

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1985

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Women Against Apartheid: Feminism Can Wait

By ALAN COWELL
Special to The New York Times

NEW BRIGHTON, South Africa â\200\224
On a day of sun and sadness and defi-
ance, Virginia Ngalo, a large and
powerful woman, rose to address a fu-
neral ral g llaen:l told other women to
unite wi in struggling against
white domination.

The crowd of thousands greeted her
words with familiar responses â\200\224
clenched fist salutes and cries of

â\200\234Amandla!â\200\235 or *â\200\230Power!"â\200\235

The fervor seemed familiar in %
taking

place, and, as if one person, the black
crowding the stand rose in a
salute of clenched fists.

ize a nascent sisterhood in what

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The New York Times

activist in South Africa, attending a funeral in

Molly a political
Port Elizabeth, A member of t'y: official white

pertyln?aru-

opposition
here call â\200\234â\200\230the struggleâ\200\235 â\200\224 a term that ment, she says she
seeks â\200\230â\200\2301 falr eal for all the people In our country.â\200\235
action

other | But she noted that in a part of the coun-

lI:qu:k struggle to end white minority

Women have long been involved in
South Africaâ\200\231s conflict, but that activ-

ism is defined by what Mrs. Ngale, in an interview, called the task of supporting the men.

Key Roles by Women

Still, women such as Helen Suzman,

lying symbols and articulators of dissent.

In recent years as townships have become more embroiled in politics, women's organizations have taken root along with groups of and scholars' organizations offering an

[don't like people being fobbed off with second-rate justice. As a Black Sash member, Mrs. Blackburn spends more time than most white women in the

ing a generation in South Africa, not a unitary state. As a party member and legis-

early stage of political organization. try hard hit by recession and gripped

with violence, they are battling (or survival. i

Children Are the Targets
Mrs. Ngalo said that when she spoke

children are the targets of police ac-

*I was trying to tell them that the struggle was something that has not just begun now, she said at her small, square home here. The struggle

alternative to the largely local government bodies set up by the white authorities.

In South Africa, for now, women

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Unnod Democratic Front, a multira-
cial alliance to id. In-

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affiliated with the

, its foe seems to be a rival

GIVE A CITY CHILD A CHANCE:
THE FRESH AIR FUND

has seven children, is widely viewed as
a courageous exception in this region.

to be that of

Not long ago, black
daubed a on a wall near the cen-
ter of Port

supporting Mrs. | *
thkbn.r::: crusades. Whites re-

about

her on the same wall.
With others, Mrs. Blackburn has
gudcd and angered the white authori-
that word of township in-
jumcl is widely heard in the press and
Parliament.
Mrs. Blackburn said she was fighting
"fotah'l_rdall for all the people in our

I Canâ\200\231t Stand Bulliesâ\200\231
â\200\234l canâ\200\231t stand bullies,â\200\235 she said,
cefferring to the white authorities, *â\200\230and

she says. is very active in the Eastern
Cape, and *â\200\230women fear security police
activity in this area and that has had a
very inhibiting affectâ\200\235 on recruiting
white women supporters.

â\200\234One is made to feel guilty if you
have a aormal friendship with another
personâ\200\235 of a different color, she said,
! explaining one reason that not too
| many white women become involved in

! political activities.

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St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch

Monday, June 3, 1985

3 Minnesota firms-defend..South -Africa role

Associated Press

Officials of three prominent Minnesota corporations say continuing, rather than ending their operations in South Africa would do more to promote racial equality in that country.

Apartheid, the of racial segregation in South Africa, has the focus of a new round

of protests this year.

Officials at 3M Co., Control Data and Honeywell believe many of the protests may be counterproductive.

â\200\234We believe our continued existence there

keeps pressure on the system for change in a way that wouldn't be le if we left,â\200\235 Kathy 'lâ\200\230unlmim, eek a Honeywell spokeswoman, said last week.

The three companies point to a list of educational, social and political reforms they have supported in South Africa with lobbying and financial commitment.

The Minnesota firms have joined more than 100 other U.S. firms in signing the Sullivan principles, a set of promises to pay workers equally and to push for an end to apartheid.

If they pulled out, the company officials say, South Africaâ\200\231s white government would not be destabilized, but a positive force for change would be lost.

The Sullivan principles were developed in 1977 by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a black Philadelphia minister and member of the General Motors board of directors, who wanted to pres-

sure companies to push South Africa to change. All Sullivan signatories are evaluated by an independent consulting firm, Arthur D. Little Associates, and ranked for performance in three areas: Efforts on behalf of black education, training and advancement for black employees, and community development. Â°

Control Data and 3M were given the top rank-

ing of â\200\234making good progress,â\200\235 in 1984 while Honeywell received the second ranking, â\200\234mak-

ing progress.â\200\235

Ending operations in South Africa â\200\234will only
force U.S. companies to leave South Africa and

lherelzndeny lack people help from one of
their allies,â\200\235 said William Norris,
Control Dataâ\200\231s chief executive officer.

The
South African

By DAN CRYER

Waiting: The Whites of South Africa.
By Vincent Crapanzane. Randem House,
358 Pages. \$19.95.

Vincent Crapanzano went to South
Africa to study the minority group that
controls the country's destiny. To his sur-
prise, he discovered that whites are pris-
oners in their own land.

They are, in fact, two separate mi-
nority groups. Sixty percent are Afri-
kaa 40 percent English-speak-
ing. Both are trapped, Crapanzano argues,
by their limited under-
standing of their world,
by a subtle â\200\234psychologi-
cal apartheidâ\200\235 that pre-
vents them from seeing
blacks, mixed-race â\200\234co-
louredsâ\200\235 and Aslans in all their subjective
reality.

â\200\234The other,â\200\235 he writes, becomes â\200\234at
once a menial object to be manipulated
and a mythic object to be feared. He can-
not be counted in his humanity.â\200\235

Despite the alarms of imminent revo-
lution and bloodbath, the author believes,
South Africa is "â\200\234caught in a deadened
time of waiting,â\200\235 the future far off and en-
shrouded in a surreal mist. Whites fear
what is going to happen, to be sure, but
they tend to block out the unknown by
nostalgically dwelling on the past, by pre-
tending that relations among ethnic
groups are tolerable, by worshipping a

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God that justifies the present Injustice,

For the most part, however, Crapanza-
no, a professor of anthropology and com-
parative literature at Queens College,
does not waste words generalizing about
his subjects. He lets them do the talking.

Waiting Is a Studs Terkel kind of
book. It is based on exhaustive interviews
with a few people, the white residents of a
small village north of Cape Town dis-
guised with the fictional name â\200\234Wyndal.â\200\235
And, like a Terkel book, the resulting
cacaphony of voices does not lend itself to
easy summary.

After briefly introducing Wyndal's agricultural valley (a beautiful little fool's paradise, in the words of its most astute resident), Crapanzano wrestles his material into thematic chapters such as "The Past, Upbringing, Marriage, Conversion, Violence, Workers," and The Future. Along the way, he adds only as much explanatory commentary history, politics and so on as he deems necessary for the reader to make sense of the Interview excerpts.

Sometimes the volces evoke the paternalism of the pre-Civil War American South. Ruth Visser, an Afrikaner who runs @ grocery store with her husband: "My children love the coloured woman who takes care of them. They tell her all their secrets, the eldest about her boyfriends, things I don't even know ... She is like their mother. They can talk their hearts out to her."

Sometimes the volces are racist without apology. A farmer considered the most racist man in the valley: "The relationship between whites and coloureds is very good. ... The farmers treat them well. No farmer would treat his horse badly because he has to use it. It would be foolish. It's the same with the workers."

More often, as in the case of Hennle van der Merwe, an Anglican priest of Afrikaner descent whose parish includes both whites and coloureds, there is a struggle to respond to black terrorism with Christian forgiveness: "It has always been one of my biggest jobs, trying to stop resentment and bitterness and unforgiving attitudes from creeping in to stop hating all blacks because some blacks have committed atrocities."

That the system is inherently unequal (white girls never grow up to be nannies to coloured children; coloureds and blacks lack the economic power to hire white workers) and that apartheid itself is an atrocity, are opinions forever banned by these world-views,

Wyndal's English-speaking citizens are generally more flexible than this. Their conflicts are not so much with their docile coloured farm workers (there are few blacks in the area) as with Afrikaners. Mention Intermarriage, and Wyndalites will bring up some unfortunate Afrikaner-English match, a near treasonous arrangement in some eyes.

For the Afrikaners, the shame of de-

PG
Tireless/eir/wn illusions

feat at the hands of the English in the

turn-of-the-century Anglo-Boer War still rankles, and they accuse their English-speaking contemporaries of divided loyalties. Religion divides the two groups as well. The Afrikanersâ\200\231-Dutch Reformed Church supports apartheid as God's will; the Anglican Church condemns the system.

Some Afrikaans speakers and English speakers do come together In the burgeoning charismatic Christian movement called Renewal. But the political implications are bleak; believers who welcome the coming of Armageddon are not likely to comprehend the necessity of change.

Waiting is a fascinating, anecdote-filled glimpse at a faraway world that Sooner or later will affect all Americans. Crapanzano gives a smooth narrative flow to what might have been an unwieldy mass of information. Occasionally, though, he muddies things with pretentious rhetoric about violence as â\200\234the realm of all-pervading unpredictabilityâ\200\235 or â\200\234the terrifying Instant of silenceâ\200\235 between an act of violence and its reporting In the news media.

Given the white Intransigence on display here, violence seems inevitable. Despite the differences among South Africaâ\200\231s whites, they are not about to give up their privileges. They're waiting, Crapanzano makes clear, in a llmbo filled with demons of their own making.

(c) 1985 Los Angeles Times News Service

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Princeton students,
in blockade
~ dealt mild rebuke

ofaculty

By PAUL BEN-ITZAK
Home News staff writer

PRINCETON BOROUGH -
Princeton University students and
aculty members who blockaded
Nassau Hall last month were dealt
lightest possible penalty yesterday
by a faculty-student committee.
The Judicial Committee, an official
body of the university, issued

A warning

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tion for Divestment after finding
them guilty of violating university
regulations on campus demonstrations.
Decisions on the two remaining
cases will be made by the
committee. The committee, which
administrators, faculty and students
deliberated for half an hour be-
hind closed doors before announcing
its decision. The coalition members blocked all
three entrances to Nassau Hall May
28 in protest of Princeton's holdings
in companies doing business in South

Africa.

"We consider the matter to be a
serious violation of university rules,"
said Michael Danielson, chairman of
the Judicial Committee and head of
the Politics Department. But, he
noted, "we are talking about a cause
that is important, and that people

are concerned about."

The warning issued by the com-
mittee will not appear on the stu-
dent's permanent records. The com-
mittee's other options included doing
nothing, expelling the students in-

volvement and withholding degrees.
Danielson cited the non-provoca-
tive nature of other demonstrations
held by the group this spring as a
reason for the committee's unani-

. mous decision.

He also cited misunderstandings
surrounding events that took place

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gs to 87 of 89 members of the

the week of the blockade, which be- |.
came clarified during three hours of.
testimony yesterday.

Betsy Clark, a spokeswoman for
the coalition, said the blockade was
planned after university President
William G. Bowen would not public-
ly refute a report in The Daily Prin-
cetonian that he and the board of
trustees had closed discussion on the .
issue of divestiture.

The story, which appeared in May
20 issue of the Princetonian, con-
cerned a press conference held by |
Bowen following a May 17 meeting
of the boardâ\200\231s Policy and Budget
Committee. r |

ives of the adminis-
tration and the coalition yesterday '
called the story inaccurate. 1

Upset by the article, coalition
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Lowe and Bowen got wind of the:

Lowe met with msmbbers of
the coalition on the morniz;; of May |
22 and and again that aiternoon,
with Bowen present.

meeting,

witnesses recalled, Bowen assured
coalition members that the story had
misrepresented his sentiments. The
group responded by asking him to
make a public clarification of his po-
sition, according to senior Lisa Rob-
inson, a witness called yesterday. -

â\200\234Bowen said, â\200\230I will think, I will
think,â\200\231 â\200\235 Ms. Robinson recalled. â\200\234We
said, â\200\230You have given us nothing con-
crete.â\200\231 He said, â\200\230I appreciate that.â\200\231
... Everyone in the room felt there
wasn't going to be any statement.â\200\235

The university issued a statement

the following day clarifying Bowen's position, but by then the protesters already had been arrested.

The protesters still face charges of trespassing. They will appear on those charges Friday in court.

BY SHAROM FARMER FOR THE WRSKINGTON POST

From left, Richard Hatcher, Eleanor Holmes, Ernest Morial and Randall Robinsoa at the dinner.

Arresting Presences
TransAfrica Honors the Volunteers Who Keep the Faith

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By Jacqueline Trescott

Wastungton Post Staff Writer

When a friend asked William Moore, a deacon at First Rising Mount Zion Baptist Church and a retired Bureau of Engraving employee, to drive demonstrators to the South African Embassy every day, he didn't hesitate to say yes.

"From the things I hear and the pictures I see, I see that what is happening in South Africa is real wrong. Something should be done," said Moore.

Before last November Moore, 65, hadn't called himself an activist, although he had participated during the 1960s in the civil rights marches on Washington. Now, he ob-

served, "those demonstrations in all kinds of weather are waking the consciousness of a lot of people."

Moore, whose participation is essential to the operation of the antiapartheid protests, joined a handful of now-familiar faces among the most diligent picketers at the embassy to receive the salutes Saturday night of TransAfrica, the Washington lobby that has spearheaded the demonstrations.

Among the volunteers cited at the group's eighth annual dinner were Jake Wells, Mark and Cecilia Sharp, Bob Ngoma, Mario Schowers, Wayne King, Conwel Jones, several organizers outside Washington and several lawyers who provide legal

See DINNER, C3, Col. 1

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DINNER, From C1

services to those arrested at the embassy. The group also honored historian C.L.R. James with its Africa Freedom Award.

- This year the TransAfrica dinner retained its traditional atmosphere of business-first with discussions of such issues as ridding South Africa of apartheid, gaining freedom for neighboring Namibia and influencing U.S. policy in the rest of Africa and the Caribbean.

But this year the ballroom at the Washington Hilton also had an air of celebration. More than 2,200 people have been arrested at the South African Embassy since November, and when TransAfrica Executive Director Randall Robinson called for the guests to stand if they had demonstrated, half of the 1,300 guests stood.

States, cities and universities have been calling for divestment in companies doing business in South Africa, and legislation is pending in Congress that would ban all new business investment and bank loans in South Africa as well as the sale in this country of kruggerands, South African gold pieces. To wild applause at the dinner, Mayor Marion Barry announced that this week he will propose renaming the portion of Massachusetts Avenue in front of the embassy for Nelson Mandela, the political leader who has been imprisoned for 23 years, and his wife Winnie.

Though political victories were cited, many in the audience were discussing the personal impact of the demonstrations. "White collar, blue collar and no collar" had been attracted to the movement, said Robinson. They are all involved in developing

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BY SHARON FARMER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

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an American consensus . . . We have done one damn good hell of a job. We are nothing if not relentless," he said. "The supply of those who would do it is inexhaustible."

For some, picketing has given new direction.

"I have only missed about seven days and [feel badly when I miss because I am devoting my time to fighting racism," said Jake Wells, 72, a former director of the National Junior Tennis League.

"I was born black and I didn't grow my

hair to identify myself before. Now I am
working for my peace of mind.â\200\235

For some like William Lucy, a labor leader,
and John Payton, an attorney, the response
to the demonstrations has restored their
faith in people. â\200\234It has removed
some of my cynicism and rekindled some
optimism. [I have a new kind of enthusiasm
because you know people will respond
because there's a rebirth of moral initiatives.â\200\235

In his keynote address, New Orleans
Mayor Ernest Morial outlined an urban
agenda for disinvestment of public funds
in institutions doing business with South
Africa. He noted that the loss of American
jobs to cheaper South African labor and
American investment in South Africa
(which he said was \$14 billion in 1983) had
attracted some unexpected advocates for
anti-apartheid measures.

â\200\234Ironically,â\200\235 he said, â\200\234constructive en-
gagement has even pushed [Alabama Gov. |
George Wallace to support the South Afri-
can freedom movement because ships now
being built in Mobile are using South Afri-
can steelâ\200\224while up the road in Birming-
ham, steel mills are closing down in the face
of this stiff foreign competition.â\200\235

: Eâ\200\230câ\200\230nomic
Threats Won't
End Apartheid

By STUART BUTLER

Politicians love an opportunity to express righteous indignation when it costs them nothing. So it is hardly surprising that the disinvestment campaign against South Africa is popular on Capitol Hill. Senators and congressmen have been pro-

ly: being arrested outside the South African embassy.

The pictures play well back home, and the arrest procedures are now handled so smoothly and quickly that it hardly interferes with the cocktail circuit. And well-icized hearings allow legislators to about the inappropriateness of

Americans investing in a racist country.

"If we really want to â\200\234â\200\234do somethingâ\200\235

about apartheid, the argument goes, then Congress should threaten to pull the economic rug out from under white South Africa by blocking new American investment in the country. That will surely force Pretoria to see reason. Yet, while support for disinvestment might make Senator Kennedy and his fellows feel good about themselves, it will do nothing to undermine apartheid. In fact, chances are it will have no effect on the economy of South Africa. If it has any impact at all, it will be to make reform politically more difficult for the white regime, and to weaken the power of black and white South African opponents of apartheid.

There are several reasons for this inconvenient conclusion. First, an investment boycott of South Africa would actually have little economic impact. Three times more money is currently flowing out of South Africa, in the form of dividends, than is flowing into the country in foreign investment. If Pretoria took the

entary step of countering disinvestment with a ban on capital exports, far from the South African economy being starved of capital, it would actually receive a cash boost. Moreover, if U.S. companies were forced by Congress to close down their South African operations, it would mean a fire sale to reactionary white Afrikaners of assets owned by American employers â\200\224 employers who have set the social pace in South Africa by desegregating the workplace, providing equal pay, and upgrading black skills. As the respected London Economist has noted, â\200\234It is hard to see how replacing an

American personnel director with an Afrikaner one is an advance for anti-apartheid.â\200\235

Second, even if disinvestment did bite, there is no reason to believe economic hardship would make white South Africans, outnumbered 8-to-1, suddenly embrace democratic principles. In particular, the Afrikaners of Dutch origin, who

dominate white politics, have a history of digging in and becoming more intransigent when foreigners start trying to lay down the law.

The third reason why disinvestment would fail is that it overlooks the simple fact that the real engine of change in South Africa is a growing economy. Economic expansion exposes the soft underbelly of apartheid. It has already undermined the apartheid strategy of keeping blacks in the lowliest paying jobs and out of urban areas

As the has grown, shortages of white labor have enabled blacks to force themselves into skilled occupations once reserved for whites. Black trade unionism has grown rapidly with economic expansion. After Pretoria recognized the inevitable and legalized black unions in 1979, membership exploded to half a million, black wages doubled in three years, and black union officials became important political forces.

Pretoria has slowly but surely been

forced to change from within in the face of economic growth. Following the breakdown of many labor restrictions, the government has accepted the principle of black property ownership in â\200\230â\200\230whiteâ\200\231â\200\235 South Africa, recognized that the â\200\234home-landâ\200\231s policyâ\200\231â\200\231 is more form than substance, and has even announced that it will recognize interracial marriage â\200\224 to the horror of many Afrikaners. Each of these concessions is a desperate attempt to hold back the economic and social pressure building up for national political rights for blacks. But each concession is also another nail in the coffin of apartheid.

If disinvestment were to slow down economic growth in South Africa â\200\224 the expressed goal of its supporters â\200\224 it would also slow down this remorseless economic tide of change, making bloody revolution the only option available for blacks. This would be a high price to pay for what many congressmen believe to be the important moral gesture of voting for

It's time congressmen woke up to the fact that if they are serious about undermining apartheid, they should be encouraging more American investment, not less,

The more U.S. companies there are in South Africa the more training blacks, giving equal pay, and setting an example to South African employers the better. The stronger the economy becomes, the more powerful black unions will become. The faster companies, like IBM, can move forward with their programs to create black-owned businesses the better. The quicker that American investment. in other words, can help boost black economic power the quicker black South Africans will be able to kick down the door to political power.

Mr. Butler is director of domestic policy studies at the Heritage Foundation, a Washington-based policy research institute.

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TN\Jacially â\200\234advancedâ\200\235 as we are.

PARTHEID IS unnatural, un-
holy and wrong, whether prac-
ticed today in South Africa or

practiced by another name in the
all-too-recent past in the United
States. It took us 180 years to turn our
system around, though it is still far
from the ideal, but we expect South
Africa, in existence only since 1910
and independent since 1960, to be as

Imagine how frustrated Americans
would be if they knew South African

S~_television carried pictures.of the Phil-

adelphia police operation against
MOVE as typical of the way we han-
dle our black population and you will
begin to understand South Africans
who believe their problems have re-
ceived one-sided treatment.

Twice in the same week, I had the
opportunity to consider another point
of view from the one I have been
accustomed to receiving from the
â\200\234morally uprightâ\200\235 American press.

A delegation of black and white
South Africans came to Washington
to tell of their support for their
government's attempt to keep the
country free from a Communist
takeover, even while they continue to
work with that government to end
apartheid.

South Africa: Take a clearer look

By CAL THOMAS

The most dramatic story was told
by Joyce Kinikini, whose husband,
son and two nephews were murdered
ilm weeks ago. Another son s miss-
ng. Kinikinl says her husband, a

black councilman, was suspected of collaborating with the white government. Kinikini, who says her family was slaughtered by Communist supporters, gave me a videotape of the slayings, made by a Dutch TV crew. It is horrible. Her husband and son are shown being hacked to death with knives, doused with gasoline and set afire while people stand around, cheer and raise their fists at the camera. | wonder why we never saw this on American television?

At the South African Embassy in Washington, I met the new ambassador, Herbert David Beukes. (I had expected to encounter demonstrators outside but was told they show up only during afternoon rush hour and leave when the TV cameras depart.)

Beukes acknowledged an error he thinks his government has made: a mistake in believing that the solution to our country's political problems was to create separate

homelands (for blacks). The government will no longer insist that creating independent countries is the only way to solve our problems. Instead, we will attempt to link together in a federated system all of the negotiations with the South African government with the objective of full participation for all without one group dominating another.

Beukes said apartheid is nearly dead and certainly past the critical stage. He wonders why his country has not received better marks for its progress, which includes repeal of the immorality law that prohibited sexual relations between those of different colors; the institution of collective bargaining for blacks, including the right to strike; repeal of laws prohibiting blacks from forming labor unions, and the elimination of a two-tier salary structure in which blacks were paid less than whites. Further, said the ambassador, hotels, restaurants, libraries, public parks and airlines have been desegregated.

All of this sounds faintly suspicious in light of our own experiences with the foot-dragging anti-civil

rights leaders of 20 years ago, but one must remember that Mississippi and Alabama are not bordered by the likes of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola. All Communist, or in the case of Zimbabwe, certainly Communist-lean-

ing, countries.

Beukes said there is only one pre condition to the ultimate elimination of apartheid and that is that those who participate in the negotiating process must renounce violence as a tactic. This the radicals have refused to do. Instead, they are bent on intimidating the moderates, black and white, who are trying to cooperate with the government.

IS DIFFICULT to pry a criticism of the U.S. from these South

Africans, but the moral differences between the US. and South Africa are not all black and white. While we have made progress on race relations, we tolerate abortion on demand and rampant pornography. Abortion Is illegal In South Africa, and pornography is tightly controlled. While one cannot be considered a trade-off for the other, perhaps we would do better to get the beam out of our own eye before becoming preoccupied with the speck in our South African brother's eye.

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By George D. Moliett Hi

Sttt wrter of The Chrstian â\200\234cmnee Monitor

Washington

The dayvs of the Reagan administra-
tionâ\200\231s policy of friendiy persnasion to-
wiard South Africa appear to e
mimbered.

Facing growing public opposition to
Pretoriaâ\200\231s policy of racial segregation,
called apartheid, the full House and the
Senate Foreign Relations Commitlee
this week take up legristation that could
lead to imposition of <tiff new eco-
nomic and political sanctions against
South Africa.

The legislation reflects rising con-
gressional impatience with the slow
pace of reform in South Alfrica.

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It also reflects a calculation' that
continued support of the Reagan ad-
ministrationâ\200\231s policy of â\200\234constriictive
engagementâ\200\235 is becoming more risky
politically. â\200\234â\200\234The anti-apartheid it
are a clear indication of â\200\230no confidenee
in the administrationâ\200\231s South Airic.
pelicly,â\200\235 a congressional source says.

The main vehicle for House oppo-
nents of apartheid is the omnibus Anti
Apartheid Act of 1985,

The legislation, which will be de-
bated on the House floor, calls for the
end of most bank loans and of the sale
of computer technology to the South
African government. L also includes
restriclions on new investment and oâ\200\224
Please see SANCTIONS page 41

MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1985

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

SANCTIONS tompns

bank loans to nongovernmental such as corporations, and a ban on imports of South African gold coins called Krugerrands.

The bill allows the President to waive the prohibitions on new US investment in the importation of Krugerrands if the South African government agrees to make specified reforms, such as freeing political prisoners and eliminating race-based residence requirements.

Similar legislation is being considered by the Senate Banking Committee.

The principal Senate alternative, cosponsored by Foreign Relations Committee chairman Richard G. Lugar (R) of Indiana, would impose sanctions after two years if progress is not made toward eliminating apartheid. The bill would also require American companies doing business in South Africa to adhere to the Sullivan Principles, a code of fair-employment practices. In a recent statement, Senator Lugar said he was "ready to consider" other measures against South Africa as well.

Supporters of the legislation win plums from the South African say five years of "constructive engagement" have been ineffective in producing reform. "It's time to replace

isolationist policies with pressure on South Africa

- accommodation to negotiate a fair settlement," Mr. Scott says. "It's clear

that the Africaners won't negotiate on apartheid until it makes

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sense in their cost-benefit analysis," he adds.

But critics of economic sanctions say limiting US investment would hurt the very enterprises that are on the cutting edge of social reform in South Africa. "If you force US companies to sell out, all you would have is Afrikaner firms there," says Stuart Butler of the Heritage Foundation, a Washington public-policy institution. "They would buy US assets at low prices and replace the

progressive American management that's encouraging

desegregation. This won't benefit black South Africans."

Critics also score supporters of the anti-apartheid legislation for assuming economic pressure can bring about overnight change in South Africa.

"The notion that we can throttle them economically to the point that the government in South Africa will rush to the bargaining table to negotiate a radical transfer of power to a black majority is pure moonshine," says the US ambassador to South Africa, Herman Nickel.

But such arguments seem unlikely to prevail, given the desire of an apparent majority of congressmen to dis-

tance themselves from the Reagan administration's South Africa policy.

The administration's public-relations image ranges from poor to counterproductive on this issue, says one Washington observer with close ties to Capitol Hill. Even Republicans are trying to take South Africa policy new; from the administration. Two Republican-

fouse es call for the creation of a bi-

partisan commission to oversee US policy in South Africa.

Congressional sources say the House bill is likely to pass by a comfortable margin. Still, the final anti-apartheid legislation to emerge from a House-Senate conference committee later this summer will probably contain the two-year delay on sanctions written into the Senate bill, they say.

Experts say the heightened US public interest behind these congressional moves is partly the result of recent reports of violent confrontations between South African authorities and blacks. "They've made the issue hard to ignore," says David Scolt of TransAfrica, an anti-apartheid group that since November has sponsored daily demonstrations in front of the South African Embassy in Washington.

Public concern reflected in nationwide efforts to limit or end US investment in companies doing business in South Africa also stems from the efforts of church and labor groups that have taken up the anti-apartheid cause.

We've made it impossible for Congress to ignore the issue, says a spokesman for a church-based anti-apartheid organization.

Last year's Nobel Peace Prize recipient Bishop Desmond Tutu, a black South African clergyman, has also focused attention on the issue, outspokenly criticizing apartheid.