never erase the connection between the victims and the murderers, between the victims and their descendants and the descendants of the murderers.

The consequence of the mentioned attitude of refusal, as psychoanalysis teaches, is the taboo. All this emotional garbage the Nazis had left behind has been covered, like snow spreads over a winterly landscape. And as the sun lets the snow melt and the landscape return, we just can wait for occasions to unveil the taboo. There are occasions every day.

One of these occasions was the discussion about the theater play with this "garbage" even in the title. The late Rainer Werner Fassbinder had called his story about the speculation with building sites in Frankfurt "The Garbage, the City, and the Death." Fassbinder's estate owner is a wealthy Jew. He is

confronted with Germany's past in the figure of a prostitute, the daughter of an old Nazi. There are, in fact, also Jews among the Frankfurt property holders, but there are also Protestants, maybe even Muslims, Buddhists, or non-religious people. Their religion mattered to nobody else. The play has slippery and dirty passages--a tribute to modernism--above all nasty attacks against Jews. Of course, it is legitimate and necessary to make German history the subject of a theater play. But I doubt that Fassbinder's play served as a taboo breaker. Bold modernists called it a liberation stroke. Against whom? A taboo, of course, never is helpful. But you can solve nothing by neglecting the underlying problem.

Rather more serious are the unintentional remarks of the deputy, Herr Fellner, or the aforementioned mayor, Herr von Spee. The latter one, as I had said, had the idea to finance his community budget by slaughtering rich Jews. In connection with the sale of Flick shares and the discussion on forced labor in the Third Reich, Herr Fellner had blamed the Jews by saying "The Jews quickly turn up when money jingles in a German till box."

These unintentional slips of the tongue reveal what people really think. Both, Spee and Fellner, had difficulties finding an excuse. Both received support in their stubbornness by their party friends. Most deplorable: they provoked a flood of letters, some anonymous ones, but in most cases with full name. What surfaced was the repertoire of anti-Semitism in these letters; though forty years out of use, it was not covered by dust.

In March, the Bundestag had a parliamentary debate on anti-Semitism, conducted by a minority of less than fifty deputies. The conservative side claimed there is no need for such a debate. Of course, the mentioned incidents were personal failures. But they showed the problem in general and confirmed academic research. Four times after World War II research had shown that--without major changes--nearly half of the population responds positively to anti-Jewish statements.

Even if it is a matter of definition how to call this, to deny anti-Semitism is self-deception. In fact, there is a hidden anti-Semitism which is waiting for the right situation to manifest and overt.

VI

The normality which Germans long for, has not yet returned. Because it does not come out of itself when times goes by. The fall was too deep and too few people accepted it as a failure, too few opened their hearts for the victims.

What I fear: the notion of resistance and the readiness to accept persecution did not want to place the victims of Nazism on pedestals, place fences around or treat them as first-class Germans. The problem is no more than to ensure the respect for their fate. It is to guarantee that human dignity is not only to be written in the constitution but to be practiced.

Two questions remain:

- * Did Jews do wrong to come back to Germany? I do not think so. Of course, their life will not be an easy one for a long period. But they should rely on those Germans, non-Jewish, who stand up for their interest. This is a minority, and it will always be a minority--I do not mean this pharisaically.
- * This can answer question No. 2: must we surrender? Is there a chance to influence things? I think there is a chance.

We should tackle the problems together. Victims and culprits will remain, over generations, tied together. What we must do is this: bear witness and remember. For forty years Germans have tried to run away from the truth. Others hindered them. That must go on: as the Lord asked Cain: "Where is your brother Abel?" we must remind the Germans of the millions who were murdered. We will, perhaps, never in this world achieve justice for them. But we can give them a place in our hearts. This may be the only hope, as Elie Wiesel said, that leads to man, even if he wanders from one desert to another.



South Africa & Ethiopia

Emily Alschuler

Alan Amos

Betty Asher

Jay Baumann

Hannah Baumann

Jerry Biederman

Edward Eitches

Bill Epstein

Susan Fisher

Dorothy Goldstein

Carolyn Haas

Martin Kellner

Jeffrey Lang

Alan Levy

Genie Reichman

Gerry Ring

Roger Scholle

Leon Schur

Phyllis K. Shalowitz

Walter Shapiro

Cedric Suzman

Charles Tobias

Deborah & Alvin Turken

Margie Warres

Robert & Vivian Weiss



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5/12/86

MAY 21 1986

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 14, 1986

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director, International Relations
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

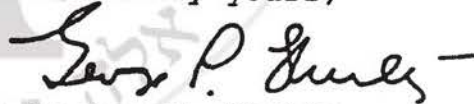
Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Because of the importance we attach to the understanding of complexities of the situation facing South Africa, I am inviting you and other religious leaders to join me and my senior advisors for a day-long conference at the Department of State on Monday, June 2, 1986. Several notable non-governmental spokespersons also will participate in discussion of the conference topic, "The Church as a Force for Peaceful Change in South Africa."

The morning program will include plenary sessions on the past and present role of the church in South Africa and the moral basis of U.S. policy toward that region. Following lunch, the conferees will hear from American black churchmen as well as religious leaders from South Africa. An afternoon panel will discuss opportunities for positive involvement in South Africa.

I hope you will join us on June 2.

Sincerely yours,


George P. Shultz

Enclosure:
Registration Form.

land

REGISTRATION FORM

Please complete this registration form and return it to the Department of State in the postage paid, self-addressed envelope provided. Responses are requested no later than Friday, May 23.

Department officers will meet you at the Diplomatic Entrance (22nd and C Streets, N.W.) and escort you to the conference room. Registration begins at 9:15 a.m. and the conference convenes at 10:00 a.m. Because of new security regulations, only those persons who are pre-registered will be admitted to the building. There will be no further communication or confirmation of registration.

NAME

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

ORGANIZATION

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

TITLE

DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

MAILING ADDRESS

165 EAST 56 STREET

NEW YORK,	NEW YORK	10022
CITY	STATE	Zip Code

I CAN XXX CANNOT attend the Foreign Policy Conference for Religious Leaders on Monday, June 2, 1986 at the Department of State. For further information, please contact any one of the following: Joseph Ryan (202) 647-5287, Mary Catherine Kirk, (202) 647-3340, or Mary Boyd Swann (202) 647-7369.

MAY 23 1986

David Harris



The American Jewish
Committee

PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER • 1616 Walnut Street, Suite 2106 • Philadelphia, PA 19103 • (215) 732-4000

TO: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

DATE: May 20, 1986

FROM: Murray Friedman

SUBJECT: Visit to the State Department on South Africa Trip

I received an invitation along with the other members of my group to meet with State Department South Africa Working Group Staff on May 13 to discuss with them our experiences. About half of our group showed up, including Martin Peretz. Chester Crocker attended about two-thirds of the meeting.

The meeting was essentially an exchange between the two groups and I am not certain that anything unusual occurred from either side. Crocker repeated his concern about disinvestment as being dysfunctional. He made an interesting point to the effect that Mandela should be released in order to free Buthelezi to enter into fuller negotiations with the South African government. In other words, the latter is inhibited from doing some of this for fear of being seen even further as a "sellout."

I made the same point I made when I visited with you and the other members of our group in New York recently: The need to undergird the middle ground through a wide variety of techniques described to you both in my earlier memo and my comments at our meeting. There seemed to be a great deal of interest in this and there is agreement to consult further with us and the members of our group as to how this might be further done.

I have one additional recommendation to you beyond those I made at our meeting. I think there should be a meeting arranged with Chester Crocker by AJC leaders to exchange information and to discuss how we can help them through our field offices, visits to communities of people from South Africa, etc., to undergird the middle ground. I think it would be helpful, also, to be able to tell our friends in South Africa that we met with the State Department and did a number of things. I am not up on all the things we are doing nationally here and it is possible that this has already be done.

I also used the time in Washington to do a number of things relative to the Berman project including further exploring the third volume, the one on Black-Jewish relations. I picked up a full set of papers that were developed at the University of the District of Columbia on Black-Jewish relations which can be useful in understanding the contemporary intellectual and political lay of the land in this situation as seen by both Black and Jewish leaders and intellectuals from both groups.

MF:r

cc: David Harris
Gene DuBow
David Gordis
Gary Rubin

Dictated but not read.



Commonwealth News Release

86/9

12 June 1986

REPORT OF COMMONWEALTH GROUP OF EMINENT PERSONS

The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, in its Report Mission to South Africa released today, says the South African Government is not yet ready to negotiate a democratic future for South Africa and countenance the end of white power.

It says apartheid is not being dismantled; it is only being softened to give it a less inhuman face.

The Group, which tried to promote a dialogue between the Government and black leaders, reveals that it turned down a suggestion for further discussions after Pretoria failed to give a positive response to the Group's proposals and also made the climate for negotiation worse by such actions as the raids on Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe (paragraph 308).

The Group comes out in favour of economic pressure. The absence of effective pressure has delayed change in South Africa, says the Report, and if Pretoria concludes that such pressure will continue to be withheld, 'the process of change is unlikely to increase in momentum and the descent into violence will be accelerated' (paragraph 352).

In such an event, 'the cost in lives may have to be counted in millions'; "concerted action of an effective kind" may offer the last chance "to avert what could be the worst bloodbath since the second World War" (paragraphs 352 and 354).

/2

Nassau Demands. In the Nassau Accord, under which the Group was set up, Commonwealth leaders asked Pretoria to take five steps as a matter of urgency. The Report shows that none have been taken.

Declare that the system of apartheid will be dismantled and specific and meaningful action taken in fulfilment of that intent.

The Group points out that while some changes have been made (e.g. in desegregating public amenities and scrapping of pass laws), the pillars of apartheid - the 'homelands' policy, the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act - remain (paragraphs 42 and 44) and the 'homelands' policy - a major cause of black complaint - is being reinforced with another 'homeland' KwaNdebele due to be made 'independent' in December (paragraph 26).

The Group concludes that 'at present there is no genuine intention on the part of the Government to dismantle apartheid (paragraph 348) and its actions up to this point 'do not justify any claim that apartheid is being dismantled' (paragraph 67).

Terminate the existing state of emergency

The Group's conclusion is: 'Although the state of emergency was technically lifted, the substantive powers remain broadly in force under the ordinary laws of the land which, even now, are being further strengthened in this direction (paragraph 348).

Release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all others imprisoned and detained for their opposition to apartheid.

The Group points out: Nelson Mandela and other political leaders remain in prison' (paragraph 171).

Establish political freedom and specifically lift the existing ban on the ANC and other political parties.

The Group's verdict: 'The Government has made no move towards this goal. Indeed, recently it has been moving in the opposite direction' (paragraph 183). Political freedom is being more rigorously curtailed' (paragraph 348).

Initiate, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, a process of dialogue across lines of colour, politics and religion, with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government.

The Group gives a detailed account of its attempt to lay the basis for a dialogue and concludes: 'The cycle of violence and counter-violence has spiralled and there is no present prospect of a process of dialogue leading to the establishment of a non-racial and representative government' (paragraph 348).

One Man, One Vote. While the government talks of a democratic system, the Report points out that President Botha has specifically ruled out the principle of one man one vote in a 'unitary system'. By insisting on a political structure based on communities, Pretoria is seeking to 'preserve and entrench a society based on racial group' (paragraph 50). Though the government claims it is ready to share power, it is not yet ready to countenance the end of white power (paragraph 355).

Nelson Mandela. The Group says that Mr Mandela's freedom is a key component in efforts for a peaceful solution and that it is tragic that he should be denied the opportunity to share his country's future. The Group rejects accusations that he is a communist and says the government uses "the most dubious methods" to denigrate him (paragraphs 168-170). Mr Mandela is 67, and the Group commends to Pretoria words of the Danish philosopher Soren Kierkegaard:

"The tyrant dies and his rule ends; the martyr dies and his rule begins" (paragraph 144).

African National Congress. There can be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without the ANC, whose support is incontestable and growing, the Group says. It was impressed by the reasonableness and readiness to find negotiated solutions of men like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo (ANC President), and if the government cannot talk to men like them, "the future of South Africa is bleak indeed" (paragraph 337).

In the absence of fundamental changes, the blacks will sustain their struggle. Violence will grow, making a negotiated settlement more difficult and accelerating the flight of capital and skills and the economy's decline (paragraph 345).

White Opinion. The Group charges the government with fortifying the right-wing white opposition, and says it would be fatal to give it a veto (paragraph 341). The government is adding to white fears by exaggerating the extent of communist influence in the ANC (paragraph 78). White opinion as a whole may be ahead of the government, and ready to respond to a bold lead (paragraph 341).

In a foreword, Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath Ramphal, says the Group's Report has a message to "all of us" beyond South Africa: "It is a call to action; a challenge not to stand aside. The means left open are few, but they are real. Whether we call them 'sanctions' or, as the Group has done, 'economic measures', they come to the same thing. Effective economic pressure, applied particularly by those major economic powers who are South Africa's principal trading partners and to whom it looks for major financial flows; pressure which demands change while there is still time to bring it about by peaceful means."

The Group's Report will be considered by seven Commonwealth leaders (of Australia, the Bahamas, Britain, Canada, India, Zambia and Zimbabwe) at a special meeting in London on 3 to 5 August to review developments in South Africa, as envisaged under the Nassau Accord on Southern Africa which Commonwealth leaders agreed at their summit last October.

Appointed by the Commonwealth Secretary-General under the Nassau Accord, the seven-member group has former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and former Nigerian Head of Government General Olusegun Obasanjo as co-chairmen. It was given six months for its work.

On three visits to South Africa, Group members met President Botha and other ministers, political, community, religious and business figures, and people from many walks of life. They were able to have three discussions with Nelson Mandela in prison. They talked with ANC leaders in Lusaka and with the leaders of several Front-Line States.

The Group gives an account of their first-hand experience of the behaviour of the security forces and of what they saw of conditions of life under apartheid.

The Report comments on the Government's reforms against the background of the apartheid system, the issue of violence, the role of Nelson Mandela, and the prospects for a negotiated settlement in the context of the views of the main parties, before setting out the proposals the Group advanced for a process of dialogue and the discussions held to gain acceptance of them.

- end -

(Mission to South Africa: The Commonwealth Report has been published as a Penguin Special by Penguin Books).



To MHT
Date 6/18 Time 11:20 A.M.
P.M.

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Serna Greenberg
of _____
Phone _____
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		RUSH	
RETURNED YOUR CALL			

Message David Ford's wants
MHT to discuss ~~the~~ with
Leo Ellenoff statement on
South Africa. Attached

Operator SR

DRAFT TEXT OF STATEMENT BY AJC IN RESPONSE TO THE CURRENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The South African Government's imposition of a state of emergency only adds fuel to an already explosive situation in the country. We urge the government to lift the state of emergency, release the detainees and take immediate steps towards the complete dismantling of the unjust apartheid system. Further, the placing of severe censorship restrictions on the media is a chilling act that only heightens anxiety about the actions the Botha regime is taking.

The alternative to reform, negotiation and power-sharing for all segments of South African society will doubtless be increased violence and bloodshed, with disastrous consequences for all, and complete ostracism of the government by civilized society. Pretoria must be made to understand that time is quickly running out for a peaceful solution to the crisis.

Drafted by David Harris

Approved by Marc Tanenbaum

June 19, 1986



The American Jewish
Committee

To: Alku Kayedan, NY
From: Debbi Hirsch, LA

LOS ANGELES CHAPTER, 6505 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 315, Los Angeles, CA 90048-4992 (213) 855-7071 Telecopier: (213) 858-5164

DATE: July 1, 1986

TO: Members of National AJC's South Africa Working Group

FROM: L.A. Chapter's Ad Hoc Committee on South Africa
Cathy Mendelson, President, Los Angeles Chapter
Howard Miller, Immediate Past President, Los Angeles Chapter
Robert Dasteel, Chair, International Affairs Committee, LA Chapter
Carla Singer, Co-Chair, International Affairs Committee, LA Chapter
Bruce Ramer, Chair, AJC's National Affairs Commission
Marsha Kwalwasser, Chair Business and Industry Committee, LA Chapter

RE: AJC's South Africa Policy

The Los Angeles Chapter recently requested that AJC's South Africa working group be convened to deal with the current escalation of violence and restrictions on fundamental human rights in South Africa. Because of that request, a group of the L.A. Chapter's Board members met today to provide you with our input for your discussion next week.

After reviewing the policy statement adopted by AJC in May, 1985, we suggest that AJC, on moral grounds, must take a more forceful position that more precisely expresses our outrage at the excesses of the South African government. To avoid doing so at this time would be an abdication of our responsibility in carrying forth our Jewish moral heritage. The position of the Jewish community in South Africa must be taken into consideration; nevertheless, we specifically recommend that AJC adopt a position supporting appropriate economic sanctions and enter into coalitions with like-minded groups in the Black and other communities.

As the Reagan Administration is during this month re-assessing its own policy and considering the possibility of economic sanctions, we believe that time is of the essence and recommend that action be taken by the Executive Committee as soon as possible.



The American Jewish
Committee

LOS ANGELES CHAPTER, 6505 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 315, Los Angeles, CA 90048-4992 (213) 655-7071 Telecopier: (213) 658-5164

Resolution on South Africa
of
Los Angeles Chapter Steering Committee

After reviewing the policy statement on South Africa adopted by the American Jewish Committee in May, 1985, we suggest that AJC, on moral grounds, must take a more forceful position that more precisely expresses our outrage at the excesses of the South African government. To avoid doing so at this time would be an abdication of our responsibility in carrying forth our Jewish moral heritage. The position of the Jewish community in South Africa must be taken into consideration; nevertheless, we specifically recommend that AJC adopt a position supporting appropriate economic sanctions which may include divestment and disinvestment and enter into coalitions with like-minded groups in the Black and other communities.

As the Reagan Administration is during this month re-assessing its own policy and considering the possibility of economic sanctions, we believe that time is of the essence and recommend that action be taken by the Executive Committee as soon as possible.

Wednesday, July 17, 1986

DOMESTIC NEWS

07-23-86

3752

Religious leaders angry, disappointed with Reagan on S. Africa

By Darrell Turner

Religious News Service Associate Editor

NEW YORK (RNS) — Mainline Protestant leaders expressed disappointment and anger that President Reagan's July 22 speech on South Africa did not call for United States sanctions against that country's apartheid regime.

In contrast, a prominent Jewish leader, while calling for further action against South Africa than Mr. Reagan advocated, warned that a complete cutoff of U.S. trade relations would only harm the nation's black majority.

In his speech, the president called on South Africa to establish a timetable for the dismantling of apartheid and urged that African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela be freed. But he said that economic sanctions against South Africa would be an "act of folly" that would throw thousands of blacks out of work.

In Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu reacted angrily to the Reagan speech. "I think the West, for my part, can go to hell," he said, adding that he found the speech "nauseating." The Nobel Peace Prize winner commented that "over 70 percent of our people in two surveys have shown that they want sanctions. No, President Reagan knows better — we will suffer."

Shortly after the president's speech, representatives of more than 23 Protestant and Orthodox denominations who make up the Churches' Emergency Committee on Southern Africa issued a statement in Washington saying that they were "deeply saddened that President Reagan's speech did not announce any substantive changes in U.S. policy."

They declared that "five years of behind-the-scenes negotiations with the Botha government have produced no tangible results," and that they therefore support "the imposition of immediate comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the South African regime."

The church leaders asserted that "to condemn apartheid in our official pronouncements while at the same time financing, arming, feeding, clothing, fueling, transporting and computerizing it is the height of moral turpitude. The United States cannot both oppose apartheid and sell South Africa the instruments to maintain racial domination."

Dr. Benjamin S. Chavis, Jr., executive director of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice, charged that "the current administration has decided once and for all to turn its back on the people of South Africa." He called on President Reagan to "reverse his policy of constructive terrorism, constructive support of apartheid, and to cut all ties with South Africa," including diplomatic relations.

According to Dr. Chavis, "the present course of the Reagan administration is pushing the people of South Africa into the arms of the Soviet Union." He said the president's speech would "increase the necessity of the people of South Africa to turn to a nation like the Soviet Union."

United Methodist Bishop Joseph Yeakel of Washington said his reaction to the Reagan speech was "disappointment." He said he had hoped that the president "would have opened some new initiatives and taken a stronger stand instead of going with the status quo," and added that he was "appreciative that members of the Congress have been public in their disappointment and of their announcing plans to go ahead with some specific and limited sanctions."

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of international relations of the American Jewish

Committee, said his organization has taken the position that "every possible moral and political pressure must be used to bring about the dismantling of apartheid."

He supported several proposals made by Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that went beyond the president's recommendations, such as an end to landing rights for South African airlines in the United States and curtailment of visas for South Africans coming to the United States.

At the same time, Rabbi Tanenbaum said, the American Jewish Committee is "opposed to taking those economic measures which armchair liberals like to display publicly because it costs nothing." He said when he was in South Africa last October, he met with "thousands of blacks who were out of jobs," and said he finds it "inconceivable that one can say let them suffer some more" through total economic sanctions.

Rabbi Tanenbaum predicted that "ultimately there's going to be a black population dominating South Africa politically and economically," and said it "would be a disaster if they are left with a country with no economic base."

07-23-86

3750

Religious delegation detained during journey with Salvadorans

By William Bole

Religious News Service Staff Writer

WASHINGTON (RNS) — A 19-member delegation of religious leaders was arrested and deported by the Salvadoran military while accompanying poor farmers on a daring journey to reclaim their land, leaders of the group said here.

The religious representatives, who traveled to El Salvador on a visit sponsored by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Francisco and a private human rights group, met here with members of Congress July 22 after returning from the country.

The Americans had been asked by Salvadorans who live in a church-run refugee camp in San Salvador to join with 500 of them in returning to land from which they had fled, according to Marie Grosso, who was one of those detained. She was representing the Religious Task Force on Central America, based in Washington.

She said the displaced persons, who have been forced in recent years to flee their homes because of the country's continuing civil war, had feared reprisals by the military and thought that the presence of Americans would make the journey safer.

"They had decided that they could no longer survive in refugee camps. They are tired of being dependent and living in wretched conditions. They are farmers, and they want to lead productive lives again," Ms. Grosso said in an interview on Capitol Hill.

She said the Salvadoran government has opposed such relocations, favoring instead a planned gradual repopulation that would weed out potential sympathizers with left-wing rebels in the countryside. Thousands of Salvadorans now live in refugee camps in the capital.

On July 15, while accompanying the campesinos in buses and later on foot, the 19 members of the church delegation were told by military officials that they had to go back because they were in a military zone, said Ms. Grosso. When they refused, she said, they were taken to the police station in San Salvador and detained for 36 hours, before being deported to Guatemala July 16.

The military had stopped the travelers while they were on foot just a mile short of their destination near Aguacayo, about 25 miles north of San Salvador, according to Ms. Grosso. She said most of the Salvadorans made it back to their village, but about 50 decided to turn back.

"They were very frightened," she said, adding that many of them had in the past suffered abuses at the hands of the military.

DAVID GELLER





JUST CONFIRMED ** JUST CONFIRMED ** JUST CONFIRMED

The Foreign Policy Association

cordially invites you to hear

The Honorable Malcolm Fraser
&
General Olusegun Obasanjo

who will speak on the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons Report

Mission to South Africa

Presiding
Archie E. Albright
President
Foreign Policy Association

Thursday, July 24, 1986

5:00 p.m.	Reception	The Roosevelt Hotel
5:30 p.m.	Program & Discussion	The Grand Ballroom 45th St. at Madison Ave.
7:00 p.m.	Adjournment	New York City

Mr. Malcolm Fraser was the Prime Minister of Australia 1975-83, after having held a number of cabinet positions from 1968. He entered parliament in 1955, after graduating from Oxford University in 1952. As Prime Minister, Mr. Fraser chaired the Commonwealth summit held in Melbourne in 1981 and was responsible for initiating the series of Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meetings for the Asia/Pacific region. Lately an International Fellow of Harvard University, Mr. Fraser was Chairman of the United Nations Panel of Eminent Persons. He is a member of the Inter Action Council of former Heads of Government formed in 1983.

General Olusegun Obasanjo, was the head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria from 1976-79, when he handed over power to an elected civilian government, headed by President Shehu Shagari. A Fellow of the University of Ibadan from 1979, General Obasanjo served on the Independent (Palme) Commission on Disarmament and Security and he is a member of the Inter Action Council of former Heads of Government. As an officer in the Nigerian army which he joined in 1958, he served with the UN forces in Congo in 1960. He served as Federal Commissioner for Works and Housing in 1975 and was promoted Lt-General in 1976.

This is an FPA Associates Meeting. There is no charge for Members of the National Council of FPA Associates with one-Guest. There is a \$10 charge for all others.

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PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF SOUTH AFRICA

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2000

Tel : 833-7770
Tlx : 4-89261

31 July 1986

Mr David Harris
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
NEW YORK
NY 10022
U S A



Dear David

I was in New York recently and tried to contact you but unfortunately you were away on holiday. I anticipate coming to the United States for the meeting of the Council of Jewish Federations in Chicago from November 12th to 16th. I wonder whether you will be in Chicago at that time. If not, I will try and call on you on my way to or from there as I think there are many things which we can discuss.

Yours sincerely


HARRY SCHWARZ M.P.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 6, 1986
to Subcommittee on South Africa
from Allan Kagedan
subject Guidelines for Supplementary Statement on South Africa

At its last meeting, the Subcommittee noted the need for guidelines for a supplementary statement on South Africa. The following outline for this statement, based on our previous discussion, is presented for your consideration with a view to bringing a draft statement to our chapters by late September, in preparation for its formal submission to the National Executive Committee meeting on October 30.

On the operational side, many sanction proposals are being discussed in the Congress. Listed here to focus our discussion are proposals from the Lugar bill, one of the most widely-supported measures.

Introductory paragraphs

1. Summary of May 1985 statement
2. Subsequent events necessitating a supplementary statement: imposition of two states of emergency, increased violence by police and vigilante groups, rise of visible neofascist activity, inadequate response by Botha administration.
3. What groups outside South Africa should be trying to encourage: the elimination of all apartheid laws and practices, terminating the state of emergency, the unbanning of political groups and the release of political prisoners, the initiation of a process of dialogue to establish a non-racial and representative government.
4. How government can exert pressure for change: diplomatic channels, public criticism, the imposition of economic sanctions --possible effectiveness and problems (the creation of poverty and unemployment, the removal of economic infrastructures needed in future by a democratized South Africa, the lack of calibration leading to less influence on situation).

5. How private groups can exert pressure for change: the importance of citizen activities to educate black South Africans for leadership and to improve for their human rights situation.

Operative paragraphs

6. We support federal legislation that would (examples taken from the Lugar bill as presented on July 29)
 - Ban new investments by American companies not adhering to anti-discrimination guidelines.
 - Embargo imports from corporations owned or controlled by South African government.
 - Deny landing rights to South African airways.
 - Give the President authority to deny visas to South African officials.
 - Authorize the President to sell gold on the world market to drive price down.
 - Ban banking transactions by the South African government or the companies it controls.
 - These measures could be lifted if the South African Government would agree to two of the following: freeing Nelson Mandela, lifting the state of emergency, legalizing political parties or cancelling laws requiring blacks to live in separate areas.
7. We call on our chapters and members to become involved in programs of education and legal defense for black South Africans approved by the American Jewish Committee.

8178/IRD-8

/smm

Bayard Rustin

Aug 11/86

Operation Hunger - Ina Perlman

7 NEC - Parents DAJ C. S. Chur - Detention

Legal Resources Center - Keltridges

7 Black Sash - (2/3) women

- non-political - relieve human suffering

- Amend Against Apartheid -

\$5,000 each - \$20,000

- Info.

- 533-8000 (Walter)

> not political - humanitarian } ^{Open Hunger} Legal Resources } women
- law, human rights } politics

> NEC -

Black Sash

more political

influx control laws

- Relief in Crossroads - Jewish org. (completely humanitarian)

- Relief priority - hunger

- Urban Educ - housing - non-polit.

- African Children's Feeding Scheme

> S.A. Bd of Equities - happy to do that / problem if political

➤ Arise, take what's due - Harry Schwartz

September 12, 1986

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

1. In its May 1985 Statement on South Africa, the American Jewish
2. Committee called for the complete elimination of apartheid and con-
3. demned the violence bred by this cruel system. Regrettably, the
4. situation in South Africa has continued to deteriorate.

5. While the infamous pass laws have been set aside, the practice of
6. forcibly removing blacks to the so-called "homelands" continues. Though
7. segregation of certain public places has ended, blacks remain excluded
8. from participation in the political process.

9. The attitude of the South African government has been deeply
10. disappointing. It has disparaged efforts aimed at achieving a nego-
11. tiated solution to the country's crisis. By rejecting calls for the
12. release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of black political groups,
13. the Government has frustrated prospects for peaceful change. Professing
14. to be upholders of Western interests, the Government's stubbornness
15. heartens only the enemies of freedom.

16. Against this background, violence has spread, claiming over 2,000
17. lives since September 1984. The South African security forces have
18. brought death and injury to peaceful demonstrators and innocent by-

1. standers; vigilantes have contributed a new term -- necklacing -- to the
2. lexicon of human cruelty.

3. As an organization devoted to the advancement and protection of
4. human rights we have long been troubled by their massive violation in
5. South Africa which has grown worse during the past eighteen months. The
6. Government lifted a State of Emergency in March, but reimposed one in
7. June. During the second emergency period, over 10,000 people, including
8. students, civic, church and labor leaders, lawyers and journalists, have
9. been detained and barred from contact with relatives or recourse to
10. counsel. This affront to justice seems certain to further radicalize and
11. polarize public opinion. Furthermore, in an attack on free speech, the
12. Government has imposed severe censorship and under its cover, security
13. officials have committed acts of physical abuse against detainees. In a
14. challenge to religious freedom and freedom of assembly, the security
15. forces have detained whole church congregations.

16. We applaud the decisions of judges who have ruled invalid segments
17. of the Emergency regulations, and the courageous efforts of those South
18. African lawyers working within the judicial system for the protection of
19. human rights.

20. We note with concern the increasing visibility in South Africa of
21. extremist groups whose words and symbols recall Nazism, and groups who
22. repeat the "Zionism is racism" canard in a manner certain to create
23. hostility toward Jews.

1. As Americans, we call again on our government and elected represen-
2. tatives to use all the means at their disposal to press for the demo-
3. cratization of South African society in a serious and sustained fashion.
4. We support targeted economic sanctions to bring pressure for change on
5. the South African government.* We distinguish between these measures
6. and total disinvestment which we feel will not produce the desired
7. ends. We reiterate our call on the U.S. government to take appropriate
8. action against U.S. companies operating in South Africa with ten or more
9. employees who fail to comply with fair employment practices by May 1,
10. 1987.

11. Mindful of our limited role as outsiders, we plan nevertheless to
12. establish a fund for disadvantaged South Africans to attend
13. American graduate schools to provide them with advanced training for use
14. in building the future South Africa; to defend their civil rights
15. through support for litigation and other legal activity, which will help
16. establish the rule of law in that country; to encourage research and
17. advocacy with respect to establishing a new political order in South
18. Africa that would be democratic and protect the rights of every indivi-
19. dual.

20. We will review our position as developments warrant.

21. *See Appendix

8107-(IRD/8)
9/12/86:og

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 22, 1986
to Interested Parties
from Dr. Allan Kagedan
subject South Africa

The attached draft Statement on South Africa is intended to supercede our previous Statement on this issue, adopted in May 1985. It is meant to serve as a basis for formulating a common AJC perspective on a critical human rights issue; to establish policy for AJC activity on South Africa; and to convey our assessment of the South African crisis to concerned groups and individuals.

The Statement was devised by the Subcommittee on South Africa, chaired by E. Robert Goodkind. It was endorsed by the International Relations Commission's Steering Committee as a discussion document whose contents are not approved in any broader sense.

Indeed, when discussed by the Steering Committee, two contrasting points of view about the Statement emerged, differing from the views expressed in the Statement itself. Some Commission members disagreed with the Statement's support for limited economic sanctions on the grounds that (a) they would "hurt those they are intended to help" (South African blacks), by worsening the overall economic situation; and (b) they would weaken capitalist structures in South Africa, the keys to peaceful change, and instead intensify tendencies toward violent revolution. Other Commission members argued, to the contrary, that the Statement was too weak in that it failed to support stronger sanctions, including disinvestment, appropriate as an expression of moral outrage, an instrument of peaceful change, and a basis for dialogue with coalition partners in the black community.

Permit me to draw your attention also to the Statement's call for the establishment of a South Africa civil rights and education program, about which the NEC will render a final decision.

In addressing the South Africa issue, AJC reaffirms its concern for human rights around the globe, based on the conviction that if the rights of any individual or group are threatened, no one's rights are secure.



Seattle,
The Emerald City

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1986 National Executive Council Meeting

® Seattle Sheraton Hotel • Thursday, October 30 — Sunday, November 2, 1986

PROPOSED POLICY STATEMENT

SOUTH AFRICA

AMERICAN JEWISH

In its May 1985 Statement on South Africa, the American Jewish Committee called for the complete elimination of apartheid and condemned the violence bred by this cruel system. Regrettably, the situation in South Africa has continued to deteriorate.

While the infamous pass laws have been set aside, the practice of forcibly removing blacks to the so-called "homelands" persists. Though segregation of certain public places has ended, blacks and other non-whites remain excluded from participation in the political process.

The attitude of the South African government has been deeply disappointing. It has disparaged efforts aimed at achieving a negotiated solution to the country's crisis. By rejecting calls for the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of black political groups, the Government has frustrated prospects for peaceful change. Professing to be an upholder of Western interests, the Government, by its stubbornness, heartens only the enemies of freedom.

Against this background, violence has spread, claiming over 2,000 lives since September 1984. The South African security forces have brought death and injury to peaceful demonstrators and innocent bystanders; vigilantes have contributed a new term -- necklacing -- to the lexicon of human cruelty.

We have long been troubled by massive violation of human rights in South Africa which in certain respects, intensified during the past eighteen months. The Government lifted a State of Emergency in March, but reimposed one in June. During the second emergency period, over 10,000 people, including students, civic, church and labor leaders, lawyers and journalists, have been detained and barred from contact with relatives or recourse to counsel. This affront to justice seems certain to further polarize public opinion. Furthermore, in an attack on free speech, the Government has imposed severe censorship, and under its cover, security officials have physically abused detainees. In a

challenge to religious freedom and freedom of assembly, the security forces have detained whole religious congregations.

We applaud the decisions of judges who have ruled invalid segments of the Emergency regulations, and the courageous efforts of those South African lawyers working within the judicial system for the defense of human rights.

We note with concern the increasing visibility in South Africa of extremist groups whose words and symbols recall Nazism, and groups who repeat the "Zionism is racism" canard in a manner certain to foment hostility toward Jews.

As Americans, we call again on our government and elected representatives to use all the means at their disposal to press for the democratization of South African society in a serious and sustained fashion. We support targeted economic sanctions to bring pressure for change on the South African government outlined in HR 4868.* We distinguish between these measures and total disinvestment which we feel will not produce the desired ends. We reiterate our call on the U.S. government to take appropriate action against U.S. companies operating in South Africa with ten or more employees who fail to comply with fair employment practices by May 1, 1987.

Mindful of our limited role as outsiders, we plan nevertheless to establish a program to aid disadvantaged South Africans to attend ~~American graduate schools and provide them with advanced training for use in post-apartheid South Africa;~~ to defend their civil rights through support ~~for litigation and other legal activity, which will help establish the rule of law in that country;~~ to encourage research and advocacy toward the creation of a new order in South Africa devoted to democracy and protective of the rights of every individual.

We will review our position as developments warrant.

*See Appendix

New York Times -- August 16, 1986

Senate

Approved Aug. 15; would take effect if reconciled with the House version and signed into law by President Reagan or, in case of Presidential veto, if veto was overridden by both houses of Congress.

1. Bans import of steel and iron (1985: \$293.6 million).
2. Bans import of uranium and coal (1985: \$140 million, uranium; \$43.4 million, coal).
3. Prohibits U.S. banks from accepting deposits from any South African Government agency, except for South African diplomats (March 1986: \$329 million held by U.S. banks for South African Government agencies and banks).
4. Bans new corporate investment in South Africa and any new loans to South African Government agencies (1985: \$1.3 billion in outstanding U.S. investments in South Africa).
5. Incorporates and makes permanent limited sanctions imposed last September by President Reagan, including:
 - Ban on import of Krugerrands (1984: \$486 million; 1985: \$101 million before ban took effect)
 - Ban on sale of computer equipment to Government agencies involved with enforcement of apartheid (figure not in public domain)
 - Ban on loans to South African Government agencies (1985: \$148 million outstanding)
 - Ban on export of nuclear power equipment (figure not in public domain)
6. Bans textile imports (1985: \$55.1 million).
7. Bans import of agricultural products (1985: \$52 million in fruits and vegetables and \$129.4 million in products listed separately, including sugar, unmilled corn, honey, rice, beets and tobacco).
8. Prohibits export of petroleum or crude oil to South Africa (No exports).
9. Ends landing rights in U.S. for South African Airways (figure not in public domain; in 1985 airline carried 95,000 passengers between South Africa and United States).



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PROPOSED POLICY STATEMENT

SEX-BASED WAGE DISCRIMINATION

Statement of Principle

Numerous studies confirm the fact that there is a historical wage gap between men and women in the U.S. workforce. Many causes contribute to this situation. Sex-based wage discrimination is one of them.

The American Jewish Committee historically supports the struggle for all basic human rights, and in view of that tradition opposes sex discrimination generally and sex-based wage discrimination in particular. It supports policies and methods to move society closer to eliminating this form of discrimination.

Introduction

While the situation of many groups of employed women has improved in recent years, a wage gap between men and women has always existed in the United States. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures for 1980 indicate that women who work full-time year-round are still paid approximately 64 cents for every dollar earned by their male counterparts. Many economists agree that the wage gap is closely associated with occupational sex segregation.

There are many complex historical and societal reasons for segregation by sex in the workplace. These may include tradition, choice of education and training (or their lack), family responsibilities and discrimination. What is clear, however, is that these factors have resulted in the concentration of more women than men in a narrow range of lower paying jobs. While it is true that many barriers are breaking down, the pace of progress on reducing the wage gap has not kept up with progress in less dynamic European economies where the wage gap is much smaller (women earn approximately 80% of what men do).

The AJC, traditionally concerned with issues in which discrimination may be a factor, has taken an active role in trying to grapple with this problem. In March 1985 the AJC established a Task Force on Pay Equity. It was made up of 56 AJC leaders from around the country, along with 12 "at large" outside experts. Based on a 16-month study process and numerous discussions, the Task Force formulated a consensus policy statement.

This issue is of particular concern to the Jewish community, for despite the stereotype of universal Jewish success, significant numbers of Jews can be classified as poor and near-poor. And, as in the community at large, a disproportionate number of them are women. Furthermore, the economic problems of Jewish women can be attributed to the same factors that plague non-Jewish women: low occupational status and single parenthood.

While Jewish women are far more likely to be professionals than are other women, many studies have documented a concentration in such professions as teaching and social work, both among the lowest-paying professional fields. Recent studies have shown that 35 percent of the Jewish working women in Denver, 24 percent of the Jewish working women in Milwaukee, 36 percent of the Jewish working women in Phoenix and 26 percent of the Jewish working women in Pittsburgh occupy underpaid clerical and blue collar positions -- patterns that were typical of cities across the country. It is also sad but true that single-parent households are on the rise, among Jews, just as they are among the population at large, and their households are almost always headed by women whose earning power is circumscribed by prevailing patterns of lower pay for women.

Policy Statement

- 1) Only a portion of the wage gap between men and women can be explained by educational differences or by consistency of work experience. The sizeable portion that cannot be accounted for by these factors can be attributed to the fact that women, overwhelmingly, are concentrated in a narrow range of sex-segregated occupations with average wages below those paid to men.
- 2) The underpayment of predominantly female occupations is a great economic and societal concern with consequences for Jews and others.
- 3) While achieving pay equity does involve a cost factor, the cost of eliminating discrimination has proven to be below what many observers had projected.

The American Jewish Committee endorses efforts to:

1. Educate our members and others regarding sex based wage discrimination and its consequences.
2. Encourage employers, particularly government agencies and large corporations to enter voluntarily into job evaluations and, where appropriate to take corrective action to eliminate sex-based wage discrimination from jobs that these studies find to be comparable. (For example, in a number of state and local

governments, and in some large corporations, a review of job descriptions and salaries showed that there were inequities that could be easily adjusted at small cost.)

3. Support the intensification of education and training programs for employees and employers so that women and men are prepared for all available jobs and are treated equally in the selection and allocation of these jobs.
4. Analyze current successful models where the problem of inequitable pay was resolved and work to apply them to other places where disputes are taking place or are imminent. Such efforts should be undertaken in coalition with our traditional allies and other interested groups.
5. Urge greater enforcement of the Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
6. Where there is evidence that lower salaries are based on sex-based discrimination in hiring and/or promotion practices, encourage efforts to resolve such situations through voluntary actions, hopefully, thereby avoiding possible court action.

Conclusion

The study by AJC's National Pay Equity Task Force indicates that the issue of eliminating sex-based wage discrimination need not be a polarizing one. While the problem is complex, consensus-building strategies are emerging around the country in which AJC should be actively involved.

Unanimously approved
National Affairs Commission Meeting - June 23, 1986



Seattle,
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1986 National Executive Council Meeting

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BACKGROUND

COMBATTING THE ROOTS OF EXTREMISM

Plenary Session, Friday, October 31, 9:30 AM

The insistence of Jews on maintaining their distinctiveness as a religious community and as a people has, throughout history, elicited hostility that has found expression in a variety of negative stereotypes.

In times past and present, Jews have been depicted as alien outsiders, in conflict with the ideals and traditions of the host society; as a clannish people, pursuing its interests at the expense of the general interest; as a deviant people, whose stubborn rejection of the prevailing religion rightfully dooms them to divine retribution; as a domineering and subversive people, exercising insidious control over economic social and political institutions; in a word, as troubling and troublesome objects of fear and envy.

The infusion of such stereotypes into folk mythology, fueled by the willingness of ruthless governing elites to harness the fury of the masses to the power of the state, has stained the pages of history with expulsions and pogroms, culminating in that unique 20th-century catastrophe which we label "the Holocaust."

In the United States, a steady, long-term decline in anti-Semitism has been confirmed by research data. Yet the significance of Jewish communal and individual achievement does not contradict the fact that anti-Semitism persists in "traditional" as well as new manifestations:

1. Extremists from the left and right wings of the political spectrum aggressively question the loyalty of American Jews, suggesting that our commitment to the survival and security of Israel makes us a subversive force in American society. Although this line of attack has long been pressed by avowed anti-Semites, it has recently been echoed by such public figures as Gore Vidal, writing in The Nation, a left-leaning publication, and by the conservative columnist and radio commentator Joseph Sobran, who is an editor of the National Review.
2. Soviet and Arab attacks equating Zionism with racism circulate with credibility in segments of the Black community and among "Third World" ideologues in major Christian denominations.
3. Extremists and anti-Semites have moved in on rural America, seeking to build a grassroots political base by capitalizing on the anxiety and alienation of hard-pressed family farmers who face the

loss of land and livelihood, casualties of a catastrophic economic crisis. Violence-prone anti-Semitic groups, such as the Posse Comitatus, the Ku Klux Klan and the Order, are working vigorously to convince desperate farmers that they are the victims of international Jewish bankers scheming to seize their land and that the Jews have gained control of our government, which they label the "Zionist Occupation Government."

4. Lyndon LaRouche, Louis Farrakhan, David Duke and other anti-Semites have demonstrated a sophisticated capacity to attract the attention of the mass media. they are magnetic personalities who have been successful in recruiting dedicated and articulate converts.
5. Anti-Semitic incidents, including synagogue desecrations and the use of anti-Semitic epithets in the heat of intergroup conflict, understandably elicit anger and anxiety in the Jewish community, which expects its community relations agencies to respond vigorously and effectively.

AJC responds to anti-Semitism and extremism by pursuing a three-pronged program of research and counteraction.

1. We probe public opinion to learn what Americans think and feel about Jews and issues relating to Jewish security.
2. We monitor and expose anti-Semitic and extremist groups and work to deny them ideological respectability.
3. We examine volatile social, economic and political issues, recognizing that anti-Semitism and other forms of extremism thrive in an environment of frustration, anxiety and anger.

By blending serious and innovative scholarship with creative and effective social action, AJC carries forward its 80-year tradition of defending the security of Jews in the U.S. and around the world.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What strategy should guide the Jewish community in response to charges of dual loyalty?
2. Is there a noticeable level of "anti-Zionist" rhetoric in your community? What audiences are targeted: Christian clergy? the Black community? universities? the media? How has your chapter handled this problem?
3. In the rural midwest, extremists have been working to establish credibility by reaching out to economically-distressed farmers. Since AJC is a non-political organization, what should be our role in counteracting the political efforts of the LaRouche movement and other extremist anti-Semitic groups?
4. What guidelines should chapter leaders follow when an anti-Semitic incident occurs in the community?

DAYTOURS

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OPTIONAL TOURS - American Jewish Committee

Enclosed please find my check. Kindly register me for the following events:

Wednesday, October 29, 1986 - City Tour

See all of Seattle's best! A fully narrated tour to Seattle's most distinctive attractions including the Government Locks, University of Washington, Arboretum, Pioneer Square, Seattle waterfront, Pike Place Market, etc. A wonderful orientation to this lovely city!

Assemble 1:15 pm / Depart 1:30 pm / Approx Return 4:30 pm
Number of tickets _____ Per person \$14.00 (minimum of 30)

Sunday, November 2, 1986 - Jewish Seattle Tour

A special tour of Jewish Seattle focusing on modern and historical sights. Includes stop at the impressive Holocaust memorial. The sculptress of this moving memorial will meet us at the site to interpret her work for us.

Assemble 9:15 am / Depart 9:30 pm / Approx Return 12:30 pm
Number of tickets _____ Per person \$14.00 (minimum of 30)

Ticket requests will be filled in order of receipt. No confirmation of ticket purchase will be sent. Tickets will be held in your name with the American Jewish Committee at their Registration Desk in the Sheraton Hotel. Tickets will be sold on site on a space available basis. A small service charge will be assessed on all refunds. No refunds after October, 15, 1986 unless the event is cancelled due to insufficient participation in which case a full refund is guaranteed.

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WHAT AMERICA SHOULD DO ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA

A South African

liberal tells U.S.

liberals why sanctions

against Pretoria would

hurt blacks most of all.

By Helen Suzman

WHAT SHOULD THE UNITED STATES DO about South Africa? This is a simple question to which there is no simple answer, if there is an answer at all. Of course, if the desire to distance the United States from a morally repugnant system is paramount and if the objective is to punish South Africa for its glaring sins of omission and commission, regardless of the consequences, then sanctions and disinvestment spring readily to mind. And if political expediency is also part of the picture, then calling for economic sanctions must surely be irresistible.

I realized this in November 1984 when I was in the United States and watched on television the landslide victory of Ronald Reagan in the elections. The following morning, I received a call from the New York correspondent of the South African evening newspapers. He asked for my reaction to the election, and I told him I had no doubt that champagne corks were popping in Pretoria. I also said the celebrants were making a great mistake because I believed that the Democrats would seek a rallying cause — and South Africa was going to be it.

I did not need a crystal ball to make that prediction. During visits to the United States over the past seven years, I had observed the buildup of the anti-apartheid campaign in the United States, on campuses in particular. Year after year in the South African Parliament, I had warned that unless the Government began to dismantle apartheid, which is legally sanctioned racial discrimination, and to desist from some of its more abhorrent practices — such as detention without trial and the forced removal of helpless black communities — South Africa would be faced with severe punitive measures. My warnings fell on deaf ears. Events in South Africa throughout 1985 triggered an anti-apartheid explosion in the West.

Day after day, scenes of ugly police brutality, of mass funerals of victims of police shootings in black townships, appeared before horrified American and European television viewers. (Such scenes were not shown on South African television, which is state controlled, although the horrendous black-on-black violence frequently appeared on the screen.) With relentless regularity, newspaper headlines abroad proclaimed the rising death rate, the enormous number of people detained without trial, torture at the hands of the security police, the hordes of children arrested and imprisoned.

By mid-1985, the South African issue had been reduced to a simple equation in the United States: "If you are against sanctions and disinvestment, you must be a racist — Q.E.D." The response was of tidal-wave proportions. In July 1985, Chase Manhattan, followed by other banks, pulled the rug from under South Africa's financial system by refusing to roll over loans; as a result, the value of the rand plummeted. Many colleges and universities divested themselves of stocks in companies doing business in South Africa. Cities and states "cleansed" their pension-fund investments of South African connections.

Last year, unable to withstand the hassle factor at home, fearful of boycotts of their products in the United States and nervous about political and economic instability in South Africa, 28 American companies (according to the American Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg) withdrew from South Africa. Others have followed suit this year.

Helen Suzman was first elected to the South African Parliament in 1953. As an opposition Member of Parliament, she has long been an outspoken critic of apartheid.



In September 1985, hoping to forestall more severe Congressional action, President Reagan, long an opponent of sanctions, signed an executive order that prohibited most new loans to South African businesses. The order also banned the sale of most nuclear-related technology to South Africa and the sale of the American Krugerrand, the South African gold coin, in the United States.

Across the Atlantic, the other stalwart opponent of sanctions, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain, was experiencing even greater pressures. She was forced to agree to limited measures against Pretoria at the Commonwealth conference in the Bahamas in October 1985. The final report of the Eminent Persons Group — a seven-member mission appointed at the Bahamian conference to conduct an in-depth investigation in South Africa — brought no comfort. The mission originally put forward a "possible negotiating concept" to the South African Government, one calling for steps toward ending apartheid. They



SELWYN TAIT/BLACK STAR

included the suspension of violence by both the Government and the African National Congress (A.N.C., the most prominent of exiled groups against apartheid); the release of Nelson Mandela, the black leader who has been in prison for 24 years, and other political prisoners; the removal of the Government's military forces from black townships; the legalization of the A.N.C. and Pan African Congress, another black political organization, and a ban on detention without trial.

Instead of accepting these very reasonable proposals, which have long been advocated by myself and by other opposition politicians in South Africa, the Pretoria regime, as is its wont, embarked on a course of action that could only strengthen the sanctions lobby. Last May, while the Commonwealth mission was still in South Africa and was in the process of preparing its final report, the South African Defense Force carried out raids on Lusaka, Gaborone and Harare, the capitals of three neighboring Commonwealth

countries. The official reason given was "to take out" A.N.C. bases. But the gains appeared to be minimal. Politically aware South Africans ascribed the raids to a Government attempt to prove to militant right-wing elements inside the country that the Government had not "gone soft" on the A.N.C. and was not succumbing to outside pressures.

Not surprisingly, diplomatic reaction abroad was totally hostile. The Commonwealth mission was understandably outraged, and its final report made this clear. Shortly afterward, negotiations broke down and the group reported to the Commonwealth heads of government their "reluctant but unequivocal judgment that further talks would not lead anywhere in the current circumstances."

Paradoxically, it was during this tumultuous time that the most far-reaching reforms yet introduced by the South African Government in the direction of dismantling apartheid were enacted.

An I.B.M. office in a Johannesburg suburb.
The author advises that the best thing American businesses can do is to stay, and continue to throw the weight of their influence behind social change.

As a result of pressures from inside and outside the country, during the recent Parliamentary session, the Government offered to restore citizenship to those permanent residents in the republic who ceased to be South African citizens when the four black homelands became "independent." (Even with citizenship, however, the blacks in South Africa will not have Parliamentary voting rights.)

The Government also opened the central business districts in major cities to all races. It made property ownership available to blacks in the townships. Most significant of all, it abolished the

hated pass laws and influx control, and replaced the old pass book with a common nonracial identity document. (The pass laws have for many decades inhibited the mobility of blacks and their right to lead family lives. Millions of people have been arrested for infractions of these laws, which have bedeviled the relationship between the police and the black community.)

Although many vital issues remain to be addressed — redistribution of land and the disproportionate living standards of white and black South Africans — there is no doubt that the reforms signify a change of direction: away from apartheid. The recent reforms will undoubtedly have a positive effect on the future well-being of black South Africans. In fact, had these changes taken place five years earlier, the impact would have been far greater among blacks. As it is, they have been totally overshadowed by the reimposition of a state of emergency, the detention of thousands of people and the ongoing violence in the black townships.

The reforms have evoked little reaction in decision-making circles in the United States and Europe. (Ten years ago, they would probably have been considered significant, particularly in the United States, which at the time might still have been harboring vivid recollections of its own civil-rights struggle of the 1960's.)

This response — or lack of it — to changes the South African Government considers to be of major importance has not only increased its intransigence, but confirmed what it has long suspected: that the failure of the West to define precisely what it means by "dismantling apartheid" is part of a ploy to move the goal posts as each demand is met; ultimately, the Government fears, the West will insist on the total transfer of power to the black majority. This is simply not under consideration by the South African Government.

Those who believe that a quick fix is likely to follow the imposition of sanctions, and that the Pretoria regime will collapse within a short time thereafter, are sadly misinformed. Certainly, if I believed in such a possibility, I would back sanctions to the hilt. Far more likely is a retreat into a siege economy, more oppression and more violence. There will be a long, drawn-out confrontation between a well-armed military force shoring up the Government and a popular movement backed by the masses and using Irish Republican Army-type tactics in urban and rural areas. The latter strategy has already been put into effect.

The Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement" may well be dismissed in a great many circles in the United States and elsewhere. It has, at least, aimed for attainable objectives: to prevent forced removals of black communities; to extend funds from the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) to civil-rights organizations and drought-stricken areas; to press for the release of anti-apartheid detainees. Moreover, together with the Sullivan principles, it encouraged American businessmen and, by example, their South African and European counterparts, to be socially responsible.

Nowadays, the Sullivan principles are also in the doghouse. Drafted almost a decade ago by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a black Baptist minister from Philadelphia, the code calls for the desegregation of workplaces, equal employment practices, training for nonwhites, social services for black workers and the promotion of trade unionism. The code has been adopted by about 65 percent of the 260 or so American companies now doing business

American moral outrage and the desire for punitive action are very understandable, the author says, but the reality that will come with a grievously afflicted economy will not be seen by those living thousands of miles away.



Demonstrators at an anti-apartheid rally at Yale. Across the United States, especially on campus and among Democrats, pressure against the South African Government's policies continues to build.

in South Africa. But many black South Africans feel that too much lip service has been paid to the code and not enough action taken.

While realizing that I lay myself open to the accusation of paternalism, I have to say that I have more respect for the American companies that have, so far anyway, remained in South Africa (and have set aside millions of dollars for the education, training and housing of their black employees) than for those that have left the country. The companies that have left have taken with them what influence they could have had inside South Africa, thereby abandoning desperate, jobless breadwinners in a country with no social security safety net, no dole and no food stamps.

The moral outrage and desire for punitive action is something I understand very well, but the reality that will come as a result of a grievously afflicted economy will not be seen by those living thousands of miles away. That reality, compounded by decades of unequal employment opportunities and oppression, is bleak beyond belief. True, many black South Africans say they approve of disinvestment and sanctions, despite the additional hardships they will endure as a result. They fall into four categories: those who have no jobs and nothing to lose; those who have jobs in



PETER R. HVIZDAK/JACKSON NEWSPAPERS

"sheltered" employment and will lose nothing; those who want everyone to lose everything (therefore, "roll on the revolution"), and, finally, those who believe that the South African Government will crack at the first (or, at worst, second) sign of sanctions. The last category brings to mind a former British prime minister who predicted that it would take "weeks rather than months" to bring down Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Rhodesia. In the event, it took another 15 years and 30,000 dead.

There are also leaders of the neighboring black states who advocate sanctions against South Africa, despite the fact that southern Africa is one economic unit. Whatever harm is done to South Africa's economy will certainly harm the economies of the country's neighbors, which are dependent on South Africa for jobs, markets and transportation.

The former High Commission territories of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are part of a customs union with South Africa from which they derive substantial revenues; Botswana and Lesotho also belong to the rand monetary area. South Africa's Electricity Supply Commission is an important source of power for these countries, which also depend entirely on routes through South Africa for trade. Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe are heavily dependent on South African transport and ports for their imports and exports.

More than 250,000 foreign blacks work in South African mines alone, earning almost 1 billion rand (about \$400 million) a year, at least half of which is repatriated. A further 170,000 foreign blacks are employed in other occupations in South Af-

rica, not to mention an estimated one million "illegals." The neighboring states cherish the hope that the Western nations will pick up the tab to make good the substantial losses they will sustain after they cut their links with South Africa. Unfortunately, this hope is probably unfounded.

Unpalatable as it may seem to the sanctions lobby, the most practicable way to get rid of apartheid and to achieve a nonracial democratic society in South Africa is through an expanding, flourishing economy. The process of integrating blacks as skilled workers into such an economy would be expedited. Their economic muscle would then, through increased trade-union action, be a potent force not only in the workplace but also in the sociopolitical sphere. Strike action and consumer boycotts—both of which can be used as temporary expedients, unlike disinvestment and mandatory sanctions—are the most powerful weapons for blacks to use to resolve important issues like political power-sharing.

Indeed, consumer boycotts have already been used to great effect in some parts of the country, such as the eastern Cape Province, where many white-owned shops were brought to the brink of bankruptcy. Conversely, if blacks are unemployed and have nothing to spend, such boycotts would be meaningless. It is astonishing to me that those advocating punitive actions do not realize that, if successful, they will have undermined the most significant power base that blacks could acquire.

Certainly, this approach presupposes a long-term strategy and blacks, especially young blacks, want liberation now. No one should under-

estimate the fierce spirit of resistance that pervades the black townships, but while incremental change is certainly attainable, the replacement of the white minority government by a black majority government is simply not within reach, even though many blacks believe that the era of white domination is about to end.

Those calling for sanctions and disinvestment often overlook two important factors.

First, while the present white minority Government in South Africa has no pretensions to democratic rule, there are also no guarantees that it would be replaced by a nonracial democracy respecting the rule of law, a free press, free association, free elections and an independent judiciary, not to mention an economy free of state control.

Second, South Africa does not consist only of an oppressed black majority and right-wing white oppressors. Indeed, 250,000 white voters (20 percent of the white electorate) in the last general election in 1981 cast their ballots for the official opposition in the House of Assembly—the Progressive Federal Party, which has for years advocated the ending of apartheid and the establishment of a truly representative government with protection for the legitimate rights of minorities. Although the percentage of those who voted against apartheid is small, it is nonetheless significant. It may be well to remember that from 1961 to 1974 I was the only Member of Parliament elected on such a platform.

Indications of support for such an alternative government, from powerful nations like the United States would certainly encourage many more white South Africans to cast their votes against the Pretoria regime at the next election, due at the latest in three years' time. At the very least, there could be a Parliamentary realignment.

It may well be that all such arguments fall on deaf ears, and that they are advanced in a lost cause. Nevertheless, they deserve to be made in the interest of millions of moderate South Africans of all races who abhor apartheid, who have long fought the abominable practices of race discrimination and who are striving for a peaceful transition to a nonracial democracy. For them, at least, it is surely not too much to ask that they be spared the violence and misery of a scorched-earth policy.

It is not at all certain whether President Reagan can stave off Congressional imposition of harsh punitive sanctions, as he tried to do in his recent speech on American policies toward South Africa. But if he does—and it is a big if—it is vital that the Pretoria Government use the time so won to accelerate the dismantling of apartheid, to provide better housing and education and, most important, to extend political rights to blacks. The release of Mandela as a prerequisite for negotiations is an obvious first step, as are the release of all persons detained without trial and an end to the state of emergency.

The United States should keep up its condemnation of apartheid. The system of apartheid is an affront to people concerned with civilized values throughout the world. Its eradication would be an important gain for the civil-rights movement and would increase the sum of human freedom worldwide. The United States should exert pressure on apartheid, but not impose punitive measures that will wreck the South African economy. That is the strategy of despair that will destroy the inheritance which blacks will inevitably share. ■

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TO: ALECK GOLDBERG - S A JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES

FM: IAN SACKS

HEREWITH STATEMENT ISSUED BY ARCHBISHOP TUTU TO SAPA REUTER

THE ANTI JEWISH COMMENTS BY ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU

IT HAS COME TO THE NOTICE OF THE OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP THAT THERE SEEMS TO BE A CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ARCHBISHOP AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. RECENTLY THE ARCHBISHOP HAS BEEN QUOTED AS HAVING MADE CERTAIN ANTI-JEWISH STATEMENTS. THE FIRST OF THESE STATEMENTS APPEARED IN AN ARTICLE OF THE BOSTON JEWISH TIMES ON 27TH NOVEMBER 1986. THE STATEMENT WHICH APPARENTLY ORIGINATED IN JERUSALEM QUOTES THE ARCHBISHOP AS HAVING SAID THAT THE JEWS ARE THE BIGGEST EXPLOITERS OF BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA. IT IS PURPORTED THAT THE STATEMENT WAS MADE IN A SPEECH DELIVERED IN SOUTH AFRICA IN 1984 SOON AFTER RECEIVING THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE. APPARENTLY THE MEETING WAS ARRANGED BY THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN JEWS WHERE ACCORDING TO THIS ARTICLE ARCHBISHOP TUTU SHOCKED HIS AUDIENCE BY DECLARING THAT, AND WE QUOTE THE PAPER "IN TERMS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT THE JEWS MUST SUFFER THEREFORE WE WILL PUT IT INTO PRACTICE IF WE WILL BE IN CHARGE". THE OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE MEETING WHERE THE ARCHBISHOP ADDRESSED THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN JEWS IN 1984. IN FACT NO SUCH MEETING TOOK PLACE. THIS PARTICULAR ARTICLE GOES FURTHER TO SAY THAT THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES DECIDED NOT TO PUBLICIZE THE REMARKS OUT OF FEAR THAT "TUTU" AS THEY PUT IT IN THE PAPER WOULD BE ANGRY AND WOULD BECOME EVEN MORE ANTI JEWISH. THIS OF COURSE IS EQUALLY UNTRUE. MORE RECENTLY ON THE SABC PROGRAMME RADIO TODAY THE PROGRAMME WHICH WAS BROADCAST ON 6TH JANUARY 1987 A CERTAIN CONNIE LAWN FROM WASHINGTON MENTIONED IN A REPORT THE SAME STATEMENT FROM BOSTON JEWISH TIMES. WE WANT TO REPEAT THAT THESE ARE OUTRIGHT LIES AND WOULD LIKE THE SOURCE OF THE INFORMATION TO BRING CONCRETE EVIDENCE THAT THE ARCHBISHOP DID IN FACT SAY THIS. WE WANT TO POINT OUT THAT IT LOOKS LIKE AN ORCHESTRATED ENDEAVOUR TO DISCREDIT THE RELATIONSHIP THE ARCHBISHOP HAS WITH THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. IT IS KNOWN THAT HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN JEWS IS A VERY SOUND ONE AND THAT HIS FUTURE VISITS TO ISRAEL WILL CARRY THEIR SUPPORT. HOWEVER, WE DISPUTE ABSOLUTELY THESE LIES AND WANT TO PLACE IT ON RECORD THAT THE ARCHBISHOP ENJOYS A VERY GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH THE JEWS IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE SINCERELY HOPE THAT ANY MISUNDERSTANDING THAT HAS BEEN CREATED BY QUOTES FROM THESE NEWSPAPERS WILL INDEED BE CORRECTED IN RESPONSE TO THIS STATEMENT".

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NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE



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 YARIMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Feb. 18. . . Theodore Ellenoff, president of the American Jewish Committee, today termed "baseless and inflammatory" a recent press report attributing strongly anti-Semitic remarks to Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa:

The report, carried by a number of Anglo-Jewish and general newspapers, alleges that Archbishop Tutu told a closed meeting of the Board of Deputies of South African Jews in 1984 that "Jews were the biggest exploiters of blacks, so they must suffer," and that "there will be no sympathy for the Jews when the Blacks take over." The report said that the Board failed to publicize these remarks "out of fear that Tutu would become even more anti-Jewish."

AJC's International Relations Department contacted by telephone leaders of the South African Jewish community. Mr. Ellenoff declared that both South African Jewish spokesmen and Archbishop Tutu have categorically denied these charges. In light of these denials, Mr. Ellenoff cautioned that, "the crisis afflicting South Africa is a natural breeding ground for sensationalistic and false reports about prominent political figures there....In addition to distorting the truth, such reports confuse and inflame debate about South Africa at a time when clear-headed thinking is required from all those who oppose apartheid and support non-violent democratic change."

The full text of the AJC statement follows:

"A recent press report attributing harshly anti-Semitic comments to Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, which first appeared in the Boston Jewish Times of November 27, 1986 and has been reprinted elsewhere, is baseless and inflammatory. The report, which claims that Tutu told a close meeting of the Board of Deputies of South African Jews in 1984 that 'The Jews are the biggest exploiters of Blacks, so they must suffer,' and that 'there will be no sympathy for the Jews when the Blacks take over,' has been categorically denied by the Board of Deputies and by Archbishop Tutu.

"Archbishop Tutu's office has issued a statement about the Boston Jewish Times report, affirmed that 'no such meeting took place,' that the report contains 'outright lies,' and that it 'looks like an orchestrated endeavor to discredit the relationship that the Archbishop has with the Jewish community of South Africa. It is known that this relationship is a very sound one...' Similarly, the Executive Director of the Board of Deputies, Aleck Goldberg, has stated that 'we did not meet in 1984 but rather in 1986,' and that in the latter meeting 'we had a cordial exchange of views.' Mr. Goldberg added: 'Everything stated in the report is untrue.'

.....more

Theodore Ellenoff, President; Leo Nevas, Chair, Board of Governors; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, National Executive Council; Edward E. Elson, 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.

"The crisis afflicting South Africa is a natural breeding ground for sensationalistic and false reports about prominent political figures there. Often, these stories are contrived for political reasons calculated to manipulate public opinion. In addition to distorting the truth, such reports confuse and inflame debate about South Africa at a time when clear-headed thinking is required from all those who oppose apartheid and support non-violent democratic change."

A delegation of AJC leaders visited South Africa in October 1985 and has maintained contact with diverse elements of South Africa since that mission. An AJC Task Force on South Africa, headed by E. Robert Goodkind, has been developing a series of policy statements and programs in opposition to apartheid.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.



March 6, 1987

Marc:

Attached is the Tatu Statement on South African
Jews, as well as ~~the~~ ^{AK} pieces on Israel-
South Africa.

Clearly, we are in no position any longer
to deny Israeli sales to South Africa.

The key theme now is to reject selective
morality which ~~singles~~ singles Israel
out and which exaggerates the ideological
motivations for ties with South Africa
(i.e., two racist states, working together.)

Best.

Allan Kagan

04-08-87

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Chicago church leaders protest detentions of two South Africans

By Religious News Service

NEW YORK (RNS) — Leaders of Chicago's Catholic and Lutheran communities have issued a joint statement protesting the continued detention of two church officials in South Africa.

The detained churchmen are the Rev. Smangaliso Mkwatsha, secretary general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, detained since June 12, and the Rev. Samuel Tsele, a pastor in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa, detained since Dec. 12.

The Chicago statement was issued by Cardinal Joseph Bernardin of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, Bishop Paul Erickson of the Lutheran Church in America, Bishop Ehme Osterbur of the American Lutheran Church and Bishop Victor Brandt of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches.

Father Mkwatsha was reportedly tortured by his jailers in August. He is one of five churchmen nominated to succeed the Rev. Beyers Naude as executive head of the South African Council of Churches.

Mr. Tsele was preparing to begin graduate studies at the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago at the time of his arrest. He had been involved in efforts to find alternatives to student boycotts of government schools in South Africa.

The bishops' statement, to be read at church services on Palm Sunday, April 12, encourages church members to pray for the two men's release and to write to authorities on their behalf.

Propagandists' Alliance: Israel and South Africa

Allan L. Kagedan



Dr. Allan L. Kagedan is a Policy Analyst in the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee.



Since the autumn of 1984, when the world awoke to the violence bred by South African apartheid, Western nations have begun to reassess their relations with Pretoria. The U.S., the EEC, and the Commonwealth have imposed sanctions aimed at pressuring Pretoria to democratize the South African political system and to eliminate apartheid. Debate over Western foreign relations with South Africa has led as well to scrutiny of Israel's relations with the Botha regime. Curiously, commentators on Israel-South African relations tend to imply or state that Israel and South Africa are in an "alliance" with one another and thus transform their reporting into a propaganda tool. For "alliance" suggests bonds of sentiment, ideology, and self-interest, with conspiratorial undertones.

Devised outside the U.S., the alliance notion has made inroads into the American media. Within the past two years, a Christian Science Monitor writer characterized Israel's relations with South Africa as "an alliance of pragmatism." Alexander Cockburn, a columnist for The Nation, wrote a piece on Israel and South Africa titled, "Apartheid Alliance." An article in Mother Jones states that "South Africa /is/ Israel's closest ally, second only to the United States." The alliance notion has been hinted at through use of the phrase "close friend" (Washington Post) or "traditional friend" (Newsday) and strategic ally (Chicago Sun-Times). Whether Israel's March 18, 1987 decision to phase out its military relations with Pretoria and reduce official contacts, cultural and tourist ties will affect this trend remains to be seen.

The case made for the existence of an "alliance" between Israel and South Africa rests on claims made about trade and military relations, the history and ideology of the two countries, the current status of their Arab or black citizens, and their foreign policies. After reviewing the allegations made about an Israel-South Africa "alliance" notion, this paper will examine the motives and methods of its purveyors.

Trade and Military Relations

One pillar of the Israel-South Africa "alliance" is the purported extensive trade between the two countries. Christian Science Monitor contributor Peter Allen-Frost sees their "brisk trade" creating an "almost symbiotic relationship" of Pretoria and Jerusalem. Data from the International Monetary Fund does not support his contention. In 1983, for instance, the value of U.S. exports to South Africa was 32 times that of Israeli exports; West Germany 30 times as great; and black African countries, four times as great. In 1985 South African exports to Israel amounted to \$87 million, a small amount compared with exports to black Africa (\$567 million); Israel imported \$40 million in South African goods, while black Africa imported \$157 million.

Supporters of the Israel-South Africa alliance notion also point to other sources of trade. Since South Africa (along with the USSR and

several African states) is a major producer of diamonds, and since Israel has a large-scale diamond polishing industry, they claim that Israeli-South African trade is large when diamonds are taken into account. Yet South Africa's diamonds are sold at the London International Diamond Exchange to Israeli and other dealers. No government to government sales occur.

Not surprisingly, Israel's critics ignore the extensive diamond-based relationship between the USSR and the South-African Debeers Corporation. The USSR sells its diamonds to Debeers to sustain a world-wide cartel; the Soviets earn about one billion dollars annually on their South African sales, paying taxes to the South African government, and thus boosting the South African economy. The USSR may well be placing more dollars in Prime Minister Botha's pockets than in ANC coffers. In comparison, Israeli diamond polishers play a marginal role in South African economic life.

The issue of military trade is cited as another tangible example of a special relationship between Israel and South Africa. A picture of Israel's military sales to South Africa, along with the sales of other Western nations is available, thanks to the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 which authorized a State Department to report on this subject. Conceding that it gives "a partial, incomplete, and somewhat random picture," the report refers to three "notable patterns" in weapons supply to South Africa. First, French, Italian and Israeli companies have maintained and upgraded weapons systems provided before the 1977 UN arms embargo on South Africa. Second, prior to the Israeli government's March 18, 1987 decision to phase out military contacts, Israel "appears to have sold military systems and sub-systems and provided technical assistance on a regular basis." Third, German, British, Dutch and Swiss companies "have on occasion" sold arms to South Africa and engaged in gray area sales. (US Department of State, Un-classified Section 508 Report.)

According to the State Department report, then, what distinguishes Israel's role is the degree of government involvement in the sales. This is not surprising. Israel's small size and immense security needs, coupled with a long tradition of state ownership, leads to greater government involvement in the arms industry than is the case in other Western countries. There is nothing ideological or sentimental about Israel's military relations with Pretoria.

Nonetheless, one never hears of an Italian or French "alliance" with South Africa. Nor does one hear of an Arab-Muslim alliance with Pretoria. Yet in 1985, Iran earned \$750 million from an oil sale to South Africa; in 1986, its enemy, Iraq, earned \$1 billion in oil revenues from Pretoria. Indeed, between 1980 and 1986, Arab countries and Iran sold, through third parties, about \$7.7 billion dollars worth of oil to South Africa. This oil flows into South African cars, troop carriers,⁵ riot-control vehicles, tanks, airplanes and military transport vehicles.

The Siamese Twins

To the promoters of the Israel-South Africa alliance notion, trade and military issues are background for their more ambitious claim: that the two countries resemble each other in their history, social composition and ideology. The roots of this comparison date back at least two decades.

In the 1960's, the French New Left provided the theoretical basis for comparing Israel and South Africa. In Israel: A Colonial Settler State (1967), Maxime Rodinson, a former French Communist, pictures Zionism as part of "European expansion into...the Third World... "and an expression of "a racist state of mind." No longer was Zionism a Jewish national liberation movement; it was now an arm of the new imperialism intent on enslaving third world peoples. Before long, the PLO and its supporters realized the propaganda potential of this formulation, and the mythical alliance between Israel and South Africa was born.

Taking a leaf from the 1967 book, for instance, two recent writers say that "... both Israel and South Africa are settler states in which immigrants have seized land from the indigenous peoples." Unlike contemporary anti-Israel polemicists, Rodinson, an avowed Marxist, admitted that few sovereign states can disclaim a past where "immigrants" have displaced "indigenous peoples"; certainly not the U.S., Canada, Britain, Mexico, and above all the USSR, where the Russian half of the population dominates some 107 smaller nationalities.

History Invented

In addition to a common ideology, alliances, anti-Israel propagandists reason, must have a historical foundation. To buttress their case for Israel-South Africa alliance, publicists scour Zionist history for evidence of contact between Zionist leaders and South Africans. Naturally, Zionists did have contacts with South Africans. Aspiring national movements have contact with any potential supporter. But if Zionists were in contact with South African political figures, they were in touch also with Soviet, British and American officials. If contact meant alliance, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, whose representative meet regularly, would be considered firm allies.

Historically, moreover, Zionism and South African apartheid differ markedly. Zionism's aim was to gain full citizenship and security for Jews, and recognition for Jewish culture -- precisely the goals that South Africa's black majority is striving for. Zionists were escaping a European equivalent of apartheid -- residential segregation in Tsarist Russia, inaccessibility to political office, violent attacks with police connivance, and, ultimately, genocide. Zionism addressed these historical facts. Nowhere in mainstream Zionist history can one find doctrin-

al statements favoring inequality, discriminatory legal decrees, or motives of proselytism or profit --⁸ common among colonial regimes and characteristic of apartheid's history.

On the other hand, South African colonists recruited native Africans as laborers. The Boers who undertook the Great Trek -- one of the founding legends of Afrikanerdom -- took slaves along to attend to common chores. Quite to the contrary, Zionists stubbornly resisted normal economic laws and many early Zionist settlements refused to hire Arab laborers. Ironically, anti-Israel writers have classified the Zionist refusal to hire Arab labor as "racism."¹⁰

Internal Dissimilarities

Israel's detractors compare to the friction between Israeli Jews and Arabs with relations between South African whites and blacks. They also claim that the status of Israeli Arabs is no better than South African blacks.

It is accurate to say that ethnic tension exists in Israel, and also in South Africa, but ethnic conflict also exists in Canada (English and French), the Soviet Union, (Russian-Ukrainian, Georgian, Uzbek, etc.) Belgium (Flemish and Walloons), and Sri Lanka (Tamil and Sinhalese) to name a few examples. What distinguishes South Africa is not that it is the site of ethnic conflict or that one ethnic group is economically better off than another: these phenomena are widespread, if not universal. South Africa is unusual because one group -- the whites -- has sought to perpetuate its unequal status through the law. The issue in South Africa is not only power -- it is equality. If the legal barriers to full equality of the black majority were lowered, the ethnic conflict might subside, as it is in other multi-ethnic states.

In Israel, of course, ethnic groups enjoy legal equality. Israeli Arabs are Israeli citizens. They vote for whom they wish, live where they wish. Arabs benefit from an open press, that criticizes what it sees as official abuses of Arabs, and from the advice and counsel of some 30 independent human rights groups. No serious comparison can be drawn between the status of Israeli Arabs and South African blacks.

What of the Arabs living in the occupied territories? Because of security requirements, populations living under military rule generally do not have the legal protections that apply under civilian rule. Also, since they are not citizens, West Bank Arabs can not participate fully in the political process. This is an unfortunate situation for Israel and for the Arab occupants of the West Bank and Gaza. But, again, an analogy with South African blacks is unfounded. To provide West Bank and Gaza Arab with full Israeli citizenship would require formal Israeli annexation of these territories -- which would eliminate any hope of a political autonomy to which Arabs living in the occupied territories aspire. On the other hand, South African blacks do want to be included

fully in South African life. They reject the government's attempts to classify them as citizens of "autonomous" tribal homelands. The political goals of South African blacks and Arabs living in the West Bank and Gaza could not be more different.

Foreign Relations

Allies often have common foreign policy goals as well as domestic values. Writing in 1984, James Adams states that "during the last ten years, Israel and South Africa have felt more isolated and surrounded by enemies. ... In this isolation, they have drawn increasingly together ..." This "close alliance with South Africa places the two most powerful nations at either end of the African continent effectively under the same umbrella, with a joint foreign policy..." He continues, "With the black African nations in an effective pincer between South Africa and Israel, their freedom to develop economically and to take independent political action will be severely restricted."

Adam's claim that Israel and South Africa are similarly isolated, and his conclusion that this common status leads them into a conspiracy against Africa, is specious. Indeed, Israel is expanding its diplomatic reach at the same time as South Africa is growing more isolated. In 1986, Spain recognized Israel, Poland established an "interests section" in Israel, and Greece is moving toward diplomatic recognition. All this, while the U.S., Canada, the Commonwealth countries and the European Economic community have imposed economic sanctions on South Africa.

Israel's expansion relations with other nations is bound to push its foreign policy interests further apart from Pretoria. Most African countries broke relations with Israel in 1973, but since 1982, Zaire, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, and Cameroon have reestablished relations. The Cameroonian leader, President Paul Biya, and leaders of other African nations including Nigeria, reportedly have called on Israel to downgrade its ties with Pretoria, as a condition for expansion of their relations with the Jewish state.¹² Israel's re-entry into Africa has undermined the credibility of the assertion that Israel and South Africa have identical foreign policy interests. Maariv, a leading Israeli daily, put it thus: "One of the prices we will have to pay -- if we really want to go back to our old old days in Africa... -- is the cooling of our relations with South Africa." In addition, the strong stands taken by the U.S. and American Jews against South Africa's apartheid policy further reduce any common foreign policy interests of Jerusalem and Pretoria. It was reportedly in response to pressure from these parties that Israel decided to curtail relations with Pretoria on March 18, 1987.

Propaganda Alliance

If Israel and South Africa are not allies, who is purveying this notion? Several parties present themselves.

Soon after its formation in 1964, the PLO decided on a two-pronged strategy, that included terrorist operations and the gaining of political legitimacy through diplomacy. The PLO's military strength was broken by the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and by subsequent internal political divisions. But the PLO's diplomatic offensive has continued, and the group has expanded its relations with African nations.

The dissemination of the Israel-South Africa alliance myth serves the PLO's purpose of defaming Israel. A primary forum for this propaganda effort is the UN. Each year for the past decade, the UN General Assembly has adopted, by wide margins, resolutions condemning the "alliance between Israel and South Africa." On the authority of this resolution, symposia are organized and publications are issued. In July 1983, for instance, a "Conference on the Alliance Between Israel and South Africa," was held under UN auspices in Vienna. Representatives of the UN Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People participated actively in the meeting. Working with bodies such as the U.N. Centre Against Apartheid, this UN Committee has published a series of studies alleging an alliance between Israel and South Africa, including Roslynd Ainslie's.

In the U.S., the PLO relies on sympathizers to get the message across that Israel and South Africa are allies. The Chicago-based Palestinian Human Rights Campaign, founded in 1977,¹⁴ conducted a July 1985 Middle East tour for academics, which was addressed by, among others, Yassir Arafat. Upon returning to the U.S., one group member compared Israelis treatment of the Arabs to South African apartheid.¹⁵ In its September 1985 bulletin, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign referred to Israel as "apartheid like," and in September 1986, it organized a panel discussion in Chicago on similarities between Israel and South Africa. Dr. Alan Boesak, the head of the United Democratic Front, the leading anti-apartheid protest group in South Africa, was scheduled to speak, but failed to appear.¹⁶

In 1986, another pro-PLO group with a more Marxist orientation, the November 29 coalition, co-sponsored with the African National Congress a 19-city tour on the Israel-South Africa alliance theme. Based on remarks made at these meetings, two prominent figures in the coalition wrote an article for American-Arab Affairs, "South Africa: The Israeli Connection," which reads as a virtual¹⁷ compendium of arguments to show that Israel and South Africa are allied.

A third PLO supporter active in propagandizing this myth is the Palestine Research and Educational Centre of Washington D.C., which in 1984 published "Israel and South Africa: Partners in Repression" by Alfred T. Moeleah. The familiar message of this pamphlet is: "Israel and South Africa became partners because they are both racist settler colonial states (p. 4)."¹⁸

A second purveyor of the alliance myth is the Soviet Union. Since it began in the early 1970's, the Kremlin has sought to end the Soviet-Jewish emigration movement through a variety of means -- intimidation in the form of arrests on trumped up charges, anti-Jewish publications, releasing some Jews to "let off steam" and a flood of negative media portrayals of Israel. The propagation of the notion that Israel and South Africa are allied is intended to make Israel seem evil and imperiled -- hardly a desirable destination for Soviet Jews.

Propagating the Israel-South African alliance myth also serves Soviet foreign policy interests. By linking Israel with South Africa, and pointing to the close ties between Israel and the United States, the Soviets aim to tar the image of the U.S., its main rival. Indeed, the Soviet Union's efforts to depict Israel, the U.S. and other Western countries as allies of South Africa (even though the USSR itself has strong economic links with Pretoria) is one of its chief aspects of its African strategy. Soviet support of the Israel-South Africa alliance canard is also a political favor to the PLO and the Arab world.

A superpower, the Soviet Union can devote considerable resources to this propaganda effort. It uses domestic publications such as Sotsialisticheskaja Industriia (March 30, 1986) as follows: "...ultimately it is not a question of how many bombs...the South African racists and Israeli Zionists are prepared to drop on their neighbors...the main thing is that in their identically fascist, antihuman essence, in their assertions concerning the "exclusiveness" of their race...they are prepared to do this."

The Soviet Union also instructs its allies to vote in favor of UN resolutions alleging an Israel-South Africa alliance, and presses them to participate in UN conferences on this theme. At the 1985 UN General Assembly, for instance, the Czech representative compared Israel's policy toward the West Bank and Gaza with "South Africa's practices," as did the Vietnamese delegate.

Other promoters of the Israel-South Africa alliance myth include non-aligned states, radical leftists, and, curiously, the South African government and some of its right-wing supporters. The non-aligned states, including African, Arab, Asian and Latin American members, voice support for the idea either, one would imagine, out of fealty to the USSR (Cuba), or for the pragmatic reason that the myth helps to hold together the fractious non-aligned movement (Zimbabwe). A linking of Israel with South Africa forms a natural bridge between Arabs and Africans.

Radical American leftists also like to compare Israel with South Africa. The California publication, Israeli Foreign Affairs, devotes considerable attention to this theme, and one left-wing activist claims that the notion has "spread throughout the anti-apartheid, and Central America solidarity movements in the San Francisco area."²¹ Left-wing support for the notion that Israel and South Africa are allies stems

from a world view that sees the forces of "liberation," including the PLO and ANC, waging battle against ever new branches of imperialism.

Right-wing supporters of South Africa also attempt to analogize Israel and South Africa. A Washington-based right-wing group, Sentinel, has argued that American anti-Apartheid legislation hurts South Africa's friends -- among them Israel.²²

The Myth's Future

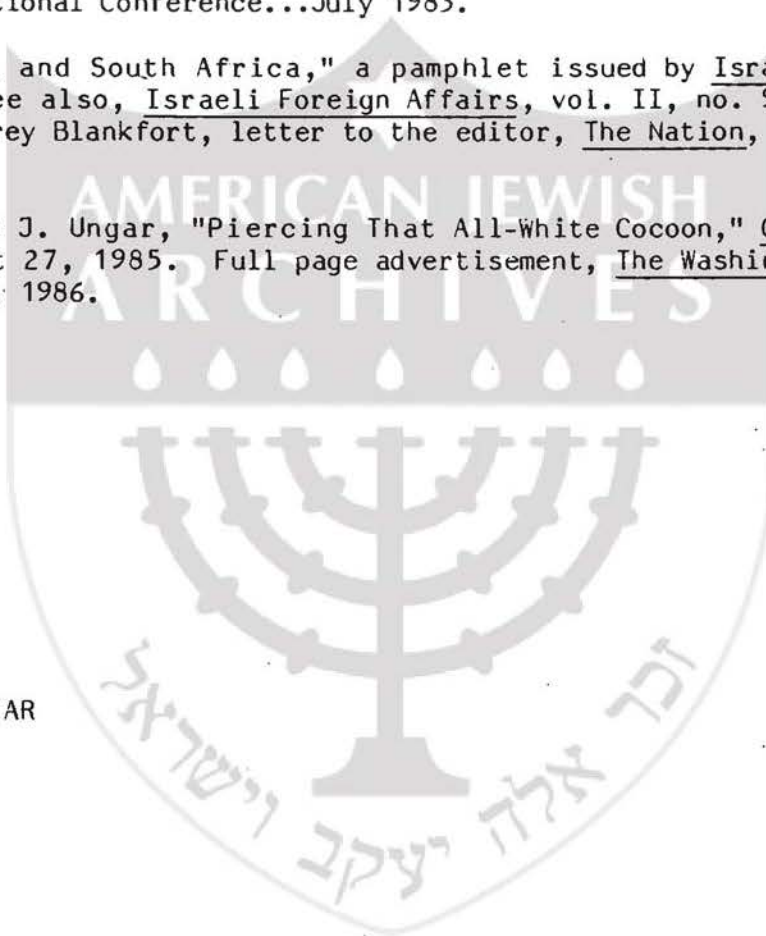
The rise in salience of the South Africa issue has been a mixed blessing for the purveyors of the notion that Israel and South Africa are allies. On the one hand, the increased interest in South Africa has brought the myth greater exposure in the U.S. and the West as a whole. But as the American and Western media have begun to examine South Africa's internal situation and its foreign relations, information about Arab, Soviet and European ties to Pretoria also come into focus. The mythical alliance between Israel and South Africa, the invention of Israel's adversaries, will have a difficult time surviving critical assessment by Western public opinion.



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11. "Cameroonians Greet Israelis in Exuberant Hebrew," The New York Times, August 26, 1986. Maariv, editorial, August 28, 1986. Davar, Sept. 12, 1986, p. 12.
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13. Pro-Arab Propaganda in America: Vehicles and Voices (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith), pp. 40-41.
14. "Prof. Return from Mid-East Criticizes Treatment of Palestinians," Mountain Times, August 22, 1985.
15. Palestine Human Rights Bulletin, September, 1985.

16. Pro-Arab Propaganda, p. 30-32.
17. Goldfield and Obensinger, "South Africa...."
18. Alfred T. Moleah, Israel and South Africa: Partners in Repression. Washington, D.C.: Palestine Research and Educational Center, 1984:
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5/8/87
87-565





THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022

5/29/1987

FYI -

Marc - where do we
go from here
regarding the
Task force
Chairmanship?

I need to know.

Thanks.

Howard I. Friedman
President

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Executive Vice-President

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SOUTH AFRICA TASK FORCE

May 15, 1987

Bayard Rustin

Apartheid is one of the most distressing moral problems in the world. But the reason it has become an important American political issue is different. In America, blacks remain disadvantaged, but unlike the case in the 1960's, there is no legal remedy for this problem, and therefore American political leaders focus on apartheid as a clear moral target.

Democracy, not apartheid, is the real issue in South Africa; if South Africa became democratic, apartheid would end. The achievement of democracy in South Africa will be difficult but we must remember that it took a century to guarantee black political rights in America. If we assume, that, one day, blacks will rule South Africa, and if we want to promote democracy there, we must ask ourselves what we can do to build democratic infrastructures among blacks. Since hungry people (which AJC is thinking of working with) can not create democracy, and therefore organizations like Operation Hunger promote democracy.

William Jacobson

Americans can not be neutral about apartheid, but, considering that we have not yet achieved racial equality, here in the US, we can not be santimonious. South Africa is complex. The recent election victory of the National Party reflects that part's successful strategy of capitilizing on popular anger against foreign interference. The National Party will consider the election as a mandate for its version of change. US policy toward South Africa aims at promoting power-sharing.

America recognizes that South Africans themselves will determine their country's future. The US is urging all parties to the conflict to begin negotiating now. Otherwise violence may claim hundreds of thousands of casualties, most of them black.

No matter what the future brings to South Africa, the country will need trained black people, and the US government, in addition to its own programs, encourages private organizations like AJC to engage in positive work in South Africa.

Shimon Samuels

Israel's March 18 decision to reduce ties with South Africa was of major importance. Stimulated directly by the US State Department report on foreign arm sales to South Africa, the Israeli decision also reflected improving relations between Israel and black Africa. In addition to phasing out all military sales, Israel has stopped all cultural relations with Pretoria, except for ties with South African Jews. Reportedly, the South African ambassador to Israel was furious at the March 18 decision.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Replying to a question from Bill Gralnik, Bayard Rustin said that he was opposed to travel to South Africa for entertainment purposes, but favored travel for human rights purposes. Bayard added that he feared that if the situation in South Africa becomes truly revolutionary, the groups who will suffer first will be liberal whites, the coloured, Indians, and moderate blacks.

Marc Tanenbaum proposed that we begin a large scale campaign to re-educate the American people about South Africa.

Cedrick Suzman said that he had the terrible feeling that the ground had been cut out from under the feet of moderates.

William Jacobson replied that despite the disappointing election results, there were several hopeful signs in South Africa: the rejection of apartheid by the Synod of the Dutch Reform Church; the beginning of anti-apartheid protest at Stellenbosch University, an Afrikaner strongholds; the resignation of Mr. de Clerk, a cabinet minister's brother, from his newspaper, because of the new censorship regulations. Bayard Rustin added that if the elections lead to more repression a larger number of white professionals will flee South Africa, increasing the demand for qualified blacks, whose power will thereby also increase.

Replying to question about South African Jews, David Harris said that they do not consider themselves to be, nor do they do want to be considered, an endangered community. Nonetheless AJC has consulted with HIAS about contingency plans in case of emergency. Allan Kagedan added that AJC has assisted the South African Board of Jewish Deputies, politically, in the past few months.

William Jacobson, replying to a question about congressional activity on South Africa, said that this year was quieter for several reasons: it was not an election year; the Iran-Contra affair captured the headlines; and South African censorship regulations have diminished the US TV networks footage. Still, a new atrocity can rekindle public interest.

Speaking about the general situation, Bayard Rustin mentioned that, in an unofficial poll in Soweto taken last week, Helen Suzman placed 8th in popularity for the Presidency of South Africa.

Mr. Rustin suggested that AJC consider a program to educate the media on South Arrica. He also strongly endorsed AJC work with Operation Hunger.

Conclusion

E. Robert Goodkind said that the South African Task Force will press ahead with its plan to work with Operation Hunger, and will also consider the other suggestions made by the speakers.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 11, 1987

to Marc Tanenbaum

from Allan Kagedan

subject Reminders re South Africa

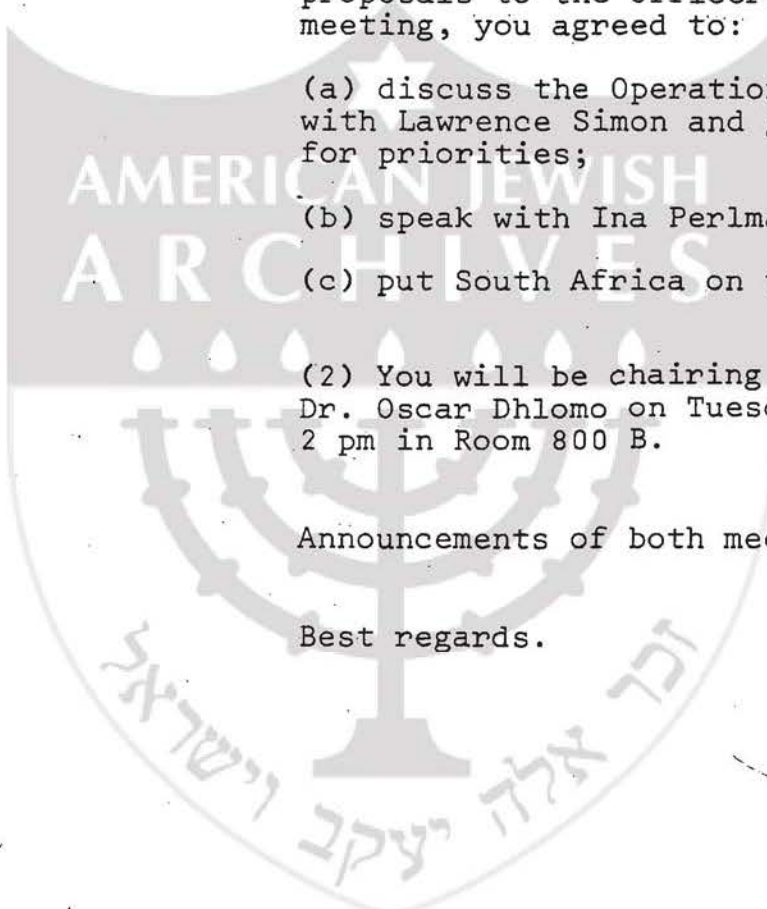
(1) On June 24, at 12:45 the South Africa Task Force will be meeting to finalize our proposals to the Officers. Before that meeting, you agreed to:

- (a) discuss the Operation Hunger proposals with Lawrence Simon and get several suggestions for priorities;
- (b) speak with Ina Perlman in South Africa;
- (c) put South Africa on the Officers Agenda.

(2) You will be chairing a meeting with Dr. Oscar Dhomo on Tuesday, June 16 at 2 pm in Room 800 B.

Announcements of both meetings are attached.

Best regards.





**The American Jewish
Committee**

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022-2746
212 751-4000

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Honorary Chair,
National Executive Council

Executive Vice-Presidents Emeriti

John Slawson

Bertram H. Gold

June 10, 1987

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a summary of the May 15 South African Task Force meeting.

Our next meeting will be held on Wednesday, June 24 at 12:45 in Room 800B at AJC headquarters. Lunch will be served.

We will be finalizing our presentation to the Officers of our proposed cooperation with Operation Hunger, and will be considering other ideas raised at our May 15 meeting. We will also consider the implications for AJC policy, if any, of Rev. Leon Sullivan's renunciation of his fair-employment principles for U.S. companies in South Africa.

Could you please call Susann Schoenberger at (212) 751-4000, ext. 277 to indicate whether you will be able to attend.

I look forward to seeing you on June 24th.

Sincerely,

E. Robert Goodkind
Chairman
South Africa Task Force

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6714 - IRD-1



**The American Jewish
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June 10, 1987

Dear Friend:

As part of AJC's International Relations Department's program to keep ourselves informed about events in South Africa and maintain contact with leading political figures there, I am pleased to invite you to a meeting with Dr. Oskar Dhlomo, Secretary General of Inkatha, and a close associate of Inkatha leader and Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Dr. Dhlomo is responsible for relations with other black political groupings in South Africa, including the ANC, and has been active in efforts to oppose apartheid through negotiating an end to the crisis in South Africa.

We will be meeting with Dr. Dhlomo on Tuesday, June 16 at 2 P.M. in Room 800B at AJC headquarters, 165 East 56th Street (at Third Avenue).

Please call Susann Shoenberger at 751-4000, ext. 277 if you plan to attend.

E. Robert Goodkind *Marc Tanenbaum* *Miles Jaffe*
E. Robert Goodkind Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum Miles Jaffe
Chairman Director Chairman
South Africa International International
Task Force Relations Relations Commission

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The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations
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E. Robert Goodkind
Chairman
South Africa Task Force

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Summary

SOUTH AFRICA TASK FORCE MEETING

May 15, 1987

E. Robert Goodkind, Chairman

Bayard Rustin

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Since hungry people can not create democracy, organizations like Operation Hunger promote democracy. AJC should be strongly encouraged to work with Operation Hunger. Another worthwhile activity for AJC would be to educate the media on the true nature of the problems facing South Africa, and how Americans might most effectively press for change.

William Jacobsen

America recognizes that South Africans themselves will determine their country's future. The US is urging all parties to the conflict to begin negotiating now. Otherwise violence may claim hundreds or thousands of casualties, most of them black.

Despite the disappointing election results, there were several hopeful signs in South Africa: the rejection of apartheid by the Synod of the Dutch Reform Church; the beginning of anti-apartheid protest at Stellenboch University, an Afrikaner stronghold; the resignation of Mr. de Clerk, a cabinet minister's brother, from his newspaper, because of the new censorship regulations.

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* * *

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