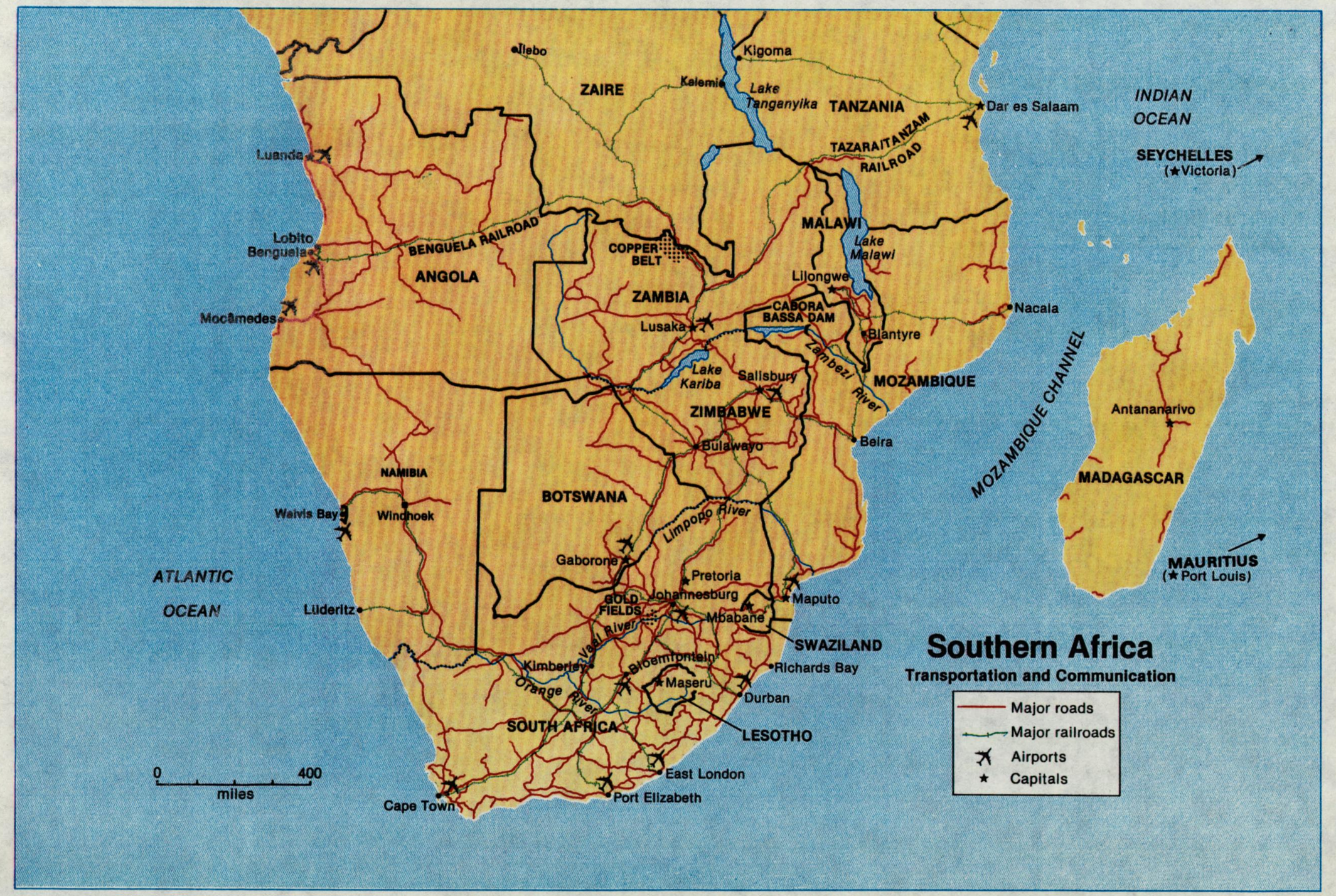
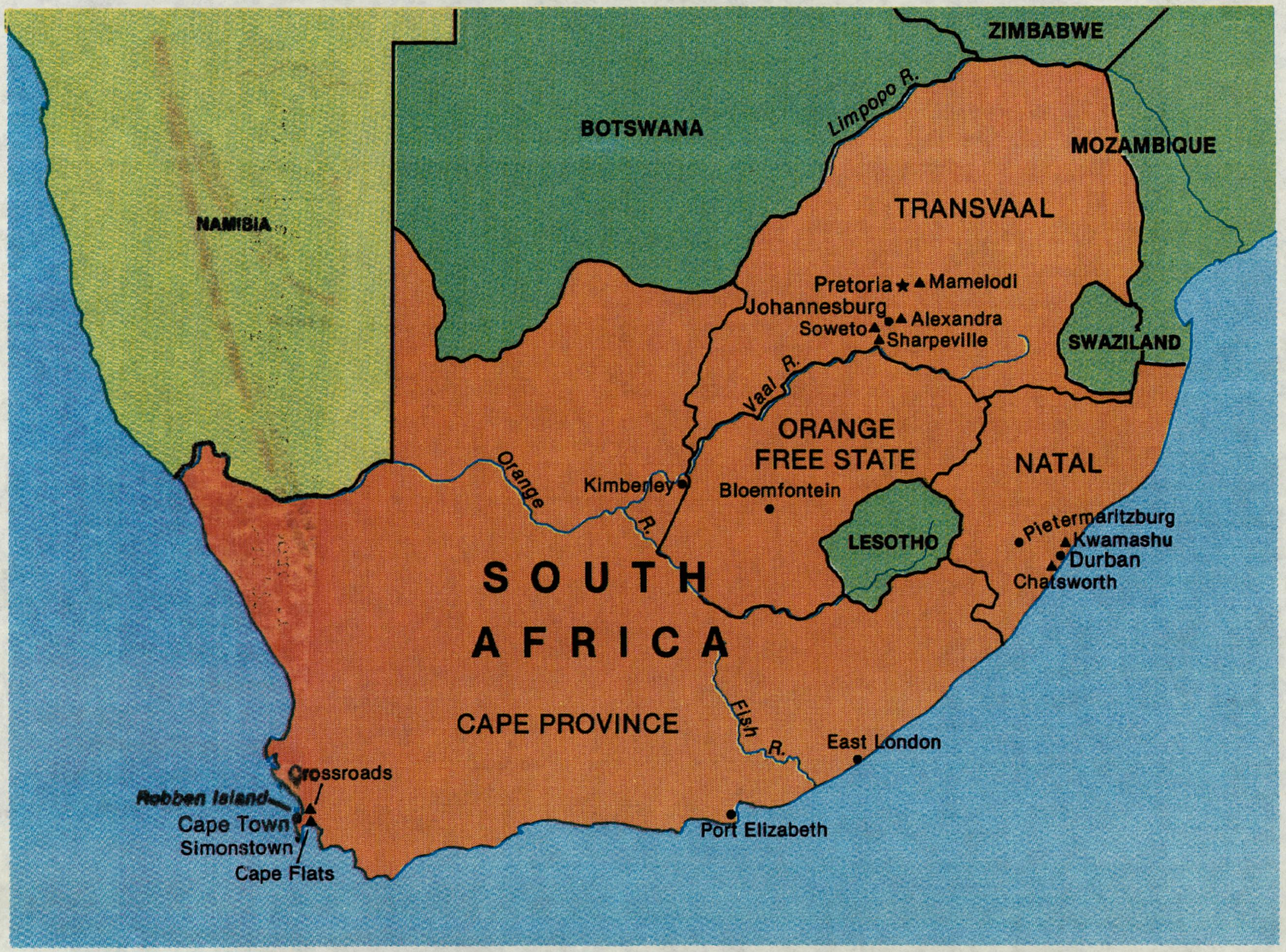
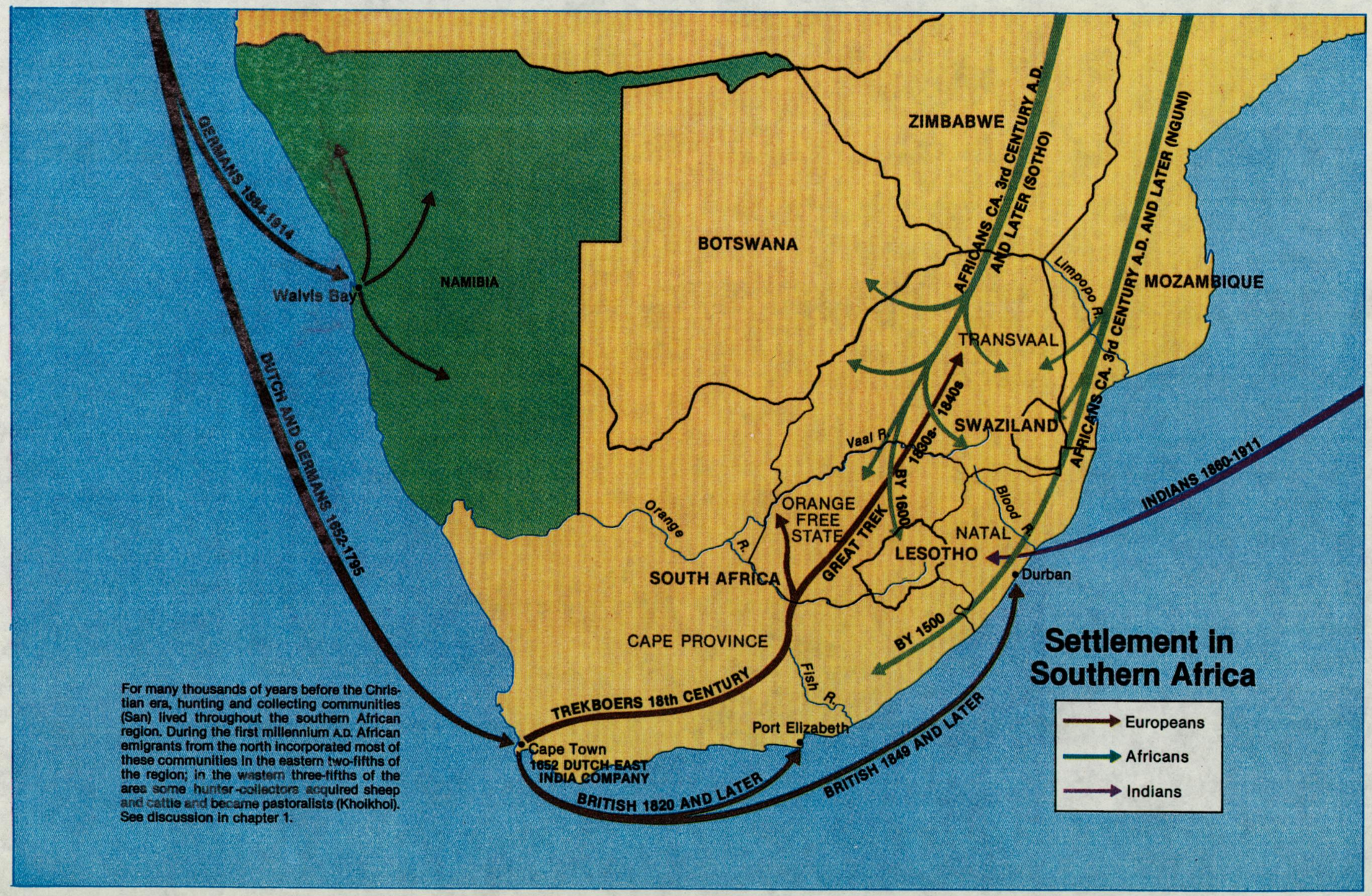
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Ilebo
Kigoma
ZAIRE
Kalemie
Lake Tanganyika
TANZANIA
Dar es Salaam
INDIAN OCEAN
SEYCHELLES
(★Victoria)
TAZARA/TANZAM RAILROAD
Luanda
MALAWI
Lake Malawi
Lobito
Benguela
BENGUELA RAILROAD
COPPER BELT
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
Lilongwe
Nacala
CABORA BASSA DAM
Mocâmedes
Lusaka
Blantyre
Zambezi River
MOZAMBIQUE CHANNEL
Lake Kariba
Salisbury
MOZAMBIQUE
ZIMBABWE
Antananarivo
Beira
Bulawayo
NAMIBIA
MADAGASCAR
BOTSWANA
Walvis Bay
Windhoek
Limpopo River
Gaborone
MAURITIUS
(★Port Louis)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Maputo
GOLD FIELDS
Lüderitz
Mbabane
Vaal River
SWAZILAND
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
Richards Bay
Orange River
Maseru
Durban
SOUTH AFRICA
LESOTHO
East London
0
400
miles
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
Southern Africa
Transportation and Communication
Major roads
Major railroads
Airports
Capitals


ZIMBABWE
BOTSWANA
Limpopo R.
MOZAMBIQUE
NAMIBIA
TRANSVAAL
Pretoria
Mamelodi
Johannesburg
Alexandra
Soweto
Sharpeville
SWAZILAND
Vaal R.
ORANGE
FREE STATE
NATAL
Orange
R.
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
LESOTHO
Pietermaritzburg
Kwamashu
Durban
Chatsworth
SOUTH
AFRICA
CAPE PROVINCE
Fish
R.
East London
Crossroads
Robben Island
Cape Town
Simonstown
Cape Flats
Port Elizabeth

Settlement in Southern Africa



For many thousands of years before the Christian era, hunting and collecting communities (San) lived throughout the southern African region. During the first millennium A.D. African emigrants from the north incorporated most of these communities in the eastern two-fifths of the region; in the western three-fifths of the area some hunter-collectors acquired sheep and cattle and became pastoralists (Khoikhoi). See discussion in chapter 1.

AGENDA

SOUTHERN AFRICA POLICY FORUM

OF THE ASPEN INSTITUTE

SOUTH AFRICA: FROM CONFLICT TO RESOLUTION

Lantana Colony Club
Bermuda
March 27 - April 1, 1989

Monday, March 27

CONGRESSIONAL MEMBERS ARRIVE DURING THE DAY

FIRST DAY PRESENTERS WILL HAVE ARRIVED MARCH 26

7:15 pm	Reception hosted by Dick and Julie Clark
8:00 pm	Dinner

NOTE: The dress for all program sessions will be informal. However, a jacket and tie are required for dinner.

Tuesday, March 28

8:00 am	Orientation breakfast for scholars/experts in dining room.
9:00 am	The Framework of the Conference Dick Clark
9:15 am	South Africa Today: Conflict and Resolution An Introduction Dick Clark
9:45 am	The Changing Nature of Conflict in South Africa Andres du Toit, University of Cape Town
10:30 am	Coffee break
10:45 am	Through Black Eyes: South Africa Today Fikile Bam, Legal Resources Centre, Port Elizabeth
11:30 am	Through White Eyes: South Africa Today Willie Esterhuyse, Professor of Philosophy, Stellenbosch University
12:15 pm	Adjournment
12:30 pm	Lunch
2:30 pm	The South African Economy Professor Geert de Wet, University of Pretoria
3:15 pm	The National Security Management System and The Future of the Reform Strategy Mark Swilling, Center for Policy Studies, Witwatersrand University
4:00 pm	Coffee Break
4:15 pm	The Black Labor Movement and Its Role in Change Johann Maree, University of Cape Town
5:00 pm	Adjournment
7:15 pm	Reception
8:00 pm	Dinner

Wednesday, March 29

9:00 am — Opening Briefing: What the Day will Bring?
Dick Clark

9:30 am — The African National Congress
Thabo Mbeki, head of the Department of Foreign Affairs and member of the National Executive, Africa National Congress (ANC)

11:15 am — Coffee break

11:30 am — Extraparliamentary Opposition
Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Institute for A Democratic Alternative in South Africa

12:30 pm — Adjournment

1:00 pm — Lunch

7:15 pm — Reception

8:00 pm — Dinner

Thursday, March 30

9:00 am	Opening Briefing: What Will The Day Bring? Dick Clark
9:30 am	Black Consciousness and the Africanists Sam Mabe, Journalist with The Sowetan and official of the Media Workers Association of South Africa
10:30 am	Coffee Break
10:45 am	Liberal Parliamentary Opposition Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party
11:45 am	Church Representative and The Democratic Movement In South Africa Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, Institute for Contextual Theology
12:45 pm	Adjournment
1:00 pm	Lunch

AFTERNOON FREE

DEPARTURE OF EARLY GUESTS

ARRIVAL OF NEXT DAYS GUESTS

7:15 pm	Reception
8:00 pm	Dinner Speaker: Oscar Dhlomo, Secretary General, Inkatha

Friday, March 31

9:00 am	Opening Breifing: What the Day Will Bring? Dick Clark
9:30 am	The Conservative Party Koos van der Merwe, Member of Parliament for the Conservative Party
10:30 am	Coffee Break
10:45 pm	The National Party P.W. Coetzer, Member of Parliament, National Party, Member Committee for Constitutional Affairs
12:15 pm	Adjournment
12:30 pm	Lunch
3:00 pm	Conclusions: How To Get From Conflict to Resolution? Nthato Motlana, Soweto Civic Association Helen Zille, Journalist and Member of National Executive, Black Sash Willie Breytenbach, Stellenbosch University
5:00 pm	Adjournment
7:15 pm	Reception
8:00 pm	Dinner

Saturday, April 1

DEPARTURE TRAVEL DAY

ALL PARTICIPANTS

Diane Anello
Fikile Bam
John and Lois Breaux and their daughters, Julie and Beth
Willie Breytenbach
Dick and Julie Clark
P. W. Coetzer
Herman(Hank) Cohen
George and Harriette Crockett
John and Sally Danforth
Dennis and Susan DeConcini
Geert de Wet
Oscar Dhlomo
Andre and Maretha du Toit
Mervyn and Alice Dymally
Willie Esterhuyse
Bill Gray
Amo Houghton and Priscilla Dewey
Sam Mabe
Tebogo Mafole
Johann Maree
Thabo Mbeki
Steve McDonald
Dr. Frank T. Mdlalose
Smangaliso Mkhatshwa
Connie and Tony Morella
Nthato Motlana
Frank and Nancy Murkowski and their son, Brian
Monica Selter
Rene Smit
W. J. Snyman
Helen Suzman
Mark Swilling
J. H. (Koos) van Der Merwe
Frederik and Jane van Zyl Slabbert
Howard Wolpe
Helen Zille

CURRICULUM VITAE - FIKILE BAM

Present Director of the Legal Resources Centre in Port Elizabeth.

Graduated B.A. at the University of Cape Town (1960).

Graduated B.Proc (1975) LL.B (1976) at the University of South Africa after serving ten (10) years imprisonment on Robben Island.

Practising Advocate of the Supreme Court of South Africa and the Transkei since 1978.

Former Chairman of the Transkei Bar Council and delegate to the General Council of the Bar of South Africa.

Visiting Fellow at Yale University United States of America (1984-5).

SENATOR JOHN B. BREAUX

Leadership and accomplishment characterize Senator John Breaux's Congressional service. Elected to Congress in 1972, he served in the U.S. House of Representatives for 14 years before being elected to the U.S. Senate in November of 1986.

Breaux wasted no time establishing himself as one of the Senate's most active and aggressive new members.

Still in his second year in the Senate, Breaux's Democratic colleagues unanimously elected him chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign, making him the Senate Democrats' chief campaign fundraiser and political strategist.

"Breaux has tackled the Senate head-on," said the New Orleans Times-Picayune. "He is not content to play the meek freshman."

Said the New York Times News Service of Breaux: "(He) has earned a reputation as a hard worker and devoted student of the quirky parliamentary rules of the Senate."

Breaux was so determined to master the Senate rules that he spent more than 100 hours in 1987 presiding over Senate sessions, winning the "Golden Gavel Award" and praise from Majority Leader Robert Byrd for his parliamentary abilities.

Breaux is chairman of two important Senate subcommittees: The Nuclear Regulation Subcommittee of the Environment and Public Works Committee and the Merchant Marine Subcommittee of the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee. He also serves on the Special Committee on Aging.

Breaux was quick to use his two subcommittee chairmanships to begin guiding important legislation through the Senate.

As chairman of the Nuclear Regulation Subcommittee, Breaux won full overwhelming Senate approval for his legislation to reorganize the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and quickly became an acknowledged expert on nuclear power issues.

As a member of the Environment Committee, Breaux has played a leading role in federal highway, clean air and water legislation.

From his Merchant Marine Subcommittee, Breaux has been a leading voice in U.S. shipping issues, winning Senate approval for

his amendment to the 1988 Omnibus Trade Bill which gives the U.S. greater authority to fight unfair trading practices by foreign competitors.

Breaux has also been very active in the Democratic Party. He serves as the Senate's representative to the Democratic National Committee and is a member of the DNC's Executive Committee. He is a director of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group of moderate Democrats, and is the founder of the Louisiana Democratic Leadership Council.

First elected to represent Louisiana's Southwestern 7th District -- famous for its friendly Cajun heritage and strong agricultural, petrochemical and marine industries -- Breaux became widely known as one of the most effective members of Congress and was recognized as the "Most Productive Member of Congress" by a George Mason University study in 1986.

In the House, Breaux served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment and was a senior member of the House Merchant Marine Committee. On that committee, he played an active role in drafting the Law of the Sea Treaty. He was a member of the prestigious House Steering and Policy Committee and was Democratic Whip-at-Large. A senior member on the powerful House Public Works and Transportation Committee, he also served as the ranking majority member on the subcommittee on Water Resources.

From 1987 to 1988, Breaux was chairman of the National Water Alliance, a coalition which proposes public policy and public education projects concerning national water resources policy.

The National Wildlife Federation has called Breaux a "Champion of Conservation Initiatives," and bestowed upon him the "Outstanding Legislator of the Year" award in 1984. For leadership in the field of ocean development, and American Oceanic Organization presented him with its annual "Neptune Award."

He was recognized by the Louisiana Outdoor Writers Association for outstanding achievements in the conservation field and was awarded the "Arthur Van Pelt Lifetime Conservation Award." In 1987, Breaux received the Charles H. Lyles Award from the Gulf States Marine Fisheries Commission for his contributions to the betterment of fisheries of the Gulf of Mexico.

Senator Breaux was born March 1, 1944 in Crowley, Louisiana. He and his wife, the former Lois Daigle of Lafayette, are the parents of four children, John Jr., Bill, Beth and Julie. Recipient of numerous academic and athletic awards, he received his political science degree from the University of Southwestern Louisiana and his Juris Doctorate from Louisiana State University.

CURRICULUM VITAE

PROF. W.J. BREYTENBACH

Prof. Willie Breytenbach is Professor of Africa Studies at the University of Stellenbosch. He was previously Director of Constitutional Planning in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning in Pretoria. At the time he served as Secretary of the Special Cabinet Committee dealing with black constitutional development in South Africa. He held the same position in the Office of the Prime Minister. Before that he was employed by the University of Pretoria, the Africa Institute and the S.A. Foundation.

He holds degrees in African Studies, Applied Anthropology, Anthropology and Political Science, all obtained from the University of Pretoria, and a Doctorate in Development Administration and African Politics obtained from the University of South Africa. He also spent some time in Israel as a research fellow at the Harry S. Truman Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

He has participated in various international conferences in the United States, the United Kingdom, Israel, Greece, various South American countries, and West Germany.

Professor Breytenbach has published extensively and lectures regularly at the Air Staff, Army Staff, Naval Staff and South African Defence Staff Colleges.

He was a member of the Human Science Research Council's Main Committee on the Investigation into Intergroup Relations during the early eighties. He currently serves on the Control Board of the Institute for Soviet Studies, Stellenbosch; the Advisory Committee of the Centre for Policy Studies, Wits; and is also a member of the Council of the Africa Institute in Pretoria.

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Dick Clark

Dick Clark has been a Senior Fellow of the Aspen Institute since 1980. He works on U.S. foreign policy issues.

Clark was born September 14, 1928 on a farm in Linn County, Iowa. He grew up nearby in Buchanan County, where his father owned a general store.

Clark served with the Army in Germany from 1950 to 1952. While in Germany, Clark studied at the University of Maryland at Wiesbaden and at the University of Frankfurt. He then received a bachelor's degree in history and political science from Upper Iowa University in 1953, and a Master's degree in Modern European History and Comparative Government from the University of Iowa in 1955. He was a teaching assistant at the University of Iowa from 1956 to 1959, while completing course work for a doctorate in Russian History.

From 1959 to 1964, Clark was Assistant Professor of History and Political Science at Upper Iowa University. He was President of the University faculty in 1962, and also served on several state commissions during this period, chairing the Iowa Civil Defense Administration and Office of Emergency Planning in 1963 and 1964.

From 1965 to 1972, he was the Administrative Assistant to Iowa 2nd District Congressman John Culver. In 1968, he served as a national political organizer in the Presidential campaign of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy and in 1980 was deputy campaign manager in Senator Edward M. Kennedy's presidential campaign.

Clark was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1972, after a 1,300 mile campaign walk across the state of Iowa. In the Senate, Clark was a leader in the areas of foreign policy, Congressional and campaign reform and agriculture, and chaired subcommittees on African Affairs and Rural Development. While Chairman of the African Affairs Subcommittee he authored the Clark Amendment, which cut off covert funding to political groups in Angola in 1976, and the repeal of the Byrd Amendment affecting Rhodesia. He served on the Foreign Relations Committee (1975-79), the Agriculture Committee (1973-79), the Public Works Committee (1973-75), the Rules Committee (1975-79), and the Committee on Aging (1975-77). He was the first freshman Senator ever appointed to the Democratic Steering Committee which makes all committee assignments. He was also a member of the Congressional Helsinki Commission. In addition, Clark served for two years as Chairman of the Peace Through Law Congressional Group--the only

bi-partisan, bi-cameral organization in the Congress.

In 1974, Clark was named by Time magazine as one of its "200 Leaders of the Future," and was selected as one of the "ten most effective members of the Senate" by national columnist Jack Anderson (the only freshman so named). In 1976 he was noted by The Wall Street Journal as one of the "stars" of the 94th Congress. In 1979, the citizens' lobby Common Cause presented Clark with an award for outstanding service in the public interest, the only Senator ever to receive such an award.

During 1979, Clark was Ambassador-at-Large and United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs. In this capacity, Clark reported directly to the President and the Secretary of State and was charged with policy development and coordination of both foreign and domestic aspects of the U.S. refugee program.

Clark serves on the following boards: Advisory Council of the African-American Institute; Africare; the Arca Foundation; the Benton Foundation; Council on Foundations; the Campaign for U.N. Reform; the Center for Responsive Politics; Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations; the Commission on United States-Central American Relations; the Commission on United States-African Relations; the Commission on United States-Asian Relations;Arms Control and National Security of the American Association for Advancement of Science; Common Cause; Development Group for Alternative Policies; Friends of the United Nations; the Institute for Soviet-American Relations; International Development Conference; International Voluntary Services; the Overseas Development Council; the Peace Through Law Education Fund; the Rand Corporation's Program for Research on Immigration Policy; the Refugee Policy Group; and the Washington Office on Latin America. Clark is Chairman of the Board of National Institute for Dispute Resolution and President of the Friends of National Public Radio.

Clark is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Washington World Affairs Council, and the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.

Clark is the author of several publications on foreign policy and on government and politics.

Clark has been awarded nine honorary degrees by the following colleges and universities: Cornell College, Drake University, Elizabethtown College, Haverford College, Loras College, Mt. Mercy College, Parsons College, St. Ambrose College, and Upper Iowa University.

Clark is married to the former Julie Kennett. They have three children: Julie, 34; Tom, 29; and Kennett, 21. They make their home at 4424 Edmunds Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20007.

October, 1988



Richard A. Bloom

Introducing Academics And U.S. Policy Makers

By Rochelle L. Stanfield

Dick Clark, who has been a university teacher, a Senator and a diplomat, has found a niche at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, attempting to make connections between international academic specialists and government policy makers.

"You have people with enormous knowledge about the Soviet Union or Indochina or Eastern Europe—the best experts in the world who have spent their whole lives studying it—and people who need that information to make policy. And never the twain shall meet," said Clark, a senior fellow in the institute's Washington office. "I bring the two together."

In mid-January, Clark presided over the fifth in a series of Aspen-sponsored meetings on U.S.-Soviet relations. "This is four days of sustained effort, with all of them there all the time," he explained. Members of Congress usually don't meet with the academic experts; such sessions are relegated to staff aides.

The Soviet project, now in its fourth year, gets nearly universal praise from participants, who span the political and philosophical spectrums. Most of them attribute the success to Clark's objective style and inclusive approach as he keeps the meetings focused on substance rather than rhetoric.

"Although he cares deeply about the issues and is strongly identified as a Democrat and liberal, he conducts the meetings in a scrupulously nonpartisan way," said Michael Mandelbaum, the project's assistant director, who is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

House Minority Whip Dick Cheney, R-Wyo., who often disagrees with Clark, attests to his evenhandedness. Cheney has attended all five sessions. "It's one of the most useful things I do," he said. "Dick Clark originated it, runs it and makes the whole thing go." Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind., chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, who often disagrees with Cheney, called Clark's project "exceedingly useful" for giving Members of Congress a chance to discuss the Soviet Union.

Clark is planning to launch a Southern Africa policy forum modeled on the Soviet project. When he was chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs, Clark —a one-term Senator from Iowa— wrote the amendment that for several years denied covert military aid to Angolan guerrillas. The recent peace agreement in Southern Africa "is just remarkable," he said. "I frankly did not believe it could happen until I literally saw the signatures on the agreement."

For more than a year, he has also directed the Aspen Institute's Indochina policy forum, a somewhat different exercise. It includes Administration officials, Members of Congress, Southeast Asia analysts and interest-group representatives. And, in something of a departure, the Indochina forum produced a consensus report.

To achieve consensus, some participants complained, the report, which recommended a new U.S. policy toward Indochina, was overly bland. Most forum members, however, praise Clark for bringing together a diversity of perspectives. "He's clearly a Senator who knows how to bring people together and coax them to reason together," said Frederick Z. Brown, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Clark, 60, who was born on a farm in Iowa, earned a doctorate in Russian history from the University of Iowa in 1959. He was teaching history and political science at Upper Iowa University in 1964 when he made his first foray in politics. "I was guilty of luring him away," former Sen. John C. Culver, D-Iowa, recalled. Clark managed Culver's successful bid for a House seat and later became his staff administrative assistant.

Culver recalled that Clark began educating Members of Congress from the beginning. By showing Members from rural districts the plight of the urban ghettos, he persuaded many to support urban assistance bills.

In 1972, Clark defeated Republican Sen. Jack Miller. "I liked the Senate tremendously because you learn so much in that job. You have to deal with everything. It's very challenging," he said. "I didn't leave there by choice." After one term, he was beaten by Republican Roger W. Jepsen. Clark subsequently signed on with the Carter Administration as Ambassador-at-Large and U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs. "I didn't care that much for the executive branch," he said. "There was much more turf fighting, more than any other job I've had. To be effective, you had to be a tough turf-fighting bureaucrat. And I'm not."

"I have the best of all possible worlds," he said. "For the first time since I left the university, I really have time to read." □

CURRICULUM VITAE: PW COETZER:

* He matriculated in 1965 in Vanderbijlpark as headboy, captain of various sport teams, chairman of the debating-society, editor of the school newspaper, team leader of the Voortrekker youth movement and three years as Victor Laudorum.

* On completion of his military service he obtained his BA degree in 1969 in Political Science and Journalism with distiction at the univercity of Potchefstroom. He as Chairman of the author's guild and sports editor of the student newspaper.

* At the age of 25 he was appointed assistant News Editor of "Die Transvaler," newapaper a year later political reporter and for two years was secretary of Die Transvaler's Christmas Fund.

* He gained valuable experience as political correspondent in Parliament and covering international events such as the Vorster-Mondale discussions in Vienna and the Turnhalle deliberations on South West Africa/Namibia.

* In 1979 he was appointed news correspondent in Washington, attended various sessions of the General assembly and the Security Council of the UN and he paid a visit to turbulent El Salvador.

* Following this he was seconded as press spokesman to Dr Gerrit Viljoen, then AG in South Wes/Namibia and compiled a South West review, organised political development projects and was leader of the SA/South West information team at the UN "pre-implementation conference" on South Wes/Namibia in Genève.

* In 1981 he was back with "Die Transvaler" as Political Editor and member of the Editorial Executive before becoming joint founder member and Managing Director of a political information and consultancy company.

* In 1984 he was appointed as the youngest white member of the President's Council.

* In October 1985, he was elected in a by-eletion as MP for the industrial constituency of Springs.

* He is actively involved in development projects in and around Springs.

* Shortly after his election he was appointed Information Officer of the National Party in Transvaal and in January 1987 as Director of Information for Transvaal.

* He is a member of the parliamentary standing committees of Trade and Industry and of Constitional Development and Planning.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

CONGRESSMAN GEO. W. CROCKETT, JR.

GEORGE WILLIAM CROCKETT, JR., a Democrat from Detroit, Michigan, was born in Jacksonville, Florida on August 10, 1909. Mr. Crockett was educated in the Jacksonville public school system and graduated from Stanton High School in 1927. He received his A.B. degree from Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia in 1931, where he now serves on the Board of Trustees. In 1934 he graduated from the University of Michigan's Law School with his J.D. degree. Honorary LL.D.'s were received from Morehouse College in 1972 and Shaw College at Detroit in 1973. In 1981 he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.

Mr. Crockett began his legal practice in Jacksonville after being admitted to the Florida Bar in 1934. In 1935 he was admitted to the West Virginia Bar, in 1940 to the U.S. Supreme Court Bar and the Michigan Bar in 1944. In 1939 he was appointed to become the first black lawyer with the U.S. Department of Labor. He later became the Senior Attorney and the department specialist on employee lawsuits under the Fair Labor Standards Act. In 1943 with the formation of the nation's Fair Employment Practices Commission, President Roosevelt called upon George Crockett to be one of its first Hearing Examiners. In 1944 Mr. Crockett founded and was Director of the International United Auto Workers Fair Employment Practices Department. He remained with the UAW serving as Administrative Assistant to the International Secretary-Treasurer, and General Counsel until 1946.

From 1946 until 1966, when Mr. Crockett was elected Judge of Recorders Court in Detroit, he was in private practice as a senior partner in one of the nation's first interracial law firms: Goodman, Crockett, Eden and Robb. In 1972 Mr. Crockett was re-elected to a second six-year term on the Recorders Court and in 1974 was elected presiding judge of that same court. Following his retirement from that court, he served as a visiting judge for the Michigan Court of Appeals. In 1980 he served as Acting Corporation Counsel for the City of Detroit.

Throughout Mr. Crockett's career as a lawyer, civil rights activist and judge he found time to lend his support to several community and professional organizations such as: founder and first Chairman, Judicial Council of the National Bar Association; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity; National Conference for Black Lawyers Friends and Founders Committee; and Hartford Baptist Church, Detroit.

While a student at the University of Michigan, George Crockett met and married the late Ethelene Jones Crockett, M.D. To that union three children were born, Elizabeth Ann Hicks, George W. III and Ethelene Crockett Jones. In 1980 Mr. Crockett married the former Harriette Clark, M.D. of Washington, D.C.

On November 4, 1980, Geo. W. Crockett, Jr. was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and sworn in on November 12th to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Charles C. Diggs, Jr. At that same time Mr. Crockett was elected to the 97th Congress. In November, 1982, he was re-elected to the 98th Congress, in 1984, re-elected to the 99th Congress; and in 1986, re-elected to the historic 100th Congress.

As a member of the U.S. House of Representatives Mr. Crockett serves on the following committees: Committee on Foreign Affairs, where he serves as Chairman on the Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee and Ranking Majority Member on the Subcommittee on Africa; Committee on The Judiciary, Subcommittees on Crime, and Courts, Civil Liberites and the Administration of Justice; and the Select Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Retirement Income and Employment.

He is a member of the Democratic Study Group; the Congressional Black Caucus; the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (honorary); the Congressional Arts Caucus (Executive Board Member); the Congressional Auto Caucus; the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; the Northeast-Midwest Coalition, the Environmental Study Group; and the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus.

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY
John C. Danforth

John C. Danforth is Missouri's senior United States Senator. Danforth serves on three of the Senate's most important committees: the Finance Committee; the Commerce, Science and, Transportation Committee; and the Select Committee on Intelligence.

Danforth was elected to the Senate in 1976 and re-elected in 1982 and 1988. He has posted the record victory for U.S. Senate races in Missouri, and has carried the highest number of counties registered in a campaign for statewide office. Danforth is the only Republican in Missouri history elected to three terms as United States Senator.

In 1968, he was elected Attorney General of Missouri, in what began the resurgence of his party in Missouri. He was re-elected Attorney General in 1972.

Danforth ranks 26th among the 100 Senators in seniority. National Journal has described Danforth as one of 31 outstanding legislators among the 535 Members of Congress.

Danforth is a senior member of the Finance Committee, where he has devoted significant attention to U.S. tax policy and international trade policy. He has put forward and supported successful legislation to encourage capital formation, modernization of plant and equipment, and research and development. His trade legislative accomplishments have been aimed at: expanding U.S. exports; establishing the concept of reciprocity by removing foreign trade barriers to U.S. goods and services; and providing more certain and effective assistance to workers and firms injured by imports.

He is the Ranking Republican Member of the Commerce Committee, a panel with wide-ranging jurisdiction of importance to Missouri. Danforth has served as Chairman of the Committee, the first Missouri Senator to chair a major legislative committee since World War I. He is the author of public laws to strengthen federal and state enforcement against drunken driving; to improve the inspection of safety equipment on commercial trucks and buses; to establish national standards for licensing professional drivers; and to fight drug and alcohol abuse in commercial transportation.

The Select Committee on Intelligence is responsible for congressional oversight of national security intelligence programs.

Danforth also is active in efforts to improve education; to expand access to health care and affordable housing; to stimulate rural economic development; to increase federal support for basic scientific research; to expand the capacity of the nation's air transportation system; to improve transportation safety in all modes; to reduce hunger and malnutrition throughout the world; and to encourage soil conservation.

Danforth has received the Presidential World Without Hunger Award, the Outstanding Young Man Award of the Missouri Jaycees, the Safety Man of the Year Award of the American Trucking Associations, the Distinguished Service Award of the St. Louis Jaycees, the Distinguished Missourian and Brotherhood Awards of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the Truman Distinguished Lecturer Award of Avila College in Kansas City. He is an honorary member of the National Jesuit Honor Society and in 1974 was elected to the Missouri Academy of Squires.

A fifth generation Missourian, Danforth was born in St. Louis on September 5, 1936, and raised in nearby Clayton. He received his secondary education at St. Louis Country Day School and graduated with honors from Princeton University in 1958. In 1963, he received a Bachelor of Divinity degree from Yale Divinity School and a Bachelor of Laws degree from Yale Law School.

He and his wife, the former Sally Dobson of St. Louis, are the parents of five children, Eleanor (Mrs. Allan Ivie), Mary (Mrs. Thomas Stillman), Dorothy, Johanna, and Thomas.

He is ordained to the clergy of the Episcopal Church. He served as an assistant chaplain for Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York City, and as assistant rector at the Church of the Epiphany in New York City and at the Church of St. Michael and St. George in Clayton. He was an associate rector of Grace Episcopal Church in Jefferson City, Missouri. Danforth is a past member of the governing board of Washington Cathedral, an Honorary Canon of Christ Church Cathedral in St. Louis, and an Honorary Associate at St. Alban's Church in Washington.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

G L DE WET

1. He was born in Pretoria on 26 May 1947, and grew up on the countryside near the present Rosslyn. He attended the Akasia Primary School and Gerrit Maritz Secondary Schools. He was headboy of his school, and a member of the school's athletics and first rugby and cricket teams and matriculated in 1964 with distinction in five subjects.

2. He completed his military training in 1965. In 1966 he enrolled as a student at the University of Pretoria, having won a bursary from Mobil Oil Company. He obtained the MA(Econ) and B.Com(Hons)(Statistics) degrees simultaneously at the end of 1970, both cum laude. In 1971 he completed an M.Com in Statistics and in 1974 his doctoral thesis and received a D.Phil (Economics), also cum laude. Many articles on theoretical and applied economics have since been published by him.

3. In 1974, at the age of 26, he was appointed associate professor of Economics at the University of Pretoria. During 1972 and 1973, he studied Economic Theory and Econometrics at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA. His teacher in Econmerrics was the later Nobel Prize Winner, Lawrence Klein.

4. During 1975 he and Mr Jan Dreyer, presently chief of the Branch, Central Economic Advisory Services, built the first Quarterly Econometric Model for the South African Economy. He has since extended the model into a very effective tool for economic forecasting and he has played a leading role in establishing econometrics as an applied science in South Africa.

5. He joined the RAU as professor of economics at the end of 1977 and became Chairman of the Department of Economics in 1978, and Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences in 1980, at the age of thirty two. He is a member of the National Committee of the Economic

Society of South Africa and an Honorary Advisory Editor of the South African Journal of Economics. He serves on the Head Committee of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut. He and his Department have close links with

various other research institutes and academic departments abroad. He is much in demand to write articles and give speeches on the economy and is a regular contributor to the SABC on economic issues. He is an economic consultant to various firms and joined the Board of Directors of Hill Samuel (SA) Ltd, later to become Corporate Bank, in 1978, and that of Quantiplan (Pty) Ltd, in 1979. He is an advisor to BP pension fund as well as various other private and government bodies. His term as Dean of the Faculty at the RAU expired at the end of 1984, whereafter he was elected to be a representative of the University Senate on the Executive Committee and on the University Council of the RAU. At the beginning of 1987, he moved to his Alma Mater, the University of Pretoria, as head of the department of Economics.

6. He is an ardent supporter of the free market and democracy so that it is only natural that he serves on the South African Free Market Foundation's Executive Council. He furthermore plays a leading role behind the scenes in pressurising not only the government, but also its supporters in the community towards accepting and inplementing the principles of economic and political freedom. In 1983 the South African Free Market Foundation's annual award for continuous efforts to promote the cause of economic freedom was awarded to him. He is a member of the exclusive international free market society, namely the Mont Pelerin Society of which celebrities like Milton Friedman and Von Hayek are past presidents.

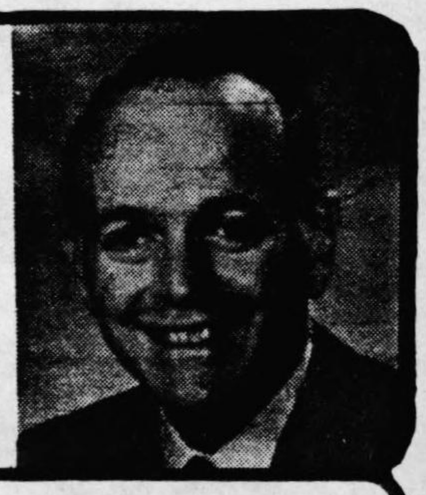
7. He married Alma Taylor in 1971. They have three sons and live on a smallholding between Johannesburg and Pretoria, keeping a cow, some horses, geese, ducks, chickens and dogs.

BIOGRAPHY

U.S. Senator

DENNIS DeCONCINI

Arizona



Member of an Arizona family long active and prominent in government, the law, and business, Dennis DeConcini was born in Tucson on May 8, 1937. He attended public schools in Tucson and Phoenix, and graduated from the University of Arizona in 1959 and the UA's College of Law in 1963. He served in the U.S. Army and the Army Reserve from 1959 through 1967.

Dennis was a founder of the Tucson law firm of DeConcini and McDonald and a member from 1968 to 1973. He also served on the board of directors of a statewide savings and loan association. Dennis served as chief of staff for Governor Sam Goddard during his term in the mid-1960s, and in 1974 he managed Raul Castro's successful statewide campaign for Governor.

In 1972 Dennis was successful in his first bid for public office -- Pima County Attorney. While serving as Pima County's chief prosecutor, Dennis' programs in drug enforcement and consumer affairs brought local and national recognition. His staff successfully prosecuted a number of upper-level criminal cases. One investigation begun under Dennis' tenure ultimately led to the arrest and conviction of a nationally-known organized crime boss. His office was named the model office of its size in the nation by the National District Attorneys Association. He received the state County Attorney of the Year award for 1975, and was elected President of the Arizona County Attorneys and Sheriffs Association in 1976.

In 1976 Dennis was elected to the United States Senate. He is a member of two of the most powerful Senate committees, the Appropriations and Judiciary Committees, and is also a member of the prestigious Select Committee on Intelligence. He is an active legislator. As a freshman he passed more bills than any other Senator, and *The Wall Street Journal* described him as the most likely member of his class to succeed. He has lived up to that high expectation. During his two terms of office, he has remained at the top of his class in legislative effectiveness.

Dennis is co-chairman of the Democratic Party's Council on Ethnic Americans and is a member of the Senate's International Narcotics Control Caucus. He has received awards from such groups as the American Legion, the National Federation of Independent Businesses, the Federal Law Enforcement Officers' Association, the National Security Caucus, and Childhelp USA. He has been awarded an honorary Doctor of Law degree from the New York Law School and the University of Arizona law school.

His father, Evo, served as Pima County Superior Court Judge, Arizona Attorney General, and as an Arizona Supreme Court Justice. Dennis' mother, Ora, was the state's Democratic National Committeewoman from 1972 through 1980.

Dennis is married to the former Susan Margaret Hurley, member of a pioneer Phoenix family. The DeConcinis have three children, Denise, Christina and Patrick. Dennis plays golf and tennis, and jogs as well. He and Susan belong to the Catholic Church. In 1976, Dennis served as head of the Arizona Bishops Pastoral Council.

In 1981 Susan received her master's degree in social work. She serves on the board of the National Office of Social Responsibility, the board of trustees at Catholic University and the board of directors of the Child Care Action Campaign.

DeCONCINI BIOGRAPHY

CONTINUED

Committee Assignments

Appropriations Committee
- CHAIRMAN, Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service and General Government
- Subcommittee on Defense
- Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development
- Subcommittee on Foreign Operations
- Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies

Judiciary Committee
- CHAIRMAN, Subcommittee on Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks
- Subcommittee on Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights
- Subcommittee on the Constitution
- Subcommittee on Courts and Administrative Practice
- Subcommittee on Technology and the Law

Committee on Rules and Administration (No Subcommittees)

Committee on Veterans' Affairs (No Subcommittees)

Select Committee on Indian Affairs
- CHAIRMAN, Subcommittee on Investigations

Select Committee on Intelligence (No Subcommittees)

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Co-Chairman)

International Narcotics Control Caucus

Western Coalition of Senators (Co-Chairman)

Legislative Accomplishments and Priorities

CRIME AND THE LAW:

"Drugs are as insidious a threat to this nation as any foreign invasion. We can afford no less than a total commitment in a war on drugs."

- Author of the drug interdiction section of the comprehensive "Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986," which is now law.
- Principal author of, and currently fighting for passage of the most comprehensive anti-drug legislation in our country's history, the "Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988."
- Sponsor of legislation that would increase federal funding for drug education and rehabilitation programs.
- Sponsor of legislation which ensures federal funding for state and local law enforcement anti-drug grants.
- Brought on line existing, excess military aircraft to protect U.S. borders from drug smugglers.
- Cosponsor of an amendment that would allow the death penalty for drug smugglers.
- Author of laws which allow judges to refuse bail to drug dealers.
- Cosponsor of bill to create a Cabinet-level position (Drug Czar) to coordinate federal narcotics enforcement efforts.
- Cosponsor of bill that would make it more difficult for federal prisoners to unnecessarily petition federal courts for retrials or release.
- Cosponsor of bill requiring mandatory prison terms for violent crimes.
- Guided into public law the Equal Access to Justice Act, which requires federal agencies to pay attorneys' fees and court costs for small businessmen and individuals when the government loses cases and cannot justify its action.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

ECONOMY AND A BALANCED BUDGET:

"The biggest challenge we face today is our skyrocketing national debt. We must make a strong commitment to balance our federal budget in order to get this country back on a sound and responsible economic footing."

- Sponsor of Constitutional Amendment to balance the budget.
- Opposed pay raise for members of Congress. When Congress recently put more money in his check, he gave it back to the Treasury Department to reduce the federal debt.
- Founder and Co-Chairman of the Senate Grace Commission Caucus, a bipartisan group of Senators looking for ways to eliminate waste and abuse within the government.
- Led the fight to stop waste in government by cutting the funds the federal government can spend on consultant services, public relations, printing and motor vehicles.
- Cosponsor of a bill, now law, to establish an Inspector General in the Defense Department to be a watchdog over U.S. military expenditures.
- Coauthor of legislation, now law, which enables the federal government to employ more aggressive methods for improving collection of debts owed the government.
- Supporter of legislation that would limit spending on U.S. Senate campaigns, and reduce influence of special interests.
- Consistently supports U.S. efforts to impose penalties on foreign countries restrictive to U.S. exports and to open up opportunities for U.S. business abroad.
- Sponsor of bill that would allow American companies holding process patents to sue for damages and an injunction in federal court if a foreign company or individual imports or sells in the U.S. a product made through their patented process.
- Sponsor of legislation to protect the design of new American products from inferior, foreign-made copies.

THE ENVIRONMENT, WATER AND ENERGY:

"The beauty of our state and the quality of life it affords is unsurpassed anywhere on earth. We have a special responsibility to guard and protect this national heritage, and that includes the quality of our air."

- Founded the Western Coalition Work Group on clean air issues--comprised of Western Senators.
- Fought for the enactment of legislation protecting the quality of our nation's water and legislation providing for the clean-up of hazardous waste sites.
- Opposed efforts in Congress to significantly weaken the clean water legislation passed by Congress in 1986.
- Cosponsored a bill to amend the Clean Air Act to provide for reductions in acid deposition and sulfur emissions.
- Cosponsored a bill to provide technical assistance by the Environmental Protection Agency for states developing radon programs.
- Secured significant levels of federal funding to ensure completion of the Central Arizona Project.
- Fought for legislation that will provide vital flood control measures for the Phoenix area.
- Successfully fought for additional funding to properly operate Arizona's national parks.

DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

"In light of the INF treaty our conventional weapons will play a major role in keeping peace. For a long time I have been concerned that this nation has had the wrong defense spending priorities -- too much money on strategic nuclear weapons, and too little spent on conventional weapons. Now is the time to reverse that trend and stop short-changing our conventional forces."

- Supported successful efforts to increase our national defense and security by pushing for the Apache helicopter.
- Author of successful legislation promoting democracy and human rights in the Philippines, South Korea and Chile.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

- Sponsor of successful resolution to remove Soviet and Cuban troops in Angola and to encourage a peaceful settlement of that country's civil war.
- Sponsor of legislation, now law, to keep sophisticated U.S. anti-aircraft missiles out of the hands of terrorists.
- Sponsor of legislation promoting U.S.-Mexican cooperation in drug interdiction, trade and commerce along the Southwest border.
- Sponsor of legislation, now law, which directs U.S. loans to the "poorest of the poor" in Third World nations so they can help themselves. These loans are provided from existing accounts, and therefore cost the U.S. taxpayer no extra money.
- Supporter of efforts to increase funding for the VA's health care budget.
- Cosponsor of an amendment, now law, that will incorporate Arizona's veteran cemetery into our national system.

FAMILIES: FROM CHILDREN TO SENIORS:

"In the coming decade more and more American mothers will join the work force. What better investment can we make than to help provide good beginnings for our children through quality, affordable child care?

"At the same time, we must ensure that our seniors, after spending most of their lifetimes working, can live the remainder of their lives in dignity. To do that, we must increase our efforts to improve their health care, and oppose efforts that unfairly limit their cost of living increases."

- Recipient of national award for legislative leadership in child abuse prevention.
- Sponsor of bill to provide employer tax incentives for public-private partnerships for on-site child care.
- Leader in fight to establish strong, but fair and flexible laws for unpaid parental leave for American families.
- Sponsor of resolution to significantly increase funding for program to improve nutrition and health of pregnant low-income women, infants and preschool children.
- Repeatedly supported increased funding over the Administration's requests for education and handicapped programs, including financial aid, vocational and adult education, and bilingual education.
- Opposed efforts to delay cost-of-living Social Security adjustments for seniors.
- Cosponsor of bill to resolve the disparity in benefits for citizens in the Social Security system known as the "notch group."
- Supported catastrophic health care bill for elderly.
- Sponsor of first Senate legislation to create public awareness of the dramatic increase in the abuse of the elderly in America.
- Leader in the fight for increases in Medicare/Medicaid reimbursement for home health care and hospice care for elderly Americans.

6/88

SUSAN HURLEY DeCONCINI
(Mrs. Dennis DeConcini)

Home: 6014 Chesterbrook Road
McLean, Virginia 22101

Phone numbers: 703-241-1782
703-241-2064

Social worker and advocate for children's issues.

CIVIC/PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Honorary co-chairman of Parent Action, a new national voice for parents; Advisory committee of the US Senate Employees' Child Care Center, Washington, DC; Member of the Board of Trustees, The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC; Incorporator, Yuma Crossing Foundation, Yuma, Arizona; Member, Child Care Action Campaign, New York, New York; Co-chair of Garden Park Enterprises fund raising campaign in Phoenix, Arizona; Chairperson, advisory committee of Adolescent Parent Child Resource Center, Tucson, Arizona; Chairman, Mayor's Task Force on Children's Mental Health, Tucson, Arizona; Member, St. Mary's High School Capital Campaign, Phoenix, Arizona, Catholic University of America Centennial Campaign, Washington, DC, and Kino School Capital Campaign, Tucson, Arizona.

PAST POSITIONS

President, Junior League of Tucson, Inc.; President, Volunteer Bureau of Tucson; President, St. Luke's Board of Visitors, Tucson, Arizona; United Way Guidelines Committee, Tucson, Arizona; Board of Directors, American Red Cross, Tucson, Arizona; National Board of Freedom from Hunger Foundation; Tucson Community Council; Kino School Board of Directors; Co-chairman, fund raising for "Young Company," an intergenerational child care center at Phoenix Memorial Hospital.

EDUCATION

B.A., University of Arizona, 1959, major in Economics.

M.S.W., masters in social work, The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, 1981.

1/25/89

The following is a sample introduction based on a composite of Susan Hurley DeConcini's biography:

Susan DeConcini is a lifelong Arizona resident, born in Phoenix, Arizona. She is married to United States Senator Dennis DeConcini, and they have three grown children, Denise, Christina, and Patrick.

Susan graduated from St. Mary's High School in Phoenix and in 1959 received a degree in economics from the University of Arizona. In 1981 she completed her masters degree in social work at The Catholic University of America and has been licensed as a certified social worker in Maryland. In 1983 she opened a private practice of psychotherapy in Washington, DC for three years.

Although she now resides in McLean, Virginia, Susan visits Arizona 20-25 times a year and knows our state well. Susan was very active in community affairs in Tucson, Arizona prior to her move to the Washington area in 1977. She continued her interest in community affairs after her move and is still involved in many organizations which include Parents Anonymous; advisory committee of the US Senate Employees' Child Care Center; chairperson of the advisory committee of the Adolescent Parent Child Resource Center in Tucson; member of the Board of Trustees of The Catholic University of America in Washington, DC; member of the Child Care Action Campaign Board of Directors, New York, New York; and co-chairman of the fund raising drive for Garden Park Enterprises, Phoenix, Arizona. She is presently chairman of the Mayor's Task Force on Children's Mental Health, Tucson, Arizona and is participating in the fund raising campaigns of St. Mary's High School in Phoenix as well as Kino School in Tucson and The Catholic University of America Centennial Campaign in Washington, DC. Her most recent new activity is serving as honorary co-chairman of Parent Action, a new national voice for parents.

1/25/89

DR OSCAR DUMISANI DHLOMO

Born in December 26, 1943 in Umbumbulu district, near Durban in South Africa. Matriculated at Amanzimtoti College (formerly Adams College) in 1962.

After university studies he taught in Umlazi and became a high school head master and lecturer in Education at the University of Zululand. He holds a Doctor of Education degree of the University of South Africa. He joined the KwaZulu Government as Minister of Education and Culture in 1978. He was elected Secretary General of Inkatha in 1978. He is a member of the Central Committee and the Inner Council of Inkatha. He is the Chairperson of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba which met in Durban for eight months in 1986 to draw up a new constitution for a single multiracial democratic Government in the region of KwaZulu Natal.

He is widely travelled and has written many articles and papers on the political situation in South Africa. He is married with 4 children.



Brief c.v. : Andre du Toit

Andre du Toit is currently Professor in Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, and is married to Maretha du Toit, with four children. He studied at the University of Stellenbosch, did his postgraduate studies at the University of Leyden in the Netherlands and taught in the Dept. of Political Philosophy at Stellenbosch from 1969 to 1986. He was a member of the SPROCAS Political Commission in the early 70's and responsible for the major part of its report South Africa's Political Alternatives (1973). His publications include Afrikaner Political Thought (1780-1850) with Hermann Giliomee (1982), and Die Sondes van die Vaders, as well as many articles in scholarly journals such as The American Historical Review, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Les Temps Modernes, The South African Journal of Philosophy, Social Dynamics etc. He is currently preparing an interdisciplinary volume of essays on political violence in South Africa with Chabani Manganyi. He has been a Fellow of the South African Research Program at Yale University, a visiting lecturer at the Free University of Amsterdam and is currently a Senior Fellow of The Program for Ethics in the Professions at Harvard University. He has been Secretary and Chairman of the Philosophical Society of South Africa, and is Reviews Editor of the South African Journal of Philosophy as well as a steering member of the HSRC project on the institutionalisation of philosophy in South Africa. With Hermann Giliomee he is a founding editor of the political journal Die Suid-Afrikaan, and since 1983 he published a regular political column in the Cape Times and other newspapers. He is a trustee of IDASA, gave the keynote paper on political strategy at the conference with the ANC in Dakar (1987), and participated in the tripartite meeting with the ANC and the Soviets at Leverkusen (1988).

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REPRESENTATIVE MERVYN M. DYMALLY

PERSONAL

Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally brings many years of experience and a deep concern for a broad range of people-oriented problems to the United States Congress. He was elected to the House in 1980 from the 31st Congressional District, which is located in Southern Los Angeles County.

At 19, he came to this country from Trinidad, West Indies to attend Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri. Before entering politics, he worked among other things as a janitor, union organizer and teacher.

Dymally holds a B.A. in Education from California State University-Los Angeles, a M.A. in Government from California State University-Sacramento, and a Ph.D. in Human Behavior from United States International University-San Diego. He is a member of Phi Kappa Phi national scholastic honor society.

The father of two children, Mark and Lynn, he is married to the former Alice Gueno of New Orleans, a teacher by profession.

PUBLIC SERVICE

Representative Dymally was a teacher of exceptional children in Los Angeles for six years prior to beginning his political career in 1962. After four years as a California Assemblyman, he was elected to the California Senate in 1966. A State Senator for eight years, Dymally was Chairman of the Senate Democratic Caucus and chaired several committees: Social Welfare, Military and Veterans Affairs, Elections and Reapportionment, and the Subcommittee on Medical Education and Health Needs. He headed the Select Committee on Children and Youth, the Joint Committee on Legal Equality for Women, and the Joint Committee for Revision of the Election Code.

He consistently won top ratings as a Legislator by consumer, environmental, labor, women's and civil rights groups and was the organizer of an institute to train young minorities in government and politics.

Elected California's Lieutenant Governor in 1975, he served until 1979, heading such commissions as: The California Commission for Economic Development, and the Commission of the Californias. He served on the Board of Regents of the University of California, and the Board of Trustees of the California State System. He organized the Council on Intergroup Relations, the California Advisory Commission on Youth, and the Commission on Food and Nutrition.

COMMITTEE WORK

The Congressman presently serves on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, where he serves as Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations, the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and the Committee on the District of Columbia, where he Chairs the Subcommittee on Judiciary and Education. Representative Dymally is also Chairman of the Congressional Caucus for Science and Technology, the Institute for Science, Space and Technology, and the Congressional Black Caucus Foreign Affairs Brain Trust.

3/1/89

C.V.. WILLIE ESTERHUYSE

Willie Esterhuyse is professor of philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch. He specialises in social and political philosophy.

He studied theology and philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch and the University of Utrecht (The Netherlands). During 1972 he did a course in political science at the University of Leiden (The Netherlands).

On several occasions he was a guest of the governments of Britain, the United States of America and the Federal Republic of West Germany. He attended a variety of international conferences on South Africa.

Willie Esterhuyse is the writer of several books, for example "Apartheid must die"; "The road of Reform" and "Karl Marx". He received the Sunday Times' prize for political literature, the Leon Fox Community Prize and the Stals Prize of the S.A. Academy of Science for his writings.

He is a special consultant to the Urban Foundation and some major companies. He lectures on a part time basis at the Stellenbosch School of Business. He is chairman of the Board of Control of the Institute for Soviet Studies, Stellenbosch; chairman of the Department of Philosophy, Stellenbosch; member of the Board of Governors of the Urban Foundation; member of the Board of Ussalep; member of the Board of the Jubilee Initiative, a non-racial international project on constitutional alternatives for South Africa.

NEWS from Congressman

Bill Gray



2nd District—Pennsylvania

204 Cannon House Office Building • Washington, D.C. 20515 • Phone (202) 225-4001

Biography of U.S. Rep. William H. Gray, III (D-Pa)
Chairman, House Committee on the Budget, 100th Congress

Rep. William Gray, III of Pennsylvania is serving his fifth term in Congress, having represented Pennsylvania's Second Congressional District since 1979.

He chairs the House Committee on the Budget in the 100th Congress, a post to which his colleagues re-elected him in January 1987. This position places him in the center of the fight to shape Federal budget priorities. He currently serves as a member of the National Economic Commission, a blue ribbon group appointed by Congress and the President. This bipartisan panel is looking for ways to reduce the federal deficit and stimulate economic growth.

Gray also serves on the Committee on Appropriations, where he is a member of the Subcommittee on Transportation and the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, and on the District of Columbia Committee. In addition, he sits on the influential Democratic Steering and Policy Committee and is an at-large member of the Democratic Whip Organization, an arm of the leadership that organizes party efforts in the U.S. House of Representatives. He has served as Vice Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Gray has been a leading spokesman on African policy. He authored the House version of the Anti-Apartheid Acts of 1985 and 1986 -- legislation to limit American financial support for apartheid.

In 1980, as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Gray authored the bill that established the African Development Foundation, which delivered visible U.S. aid to African villages -- the only new program offered by a freshman and passed by Congress in this century. Also in 1980, Congress adopted Gray's amendment to increase the number of minority and women officers in the Foreign Service. The measures were signed into law by President Jimmy Carter.

In 1983, Gray was one of the first congressional voices to warn of famine conditions in Africa. He sponsored the emergency food aid bill for Ethiopia in 1984.

Also in 1983, Gray authored the first of a series of provisions to require the U.S. Agency for International Development to include participation in AID's development assistance programs by minority and women businesspersons, historically black colleges and minority private agencies. As a result, minorities and females played a role in $300 million in AID programs in the past three years, with $1 billion anticipated over the next ten years.

As a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation, the Philadelphia Democrat is responsible for measures to provide $10 million to minority businesspersons who need bonding assistance in the field of transportation and highway work. These funds will provide access to up to $100 million in bonding capacity for minority contractors.

In addition, in 1986, for the third year in a row, Gray secured $1 million in Department of Transportation funds for research at black colleges and universities.

Raised in North Philadelphia, Gray attended Simon Gratz High School. He received a bachelor of arts degree from Franklin and Marshall College in 1963, his masters in divinity from Drew Theological Seminary in 1966, and his masters in theology from the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1970. He did further graduate study at the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, and Oxford University in England.

He has been the senior minister at Bright Hope Baptist Church in North Philadelphia since 1972, and was the minister at Union Baptist Church in Montclair, N.J. from 1964 to 1972.

Born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on August 20, 1941, Gray is the son of Hazel Yates and the late Dr. William H. Gray, Jr. He is married to the former Andrea Dash, of Montclair, N.J. They are the parents of three sons, William H. IV, Justin Yates, and Andrew Dash.

6/15/88

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BIOGRAPHY
U.S. Rep. Amo Houghton (R-NY)

Congressman Amo Houghton (pronounced Aim-o Hoe-ton), who represents New York's 34th District, was first elected to office in November of 1986. He is a member of the House Budget Committee, the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and he is a director of the Office of Technology Assessment.

In addition, Mr. Houghton is a member of the Northeast Agricultural Caucus, the Northeast Midwest Coalition, the Republican Labor Council and a congressional group formed to study corporate mergers and acquisitions.

Mr. Houghton is former chairman of the board of Corning Glass Works, which he joined in 1951 as an accountant. Born in Corning on August 7, 1926, he was graduated from Harvard College in 1950 after serving in the Marine Corps in 1945 and 1946. Mr. Houghton earned a master's degree from Harvard Business School in 1952.

Mr. Houghton served on the Grace Commission, founded the Labor-Industry Coalition for International Trade (LICIT) and is a former trustee of the Brookings Institution. He is a member and past president of the Corning Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Houghton's father, Amory, served as U.S. Ambassador to France from 1957-1961. His grandfather, Alanson B. Houghton, was elected to Congress in 1918 and served as Ambassador to Germany and to Great Britain.

CURRICULUM VITAE.

SAM MABE

Mr Mabe was born and brought up in Soweto and, he matriculated at Morris Isaacson High School in 1972. He is a married father of three.

He is Assistant Editor of the Sowetan and he also writes a weekly column, "Sam's Notebook."

After spending one year working as a delivery messenger in 1974, Mabe joined the newspaper industry in 1975, worked for The World newspaper until it was banned in 1977.

He then worked for Sunday Post, where he wrote a column "Sunday Postscript". When Post and Sunday Post were closed down in 1980, Mabe worked for the Sowetan in 1981 covering politics until 1987 when he was transferred to The Star on promotion as an Assistant News Editor.

At The Star he wrote a weekly column, "Sam's World" through which he advocated self-reliance among blacks, an idea which was later propounded and adopted by the Sowetan as a concept called Nation Building.

He was transferred on promotion back to the Sowetan as Assistant Editor in May 1988.

Mr Mabe has been involved in trade unionism since 1980 and is the deputy President of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa).

Since 1986, he has been a member of the Advisory Committee of the Certificate Programme in Industrial Relations (CPIR) at the Wits School of Business Administration.

An ardent campaigner for the introduction of an alternative system of education in South Africa, he has written a lot and addressed many meetings on the subject.

In 1984 he became founder member of the of Lima-Lourdes Parents Teachers Association at a private school in Soweto. Now chairman of the association, he has introduced some of his ideas of an ideal system of education system at the school.

He is co-odinator for Education and Training in MWASA and member of the Central Committee of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

In 1988, he became founder member of the Sowetan/Orlando High School Trust Fund, established by his newspaper to rebuild Orlando High School, the oldest high school in Soweto.

In 1984 he did an industrial relations course with the Wits School of Business Administration and was granted an award to visit the United States of America to do a comparative study in industrial relations in 1985.

He also visited Britain and Kenya where he did a comparative study in industrial relations.

Other countries he has visited include the People's Republic of China, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, West Germany and Switzerland where he has addressed labour and political conferences.

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CURRICULUM VITAE - JOHANN MAREE

Date of birth: 3 April 1943

Occupation: Associate Professor of Sociology.

Present position: Head, Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town.

Qualifications:
B.Sc.Hons (Rhodes)
B.A. (Oxon)
M.A. (Sussex)
Ph.D.(Cape Town)

Professional activities:

Chairman of Editorial Board, South African Labour Bulletin, Editorial Committee, South African Sociological Review, Panelist, Independent Mediation Services of South Africa (IMSSA), which provides non-partisan industrial mediation services to management and trade unions.

Association with trade unions:

From 1973 to 1977 I was closely involved with the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau which became the General Workers' Union in 1978 and merged with the Transport and General Workers' Union, a COSATU affiliate, in 1986.

Recent relevant publications:

Edited Book:
The Independent Trade Unions 1974-1984 (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987).

Article:
'The Emergence, Struggles and Achievements of Black Trade Unions in South Africa from 1973 to 1984', LABOUR, Capital and Society, 18,1, November 1985, pp.278-303.

Conference Paper:
'The Past, Present and Potential Role of the Democratic Trade Union Movement in South Africa', The Southern African Economy after Apartheid Conference, Centre for Southern African Studies, University of York, Sept.-Oct. 1986.

Doctoral thesis topic:
Analysis of the Independent Trade Unions in South Africa in the 1970s.

THABO MVUYELWA MBEKI

Director of Information, Secretary for Presidential Affairs and National Executive Committee member, African National Congress

Born in Idutywa, Transkei, in 1942, Mbeki is one of four children of Epainette and Govan Mbeki, an ANC activist who was recently released from over 20 years in detention primarily on Robben Island.

Mbeki attended primary school in Butterworth and high school at Lovedale, Alice, in the Eastern Cape Province. He joined the ANC Youth League in 1956 while at Lovedale and undertook organizational work within the school. Following a student strike, the school closed down and its students were expelled. Mbeki continued his studies at home and passed his school examinations in 1959. Mbeki began his university studies by correspondence with the University of London.

He remained active with the ANC after it went underground following its 1960 banning. Mbeki was involved in a variety of student activities, including the formation of the African Students' Asscoation, for which he was secretary. As the ASA broke down and many of its organizers were arrested, Mbeki was asked by the ANC to leave South Africa. He traveled through Botswana into Zimbabwe, were the then Rhodesian government arrested him with the intent of deporting him back to South Africa. Upon intervention by interested British parliamentarians, Mbeki was released and allowed asylum in Tanzania. He subsequently left for Britian where he completed, in 1966, his MA in Economics from the Unviersity of Sussex.

While at university, Mbeki was active in student leadership and then, from 1967-70, he worked for the London ANC office. Following military training in the Soviet Union, Mbeki moved to Lusaka to the ANC headquarters. He has subsequently served as the ANC representative in Botswana, where he set up the ANC office, Swaziland and Nigeria, as well as holding a variety of posts in Lusaka. In 1975, Mbeki was appointed to the National Executive Committee and, since 1985, he has been the Director for Information. He also serves on the ANC's Political and Military Council.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

STEVE MCDONALD

Steve McDonald became the Associate Director for the Aspen Institute's Southern Africa Policy Forum in December, 1988.

McDonald was born in Evansville, Indiana, in August, 1945, and grew up in southern Missouri. Residing in a small farming community until his high school years, McDonald was active in 4-H club work, holding several offices at club, county and state level that culminated in his representing Missouri in Washington DC at the National Citizenship Short Course.

McDonald moved with his mother and family into Springfield, Missouri, after the divorce of his parents and, amongst many early jobs that he held while pursuing his studies, did continuity writing for a local TV station, newspaper layout and advertising work for clothing and furniture retail stores, and other media and communications related pursuits. His studies, however, concentrated on political science and foreign affairs and his Bachelors Degree from Southwest Missouri State University reflected a double major in Political Science and French Literature.

While taking graduate course work in European History through the University of Missouri, McDonald was offered a job on the patronage staff of Missouri Senator Stuart Symington. In that connection, in 1967 he came to Washington, DC, again and enrolled in graduate studies while working on the Senator's staff. Before he could begin his studies, McDonald was drafted and served three years active duty in the United States Army. At the height of the Vietnam war, with a critical need for officers, draftees with college degrees were allowed to enter Officer Candidate School at Fort Benning, Georgia. This McDonald did, emerging as a Second Lieutenant. He subsequently faced combat duty in Vietnam, serving as an advisor to the South Vietnamese with the Military Advisory Command Vietnam. McDonald earned the Bronze Star and a high South Vietnamese decoration, as well as several campaign medals for his service. He left active duty as a First Lieutenant and returned to Washington, DC.

Senator Symington reemployed McDonald as a Press Liaison, a job that he held for only eight months prior to accepting a commission as a Foreign Service Officer with the Department of State in 1970. As a political officer, McDonald served in the American Embassies in Kampala, Uganda, and Pretoria, South Africa. He also spent almost two years as the desk officer in Washington for the then-Portuguese territories of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. McDonald served with distinction, being commended once by the State Department for his activities in evacuating endangered Peace Corps volunteers from Uganda, and resigned from the Foreign Service in 1979.

In the course of his diplomatic service, McDonald took an academic year off to finish his Masters Degree at the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies in 1975. His focus of study was African Politics with special attention to East and Southern Africa.

McDonald returned to Missouri briefly after leaving the Foreign Service. During his time there, living with his family on a farm, he taught international relations in the continuing education graduate studies department of Drury College, Springfield, and edited a small agri-business monthly magazine called The Ozark's Farmer. He also did work for a local export-import firm as well as serving on the Ford Foundation consultancy staff for the Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa. This latter endeavor resulted in the book South Africa: Time Running Out, published by the University of California Press in 1981.

McDonald returned to Washington, DC, in 1982 to take over as the Executive Director of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program (USSALEP), a small, non-profit educational foundation that sought to support dialoque, interaction, and development without regard to the stereotypical racial divisions in South Africa in an effort to encourage peaceful change in that country. McDonald left USSALEP in 1986 to go on his own as a consultant in development and policy affairs relating to Africa. He served as the staff consultant for Africa for the National Endowment for Democracy as well as working occasionally for the Fund for Private Assistance in International Development and other smaller foundations. He concurrently worked as an escort/interpreter for the Department of State in their International Visitor Program as well as editing and writing the Washington Report on Africa, a twice monthly newsletter.

McDonald still edits the Washington Report and contributes frequently to newspapers, journals and other publications on Africa. He has contributed to two other books on southern Africa. In the course of his various positions, McDonald has traveled frequently to Africa, particularly the southern region, over the ten years since he left the Foreign Service.

He is a member of the Advisory Board of Medical Education for South African Blacks, Inc. and African Research and Communications, Inc., as well as being a member of the Royal African Society and the service fraternity Alpha Phi Omega.

McDonald is divorced and makes his home in Washington, DC. His two children, Christopher, 16; and Trevor, 12; reside with their mother, Shirley Jordan McDonald, in Ozark, Missouri.

CURRICULUM VITAE FOR

DR FRANK THEMBA MDLALOSE.

MINISTER OF HEALTH : KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY : ULUNDI.

PERSONAL : Born 29 November 1931 in Nqutu of Jeconia a general dealer and Tabitha Mthembu a teacher.
Anglican.
Married Eunice Nokuthula Sikhosana 24 November 1956
3 sons, 2 daughters.

EDUCATION : 1945 - 9 St Francis High School, Marianhill, Junior Certificate, Matriculation.
1950 - 2 Universityj of Fort Hare, ALice C.P., B.Sc.
1953 University of Fort Hare, University Education Diploma.
1954 - 8 University of Natal, Durban M.B., Ch.B

CAREER : House Doctor, King Edward VIII Hospital, Durban 1959 - 60.
Self employed, Medical Practitioner, Atteridgeville, Tvl. 1960 - 62.
Medical Practitioner, Steadville 1962 - 70.
Medical Practitioner, Madadeni 1970 - 78
Minister of Interior, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Ulundi 1978 - 83.
Minister of Health, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Ulundi 1983 to date.

FOREIGN TRAVEL : Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Lesotho on many occasions.
Mozambique, private visit 1968.
Italy, France, Germany, U.S.A., United Kingdom on many occasions.
Canada private visit 1974.
Kenya, Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly 1976.
Australia, to attend World Wilderness Congress 1982.
1987 visit U.S.A. Centre for Management Conference.
1988 visit West Germany Institute of Political Science in Kiel.
1988 United Kingdom (Recruitment of Doctors).
Austria, West Germany, Belgium.
Travelled to Zimbabwe, Kenya, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland on many occasions.

MEMBERSHIPS AND OFFICES : Madadeni Town Council Chairman 1972 - 77
St Andrew's Church Madadeni,
Warden 1975 - 1977.
African National Congress Youth League Member 1950 - 60.
Students Representative Council Member 1952 - 53.
Medical University of Southern Africa, Tvl, Governing Council 1076 to date.
Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe Member 1975 to date, Central Committee, Social and Cultural Subcommittee Chairman 1975 to date.

ADDRESSES	:		TELEPHONES :
		HOME : 2772 Madadeni	03431 - 91201
		MADADENI 2951	
Correspondence	:	P.O. Box 14110	OSIZWENI 198.
		MADADENI 2951	
WORK	:	Department of Health	0358 - 202471
		Private Bag X10	
		ULUNDI 3838	

CURRICULUM VITAE OF SMANGALISO MKHATSHWA

Born: 26th June 1939

Place: Barberton, Republic of South Africa

Primary School: Lydenburg - South Africa

Matriculation: Pax College, Pietersburg - South Africa

Training for Catholic Priesthood: 1960 - 1965: at St. Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal near Pretoria.

Ordination to the Priesthood: 1965 June at Barberton.

1954 - 1970: Worked as a pastor in Witbank - among migrant labourers from neighbouring countries. Ministered to black township residents in and around Witbank. Studied with the University of South Africa for a time, majoring in Political Science and Sociology

1971: Seconded to the Pretoria-based General Secretariate of the Southern African Bishops Conference as Secretary for Ecumenism and Communications. Left for the University of Louvain, near Brussels for advanced Studies
Gained a B. Philosophy and a Master's Degree in Theology.

1974: Resumed duties at the General Secretariate as secretary of the departments for Justice and Peace, Social Communications and Ecumenism.

CONFLICT WITH THE WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENT.

1976: Arrested and detained without trial at Modder B Prison near Johannesburg for six months.

1977: October - March 1978: Detained at Modder B Prison - again without charge or trial.

1977 - 1983: Banned and restricted to Soshanguve and Pretoria. Unbanned in 1983.

1983: Arrested and detained in the Ciskei for five and half months. Later charged with subversion and for addressing an illegal meeting (at Fort Hare University.) Acquitted of all charges. Later Mkhatshwa sued the Ciskei for unlawful detention and other damages. He was paid R14,000 in an out of court settlement.

1986: June 12 - 12 June 1987: Detained under National State of Emergency. Assaulted and tortured by members of the South African Police and Military Intelligence on August 20th and 21st, 1986 in Pretoria. In 1989 the government paid R25000 in an out-of-court settlement for this crime.

OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE CHURCH

1978: Appointed Parish Priest of St. Charles Lwanga Church in Soshanguve (Pretoria) a position he still holds.

1977 - 1981: Secretary General of the Inter-regional meeting of Bishops' in Souther Africa (IMBISA).
Membership included Bishops Conferences of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

1980 - 1984: Appointed General Secretary of the Southern African Region for Communication - involving the eight Southern African Countries.

1980: Appointed Acting Secretary General of the Southern African Bishops Conference.

1981: Appointed Secretary General.

1987: Term of office as Secretary General ends but extended till 31st March 1988.

OTHER DUTIES AND ACTIVITIES

- Travelled extensively in Europe, Africa, USA, Canada and Asia.
- Member of the Steering Committee of the ICT (Institute for Contextual Theology)
- Trustee of the KAGISO TRUST
- Served on the Inter-Church Aid Committee and its Steering Committee when he was the Southern African Bishops Conference secretary for the Department of Development.
- Had contact with other divisions of the SACC e.g. Ecunews, Refugees, Dependants Conference, Mission and Evangelism etc.
- Numerous Public Speaking engagements.
- Attendance at Journalism Workshops
- Elected Patron of the United Democratic Fron 1983
- Received by Pope John Paul II twice in private audience, at the Vatican
- Facilitated the founding of the New Nation newspaper.

MORE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

1988 May: Appointed General Secretary of the Institute for Contextual Theology.

1988 September: Founder member of the Human Rights Commission in Johannesburg

1988 November: Awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the University of Tübingen, West Germany.

HOBBIES: Music
Tennis
Reading

CONSTANCE A. MORELLA
8TH DISTRICT, MARYLAND

COMMITTEES:
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
SCIENCE, SPACE, AND TECHNOLOGY
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

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CONGRESSWOMAN CONSTANCE A. (CONNIE) MORELLA

Congresswoman Constance A. (Connie) Morella, elected in 1986 to the 100th Congress, represents Maryland's Eighth District.

Since taking office, Congresswoman Morella has focused on such concerns as the federal work force, scientific research and development, economic equity for women, and health care for older Americans. Her committee assignments reflect her commitment: Post Office and Civil Service (where she is Ranking Member on the Subcommittee on Census and Population); Science, Space and Technology; and the Select Committee on Aging. Congresswoman Morella has been a leader in seeking to revitalize the Peace Corps through legislation to create an ROTC-type training program.

Congresswoman Morella has also been active in human rights issues. As freshman class co-chair of the Congressional Caucus for Soviet Jewry, she has traveled to the Soviet Union to meet prominent refuseniks and Soviet officials.

The Congresswoman is no newcomer to elective office, having served eight years in the Maryland House of Delegates. An educator by profession, she taught for 15 years at Montgomery College in Rockville, Maryland. She also served on the faculty of The American University in Washington, D.C., and taught in the Montgomery County Public Schools.

For three decades, Congresswoman Morella has been involved in numerous professional and community organizations. She is a trustee of Capitol College in Laurel, Maryland and of Trinity College in Washington.

Congresswoman Morella has received numerous recognitions: induction into the "Collegium of Distinguished Alumni" from Boston University; the "Distinguished Alumni Award" from The American University; "Woman of the Year" from the National Association of Women Judges-District 4; the "Health Care Award" from the Foundation for Nursing of Maryland, Inc.; the "Woman of Commitment Award" from the D.C.-Maryland branch of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; the "Distinguished Legislator Award" from the Maryland Victims Assistance Network; the "Woman of the Year" award from the Bethesda-Silver Spring Club of Zonta International; and was selected by the National Mother's Day Committee as an "Outstanding Mother of 1988."

Congresswoman Morella has an A.B. degree from Boston University, and also has earned an M.A. degree from The American University. A resident of Montgomery County for 33 years, she and her husband, Tony, an attorney, live in Bethesda. They have three children, and have been guardians of her late sister's six children.

CURRICULUM VITAE

DR. NTHATO MOTLANA

1925- Born in the village of Marapiyana, district of Pretoria, of peasant farmers.

1945- Matriculated Kilnerton High School. One of seven Verwoerd first-graders closed down by Dr. scheme.

1954- MB Bch- University of the Witwatersrand.

Former Secretary of the ANC Youth League. Resigned in 1952 because of banning order

Chairman of the Sizwe Medical Fund.

Chairman- Get Ahead Foundation, established to set up Blacks in business.

Chairman- Sizwe Medical aid Society (Pty) Ltd- The first such society to cater for the needs of Blacks who had been excluded from pre-paid Medical Insurance programs.

Chairman- Get Ahead (PTY) Ltd.

Chairman- Medical Assistance Trust Fund, set up to treat the direct victims of apartheid.

Chairman- Lesedi Clinic (Pty) Ltd- The first Black-owned, private hospital in South Africa.

Founding member of the Board of Trustees of the Educational Opportunities Council- organized to provide financial and related assistance to enable Blacks to study abroad and in South Africa itself.

Member of the Board of Trustees of Promat- A Unique educational body that puts Blacks through matric in one year, assists in up-grading teachers' qualifications.

Dr. Motlana has been banned twice, detained twice and convicted twice under South Africa's security laws.

NTHATO HARRISON MOTLANA

Physician, Head of Soweto Civic Association

Born in 1925, in Marapyana, near Pretoria, Motlana attended Kilnerton High School, Pretoria, where he graduated with distinctions. He then studied at the University of Fort Hare, Alice, in the Eastern Cape Province, obtaining his BSc. In 1949, while a student, he joined the ANC Youth League and held the post of Secretary under the chairmanship of Robert Sobukwe.

On completion of his degree, Motlana enrolled at the University of Witwatersrand to study medicine. He remained politically active, taking part in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 during which he was briefly detained. Motlana was subsequently banned for five years but was given special permission to attend his graduation ceremony at Wits in 1954.

Motlana did his residency at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto and then went into private practice. He maintains his own practice today along with serving as a director and co-owner of a private clinic in Soweto, Lesedi. He has remained politically active all of his life. While a resident, he lead a walkout of black doctors in protest over salary discrimination at Baragwanath. He later helped found the Black Parents' Association in Soweto and the Black Community Programmes, both organizations that played key roles in the disturbances of 1976-77 in black townships nationwide. He was detained again in 1976 for a brief period but upon his release helped found the Committee of Ten, formed to recommend the running of civic affairs in Soweto as an alternate to the government appointed Bantu Councils or the West Rand Administration Board, the government bureaucracy charged with administering Soweto. Public meetings called by the Committee of Ten were banned and, in October 1977, most of its members, along with Motlana, were detained. Motlana served five months. The Committee of Ten continued to operate - protesting local authority elections, holding rallies and conferences - until December 1984, when it disbanded and became the Soweto Civic Association. Motlana has headed this new body since its formation. He has supported boycotts and challenged local elections, serves as a patron of the United Democratic Front and a board member of a variety of organizations like the Medical Association for South African Blacks, Educational Opportunities Council, and many others. Although he has had his passport denied at least twice, in 1978 and 1987, and had one more short banning, Motlana has been a frequent participant in overseas conferences on South Africa.

U. S. Senator
FRANK H. MURKOWSKI
Biography

SENATOR FRANK H. MURKOWSKI

Frank Murkowski was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1980.

Four years later, when Senator Murkowski was named chairman of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee, he earned the distinction of being the first Alaskan and first member of the Senate class of 1980 to chair a full committee. As chairman, Senator Murkowski heads the committee that has the oversight of the Veterans' Administration, which has a budget of $27 billion, about 250,000 employees, and administers the largest health care system in the free world.

Senator Murkowski also holds another distinction - he serves on five committees and six subcommittees. No U.S. Senator serves on more. This has played a key role in helping him represent Alaska's position on a wide variety of issues important to our state.

Frank Murkowski serves on the Foreign Relations Committee, where he is chairman of the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs. In this position, Frank Murkowski has focused his efforts on encouraging the export of U.S. and Alaska resources into the growing markets of Japan, Taiwan, Korea, China and other Pacific Rim nations.

As a member of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, Senator Murkowski has worked closely with the Department of Interior to assure the expeditious transfer of federal lands to the State of Alaska and to Alaska's Native corporations. It is in this committee that Senator Murkowski was able to achieve passage of the land exchange which will allow for the development of the Red Dog Mine, and where he is working to achieve passage of legislation to amend the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

He has also worked toward developing legislation which would enable our nation to achieve energy independence.

Senator Murkowski is also chairman of the Subcommittee on Water and Power, which has jurisdiction over the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and the Department of Energy's Power Marketing Administrations. Murkowski's chairmanship is especially important to Alaska because of the subcommittee's oversight of Federal licensing and regulatory issues involving the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System, the Trans-Alaska Gasline and the Alaska Power Administration.

Senator Murkowski also serves on the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, which works directly on legislation affecting American Indians and Alaska Natives. This year, Senator Murkowski was honored by the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) for his work on social programs benefitting Alaska Native government and people, and for his active support of the Indian Juvenile Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Act.

The Senator is also a member of the Select Committee on Intelligence, which serves as the Congressional oversight committee on U.S. Intelligence issues. Senator Murkowski is the liaison between the Foreign Relations and Intelligence Committees.

Frank Murkowski is the chairman of the Republican Conference Task Force on International Trade Policy, which is studying legislative and administrative actions which will improve U.S. participation in world trade.

In addition, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole recently named Frank Murkowski to the U.S. Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control. The Caucus was created by the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1985 to monitor and promote compliance with international narcotics control treaties. Senator Murkowski and the Caucus also oversee programs designed to expand international cooperation against drug abuse and narcotics trafficking.

SENATOR MURKOWSKI serves on the following committees and subcommittees:

Veterans' Affairs Committee (chairman)
Foreign Relations Committee
-East Asian and Pacific Affairs (chairman)
-International Economic Policy, Oceans and Environment
-Western Hemisphere Affairs

Energy and Natural Resources Committee
-Water and Power (chairman)
-Public Lands, Reserved Water and Resource Conservation
-Natural Resource Development and Production

Select Committee on Intelligence
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
U.S. Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control
Republican Conference Task Force on International Trade Policy (chairman)

THE MURKOWSKI FAMILY

The Murkowski family is filled with Alaska tradition. Senator Murkowski has lived in several communities throughout Alaska, including Ketchikan, Sitka, Wrangell, Anchorage, Juneau, and Fairbanks.

He is married to the former Nancy Gore, who was born in Nome. They have six children: Carol Murkowski Sturgulewski, Michael, Lisa, Eileen Murkowski Van Wyke, Mary, and Brian, all who reside in Alaska.

Frank and Nancy are also the proud grandparents of Kimberly Jean Van Wyke and Bernard Roe Sturgulewski.

The Senator and Nancy maintain a home in Fairbanks, and live on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. when Congress is in session.

FRANK MURKOWSKI

Frank Murkowski was born March 28, 1933 in Seattle, Washington, and grew up in Ketchikan, Alaska. He attended Santa Clara University and graduated from Seattle University with a B.A. in economics and a minor in philosophy.

After graduation, he served in the U.S. Coast Guard for two years and then began a successful banking career, which subsequently led to his being named President and Chief Executive Officer of the Alaska National Bank of the North.

He has served as President of the Alaska Bankers Association, and in 1977, he was elected President of the Alaska State Chamber of Commerce.

Senator Murkowski served as the Commissioner of Economic Development for the State of Alaska from 1967 to 1970 in the cabinet of Governor Walter J. Hickel. It was in this position that Senator Murkowski first explored trade possibilities between Alaska and its neighboring Pacific Rim nations.

The Senator is a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the National Rifle Association, the Pioneers of Alaska, the Alaska Conservation Society, the Young Presidents Organization, and the Elks.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
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PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF SOUTH AFRICA

HELEN SUZMAN

M.P. HOUGHTON

SPOKESMAN : Law and order
Prisons
Black Affairs - Witwatersrand
Women's Rights

HOME ADDRESS	CAPE TOWN ADDRESS	HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
49 Melville Rd., Hyde Park SANDTON 2199	118 Montebello NEWLANDS 7700	Room 281 P.O. Box 15, CAPE TOWN 8000
011 : 788-2833	021 : 689-1048	011 : 403-2784

Born in Germiston 7 November 1917

Educated at Parktown Convent, University of Witwatersrand
B.Comm.

Statistician, War Supplies Board 1941-1944

Lecturer in Economic History, University of Witwatersrand, 1944-1952

Elected UP M.P. (Houghton) 1953, 1958
Founder Member of the Progressive Party, 1959
Elected PP M.P. (Houghton) 1961, 1966, 1970, 1974
Elected PFP M.P. (Houghton) 1977, 1981

Honorary doctorates - Universities of Oxford (1973), Harvard (1976) Witwatersrand (1976), Columbia (1977), Smith College (1977), Brandeis (1981), Denison (1982), Sacred Heart University of Connecticut (1984), New School for Social Research (1983) Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1986), University of Cape Town (1986)
Freedom City of New York (1986)
Honorary Fellow, St. Hugh's College, Oxford (1973) London School of Economics (1975)

United Nations Award of Human Rights 1978, Wits Alumni Award 1979, New York Medal of Merit 1980, Nominated for Nobel Peace Prize twice, Annual Award International League for Human Rights 1983, Politiken and Dagens Nyheter Freedom Prize 1984, American Liberties Medallion 1984, Hebrew Union College (1986)

Married Dr. M. Suzman, 2 daughters.

SUMMARISED BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Mark Swilling

Currently employed as a research officer at the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand.

Research areas: (a) state structures and strategies, (b) transport policy, (c) local government policy, (d) black political movements, (e) trade unions and their political policies, (f) post-apartheid policy options for urban development.

Publications: (a) recently co-edited a book entitled State, Resistance and Change in South Africa; (b) a second authored book will be published this year under the title The Politics of the State Power in South Africa; (c) authored or co-authored 44 articles on a range of subjects, 32 of them in edited collections or recognised journals; (d) regular contributer to the Weekly Mail, the most prominent of the anti-apartheid newspapers.

Organisational commitments: (a) founder and executive member of PLANACT, a non-profit professional consultancy comprising architects, planners, engineers and sociologists who provide technical research assistance to trade unions and community organisations involved in struggles around urban issues; (b) executive member of the Association of Sociology of South Africa; (c) member of the editorial board of the South African Sociological Journal, (d) founder and member of the editorial board of Reconstruct, a policy journal reflective of the "democratic movement's" perspectives on urban issues; (e) consultant to the Urban Foundation on local government policy issues; (f) advisor to human rights lawyers acting on behalf of anti-apartheid activists charged with various "crimes against the state"; (g) involved in initiatives to establish the Post-Aparheid South Africa (PASA) project.

VOLKSRAAD
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TELEFOON (021) 403-2911

PARLEMENT VAN DIE REPUBLIEK
VAN SUID-AFRIKA

February 1989

CURRICULUM VITAE: JACOBUS HERCULES VAN DER MERWE MP

Family

Mr van der Merwe was born at Koppies, OFS, South Africa on August 4, 1937. He married Annette Elizabeth Vorster on 12 December 1959 and they have three children - Jaco (22) Corrie (20) and Henri (17).

Education

He obtained a BA degree (Political Science and International Politics); BA (Hons) degree (Political Science) and Dip Proc. All three these academic qualifications are from the University of South Africa.

Mr van der Merwe is presently studying for an MA (Political Science) on the theme of political power.

Travel

Mr van der Merwe has travelled extensively, being overseas 46 times, including a Leadership Invitation by the US Government and other Opinion Leader invitations.

Military

He has served voluntarily in the SA Defence Force (CitizenForce) for 15 years; holds the substantive rank of Major; has served in the operational area and has been awarded the John Chard Medal for faithful service and the Pro Patria for Operational Service.

He is the chief spokesman on defence matters of the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly.

Hobbies and Sport

Big game hunter, ex-pilot, photographer, rugby, tennis, gholf, music, boxing.

Profession

Attorney and business man.

Politics

He was elected to Parliament in 1977 and has served on various Committees, including Defence, Foreign Affairs and Home Affairs. He is a party whip.

Mr van der Merwe is a founder member of the Conservative Party; is chairman of the Information and Strategy Committee of the General Council and serves on the Executive Council of the General Council.



CURRICULUM VITAE

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

March 1988

PERSONAL DETAILS

Born 2 March 1940, Pretoria

ACADEMIC CAREER

Matriculated at Pietersburg High School in 1958
BA Stellenbosch 1961
BA Hons (Cum Laude) Stellenbosch 1962
MA (Cum Laude) Stellenbosch 1964 on research Topic "Educational Choice of Students"
PhD Stellenbosch 1967 - Thesis on "Structural Functional Analysis in the Theory of Action: A Methodological Inquiry".

CAREER RECORD

1964 - 1974 - Lecturer in Sociology at Universities of Stellenbosch, Cape Town and Rhodes. Also Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand.

1974 - 1986 - Member of Parliament for Rondebosch Constituency. Elected Leader of the Progressive Federal Party and Leader of the Official Opposition in the South African Parliament. Resigned as Leader of the Opposition and Member of Parliament in February 1986.

PRESENT INTERESTS

Co-founder and Director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA).

Consultant to a variety of companies regarding political events and changes in South Africa.

He has been continuously involved in promoting peaceful, political and constitutional change in South Africa. Dr Slabbert was Chairman of the Constitutional Committee and of the Progressive Federal Party and served as a member of the Schlebusch Commission of Inquiry on the Constitution. In addition, he has participated in various workshops and conferences on the Possibility of Peaceful Change in South Africa (1978); The Road Ahead (1978); Conflict in South Africa: International Strategies and Internal Change (1980); Prospects for an Independent Namibia (1981); Change and Human Rights in South Africa (1982); US Firms in South Africa: Responsibilities, Risks and Opportunities (1982) among others.

/2...

He has, by virtue of his constitutional position and his academic interests, a wide range of contacts across the political spectrum in South Africa, and is well acquainted with current attitudes and developments amongst different political and social movements in both white and black politics, as well as having extensive contacts with the top echelons of the South African business and commercial community.

He has maintained his academic contacts and interests, and amongst other things, has been a research fellow at the Institute for Social Research (Bergstraesser Institute) at the University of Freiburg, West Germany; research fellow at MIT in Boston, and at the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. He has also lectured widely including at Princeton, Yale, MIT, Indiana University, Simon Fraser University, the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London, as well as delivering the Suntory-Toyota Lecture at the London School of Economics in 1987.

During October and November 1987, he was appointed Tanner Lecturer at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he delivered a series of Lectures entitled "The Dynamics of Reform and Revolt in Current South Africa".

PUBLICATIONS

He has written widely in academic journals and has co-authored two books, one with Professor David Welsh, entitled:

South Africa's Option: Strategies for Sharing Power (1979)

and another with Professor J Opland called:

South Africa: Dilemma of Evolutionary Change (1980).

He is also the author of The Last White Parliament (1985).

Congressman Howard Wolpe

Howard Wolpe has been a member of the U.S. House of Representatives since 1979. His record as chairman of the House subcommittee on Africa, co-chair of the Northeast-Midwest Congressional Coalition, member of the House Budget Committee*, and Whip-at-Large led the Almanac of American Politics to describe him as an "important member of the House."

Wolpe is the only professionally trained Africanist in either house of congress. As chairman of the House Africa Subcommittee, he is one of the chief congressional opponents of apartheid. After he played a leading role in passing the legislation that imposes economic sanctions on the South African regime, that nation's Foreign Minister, P.W. Botha, angrily declared, "I know of no greater enemy, even in the Kremlin," than Howard Wolpe.

Wolpe has been active in promoting better relations between the United States and sub-Saharan African nations. He has repeatedly warned of the dangers of U.S. support for the South Africa-backed UNITA guerrillas in Angola. He was an architect of U.S. efforts to aid the victims of the African famine. And he is the author of the Africa Famine Recovery and Development Act, pending legislation designed to create a more cost-effective development program in Africa.

Wolpe was born in 1939. He holds a B.A. from Reed College and a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Before his election to Congress, he was a professor at Western Michigan University (1967-72), a member of the Kalamazoo City Council (1969-72), and a member of the Michigan House of Representatives (1972-76). While at Western Michigan University, he was a consultant to the State Department, the Foreign Service Institute, and the Peace Corps. He is the author of Urban Politics in Nigeria: A Study of Port Harcourt, the co-editor of Nigeria: Modernization and the Politics of Communalism, and the author of several articles on ethnicity and African politics including an article in the Winter '88-89 edition of "Foreign Policy" entitled, "Seizing Southern African Opportunities."

*.Wolpe has completed his six-year rotation on the House Budget Committee and has returned to the Committee on Science, Space and Technology.

Helen Zille
abbreviated CV.

Born Johannesburg March 1951.

Occupation: Political Consultant/Researcher.

Studied at University of Cape Town and the University of the Witwatersrand.

Rand Daily Mail political correspondent: 1978 - 1981.

South African correspondent of the Chronicle of Higher Education (published in Washington DC) 1978 - 1988.

Research co-ordinator, Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa: 1983/84.

Editor SASH magazine and member of Black Sash National Executive: 1987 - 1989.

Participant in the *South Africa Beyond Apartheid* project, co-ordinated by Peter L. Berger and Bobby Godsell. Undertook Research into the 'Rightwing in South African Politics' and published a chapter by that name in the book resulting from the project. (US edition: *South Africa Beyond Apartheid: Visions, Strategies and Realities.* Edited by Peter L. Berger and Bobby Godsell. Westview Press. 1988).

Currently working as a consultant with City Planners in the Cape Town City Council investigating the possibility of developing a participatory and accountable planning process for a post-apartheid City. (This process seeks, through consultation and negotiation, to develop methods of establishing planning priorities for the future of Cape Town involving all Cape Town's citizens.)

Have published widely on South African politics in journals, books and newspapers.

SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY

Fikile Bam

It is only fair to all the participants for me at the outset to make certain disclosures disclaimers and declarations concerning the condition and conditioning of the eyes through whose lenses you are about the view South Africa to-day. You ought to know how old they are whether they be near or far-sighted, whether they be scarred or squinted or have developed cataracts through long continued exposure to the high temperatures of sunny South Africa. In particular you ought also to know whether they have a history of wearing blinkers and, if so, in what direction these have been pointed- to the east or to the west? Only in this way will you be able at the end to assess the limitations and the degree of accuracy of the images they portray.

The first revelation and disclaimer is that although I am 50 years old, all of which have been under a South African sky, I make no claim that my eyes have seen even as much as 50% of what black people see and experience in South Africa to-day. There are approximately 26 million blacks in South Africa to-day including those living in the "independent" and "self-governing" territories. This factor alone means that a single sample or even a single organisation is simply always an inadequate image or representation of the overall situation.

Nonetheless I do believe that my personal experience, activities and thoughts may provide some insights into the total package of South Africa to-day which will, no doubt, be augmented and illuminated further by the varied, well-informed and annalytical contributions made and still to be made as the Dick Clark Aspen Institutes programme unfolds.

Inspite of the banning of a number of organisations during 1987 a formidable array of organisations have come into existence to further multiply the number of actors in various politically relevant spheres. The current 87/88 Annual Survey lists twenty five avowedly political parties and groups.The more significant thing is the formation of other interest organisations - sports, medical, legal, taxi-drivers, hawkers, traders and managers - all wishing to articulate a relevant political message. One cannot possibly claim awareness of the agendas of all these groupings.

THE HOMELANDS

My eyes first saw the light in a rural area in the Transkei which since 1976 was excised from the rest of South Africa and declared an independent state and was promptly provided with the trappings and insignia of sovereignty . The Transkei represents a very significant feature of the South African socio-political reality to-day.

In the hey-day of apartheid philosophy during the 50's the National Party was possessed with the idea that the solution to the "native problem" lay in the transforming of the erstwhile black reserves into independent states wherein all balcks would ultimately realize their full political, social and economic aspirations away from the green pastures and industrial capitals of white South Africa. There was more to the scheme than that: it was necessary to make sure that control of the progress, direction and development of these enclaves should not yet out of hand and so in each case,"reliable" elements (chiefs, civil servants and other collaborators) were promoted and elevated to the top executive and administrative posts each attached with white advisers from South Africa. The Transkei was the first to become "independent" followed by Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei. Other "homelands" such as Kwa Zulu, KwaNdebele, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, Lebowa, Qwaqwa and KwaNgwane are either on the verge of independence or have rejected it. All these creatures of apartheid govern the lives of almost 50% of black people in South Africa to-day. Corruption, greed, high handed bureaucracy and brutality are more apparent than development in most of these "self governing" or "independent" homelands but some attempts are being made to purge some of the worst offenders. The little prosperity and progress made is cosmetic and is confined to a small section of elite officials and traders who exploit the impoverished homeland populations.

Poverty, congestion and desease are more prevalent within the homelands than in any of the urban areas. In the independent homelands black South Africans have forfeited their broader South African citizenship and the Restoration of Citizenship Act of 1986 has enabled only a few to regain it. It does not seem possible that the homeland structures will ever be dismantled as they perform an important role of diverting attention, protest and discontent away from white administration and on to black regimes who can be trusted to maintain the status quo. The one significant aspect of homeland structure is that none of them practise obvious racial discrimination.

THE URBAN SETTING

There has been a remarkable and dramatic ideological shift in respect of the legal position of urban blacks in South Africa. Since the passing of the Urban Areas Act in 1923 blacks could not acquire freehold tenure in urban areas. Nationalist policy after 1948 was further to limit and freeze the number of Africans and shift "surplus" people to resettlement camps in the reserves. Three years ago the Black Communities Development Amendment Act made it possible for blacks to acquire land. Even before then a 99 year leasehold had been introduced. The concept of a permanent black urban population has finally been accepted. Blacks will continue to live in racially seperated (group) areas but all over the country "free settlement" areas are being established or contemplated.

Accompanying this development is the setting up of housing projects nation-wide and most of the schemes are subsidized by government or by the private sector. Simultaneously, augmented powers and responsibilities are being granted to Black local urban authorities who are daily being given wide publicity especially by the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation). Blacks are being promoted in large numbers to senior positions as municipal police and there is even a black colonel now in the South African Police itself. The current response among some balck political activists is to attack these "reforms" as "divisive", "too little too late" "cosmetic".

One must realize, however, that the people's response to some of the concessions, is positive. People do want to own land and to live in well-built houses etc. No doubt many of them are aimed at co-opting and of creating a "responsible" black leadership in the townships to counter the radicals. Indeed most of the new developments were undertaken immediately after the State of Emergency in 1986 once the alternate structures such as Regional and Street Committees had been crippled by detentions.

The government is clearly exploring and exploiting peoples' immediate needs for employment, education, comfort and convinience in a desperate bid to win support and legitimacy among black people.

Consequently a view is being increasingly expressed that while the sham of the "reforms" must be pointed out and attacked, the peoples' acceptance and uitlization of some of them is to be treated with understanding in the interest of national unity. Failure to do so could lead to the escallation of vigilante type groups nationwide.

NATIONAL UNITY

National unity was the theme in the commemorative services held country-wide to mark the massacres in Sharpville and Langa (near Uitenhage). In the Eastern Cape, where services were conducted under the auspices of the Interdenominational Ministers Association of South Africa (IDAMASA), speakers from the AZAPO shared the platform with UDF. And so did NACTU and COSATU speakers who pledged that in future they would work together. One of the speakers noted that this had not happened since 1976.

It was stated that the gains which had been achieved through united action by students and workers in the region in campaigns such as the consumer boycotts, work stayaways and the schools boycotts would be lost and vigilante elements would grow.

In the end one was left with the strong impression that, notwithstanding the continuing State of Emergency, the mobilisation skills achieved and demonstrated in the campaigns of 1985-6 are there to stay. Indeed this was reflected in the very fact that in Port Elizabeth the stayaway on the 21st March this year was estimated at 85%. The other issue that all the speakers mentioned was of course the hunger strike of detainees and its consequences.

CHANGED OFFICIAL ATTITUDE

Finally, the government appears to be abandoning the harsh and strong-arm tactics in evidence immediately after the State of Emergency was declared in 1986. At the time the idea was to turn the tide of mass support away from the UDF, in particular, by forming and encouraging rival conservative and re-actionary groups to take over control in the townships. During the period immediately preceding the elections for local government there was a very marked and distinct "cooling off" on the part of the kits-konstabels and the municipal law enforcement officers. To-day there is a marked reasonableness and courtesy among government officials at all levels. Infact we know that during the negotiations over the hunger strike some of the bad mannered prison officers were substituted by polite and helpful senior officers. No one is expecting that there will be fundamental changes with the ascentancy of de Klerk but nonetheless a cooler breeze of apartheid will be welcome.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

PAPER PRESENTED TO THE

SOUTHERN AFRICA POLICY FORUM

OF THE

ASPEN INSTITUTE

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BERMUDA

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INTRODUCTION

The South African economy is not a simple, one-dimensional structure. On the production side it contains all the characteristics of an industrialised, developed economy, while at the same time it possesses elements of a typical developing economy. On the income side, it exhibits a very skew distribution of income between individuals. This is the case, not only between Black and White, but also amongst Whites and to an increasing extent also amongst Blacks. One may argue that this should never have been the case. Yet, such is the position and from an economic point of view, the question is what can be done to promote development and to bring about a less skew distribution of income. It is important to realise that even after a satisfactary political dispensation has been worked out and implemented, these economic realities will remain and will still have to be addressed. Let us therefore take a closer look at the economy of South Africa. This will be done in an objective and factual way. In the ensuing discussion we may attempt to identify ways and means to change things.

STRUCTURAL FACTORS AND CHARACTERISTICS

The total population of South Africa amounts to about 30 million, of which roughly one third, or about 10,5 million are economically active (Table I). Just over two million of them are Whites. Between 2 and 3 million of the economically active population can be regarded as skilled workers. The rest are semi-skilled and unskilled, which is certainly a limiting factor to short-term economic development and progress, but seen from another angle,

this contains an enormous potential for economic growth as the level of training and education is raised. Furthermore, as more and more Blacks move from the developing sector into the developed sector, we could expect that their share in the economically active population will increase even further. At present the growth rate of Black economically active people is already the highest amongst all population groups, namely about 3 percent as against less than 1 percent in the case of Whites and an average of 2 percent for the total population.

South Africa, as is well-known, is richly endowed with all the most important minerals, except oil. (See Tables II(a) and II(b)). As far as reserves are concerned, South Africa ranks very high amongst not only the countries with market economies, but in the entire world in respect of strategic minerals such as platinum, chromium, manganese, vanadium and a few other minerals, including gold. The position is also very similar as far as production is concerned. South Africa is the largest producer of platinum, chromium andvanadium in the entire world, whilst it ranks second in the case of manganese, but first amongst the market economies. Although the country has lacked natural oil and gas, discoveries of the latter have recently been made off the South Western coast. This will supplement the country's domestic supply of oil from coal, which, without any special savings measures already satisfies a significant portion of the country's petroleum needs.

From Table II(a) it is clear that the country has enough coal reserves to maintain the production of oil from coal for many decades to come.

The climatic conditions in South Africa vary from region to region and also from year to year. By and large, however, there are enough areas suitable to each and every major type of agricultural activity and produce. South Africa is on average an exporter of food and other agricultural products. The main agricultural output consists of various forms of fruit, maize (mealies), corn, sugar, wool, meat and even good wine.

Over recent years the country has seen a decline in both personal and general government savings, but an increase in corporate savings and in provision for depreciation. Gross domestic savings remain at a high level and should be able to form the basis for increasing capital formation in the long-run. In the short- and medium term, however, a substantial portion of total domestic savings leaks out of the domestic investment stream, through a net outflow of foreign capital, reducing the potential level of investment which would come about if foreign reserves would flow into and not out of the country.

It is difficult to measure entrepreneurial skill and the ability to effect technological progress. I will not attempt to do this. Let me rather point to the fact that over the years and over a wide field of products and range of economic activity, South African entrepreneurial and technological ability have surfaced, even in the face of boycotts.

Just as the population is not evenly spread across the country, specific economic activities are highly councentrated in specific regions. The most densely populated region is the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging metropolitan area, where all the major mining, industrial and financial activities are located and of which Johannesburg is the main city. A second large metropolitan area is Durban-Pinetown in Natal, followed by Cape Town-Bellville, Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage and the East London area in the Cape Province. The capital of the Orange Free State, Bloemfontein is also developing into a respectable industrial centre, as is Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal and Newcastle in Natal. In all these industrial regions one finds highly developed service sectors, including financial services. Pretoria houses the civil services and in Johannesburg one finds the only stock exchange in the country. The Western and Mid-South-Eastern Transvaal, together with the Northern and Eastern Free State, constitute the maize growing area. Maize or mealies are not only exported, but provide South and Southern Africa's staple food, namely a porridge made from maize meal. The gold mines are found in the area around Johannesburg, as well as in the Northern Free State.Coal is found in the Mid-Eastern Transvaal and in Natal and platinum is mined in the Northern and Western Transvaal. The Karoo in the Northern Cape and the Southern Free State constitute major wool producing areas. The Western Cape is the fruit and wine centre of the country whilst corn is grown in the Western Cape, the Free State and Northern Transvaal. Although there are certain areas which are more suited to cattle farming than others, this type of activity is found all over South Africa at a highly advanced level of specialisation. South Africa has some major sea ports, namely at Durban, Cape Town, Saldanha Bay, Richards Bay, Port Elizabeth and East London, from where not only South African imports and exports, but also a significant portion of those of other Southern African countries enter and leave the sub-continent.

An important but notorious characteristic of the South African economy has always been the serious restrictions on the economic ability of a large portionof the economically active population. Restrictions exsisted on economic subjects with respect to residential areas, mobility, and the locality and the nature of these subjects' economic activity. Many of these restrictions which affect economic ability, directly, have in recent years been removed or reduced. For instance, influx control, which prevented Blacks from moving into the metropolitan areas, has recently been abolished. Restrictions on apprenticeship training for Blacks have also been removed. Black trade unions have made significant progress over the past ten years. Those restrictions that remain, such as the group areas act which enforces restrictions on people as far as their place of residence is concerned, are more of a social nature, although their indirect economic impact should not be underestimated. Yet, much progress concerning the removal of restrictions has taken place and the general trend is towards complete abolishment of such economic impediments. Its effect on economic growth will be positive.

At the turn of the century, South Africa was still a mining and agricultural country. Today it has a diversified economy in which agriculture contributes less than ten percent to total production, mining about fifteen percent, manufacturing about twenty two percent and financial and related services also about fifteen percent. It is expected that the share of manufacturing will increase even further towards the turn of the present century.

All the restrictions which existed in the past contributed to the development of an active informal sector in the economy. Because of its informal

nature, it is impossible to determine its size. However its existence and the fact that it is of significant size, cannot be denied. It probably has a salutary impact on the effects of poverty in the community.

GROWTH, PRODUCTION AND EXPENDITURE

Between 1950 and 1970 South Africa grew at an average annual rate of five per cent in real terms. During the seventies, because of the severe world-wide recession towards the middle of that decade, the average growth rate dropped to below five per cent. Although 1980 and 1981 were good years, average growth in the eighties declined to well below three per cent (See Table VI). Three factors contributed to this: first, the world slump of the early eighties which affected South Africa in 1982 and 1983; second, the worst drought ever since the 1930's which hit the country in 1982 and 1983 and third, after 1984, the impact of internal political unrest, the international economic boycott and especially the problem to obtain foreign capital since 1985. (See Table V). Since 1985, when international political developments contributed to a foreign debt standstill in South Africa, the country has been a net exporter of foreign capital, although it badly needs both foreign and domestic capital for domestic investment in order to create employment for the growing number of economically active people. (See Tables I to V). In the meantime, unemployment has increased markedly from 1980 onwards, as the real rate of growth has remained below an average of three per cent per annum.

Exports constitute between a quarter and a third of gross domestic product, whilst imports constitute about the same proportion of gross domestic expenditure. Since South Africa has a very open economy, business cycle fluctuations are predominantly influenced by developments abroad. Economic

expansions and contractions follow those in the United States and the rest of the world with a time lag of between about twelve to thirty months, depending on specific circumstances. The current account of the balance of payments is heavily influenced by the level of imports. When the economy expands, imports increase and a deficit develops on the current account of the balance of payments. This deficit must then be financed by a net capital inflow. Gross domestic fixed investment, which constitutes the engine of growth in any market economy, has declined dramatically during the eighties. A lack of foreign capital, necessary to augment the domestic savings used to finance investment, plays more than a minor role in this trend (see again tables A and B). The performance of the South African economy during the eighties is all the more sorrowful as we have calculated the potential real rate of growth to be between five and seven per cent, given the availability of production factors as set out previously.

POLICY ISSUES

One of the main structural problems of the South African economy, is the apparent inability of the government to curtail its expenditure. This has resulted in a heavy tax burden on a very small number of people. More than eighty per cent of total tax income is paid by less than twenty per cent of the population. This seriously hampers initiative and productivity, especially amongst entrepreneurs. More than a quarter of total expenditure in the economy flows from the public sector. As a matter of policy, in order to counteract this situation, the government announced a privatisation and deregulation programme. It is too early, however, to record any significant progress. This forms part, however, of a broader policy approach aimed at less regulation and restrictions across the board of

social and economic life, together with greater appreciation in official circles of the merits of a free market economy. As can be expected vested interest offer heavy resistance and the politicians are walking a tightrope in this respect.

Within the limits allowed by GATT, a policy of export promotion exists. It is aimed at stimulating industrial exports in order to render the country less dependant upon mineral and agricultural exports. However, very little success has so far been recorded in this respect. Competition policy in South Africa can be summarized as one where monopolies and similar non-competitive forms are allowed, unless it is proved that public interest dictates otherwhise. Regional development policy has also been in existence for more than three decades. At first it was aimed at promoting industrial development away from the metropolitan areas and was strongly linked to the government's policy of homeland development. In the early eighties, the policy was thoroughly revised. It was broadened to encompass regional development in general, with industrial development only one dimension of the policy. Under the leadership of a younger generation of economists an attempt was also made to base such a policy on purely economic instead of semi-political grounds. Quite recently, this policy has once again been revised. The governments involved still have to decide upon the recommendations, but it is almost certain that a much more market related approach will emerge. In the meantime a new concept of inward industrialisation has emerged. This entails the promotion of small scale, almost informal light industrial activity in the metropolitan areas to provide job opportunities to the thousands of unemployed in the urban areas.

It was mentioned earlier that the main problem facing fiscal policy, is the apparent inability of the government to reduce its expenditure, thus leading to an increasingly heavy tax burden. In step with developments in the USA, the UK, and the rest of the Western world, monetary policy has become more market orientated ever since the world monetary system of fixed exchange rates was abolished. The exchange rate and interest rates are now allowed to move as market forces dictate, although discretionary intervention by the monetary authority still takes place on a large scale. The Rand exchange rate has declined dramatically in the course of the past five to six years, from well above one hundred American cents to the Rand, to well below fifty and even forty American cents. Monetary and fiscal policy have not been able to reduceinflation to below five or even ten percent. In fact, after a brief cyclical downturn during 1986 and 1987 it is once again heading upwards at the moment.

PROBLEM AREAS

The most depressing aspect of the South African economy, is the fact that the domestic rate of inflation seems to be on a long-term upward trend, despite short-term or cyclical downturns. There is no general agreement amongst economists as to what the basic causes are. The fact that the country, for political and economic reasons, cannot attract foreign capital but must instead repay foreign loans, places a ceiling of about three per cent on real growth. The moment the growth rate exceeds that figure, imports increase to such an extent that the current account of the balance of payments threatens to move into deficit. Such a deficit cannot be tolerated as long as the country must

export capital through loan repayments. The country is thus trapped in a low growth equilibruim situation. Unemployment consequently increases continuously. Black unemployment, for instance, increased from less than half a million to over a million persons between 1980 and 1987 (See Table III). In order to decrease and wipe out unemployment, a growth rate of five per cent and higher must be maintained. Unless the international attitude towards South Africa changes,this will only be brought about in the long-run, as inward industrialisation gains momentum. The most important economic decision to be made in the course of the next two to five years, according to my mind, concerns the type of economic system we will decide upon for the future. Will we encourage a free market economy or will we return to state socialism under which system apartheid and discrimination flourished?

TABLE I

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION - MID YEAR ESTIMATES - '000

	TOTAL	GROWTH	WHITES	GROWTH	BLACKS	GROWTH	COLOUREDS	GROWTH	ASIANS	GROWTH
1970	7 655		1 548		5 155		761		191	
1980	8 732	1,33	1 894	2,04	5 632	0,89	955	2,30	251	2,77
1985	10 053	2,86	1 982	0,91	6 605	3,24	1 142	3,64	324	5,24
1986	10 254	2,0	1 995	0,66	6 760	2,35	1 164	1,93	335	3,40
1987	10 459	2,0	2 009	0,70	6 921	2,38	1 184	1,72	345	2,99

SOURCE: South African Statistics, September 1988, p.2.2

TOTAL POPULATION - MID YEAR ESTIMATES - '000

	TOTAL	GROWTH	WHITES	GROWTH	BLACKS	GROWTH	COLOUREDS	GROWTH	ASIANS	GROWTH
1970	20 136		3 864		13 450		2 170		652	
1980	25 081	2,22	4 520	1,58	17 062	2,41	2 693	2,18	806	2,14
1985	27 895	2,15	4 851	1,42	19 203	2,39	2 957	1,89	884	1,86
1986	28 459	3,64	4 882	0,64	19 662	2,39	3 016	2,0	899	1,70
1987	29 025	1,99	4 911	0,59	20 132	2,39	3 069	1,76	913	1,56

SOURCE: South African Statistics, September 1988, P1.1 and 1.2

TABLE II(a)
MINERAL RESERVES

	MINERAL RESERVES		SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIVE POSITION			
			WORLD		M.E.	
	WORLD TOTAL	* M.E.	RSA	%	RANK	%	RANK
GOLD (t)	41 296	33 209	20 000	48,4	1	60,2	1
PLATINUM (t)	38 390	32 230	26 700	69,6	1	82,8	1
CHROMIUM (Mt)	4 329	4 176	2 400	55	1	57,5	1
MANGANESE (Mt)	16 177	13 784	12 700	78,5	1	92,1	1
VANADIUM (Kt)	16 570	10 860	5 400	32,6	1	49,7	1
ALUMINO-SILICATES (Kt)	136 800	109 600	51 600	38	1	47	1
FLUORSPAR (Kt)	298 800	104 500	31 000	10	3	30	1
COAL (Mt)	539 929	300 053	58 404	10,8	4	19,5	2
DIAMONDS (Moar)	1 463	1 303	360	24,6	2	26,5	2
URANIUM (tU)	-	1 669	256,6	-	-	15,4	2

ME - MARKET ECONOMIES

SOURCE: South Africa's Mineral Industry 1986 - Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs

TABLE II(b)
MINERAL PRODUCTION 1985

	SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIVE POSITION						
				WORLD		ME	
	WORLD TOTAL	* M.E.	RSA	%	RANK	%	RANK
GOLD (t)	1560,47	1,220	671	43	1	55	1
PLATINUM (t)	107,057	77,633	72,000	67,2	1	92,8	1
CHROMIUM (Mt)	10,383	6,564	3,340	32,2	1	50,9	1
MANGANESE (Mt)	24,504	12,835	3,600	14,7	2	28,1	1
VANADIUM (Kt)	58,033	33,033	25,027	43,1	1	75,8	1
ALUMINO-SILICATES (Kt)	509,2	406,7	196	39	1	48	1
FLUORSPAR (Kt)	4850,5	2665,5	349	7,2	5	13,1	2
COAL (Mt)	3198,5	1577,4	173,5	5,4	5	11,0	2
DIAMONDS (Mcar)	66,002	54,202	10,206	15,5	4	18,8	3
URANIUM (tU)	-	34,703	4,880	-	-	14	2

SOURCE: The Role of South Africa in 1985.
South Africa's Mineral Industry 1986 - Department Mineral and Energy Affairs.

TABLE VI

YEAR	INFLATION RATE (% Change in CPI)	NET CAPITAL MOVEMENTS (R-million)	EXCHANGE RATE (Commercial Rand)(cent/$)	REAL GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (R-million)	REAL GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCTS (% Growth)
1970	4,1	443	71,6	72 713	3,94
1971	5,7	438	71,3	77 431	6,49
1972	6,6	628	77,3	80 189	3,56
1973	9,6	213	69,4	88 240	10,04
1974	11,5	761	68,0	97 132	10,08
1975	13,6	1 746	74,0	95 802	- 1,37
1976	11,3	989	87,0	95 939	0,14
1977	11,1	296	87,0	94 835	- 1,15
1978	10,2	5	87,0	98 677	4,05
1979	13,1	-1 024	84,2	104 562	5,96
1980	13,8	- 478	77,9	114 412	9,42
1981	15,2	542	87,7	114 484	0,06
1982	14,8	2 423	108,6	109 904	- 4,00
1983	12,3	- 238	111,4	108 931	- 0,89
1984	11,7	2 563	147,6	114 853	5,44
1985	16,2	- 445	222,8	113 612	- 1,08
1986	18,6	-3 060	228,4	114 876	1,11
1987	16,2	-1 703	203,4	119 003	3,59
1988	12,9		223,0		

TABLE III

UNEMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO THE CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY

YEAR	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS	WHITES
1980	54 000	3 658*	480 000	8 425*
1987	166 000	38 000	1 028 000	27 945*

* Registered unemployment at the Department of Manpower.

SOURCE: Bulletin of Statistics - September 1981
SA Labour Statistics - 1988.

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TABLE IV

EXPENDITURE ON GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT - R MILLIONS

AT CONSTANT 1985-PRICES

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
PRIVATE CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE	40 847	42 784	44 565	47 892	50 557	52 327	53 170	52 771	53 490	54 717	59 587	63 486	64 824	66 018	68 311	65 454	65 507	67 905
CONSUPTION EXPENDITURE BY GENERAL GOVERNMENT	10 275	11 092	11 050	11 548	12 430	14 192	14 953	15 512	15 649	16 138	17 995	18 610	19 639	19 961	21 505	21 695	22 072	23 338
GROSS DOMESTIC FIXED INVESTMENT	19 942	22 123	23 364	24 488	26 238	28 799	28 168	26 291	25 551	26 511	31 135	33 757	32 771	31 210	30 580	28 619	23 631	23 303
CHANGE IN INVENTORIES	5 173	5 768	-1 899	1 052	5 367	2 560	-2 158	-1 542	-1 991	739	4 787	5 727	-3 064	-1 370	- 68	-3 962	-1 383	129
RESIDUAL ITEM	2 473	2 566	3 114	2 702	6 334	3 972	4 625	- 83	1 929	- 639	-3 955	476	1 106	-6 310	-2 145	-3 761	- 772	- 368
GROSS DOMESTIC EXPENDITURE	78 710	84 332	80 194	87 683	100 926	101 851	98 758	92 950	94 628	97 466	109 594	122 056	115 276	109 509	118 183	108 045	109 055	144 307
EXPORTS OF GOODS AND NON-FACTOR SERVICES	30 628	31 626	34 363	33 045	31 748	31 878	33 479	36 263	37 907	38 215	37 926	35 722	35 756	33 805	36 676	40 395	39 835	38 801
LESS IMPORTS OF GOODS AND NON-FACTOR SERVICES	30 065	32 920	28 344	32 170	39 559	38 065	33 903	29 352	29 561	29 161	34 878	39 462	33 295	27 604	33 198	28 299	27 554	28 638
EXPENDITURE ON GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT	81 694	85 981	87 674	91 130	97 636	99 827	101 296	101 329	104 236	107 621	113 689	119 114	118 210	115 710	121 661	120 141	121 336	124 470
% Change		5,2	2,0	3,9	7,1	2,2	1,5	0,3	2,9	3,2	5,6	4,8	-0,8	-2,2	5,1	-1,3	1,0	2,6

SOURCE: South African Reserve Bank, Quarterly Bulletin, December 1988.

V

ING OF GROSS DOMESTIC INVESTMENT – AT CURRENT PRICES–R MILLIONS

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
AL SAVING	782	1 190	1 389	1 184	1 153	1 895	1 149	2 690	2 200	3 641	4 306	2 275	1 332	2 292	2 485	3 993	2 253	2 692
ATE SAVING	239	255	391	1 065	1 344	986	1 373	1 576	2 452	4 204	7 132	6 405	3 891	7 419	7 670	8 555	9 565	11 313
OF GENERAL GOVERNMENT	439	280	388	934	1 180	814	417	508	816	723	2 026	1 404	-40	-1 036	-2 531	-1 688	-1 836	-3 580
SION FOR DEPRECIATION	1 359	1 570	1 852	2 166	2 638	3 385	4 246	4 902	5 801	6 886	8 194	9 860	12 218	14 453	16 344	19 722	24 864	27 851
DOMESTIC SAVING	2 816	3 295	4 020	5 349	6 315	7 080	7 185	9 676	11 269	15 454	21 658	19 944	17 401	23 128	23 968	30 582	34 846	38 276
APITAL INFLOW FROM THE REST OF THE	582	828	448	-45	901	1 926	1 149	-759	-1 297	-2 864	-2 284	3 084	3 256	1 159	1 333	-7 160	-8 380	-4 236
E IN GOLD AND OTHER FOREIGN RESERVES ICES	286	229	-358	97	97	-113	522	347	-33	-16	-534	1 005	89	-1 081	887	1 235	1 184	-1 916
DOMESTIC INVESTMENT	3 684	4 352	4 110	5 401	7 313	8 893	8 856	9 264	9 939	12 574	18 840	24 033	20 746	23 206	26 188	24 657	27 650	32 124
DOMESTIC PRODUCT AT MARKET PRICES	12 908	14 245	16 104	19 918	24 472	27 454	30 800	34 314	39 297	46 698	62 007	71 083	79 676	89 875	105 814	120 141	139 695	164 455
DOMESTIC SAVING AS % OF GROSS TIC PRODUCT	21,82%	23,13	24,96	26,86	25,81	25,79	23,33	28,20	28,68	33,09	34,93	28,06	21,84	25,73	22,65	25,46	24,94	23,27%
DOMESTIC INVESTMENT AS % OF GROSS TIC PRODUCT	28,54%	30,55	25,52	27,12	29,89	32,39	28,75	26,99	25,29	26,93%	30,38	33,81	26,03	25,82	24,75	20,52	19,79	19,53%

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THE BLACK LABOUR MOVEMENT AND ITS ROLE IN CHANGE

Johann Maree

Introduction

The Black labour movement in South Africa is currently the largest mass opposition movement that is organisationally intact and may operate legally inside the country. As a result it plays not only an important role in industry, but also in national politics. It consists mainly of two trade union federations, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). The United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA), Inkatha's labour wing, has not made much headway as a trade union in the workplace, but has rather posed as a threat to COSATU outside the workplace and can scarcely be regarded as a part of the trade union movement.

Although Black trade unionism is not new to South Africa (the first significant African trade union, the ICU, was founded in 1919) the present Black trade union movement is far larger and more significant than it has ever been in the country's history.(1) How and why this has happened is briefly considered below.

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1. Throughout this paper I use the term 'Blacks' to refer collectively to members of the African, Coloured and Indian population groups.

Emergence of Black Trade Union Movement

After the South African state banned the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) in 1960 and destroyed the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), Black opposition movements and collective action against the system receded drastically. Events took a dramatic turn in 1973 when a strike wave by approximately sixty thousand Black (mainly African) workers in Durban shook the country and gave an impetus to the revival of African trade unions in South Africa. Consequently African trade unions sprung up in the country's major industrial centres.

At that time African workers did not have the right to strike legally, nor did they enjoy statutory recognition of their trade unions. Coloured and Indian workers did however have the same rights as White workers to establish registered (i.e. statutorily recognised) trade unions. For the remainder of the decade of the 1970s these newly formed African unions struggled for survival and recognition from both employers and the state. These unions were referred to as either the emergent or the independent unions - emergent because this distinguished them from the established unions already in existence at the time, and independent because they strove to be autonomous and not to rely on the state, employers, or White unions for their existence.

By 1977 the South African state perceived that it could not eradicate the independent unions which placed a strong emphasis on workplace organisation and democratic participation by members and hence received committed support from African workers. As a result the government appointed the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation which recommend in 1979 that African trade unions should be recognised and brought into the statutory industrial relations system.

The government cautiously accepted the Wiehahn Commission's recommendation and in 1979 amended the Labour Relations Act by granting African workers the right, for the first time in the country's history, to form and belong to registered trade unions. There were still certain racial restrictions retained in the Act, but in 1981 it was again amended in such a way that all racially discriminatory clauses were excised. Except for certain existing job reservations which were to be scrapped over the following years (with the last remaining one finally removed last year) the principal industrial relations act in South Africa became completely nonracial in 1981 and granted the same industrial citizenship rights to all Black workers as to White workers. The Act also outlawed sexual discrimination in the setting of statutory minimum wages.

A word of warning needs to be sounded here however. Even though the Labour Relations Act does not make provision for racial and gender discrimination this does not mean that labour relations or the state's treatment of Black labour is free from discrimination. There are still numerous ways in which the state practices racial and gender discrimination in industrial relations.

After the state granted recognition to African trade unions the independent trade unions grew extremely rapidly in size and strength as Table 1 indicates. In the two four year periods since 1979 paid up membership, the most reliable indicator of union support, increased four- to fivefold.

Table 1

Independent Trade Union Membership

Year	Membership		
	Paid Up	Signed Up	Additional Claimed Membership
1979	40 000	88 300	49 000
1983	184 000	330 000	298 000
1987	989 000	1 416 000	n.a.

Note: These figures, although probably of the right order, have to be treated cautiously as there is a tendency towards inflation of membership figures by unions.

Of the 1,4 million signed up members in 1987 919 000 belonged to COSATU while NACTU claimed to have 497 000. The membership figures of both federations however declined in 1988 with COSATU's membership falling to 850 000 and NACTU's to around 250 000. This was due to some devastating

strikes by COSATU unions, a generally tougher policy towards the unions on the part of both the state and employers, and a tightening up on union membership claims by NACTU.

Significant Trends in the 1980s

(a) Employer Recognition of and Negotiation with Black Trade Unions

State recognition of the independent unions was rapidly followed by employer recognition of the unions. Whereas at the end of 1979 there were only five signed recognition agreements between unions and companies there were no less than 406 by 1983, with many more signed since then. The recognition agreements usually include provision for the negotiation of wages and working conditions as well as disciplinary and dismissal procedures. The agreements have curtailed the arbitrary exercise of managerial prerogative and, in particular, won greater security of employment by curtailing arbitrary and unfair dismissals. The unions have also proved to be tough wage negotiators and in the first nine months of 1988, for instance, they negotiated wage increases that averaged just below 18% per annum, well above the cost of living increase of 12.5% in 1988.

The unions have also been able to put a range of other issues onto the negotiating table and have made significant gains in some areas. These included retrenchment procedures, maternity, and in some cases, parental

agreements, and health and safety agreements. Two of the latest issues that unions and companies are negotiating about are provident funds and housing provision.

(b) Rise of National Industrial Unionism

Soon after the Wiehahn reforms general unions which placed a strong emphasis on community rather than workplace issues became very prominent. They however failed to make the progress in the workplace that industrial unions did and in the long run had to give way to industrial unions that were also making very rapid progress.

This process was accelerated with the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in November 1985 which took a policy decision at its launch to adopt a policy of industrial unionism and majoritarianism with the objective of establishing one union per industry. It resolved at the Launching Congress that the general unions would have to disband and merge with the appropriate industrial unions. At its launch COSATU consisted of thirty three unions of which five were general unions and thirteen small industrial unions. By the time of the Second National Congress in July 1987 COSATU consisted of only thirteen industrial unions as a result of rationalisation and mergers between the unions. At that stage the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) dominated COSATU with a paid up membership of 261 900 followed by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) with

a membership of 130 800. COSATU also has significant industrial unions operating on a national scale in the food (FAWU), retailing (CCAWUSA), textile (ACTWUSA), chemical (CWIU), paper (PPWAWU), and transport (TGWU and SARHWU) sectors. The National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) has a chemical union (SACWU) that operates on a truly national scale.

These factors have combined to give rise to the emergence of large national industrial unions in South Africa in the late 1980s in most of the major industrial sectors of the country. The significance of this development has been that these unions are putting pressure on employers to negotiate with them on a national centralised forum. While some success has been achieved many employers have firmly resisted the pressure to negotiate centrally. The national industrial unions have also proved their ability to enter into strikes that constitute real trials of strength between them and the companies.

(c) Increased Political Role of the Unions

As the unions grew in size and strength their political role in South African society increased. This is partly related to their increased ability to play a more political role, but also because there is pressure from their members and communities to intervene in political issues. This is because particularly Africans are excluded from representation in central government and because the

movements that have legitimacy in the majorities' eyes are either banned or restricted by the Emergency Regulations.

Although the unions publically articulated their intention to engage in politics from the early 1980s onwards the first overtly political act in which the unions demonstrated their muscle-power was in the two-day stayaway on the East Rand in November 1984 in protest against the occupation of the townships by the state's security forces. Between 300 000 and 800 000 workers stayed away over the two days with unionised factories giving overwhelming support to the stayaway.

Another remarkable feature of the stayaway was that the unions cooperated closely with other major opposition forces, particularly the students, in organising the stayaway in the East Rand. This heralded a trend within FOSATU, the predecessor of COSATU, of moving away from pursuing an independent political path to working in alliance with other progressive organisations.

This new direction in FOSATU's thinking reached its culmination in the formation of COSATU in 1985 which constituted a political realignment in the Black trade union movement in South Africa. The unions that came together to constitute COSATU represented two different political traditions. The one, represented by the FOSATU affiliates, favoured an autonomous path which set itself the task of building a purely working class political movement.

FOSATU, it was envisaged, would carry on placing an emphasis on workplace organisation and play a leading role in giving direction to the working class movement. This position was called 'workerist'. The other tradition was represented by fourteen of the COSATU unions which were affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF). These unions tended to place less emphasis on workplace organisation and favoured greater participation in community and other issues with other popular organisations comprising different class bases. They did not insist on the hegemony of working class organisations or the leadership of the unions in the struggle. This position was called 'populist'.

Intensive debates took place within COSATU after its formation over the appropriate political policy to pursue. The question was not whether to be political, but what the most appropriate political strategy would be. The dominant policy that emerged is one that can be termed 'alliance politics' and was spelled out at COSATU's Second National Congress in 1987. The resolution adopted at the Congress on political policy stated that COSATU should co-operate only with democratic and progressive organisations in 'disciplined alliances' which ensure that workers play a leading role. A democratic and progressive organisation is defined as one which has a proven record and history of mass mobilisation and action, principles and policies compatible with those of COSATU, a mass based constituency with

democratic structures that it is answerable to, and is nonracial.

At the 1987 Congress COSATU also adopted the Freedom Charter, the basic policy statement of the ANC, as a guiding document. By so doing, it placed itself firmly within the 'Charterist movement' with the ANC and the UDF. COSATU has thus transcended the 'workerist' and 'populist' positions of its constituents and arrived at a policy that places it firmly within the mass democratic movement yet retains an autonomy and leadership role for itself.

By contrast NACTU has adopted an Africanist political policy which stresses African leadership within the movement. When it was founded in 1986 it brought Africanist and Black Consciousness unions together into the same federation. This means in practice that, unlike COSATU, NACTU has not employed White officials in the unions nor would it contemplate organising White workers. Although NACTU also still holds to its founding principle of non-affiliation to any political organisation it does stand closer to organisations such as the National Forum and the PAC than to the avowedly nonracial UDF and ANC.

Both COSATU and NACTU have adopted socialist goals as the only means to achieve a fair distribution of wealth, especially for Blacks, in the country. They also share the general perception that apartheid and capitalism are closely, even inextricably, intertwined with each other.

The political engagement of unions increased from 1984 onwards with stayaways continued to be used as a form of political protest. Their frequency reduced after 1987 when mixed success was achieved and there was a general feeling that the strategy had been overutilised. The unions however achieved their greatest show of strength in a three-day stayaway in June 1988 in protest against the government's intended Amendment of the Labour Relations Act which was aimed at curtailing the unions' gains and militancy. An estimated two million workers stayed away every day from work in a massive display of anger and strength. Because of this display the unions came very close to negotiating a change to the Amendment of the Act in a tripartite arrangement between the unions, a national employers' organisation (SACCOLA), and the government.

Another indication of the political significance of the Black trade union movement is the fact that it was COSATU that made a call for an Anti-Apartheid Conference to be held shortly before the local government elections in South Africa in October 1988. This was both an indication of the extent of politicisation of COSATU and of the fact that, due to the State of Emergency, COSATU was the only mass extra-parliamentary opposition movement organisationally capable of organising the Conference to which virtually every opposition force in the country was invited to send

delegates. As it turned out, the Conference did not take place because the governement banned it.

Conclusion

The Black trade unions that emerged in the early 1970s are playing a vitally important role in bringing about change in South Africa. They are doing so in both industry and politics. In industry the unions have fundamentally altered the system of industrial relations and been instrumental in gaining the same industrial rights for African as for other workers. They have also brought employers to negotiate on a far wider range of issues relating to workers than ever before in the country's history.

Politically the unions have reached the stage where they are extensively influencing, if not dominating, Black opposition politics inside the country. By means of their size and organisational strength they have firmly placed workers' interests high on the agenda of Black political aspirations in South Africa.

Addendum

Black Trade Unions, Sanctions, Disinvestment and ESOPs

Johann Maree

At its 1987 Congress COSATU adopted a resolution supporting the call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions because, in COSATU's views, such measures would be effective in bringing pressure to bear while selective sanctions would not and only have the effect of causing serious unemployment in the region. On disinvestment the Congress took a more nuanced position. While condemning current disinvestment by multinational companies as 'nothing more than corporate camouflage' it resolved that, 'where disinvestment takes place companies must give COSATU notice of their intention to pull out of South Africa so that bona fide negotiations can take place'. This is 'to ensure that the social wealth of South Africa remains the property of the people of South Africa'.

Alec Erwin, a leading intellectual in COSATU and a trained economist, subsequently explained why COSATU adopted these resolutions. With regards to sanctions he argues that

> The base line from which all positions start is that this regime is an obstacle to change and must go. Achieving this requires a combination of pressures, and sanctions are one of those. Sanctions are unlikely to be decisive in themselves. Even if they threaten certain hardships, this is preferable to prolonging the life of this regime. If organised labour were to be opposed to sanctions this would weaken international

> pressure and provide the regime a great deal of political breathing space.(1)

With regards to disinvestment Erwin maintains that a careful study of foreign investment revealed that the South African state, through its heavy borrowing, stood to be hurt most by disinvestment as it was likely to include lending to the state. On the other hand disinvestment did not have a decisive effect on unemployment which had structural causes.

NACTU has adopted a similar policy to COSATU on the question of sanctions and also favours comprehensive sanctions because it 'recognises that foreign investment supports and maintains the economic system in this country'. It is only UWUSA, the labour wing of Inkatha, that is opposed to sanctions and disinvestment.

Whether rank and file members of trade unions support COSATU's stance on disinvestment and sanctions has been a disputed question amongst researchers. The question of how COSATU policy operates in practice is possibly more pertinent to this paper. Three different approaches by COSATU unions are considered here.

In April 1987 American Brands announced that the company's British based subsidiary planned to sell Mono Pumps in South Africa. The union concerned, NUMSA, made, and eventually won, two demands. As a result a R200 000 trust fund under

1. Sash, 31,3, December 1988, p.25.

majority worker control was set up and a further R200 000 shared equally between all Mono Pumps employees upon conclusion of the sale. This was seen as a victory by the union.

Ford Motor Company donated 24% of its shareholding in SAMCOR to its employees when it disinvested in 1987. The representative union, NUMSA, at first rejected what was broadly akin to a free employee share ownership plan (ESOP), but after giving the matter more thought, decided to accept the 24% share provided it was in a trust controlled by employees and the dividends would be used for the benefit of the communities in which employees reside. The scheme however backfired in the union's face as some employees started a campaign that the money in the trust should have gone directly to them. This precipitated a strike in SAMCOR and the matter ended up in legal wrangle between the union and an 'Anti-Trust' Committee. Unanimity has not yet been reached about the outcome of the dispute: the chairman of SAMCOR claims that the trust rules had been changed so that each worker could decide either to accept money from dividends or hand it back for use in community projects, but none of the workers had taken up the latter option when the first dividends were paid. NUMSA's general secretary maintains that a secret ballot requiring 75% support needs to be held before the rules can be changed and that this had not been done.

Generally the unions oppose employee share participation schemes initiated by companies in South Africa. This has been due to several reasons. Firstly because of the extremely cautious nature of the schemes: management often deliberately restrict the proportion of shares that employess may own to five or ten per cent of the total share issue of the company. Secondly because the unions see this as a form of delayed payments to workers. The unions are still struggling for living wages and they would prefer to see management put more into the workers' pay packets than hand out free shares to them. Thirdly, the unions fear that the ESOPs are an attempt to co-opt workers and to make them less militant.

The third approach adopted towards disinvestment by the unions is a pro-active one by the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU). In July 1987 it sent a letter to forty one multinational companies, including Caltex and Mobil, specifying the terms under which the multinationals should disinvest. The terms include the following:

* One year's notice of disinvestment during which time bona fide negotiations must be held;
* Full disclosure of the disinvestment including the reasons, asset sales and proceeds, and remaining connections in South Africa;
* No termination of existing agreements with unions and no less favourable conditions of employment;

* Each worker to receive a month's pay per year of service, wages to be guaranteed for one year from the date of disinvestment, and workers' housing loans from the company to be written off;

* The disinvesting company to pay over to a trust fund all the money from the disinvestment sale of the company; proceeds from royalties, licence fees, franchise and service arrangements also to be paid over to the trust fund.

The companies initially refused to respond and two sold out soon afterwards. The union thereupon declared a dispute with the remaining thirty nine companies and called upon the Minister of Manpower to set up a Conciliation Board, thereby setting in motion procedures that could eventually lead to a national strike against all the companies. The Minister refused to set up a Board, but the union continued to exert pressure on the companies. The stage that has been reached is that twenty four of the multinationals have agreed to negotiate with the union at company level over disinvestment procedures.

All three approaches by the unions show that they hold one thing in common: while they do not oppose disinvestment as such, they are strongly opposed to the disinvesting companies denying workers a fair share of the assets and income generated as a result of disinvesting.

REFORM, SECURITY AND WHITE POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA: QUO VADIS?

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REFORM, SECURITY AND WHITE POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA: QUO VADIS?

INTRODUCTION

The South African state is extremely complex. Too often it is comprehended through simplistic constructs that reduce this complexity to notions like the "white regime" and its strategies are explained in terms of the irrational racist predispositions of the Afrikaners. In reality, except for its racially exclusive nature, the South African state is not very different from the classic "bureaucratic authoritarian" regimes that the research team at the Woodrow Wilson Center studied as part of a project entitled "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule" (1).

"Bureaucratic authoritarianism" tends to emerge out of complex deeply embedded states located in newly industrialised countries which have a relatively well developed capitalist economy, a differentiated social structure, a loyal professionalised army, a strong domestic ruling group and a mobilised politically marginalised popular sector. These regimes concentrate power in the executive in order to either maintain a repressive status quo or manage a transition to a constrained and limited democracy.

To understand the South African state, the complexities of (a) its reform policies, (b) its security strategies, and (c) the state power structure must be comprehended.

"TOTAL STRATEGY"

PW Botha was elected leader of the National Party (NP) and Prime Minister in 1978 in the wake of a corruption scandal that toppled the previous Prime Minister, BJ Vorster. The alliance that put Botha into power comprised the "verligte" ("enlightened") afrikaner political establishment, the military, and reform oriented business interests.

PW Botha and the interests that backed him put together a reformist policy framework with aims that can be summarised as follows:

* South Africa is faced by a communist-inspired "total onslaught" that can be successful if the grievances exploited by the revolutionaries are not removed by a comprehensive reform programme;

* reform must be imposed from above by the state;

* all state structures and strategies must be reorganised and coordinated in accordance with a centrally determined "total strategy".

The dominant "counter-insurgency" (or "COIN") framework in the early 1980s emphasised intelligence, propaganda, selective repression and a "dynamic policy of change" to deal with the "revolutionary threat". The security planners believed that if the politicians delivered reform, they could "drive a wedge" between the revolutionary and the community in order to "win-the-hearts-and-minds" of the latter and "demoralise" the former. It was a strategy of political brinkmanship.

The reform programme of the early 1980s entailed significant changes to four areas of society: the workplace, the community, the constitutional order and the regional economies.

The workplace is probably the only area that can be said to have been fundamentally reformed in the true sense of the word. In 1979 legislation was introduced that defined african workers as bona fide "employees" for the first time and this, in turn, entitled them to join legally recognised trade unions. The state's aim was to prevent the emergeance of a politically radical labour movement.

Following the recommendations of the Riekert Commission of Inquiry into the labour allocation and settlement system, the government accepted the policy that africans should no longer be defined as "temporary sojourners" in the "white" urban areas. Once "urban rights" had been conceded for the first time, concessions on a range of related "rights" necessary followed, e.g. rights to property, trade, labour mobility, more housing and limited association. Because these rights were extended only to the "urban insiders", it followed that influx control needed to be tightened to ensure the more stringent exclusion of the "rural outsiders". The most direct expression of the new "permanent" status of the "insiders" was the establishment of fully autonomous local governments for the major african townships - the so-called Black Local Authorities.

In 1983 a new constitution was introduced that created the tri-cameral parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians. Africans were excluded on the grounds that they had their "own" "independent

states" through which they could express their national political aspirations. The theory was that the ethnic "independent states" and the South African state could all join together in a grand confederation - a vision that was equated with the European Community idea.

The "regional development" strategy was introduced in 1979 and further developed in 1982 at high profile meetings with the private sector. This was a strategy that boiled down to an attempt to decentralise industry to outlying development zones located in or near the homelands. This was part of the political policy of blocking black urbanisation by decentralising economic employment opportunities.

RESISTANCE: UNDOING 'TOTAL STRATEGY'

Throughout the 1980s, but more particularly during the 1984-86 uprising, resistance mounted by organised grassroots social movements exacerbated, highlighted and brought to the fore the key structural contradictions that original "total strategy" reforms failed to address.

As far as urban policy was concerned, the attempt to drive a wedge between "urban insiders" and "rural outsiders" by intensifying influx control was challenged and made unviable by two social movements. The

first and most important was the squatter struggles. Displaying desperate and relentless determination to escape grinding rural poverty, squatter communities broke through the urban wall and illegally invaded land to secure their right to urban existence.

The labour movement also helped undo the "rural-urban" divide. By organising migrant workers and urban proletarians into single industrial trade union organisations committed to joint wage demands, the intention to create two entirely separate labour markets - one urban and priviledged and the other rural and cheap - was severely undercut.

The local government system that was supposed to bind the new urban system together was soon in ruins. Because the state insisted that councils should raise their own finance for development, councillors were forced to increase rent and service charges. Their low levels of legitimacy meant neglecting development altogether was simply not an option. They needed to demonstrate the benefits of "participation in the system". The increased levies they imposed on the townships, however, triggered a nation-wide popular rebellion that began in the Vaal townships in September 1984 and spread across the country. By mid 1986 most Black local authorities had collapsed because of mass resignations or because councillors had been killed by residents.

Fiscal unviability was not the only problem. The root cause of the depth of popular protest was the fact that the local franchise was not tied to a programme for granting full political rights to blacks. This facilitated the emergence through the local community

organisations of a national political organisation - the United Democratic Front - committed to the total dismantling of Apartheid and the creation of a non-racial democracy.

The new labour dispensation failed to achieve its objectives. When the unions threatened to opppose the legislation because migrants were excluded from the right to join unions, the state backed down and extended the definition of "employee" to include migrant workers. More importantly, trade unions shunned the distinctions between "workplace" and "community" and between "economic" and "politica"l demands and mobilised their constituencies around workplace, community (e.g. housing) and political demands.

The tri-cameral parliament foundered on the rocks of popular resistance expressed through the election boycotts of 1984.

The confederal schema also began to come apart at the seams. The steady political and fiscal decline of model bantustans like Ciskei, Transkei and Bophutatswana made it abundantly clear that separate development and the grand vision of a Confederation of States was turning into a nightmare.

In short, "total strategy" inadvertently created spaces for the initiation and deepening of mass democratic mobilisation and organisation. By granting industrial rights, unions were spawned that challenged relations in the factories, cities and political society. Opening up the urban system generated urban movements that politicised civil society and destroyed the cornerstones of the Riekert policy framework. And constitutional reform provided the

focus for national organisation and resistance on a scale not seen since the 1950s. All these manifestations of resistance and opposition short-circuited key state strategies and prepared the way for new ones.

3

EXTENDING REFORM: POLITICAL REFORMERS TAKE THE LEAD

In the face of the failure of the early 'total strategy' reforms, intra-state conflicts emerged to contest the form and content of an alternative policy framework. The grouping within the state that was still the dominant influence in the Office of the State President and most well placed to take the initiative was the powerful collection of technocrats around Chris Heunis, the Minister of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning (DCDP). This group of "political reformers" were trying to outflank the hardliners in the security establishment (the so-called "securocrats") who were trying to get the State Security Council (SSC) and the President to agree to a much tougher approach. They succeeded in the end, but only after the political reformers were able to push the reform process to the brink of a negotiated settlement with the ANC.

Proceeding from the assumption that more concessions would satisfy black demands and legitimise state strategies, the political reformers in the DCDP responded to black rejection of reform by extending the reform programme. There were five critical moments in the extension of this programme:

* in November 1984, Minister Heunis announced that Black Local Authorities were to be included into the proposed Regional Services Councils. The latter were originally designed to be multi-racial local government bodies that would replicate at the local level the tri-cameral dispensation for whites, coloureds and Indians only. The BLAs were initially excluded because their link was supposed to be to the "independent states".

* in May 1985 Stoffel Van Der Merwe published his National Party pamphlet entitled "... and what about the Blacks?" which argued, amongst other things, that homelands were a failure.

* in September 1985 PW Botha announced that citizenship would be restored to all africans residing permanently in "South Africa".

* in late 1985 PW Botha conceded that the tri-cameral parliament was not the final solution, merely a step in a longer-term constitutional reform a process that would culminate in the inclusion of africans in the "highest level of decision-making".

* in September 1985 the Presidents Council published its report on urbanisation which culminated in the December 1985 statement by Heunis that blacks would be given freehold property rights and in the 1986 Abolition of Influx Control Act.

All these extensions of the reform programme were managed by the DCDP. They were ad hoc responses to popular pressure from political movements, business organisations, the international community, trade

unions, squatters and township organisations and the deepening sense of crisis. These shifts unintentionally undid existing policy positions without being coupled to a coherent set of alternatives.

Complementing the extension of the reform programme were moves encouraged by the Department of Foreign Affairs in particular to ensure that the proposals of the Eminent Persons Group were taken seriously. There were indications that the President had been enticed into a process of dialogue that the EPG believed had a reasonable chance - given the circumstances - of resulting in an agreement about the ground rules for a pre-negotiation phase.

In the end, however, both the DCDP's extension of the reform programme and the tentative moves towards a negotiated settlement engineered by the EPG were smashed by strategies and actions formulated and implemented via the National Security Management System (NSMS).

4

"COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE AND THE RISE OF THE 'SECUROCRATS'"

Historians will point to two events that marked a decisive turning point in the history of the Botha regime. The first was the scuttling of the EPG Mission following the bombing of three frontline state capitals in May 1986. The second was the declaration of the National

State of Emergency one month later on 12 June. Both were clear militaristic responses that demonstrated that the state had made its choice: instead of a slow crisis-ridden series of incremental changes culminating eventually in a Latin American style "transition to democracy" via some sort of negotiated settlement, the state chose to "reconsolidate its forces", "regain the initiative" and only then "negotiate from a position of strength".

The new strategy that emerged from the ranks of the security establishment - in particular the Department of Military Intelligence and the Security Branch of the South African Police - was built on principles derived from the theory of "counter-revolutionary warfare". Unlike old-style "counter-insurgency", this new framework rejected the utility of grand reformist visions that proceeded from the assumption that moral and political persuasion could win the support of the masses. Instead, these new hardline "securocrats" argued, the state must intervene directly in civil society in order to physically "eliminate the revolutionaries" from the communities, destroy the non-state sub-structures of opposition they had created and then invest large sums of money in socio-economic changes aimed at removing the "grievances that the revolutionaries exploited". Out of this, the securocrats argued, would arise a moderate pliable group of leaders who would be willing to negotiate on terms more favourable to the regime.

The new "counter-revolutionary warfare" plan can be summed as follows: <u>crush</u> what exists, <u>create</u> new social relations and then <u>negotiate</u> with the images you have made.

The National State of Emergency was declared on the basis of this policy framework. It translated in practical terms into a three-pronged approach:

* first, "eliminate the revolutionaries" by restoring law and order, i.e. mass detentions, intimidation and bannings of individuals and organisations;

* second, upgrade the townships - 34 of the most volatile townships were earmarked for special attention (the so-called 'oilspots');

* third, stop constitutional negotiations at central government level and proceed with the installation of a new constitutional dispensation for all groups - whites, coloureds, Indians and africans - at the local government level, i.e. the recently established Regional Services Councils.

It is this framework that is referred to by state officials as aimed at "winning-hearts-and-minds" and the opposition uses the acronym "WHAM" to describe its real intentions.

The municipal elections that took place in October 1988 were used by the state to test the degree of "success" of this approach. The result for all sides was inconclusive.

It is important to note that the "counter-revolutionary warfare" strategies are being implemented via the agencies of the National Security Management System. For the sake of perspective, this system must be comprehended in the context of the overall structure of executive power.

THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF EXECUTIVE POWER

The state, broadly defined, comprises three basic systems of power:

* the civil administration made up of the various state departments;

* the complex representation structure that includes the tri-cameral parliament, homelands, the various regional bodies and the numerous ethnically defined local government bodies;

* the National Security Management System with the State Security Council at its apex.

These three systems of power are bound together at the top by the extremely powerful organs that comprise the Office of the State President (OSP). The OSP presides over and coordinates these three systems of power. This is what makes it the epicentre of state power at the moment. The executive, therefore, comprises the cabinet, the State Security Council and the Office of the State President.

It is important to note that when PW Botha was elected National Party (NP) leader, this automatically made him Prime Minister because of the NP principle that combined these two offices. The 1983 constitution created the Office of the State President which is, in constitutional terms, a hybrid of the Westminister and Presidential systems. When the new constitution came into operation, PW Botha was elected by the NP to be its candidate for President. Because the NP has a majority in the electoral college that elects the President, PW Botha became President. However, once President, the constitution allows him to rule without his party's continued and renewed mandate. Up until his resignation as NP leader on February 2 1989, PW Botha derived his legitimacy from a political party that enjoys the support of most whites, i.e. he was still playing by the rules of the old westminister game even though he was constitutionally within his rights to break these rules. By resigning he effectively broke loose from his legitimatory moorings in order to mount a Bonapartist bid to define the state as representative of "all South Africans" - in spite of the absence of representational structures to express this so-called "will of the people". This gesture may have been the final blow to the NP's political importance, but it has triggered a reaction that has turned his own party against him.

Besides the inner cabal of "palace advisors" that surround Botha's person, the OSP is in reality a power structure that has at its disposal a series of instruments and powers that allows it to manipulate and control every facet of state action. The cabinet and NP are obvious cases in point - both have been totally dominated by

PW Botha's personality and political power. There are, however, mechanisms specific to the OSP itself, some of which will be referred to briefly here (see diagram 1):

* Welfare secretariat: this secretariat services the cabinet and cabinet committees. It is run by officials in the OSP and ensures Presidential control over the flow of instructions from cabinet ministers to the state departments.

* Commission for Administration: accountable directly to the President, this institution is charged with the task of ensuring that all executive decisions are carried out in the most organisationally effective way possible. It can issue orders that must be obeyed by Ministers and departmental heads.

* National Intelligence Service: with 5000 employees, this is the "eyes and ears" of the State President. The NIS is a huge intelligence gathering and evaluation organisation with informants located in all spheres of society. Because it is located in the OSP, it sits in the middle of the web of South African intelligence agencies. The others are the Department of Military Intelligence that falls under the South African Defense Force and hence under Minister Magnus Malan and the Security Branch of the South African Police that falls under Adrian Vlok, Minister of Law and Order.

* Ministry of Information: the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Film Industry in the Office of the State President coordinates according to a unified communications plan all the messages and communications of all levels of the state right down to the most

grassroots level. Using the mass of publications that the Minister in charge claimed has a readership of 2,5 million people, the state controlled television system and censorship powers, the OSP can effectively control most of the formal channels of communication that most whites depend on for news and knowledge.

* State President's National Priorities Committee: this Committee coordinates all decisions about economic policy and the design of the budget. It has no non-state representatives on it - a cause for much bitterness amongst businessmen, particularly when the economy is not doing well.

Probably the most important mechanism at the disposal of the OSP is the National Security Management System (NSMS) and its two top policy bodies, the State Security Council (SSC) and National Joint Management Centre (NJMC) (see diagram 2). It is this system that is charged with the "management of the Emergency" which is a task that has, in turn, become inseparable from the other branches of government. This was aptly put by a Department of Military Intelligence booklet which concluded its argument with a quote from General Templar, one-time Commander of British forces in Malaya:

> "Any idea that the business of normal government and the business of the Emergency are two separate entities must be killed for good and all. The two activities are completely and utterly inter-related."

The State Security Council (SSC) is at the apex of the NSMS. It brings together the most important of the cabinet ministers and the country's security chiefs. Its regular members are the state president (the chairman); the minister of defence; the ministers and directors-general of the departments of law and order, foreign affairs, finance, constitutional development and justice; and a few politically important cabinet ministers such as FW De Klerk.

The security officials on the SSC are the chief of the SADF (General Jannie Geldenhuys) and the chiefs of the army (Lt-General Kat Liebenberg), navy (Vice-Admiral Glyn Syndercombe), airforce (Lt-General Jan van Loggerenberg) and medical services (Lt-General Daniel Knobel); the directors of the National Intelligence Service and of military intelligence (Neil Barnard and Lt-General CJ van Tonder); the commissioner of police, Major-General Hennie de Witt and the chief of the security police, Major-General Johann van der Merwe; the director of security legislation, Andre Bosch, and the director-general of the state president's office, Dr Jannie Roux. Of the 23 permanent members of the SSC other than the state president, twelve are security men. The SSC is also able to co-opt onto itself for the purpose of specific discussions any other cabinet minister, senior civil servant or even industrialists such as the chairman of Armscor. It meets fortnightly, on a Monday night, the night before cabinet, which meets on a Tuesday. It assesses, from a security perspective, all executive decisions of state and decides on matters as fundamental as the Angola-Namibia peace settlement and the "invasion" of Bophuthatswana - a "foreign country" - to rescue its president from a coup bid.

The SSC is backed up by the four legs of the NSMS. The Work Committee, which provides expert backup to the SSC, consists of the heads of government departments represented on the SSC and the heads of the other three cabinet committees (the committees for social, economic and constitutional affairs, now subsumed under the welfare secretariate). Support to the Work Committee and the SSC is given by the secretariate of the SSC. No less than 70% tThe personnel of the secretariat are drawn from the SADF, 20% come from the NIS and Foreign Affairs provides 10%. It is reponsible for intelligence interpretation, strategic communication (what one General called "the war of words") strategy formulation and administration of the security management system. Co-ordination of planning and implementation of policy occurs in thirteen inter-departmental committees. These cover virtually every field of social activity in the state, illustrating the all encompassing interpretation security strategists have given to the SSC's defined role of advising the government on the formulation and implementation "of national policy and strategy in relation to the security of the Republic." (State Security Council Act of 1972) The thirteen committees cover: manpower, security services, civil defence, transport, security , national supplies and resources, government funding, the national economy, telecommunications and power supply, science and technology, community services, culture and political affairs. Taken together, their brief is virtually without limits. As the definition of security has broadened to include the management of most conceivable problems and processes, so the official designation of the system itself is beginning to change to simply the National Management System. This reflects the fact that the NSMS is no longer regarded as

simply a temporary measure, but that, in the words of one pro-government intelligence source, this "structure could become a permanent feature of government".

The real lifeblood of the NSMS is its fourth leg, i.e. the network of over 500 national, regional, district and local Joint Management Centres (JMCs). The NJMC coordinates the activities of both the welfare and security secretariates above it, while attempting to ensure the smooth functioning of the hundreds of committees below it. The latter include:

* eleven JMCs which divide the country into management regions corresponding to SADF area commands and, roughly, to the nine economic development regions;
* sixty odd sub-JMCs, with some having borders that correspond to the Regional Services Councils; and
* at the local level somewhere between 250 and 500 mini-JMCs and Local Management Centres which co-ordinate state action in almost every settled community in the country.

The JMCs bring together military, police and civilian officials, usually under the chairmanship of the ranking military or senior police officer. The functions of a JMC and the essence of the "counter-revolutionary warfare" strategy are apparent in each JMC's committee structure. Although there are frequently local variations in their precise makeup most, whether they are the NJMC, regional JMCs or local mini-JMCs, have four functional committees and a

coordinating executive with representatives of each on it. These four committees are the intelligence committee, the security committee, the welfare committee and the communications committee.

The body in charge of the daily management of this "state within a state" is the National Joint Management Centre. The NJMC was created shortly before the National State of Emergency was declared in 1986. Chaired by the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Leon Wessels, the NJMC used to meet daily and a reliable source said its headquarters was in Tuynhuis, the State President's residence. The NJMC has two primary committees: (a) the Social, Economic and Constitutional Committee to coordinate all "welfare" policies and actions; and (b) the Security Committee to coordinate what officials refer to as the "hard war" strategies and tactics. In other words, responsibility for the coordination of welfare and security policy now lies in the hands of the NJMC and it is this structure that is directly controlled by the OSP.

In short, with the operationalisation of "counter-revolutionary warfare" strategies and the declaration of the Emergency, the centre of gravity of the OSP shifted from the civil administration and the political system to the security establishment and the fully activated National Security Management System.

6

CONCLUSION

This paper has tried to trace the evolution of the structures and strategies of the South African state. Its responses to pressures within the white power bloc and challenges from below in the black communities have been twofold: firstly, it has changed strategic tack in search of new solutions; and secondly, it has adapted its power structures to manage and coordinate resources under emergency conditions. In the process, an authoritarian decision-making structure emerged with the State President at its epicentre and the security system operating as its most important executive arm.

Although the strategies of the Emergency state are having profound social and political effects, the outcomes of state actions do not correspond to the intentions of policy-makers.

The official position of the National Party government remains the insistance that, in PW Botha's words, "as far as I am concerned, I am not considering even to discuss the possibility of black majority government in South Africa." Preventing this outcome remains, in essence, the purpose of "counter-revolution" in South Africa. Yet in at least three instances elsewhere in the world where "counter-revolutionary warfare" strategies have been used to counter essentially national struggles (i.e. Vietnam, Algeria and Malaya), in the end the basic demands of nationalism had to be met. In South Africa, the complete absence of any constitutional resolution to the "national question" will guarantee ongoing mass resistance to white minority rule.

Furthermore, at a time when the Emergency state needs to finance rising security expenditure and the expensive "winning-hearts-and-minds" programme, there are increasing constraints on the national resource base. Sanctions, economic recession, political unrest and declining investment will exacerbate this structural limitation on the scope of state action. There is no evidence that the economy will achieve the 5-7% growth rate that Reserve Bank Deputy-Governer Jan Lombard recently argued is required to finance the socio-economic upgrading programmes.

Finally, the survival of mass opposition in the communities, schools and workplaces during the Emergency era calls into question the confident claims by security officials that the State of Emergency has succeeded in "eliminating the revolutionaries". Even they concede that there is "still a revolutionary climate".

NOTES

(1) see O'Donnel, et. al. (eds.), Transitions from Authoritarian Rule, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

H. R. 4868

Ninety-ninth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Tuesday, the twenty-first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-six

An Act

To prohibit loans to, other investments in, and certain other activities with respect to, South Africa, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986".

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SEC. 2. The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title.
Sec. 2. Table of contents.
Sec. 3. Definitions.
Sec. 4. Purpose.

TITLE I—POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO ENDING APARTHEID

Sec. 101. Policy toward the Government of South Africa.
Sec. 102. Policy toward the African National Congress, etc.
Sec. 103. Policy toward the victims of apartheid.
Sec. 104. Policy toward other countries in Southern Africa.
Sec. 105. Policy toward "frontline" states.
Sec. 106. Policy toward a negotiated settlement.
Sec. 107. Policy toward international cooperation on measures to end apartheid.
Sec. 108. Policy toward necklacing.
Sec. 109. United States Ambassador to meet with Nelson Mandela.
Sec. 110. Policy toward the recruitment and training of black South Africans by United States employers.

TITLE II—MEASURES TO ASSIST VICTIMS OF APARTHEID

Sec. 201. Scholarships for the victims of apartheid.
Sec. 202. Human rights fund.
Sec. 203. Expanding participation in the South African economy.
Sec. 204. Export-Import Bank of the United States.
Sec. 205. Labor practices of the United States Government in South Africa.
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Sec. 207. Employment practices of United States nationals in South Africa.
Sec. 208. Code of Conduct.
Sec. 209. Prohibition on assistance.
Sec. 210. Use of the African Emergency Reserve.
Sec. 211. Prohibition on assistance to any person or group engaging in "necklacing".
Sec. 212. Participation of South Africa in agricultural export credit and promotion programs.

TITLE III—MEASURES BY THE UNITED STATES TO UNDERMINE APARTHEID

Sec. 301. Prohibition on the importation of krugerrands.
Sec. 302. Prohibition on the importation of military articles.
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Sec. 304. Prohibition on computer exports to South Africa.

Sec. 305. Prohibition on loans to the Government of South Africa.
Sec. 306. Prohibition on air transportation with South Africa.
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Sec. 308. Government of South Africa bank accounts.
Sec. 309. Prohibition on importation of uranium and coal from South Africa.
Sec. 310. Prohibition on new investment in South Africa.
Sec. 311. Termination of certain provisions.
Sec. 312. Policy toward violence or terrorism.
Sec. 313. Termination of tax treaty and protocol.
Sec. 314. Prohibition on United States Government procurement from South Africa.
Sec. 315. Prohibition on the promotion of United States tourism in South Africa.
Sec. 316. Prohibition on United States Government assistance to, investment in, or subsidy for trade with, South Africa.
Sec. 317. Prohibition on sale or export of items on Munition List.
Sec. 318. Munitions list sales, notification.
Sec. 319. Prohibition on importation of South African agricultural products and food.
Sec. 320. Prohibition on importation of iron and steel.
Sec. 321. Prohibition on exports of crude oil and petroleum products.
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TITLE IV—MULTILATERAL MEASURES TO UNDERMINE APARTHEID

Sec. 401. Negotiating authority.
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TITLE V—FUTURE POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA

Sec. 501. Additional measures.
Sec. 502. Lifting of prohibitions.
Sec. 503. Study of health conditions in the "homelands" areas of South Africa.
Sec. 504. Reports on South African imports.
Sec. 505. Study and report on the economy of southern Africa.
Sec. 506. Report on relations between other industrialized democracies and South Africa.
Sec. 507. Study and report on deposit accounts of South African nationals in United States banks.
Sec. 508. Study and report on the violation of the international embargo on sale and export of military articles to South Africa.
Sec. 509. Report on Communist activities in South Africa.
Sec. 510. Prohibition on the importation of Soviet gold coins.
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Sec. 512. Report on the African National Congress.

TITLE VI—ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

Sec. 601. Regulatory authority.
Sec. 602. Congressional priority procedures.
Sec. 603. Enforcement and penalties.
Sec. 604. Applicability to evasions of Act.
Sec. 605. Construction of Act.
Sec. 606. State or local anti-apartheid laws, enforce.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. As used in this Act—

(1) the term "Code of Conduct" refers to the principles set forth in section 208(a);

(2) the term "controlled South African entity" means—

(A) a corporation, partnership, or other business association or entity organized in South Africa and owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by a national of the United States; or

(B) a branch, office, agency, or sole proprietorship in South Africa of a national of the United States;

(3) the term "loan"—

(A) means any transfer or extension of funds or credit on [illegible] or any assumption or guarantee of the obligation of another to repay an extension of funds or credit, including—

(i) overdrafts,

(ii) currency swaps,

(iii) the purchase of debt or equity securities issued by the Government of South Africa or a South African entity on or after the date of enactment of this Act,

(iv) the purchase of a loan made by another person,

(v) the sale of financial assets subject to an agreement to repurchase, and

(vi) a renewal or refinancing whereby funds or credits are transferred or extended to the Government of South Africa or a South African entity, and

(B) does not include—

(i) normal short-term trade financing, as by letters of credit or similar trade credits;

(ii) sales on open account in cases where such sales are normal business practice; or

(iii) rescheduling of existing loans, if no new funds or credits are thereby extended to a South African entity or the Government of South Africa;

(4) the term "new investment"—

(A) means—

(i) a commitment or contribution of funds or other assets, and

(ii) a loan or other extension of credit, and

(B) does not include—

(i) the reinvestment of profits generated by a controlled South African entity into that same controlled South African entity or the investment of such profits in a South African entity;

(ii) contributions of money or other assets where such contributions are necessary to enable a controlled South African entity to operate in an economically sound manner, without expanding its operations; or

(iii) the ownership or control of a share or interest in a South African entity or a controlled South African entity or a debt or equity security issued by the Government of South Africa or a South African entity before the date of enactment of this Act, or the transfer or acquisition of such a share, interest, or debt or equity security, if any such transfer or acquisition does not result in a payment, contribution of funds or assets, or credit to a South African entity, a controlled South African entity, or the Government of South Africa;

(5) the term "national of the United States" means—

(A) a natural person who is a citizen of the United States or who owes permanent allegiance to the United States or is an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence in the United States, as defined by section 101(a)(20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(20)); or

(B) a corporation, partnership, or other business association which is organized under the laws of the United States, any State or territory thereof, or the District of Columbia;

(6) the term "South Africa" includes—

(A) the Republic of South Africa;

(B) any territory under the Administration, legal or illegal, of South Africa; and

(C) the "bantustans" or "homelands", to which South African blacks are assigned on the basis of ethnic origin, including the Transkei, Bophuthatswana Ciskei, and Venda; and

(7) the term "South African entity" means—

(A) a corporation, partnership, or other business association or entity organized in South Africa; or

(B) a branch, office, agency, or sole proprietorship in South Africa of a person that resides or is organized outside South Africa; and

(8) the term "United States" includes the States of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and any territory or possession of the United States.

PURPOSE

SEC. 4. The purpose of this Act is to set forth a comprehensive and complete framework to guide the efforts of the United States in helping to bring an end to apartheid in South Africa and lead to the establishment of a nonracial, democratic form of government. This Act sets out United States policy toward the Government of South Africa, the victims of apartheid, and the other states in southern Africa. It also provides the President with additional authority to work with the other industrial democracies to help end apartheid and establish democracy in South Africa.

TITLE I—POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO ENDING APARTHEID

POLICY TOWARD THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 101. (a) United States policy toward the Government of South Africa shall be designed to bring about reforms in that system of government that will lead to the establishment of a nonracial democracy.

(b) The United States will work toward this goal by encouraging the Government of South Africa to—

(1) repeal the present state of emergency and respect the principle of equal justice under law for citizens of all races;

(2) release Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, black trade union leaders, and all political prisoners;

(3) permit the free exercise by South Africans of all races of the right to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process;

(4) establish a timetable for the elimination of apartheid laws;

(5) negotiate with representatives of all racial groups in South Africa the future political system in South Africa; and

(6) end military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighboring states.

(c) The United States will encourage the actions set forth in subsection (b) through economic, political, and diplomatic measures as set forth in this Act. The United States will adjust its actions toward the Government of South Africa to reflect the progress or lack of progress made by the Government of South Africa in meeting the goal set forth in subsection (a).

POLICY TOWARD THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, ETC.

SEC. 102 (a) United States policy toward the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, and their affiliates shall be designed to bring about a suspension of violence that will lead to the start of negotiations designed to bring about a nonracial and genuine democracy in South Africa.

(b) The United States shall work toward this goal by encouraging the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, and their affiliates, to—

(1) suspend terrorist activities so that negotiations with the Government of South Africa and other groups representing black South Africans will be possible;

(2) make known their commitment to a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa;

(3) agree to enter into negotiations with the South African Government and other groups representing black South Africans for the peaceful solution of the problems of South Africa;

(4) reexamine their ties to the South African Communist Party.

(c) The United States will encourage the actions set forth in subsection (b) through political and diplomatic measures. The United States will adjust its actions toward the Government of South Africa not only to reflect progress or lack of progress made by the Government of South Africa in meeting the goal set forth in subsection 101(a) but also to reflect progress or lack of progress made by the ANC and other organizations in meeting the goal set forth in subsection (a) of this section.

POLICY TOWARD THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID

SEC. 103. (a) The United States policy toward the victims of apartheid is to use economic, political, diplomatic, and other effective means to achieve the removal of the root cause of their victimization, which is the apartheid system. In anticipation of the removal of the system of apartheid and as a further means of challenging that system, it is the policy of the United States to assist these victims of apartheid as individuals and through organizations to overcome the handicaps imposed on them by the system of apartheid and to help prepare them for their rightful roles as full participants in the political, social, economic, and intellectual life of their country in the post-apartheid South Africa envisioned by this Act.

(b) The United States will work toward the purposes of subsection (a) by—

(1) providing assistance to South African victims of apartheid without discrimination by race, color, sex, religious belief, or political orientation, to take advantage of educational opportunities in South Africa and in the United States to prepare for leadership positions in a post-apartheid South Africa;

(2) assisting victims of apartheid;

(3) aiding individuals or groups in South Africa whose goals are to aid victims of apartheid or foster nonviolent legal or political challenges to the apartheid laws;

(4) furnishing direct financial assistance to those whose nonviolent activities had led to their arrest or detention by the

South African authorities and (B) to the families of those killed by terrorist acts such as "necklacings";

(5) intervening at the highest political levels in South Africa to express the strong desire of the United States to see the development in South Africa of a nonracial democratic society;

(6) supporting the rights of the victims of apartheid through political, economic, or other sanctions in the event the Government of South Africa fails to make progress toward the removal of the apartheid laws and the establishment of such democracy; and

(7) supporting the rights of all Africans to be free of terrorist attacks by setting a time limit after which the United States will pursue diplomatic and political measures against those promoting terrorism and against those countries harboring such groups so as to achieve the objectives of this Act.

POLICY TOWARD OTHER COUNTRIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

SEC. 104. (a) The United States policy toward the other countries in the Southern African region shall be designed to encourage democratic forms of government, full respect for human rights, an end to cross-border terrorism, political independence, and economic development.

(b) The United States will work toward the purposes of subsection (a) by—

(1) helping to secure the independence of Namibia and the establishment of Namibia as a nonracial democracy in accordance with appropriate United Nations Security Council resolutions;

(2) supporting the removal of all foreign military forces from the region;

(3) encouraging the nations of the region to settle differences through peaceful means;

(4) promoting economic development through bilateral and multilateral economic assistance targeted at increasing opportunities in the productive sectors of national economies, with a particular emphasis on increasing opportunities for nongovernmental economic activities;

(5) encouraging, and when necessary, strongly demanding, that all countries of the region respect the human rights of their citizens and noncitizens residing in the country, and especially the release of persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained without trial;

(6) encouraging, and when necessary, strongly demanding that all countries of the region take effective action to end cross-border terrorism; and

(7) providing appropriate assistance, within the limitations of American responsibilities at home and in other regions, to assist regional economic cooperation and the development of interregional transportation and other capital facilities necessary for economic growth.

POLICY TOWARD "FRONTLINE" STATES

SEC. 105. It is the sense of the Congress that the President should [illegible] of the African "frontline" states the

effects on them of disruptions in transportation or other economic links through South Africa and of means of reducing those effects.

POLICY TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT

SEC. 106. (a)(1) United States policy will seek to promote negotiations among representatives of all citizens of South Africa to determine a future political system that would permit all citizens to be full participants in the governance of their country. The United States recognizes that important and legitimate political parties in South Africa include several organizations that have been banned and will work for the unbanning of such organizations in order to permit legitimate political viewpoints to be represented at such negotiations. The United States also recognizes that some of the organizations fighting apartheid have become infiltrated by Communists and that Communists serve on the governing boards of such organizations.

(2) To this end, it is the sense of the Congress that the President, the Secretary of State, or other appropriate high-level United States officials should meet with the leaders of opposition organizations of South Africa, particularly but not limited to those organizations representing the black majority. Furthermore, the President, in concert with the major allies of the United States and other interested parties, should seek to bring together opposition political leaders with leaders of the Government of South Africa for the purpose of negotiations to achieve a transition to the post-apartheid democracy envisioned in this Act.

(b) The United States will encourage the Government of South Africa and all participants to the negotiations to respect the right of all South Africans to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process without fear of retribution by either governmental or nongovernmental organizations. It is the sense of the Congress that a suspension of violence is an essential precondition for the holding of negotiations. The United States calls upon all parties to the conflict to agree to a suspension of violence.

(c) The United States will work toward the achievement of agreement to suspend violence and begin negotiations through coordinated actions with the major Western allies and with the governments of the countries in the region.

(d) It is the sense of the Congress that the achievement of an agreement for negotiations could be promoted if the United States and its major allies, such as Great Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, and West Germany, would hold a meeting to develop a four-point plan to discuss with the Government of South Africa a proposal for stages of multilateral assistance to South Africa in return for the Government of South Africa implementing—

(1) an end to the state of emergency and the release of the political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela;

(2) the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement, and all other groups willing to suspend terrorism and to participate in negotiations and a democratic process;

(3) a revocation of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act and the granting of universal citizenship to all South Africans, including homeland residents; and

(4) the use of the international offices of a third party as an intermediary to bring about negotiations with the object of the establishment of power-sharing with the black majority.

POLICY TOWARD INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ON MEASURES TO END APARTHEID

SEC. 107. (a) The Congress finds that—

(1) international cooperation is a prerequisite to an effective anti-apartheid policy and to the suspension of terrorism in South Africa; and

(2) the situation in South Africa constitutes an emergency in international relations and that action is necessary for the protection of the essential security interests of the United States.

(b) Accordingly, the Congress urges the President to seek such cooperation among all individuals, groups, and nations.

POLICY TOWARD NECKLACING

SEC. 108. It is the sense of the Congress that the African National Congress should strongly condemn and take effective actions against the execution by fire, commonly known as "necklacing", of any person in any country.

UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO MEET WITH NELSON MANDELA

SEC. 109. It is the sense of the Senate that the United States Ambassador should promptly make a formal request to the South African Government for the United States Ambassador to meet with Nelson Mandela.

POLICY TOWARD THE RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS BY UNITED STATES EMPLOYERS

SEC. 110. (a) The Congress finds that—

(1) the policy of apartheid is abhorrent and morally repugnant;

(2) the United States believes strongly in the principles of democracy and individual freedoms;

(3) the United States endorses the policy of political participation of all citizens;

(4) a free, open, and vital economy is a primary means for achieving social equality and economic advancement for all citizens; and

(5) the United States is committed to a policy of securing and enhancing human rights and individual dignity throughout the world.

(b) It is the sense of the Congress that United States employers operating in South Africa are obliged both generally to actively oppose the policy and practices of apartheid and specifically to engage in recruitment and training of black and colored South Africans for management responsibilities.

TITLE II—MEASURES TO ASSIST VICTIMS OF APARTHEID

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID

SEC. 201. (a) Section 105(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by inserting "(1)" after "(b)"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2)(A)(i) Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section for the fiscal years 1987, 1988, and 1989, not less than $4,000,000 shall be used in each such fiscal year to finance education, training, and scholarships for the victims of apartheid, including teachers and other educational professionals, who are attending universities and colleges in South Africa. Amounts available to carry out this subparagraph shall be provided in accordance with the provisions of section 802(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985.

"(ii) Funds made available for each such fiscal year for purposes of chapter 4 of part II of this Act may be used to finance such education, training, and scholarships in lieu of an equal amount made available under this subparagraph.

"(B)(i) In addition to amounts used for purposes of subparagraph (A), the agency primarily responsible for administering this part, in collaboration with other appropriate departments or agencies of the United States, shall use assistance provided under this section or chapter 4 of part II of this Act to finance scholarships for students pursuing secondary school education in South Africa. The selection of scholarship recipients shall be by a nationwide panel or by regional panels appointed by the United States chief of diplomatic mission to South Africa.

"(ii) Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section and chapter 4 of part II of this Act for the fiscal years 1987, 1988, and 1989, up to an aggregate of $1,000,000 may be used in each such fiscal year for purposes of this subparagraph.

"(C)(i) In addition to the assistance authorized in subparagraph (A), the agency primarily responsible for administering this part shall provide assistance for inservice teacher training programs in South Africa through such nongovernmental organizations as TOPS or teachers' unions.

"(ii) Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section and chapter 4 of part II of this Act, up to an aggregate of $500,000 for the fiscal year 1987 and up to an aggregate of $1,000,000 for the fiscal year 1988 may be used for purposes of this subparagraph, subject to standard procedures for project review and approval.".

(b) The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting after section 116 the following new section:

"SEC. 117. ASSISTANCE FOR DISADVANTAGED SOUTH AFRICANS.—In providing assistance under this chapter or under chapter 4 of part II of this Act for disadvantaged South Africans, priority shall be given to working with and through South African nongovernmental organizations whose leadership and staff are selected on a nonracial basis, and which have the support of the disadvantaged communities being served. The measure of this community support shall be the willingness of a substantial number of disadvantaged persons to participate in activities sponsored by these organizations. Such organizations to which such assistance may be provided include the

Educational Opportunities Council, the South African Institute of Race Relations, READ, professional teachers' unions, the Outreach Program of the University of the Western Cape, the Funda Center in Soweto, SACHED, UPP Trust, TOPS, the Wilgespruit Fellowship Center (WFC), and civic and other organizations working at the community level which do not receive funds from the Government of South Africa.".

HUMAN RIGHTS FUND

SEC. 202. (a) Section 116(e)(2)(A) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by striking out "1984 and" and inserting in lieu thereof "1984,"; and

(2) by inserting after "1985" a comma and the following: "and $1,500,000 for the fiscal year 1986 and for each fiscal year thereafter".

(b) Section 116 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(f)(1) Of the funds made available to carry out subsection (e)(2)(A) for each fiscal year, not less than $500,000 shall be used for direct legal and other assistance to political detainees and prisoners and their families, including the investigation of the killing of protesters and prisoners, and for support for actions of black-led community organizations to resist, through nonviolent means, the enforcement of apartheid policies such as—

"(A) removal of black populations from certain geographic areas on account of race or ethnic origin,

"(B) denationalization of blacks, including any distinctions between the South African citizenships of blacks and whites,

"(C) residence restrictions based on race or ethnic origin,

"(D) restrictions on the rights of blacks to seek employment in South Africa and to live wherever they find employment in South Africa, and

"(E) restrictions which make it impossible for black employees and their families to be housed in family accommodations near their place of employment.

"(2)(A) No grant under this subsection may exceed $100,000.

"(B) The average of all grants under this paragraph made in any fiscal year shall not exceed $70,000.

"(g) Of the funds made available to carry out subsection (e)(2)(A) for each fiscal year, $175,000 shall be used for direct assistance to families of victims of violence such as 'necklacing' and other such inhumane acts. An additional $175,000 shall be made available to black groups in South Africa which are actively working toward a multi-racial solution to the sharing of political power in that country through nonviolent, constructive means.".

EXPANDING PARTICIPATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

SEC. 203. (a) The Congress declares that—

(1) the denial under the apartheid laws of South Africa of the rights of South African blacks and other nonwhites to have the opportunity to participate equitably in the South African economy as managers or owners of, or professionals in, business

(2) the policy of confining South African blacks and other nonwhites to the status of employees in minority-dominated businesses,

is an affront to the values of a free society.

(b) The Congress hereby—

(1) applauds the commitment of nationals of the United States adhering to the Code of Conduct to assure that South African blacks and other nonwhites are given assistance in gaining their rightful place in the South African economy; and

(2) urges the United States Government to assist in all appropriate ways the realization by South African blacks and other nonwhites of their rightful place in the South African economy.

(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of State and any other head of a department or agency of the United States carrying out activities in South Africa shall, to the maximum extent practicable, in procuring goods or services, make affirmative efforts to assist business enterprises having more than 50 percent beneficial ownership by South African blacks or other nonwhite South Africans.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

SEC. 204. Section 2(b)(9) of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 is amended—

(1) by striking out "(9) In" and inserting in lieu thereof "(9)(A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), in"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(B) The Bank shall take active steps to encourage the use of its facilities to guarantee, insure, extend credit, or participate in the extension of credit to business enterprises in South Africa that are majority owned by South African blacks or other nonwhite South Africans. The certification requirement contained in clause (c) of subparagraph (A) shall not apply to exports to or purchases from business enterprises which are majority owned by South African blacks or other nonwhite South Africans.".

LABOR PRACTICES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 205. (a) It is the sense of the Congress that the labor practices used by the United States Government—

(1) for the direct hire of South Africans,

(2) for the reimbursement out of official residence funds of South Africans and employees of South African organizations for their long-term employment services on behalf of the United States Government, and

(3) for the employment services of South Africans arranged by contract,

should represent the best of labor practices in the United States and should serve as a model for the labor practices of nationals of the United States in South Africa.

(b) The Secretary of State and any other head of a department or agency of the United States carrying out activities in South Africa shall promptly take, without regard to any provision of law, the necessary steps to ensure that the labor practices applied to the employment services described in paragraphs (1) through (3) of subsection (a) are governed by the Code of Conduct. Nothing in this

section shall be construed to grant any employee of the United States the right to strike.

WELFARE AND PROTECTION OF VICTIMS OF APARTHEID BY THE UNITED STATES

SEC. 206. (a) The Secretary of State shall acquire, through lease or purchase, residential properties in the Republic of South Africa that shall be made available, at rents that are equitable, to assist victims of apartheid who are employees of the United States Government in obtaining adequate housing. Such properties shall be acquired only in neighborhoods which would be open to occupancy by other employees of the United States Government in South Africa.

(b) There are authorized to be appropriated $10,000,000 for the fiscal year 1987 to carry out the purposes of this section.

EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES OF UNITED STATES NATIONALS IN SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 207. (a) Any national of the United States that employs more than 25 persons in South Africa shall take the necessary steps to insure that the Code of Conduct is implemented.

(b) No department or agency of the United States may intercede with any foreign government or foreign national regarding the export marketing activities in any country of any national of the United States employing more than 25 persons in South Africa that is not implementing the Code of Conduct.

CODE OF CONDUCT

SEC. 208. (a) The Code of Conduct referred to in sections 203, 205, 207, and 603 of this Act is as follows:

(1) desegregating the races in each employment facility;

(2) providing equal employment opportunity for all employees without regard to race or ethnic origin;

(3) assuring that the pay system is applied to all employees without regard to race or ethnic origin;

(4) establishing a minimum wage and salary structure based on the appropriate local minimum economic level which takes into account the needs of employees and their families;

(5) increasing by appropriate means the number of persons in managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical, and technical jobs who are disadvantaged by the apartheid system for the purpose of significantly increasing their representation in such jobs;

(6) taking reasonable steps to improve the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment with respect to housing, transportation, schooling, recreation, and health; and

(7) implementing fair labor practices by recognizing the right of all employees, regardless of racial or other distinctions, to self-organization and to form, join, or assist labor organizations, freely and without penalty or reprisal, and recognizing the right to refrain from any such activity.

(b) It is the sense of the Congress that in addition to the principles enumerated in subsection (a), nationals of the United States subject to section 207 should seek to comply with the following principle: taking reasonable measures to extend the scope of influence on

(1) supporting the unrestricted rights of black businesses to locate in urban areas;

(2) influencing other companies in South Africa to follow the standards of equal rights principles;

(3) supporting the freedom of mobility of black workers to seek employment opportunities wherever they exist, and make provision for adequate housing for families of employees within the proximity of workers' employment; and

(4) supporting the rescission of all apartheid laws.

(c) The President may issue additional guidelines and criteria to assist persons who are or may be subject to section 207 in complying with the principles set forth in subsection (a) of this section. The President may, upon request, give an advisory opinion to any person who is or may be subject to this section as to whether that person is subject to this section or would be considered to be in compliance with the principles set forth in subsection (a).

(d) The President may require all nationals of the United States referred to in section 207 to register with the United States Government.

(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the President may enter into contracts with one or more private organizations or individuals to assist in implementing this section.

PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE

SEC. 209. No assistance may be provided under this Act to any group which maintains within its ranks any individual who has been found to engage in gross violations of internationally recognized human rights (as defined in section 502B(d)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961).

USE OF THE AFRICAN EMERGENCY RESERVE

SEC. 210. Whenever the President determines that such action is necessary or appropriate to meet food shortages in southern Africa, the President is authorized to utilize the existing, authorized, and funded reserve entitled the "Emergency Reserve for African Famine Relief" to provide food assistance and transportation for that assistance.

PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE TO ANY PERSON OR GROUP ENGAGING IN "NECKLACING"

SEC. 211. No assistance may be provided under this Act, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, or any other provision of law to any individual, group, organization, or member thereof, or entity that directly or indirectly engages in, advocates, supports, or approves the practice of execution by fire, commonly known as "necklacing".

PARTICIPATION OF SOUTH AFRICA IN AGRICULTURAL EXPORT CREDIT AND PROMOTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 212. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act or any other provision of law, the Secretary of Agriculture may permit South Africa to participate in agricultural export credit and promotion programs conducted by the Secretary at similar levels, and under similar terms and conditions, as other countries that have

traditionally purchased United States agricultural commodities and the products thereof.

TITLE III—MEASURES BY THE UNITED STATES TO UNDERMINE APARTHEID

PROHIBITION ON THE IMPORTATION OF KRUGERRANDS

SEC. 301. No person, including a bank, may import into the United States any South African krugerrand or any other gold coin minted in South Africa or offered for sale by the Government of South Africa.

PROHIBITION ON THE IMPORTATION OF MILITARY ARTICLES

SEC. 302. No arms, ammunition, or military vehicles produced in South Africa or any manufacturing data for such articles may be imported into the United States.

PROHIBITION ON THE IMPORTATION OF PRODUCTS FROM PARASTATAL ORGANIZATIONS

SEC. 303. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no article which is grown, produced, manufactured by, marketed, or otherwise exported by a parastatal organization of South Africa may be imported into the United States, (1) except for agricultural products during the 12-month period from the date of enactment; and (2) except for those strategic minerals for which the President has certified to the Congress that the quantities essential for the economy or defense of the United States are unavailable from reliable and secure suppliers and except for any article to be imported pursuant to a contract entered into before August 15, 1986: *Provided*, That no shipments may be received by a national of the United States under such contract after April 1, 1987.

(b) For purposes of this section, the term "parastatal organization" means a corporation or partnership owned or controlled or subsidized by the Government of South Africa, but does not mean a corporation or partnership which previously received start-up assistance from the South African Industrial Development Corporation but which is now privately owned.

PROHIBITION ON COMPUTER EXPORTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 304. (a) No computers, computer software, or goods or technology intended to manufacture or service computers may be exported to or for use by any of the following entities of the Government of South Africa:

(1) The military.

(2) The police.

(3) The prison system.

(4) The national security agencies.

(5) ARMSCOR and its subsidiaries or the weapons research activities of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

(6) The administering authorities for controlling the movements of the victims of apartheid.

(7) Any apartheid enforcing agency.

(8) Any local, regional, or homelands government entity which performs any function of any entity described in paragraphs (1) through (7).

(b)(1) Computers, computer software, and goods or technology intended to service computers may be exported, directly or indirectly, to or for use by an entity of the Government of South Africa other than those set forth in subsection (a) only if a system of end use verification is in effect to ensure that the computers involved will not be used for any function of any entity set forth in subsection (a).

(2) The Secretary of Commerce may prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out this section.

PROHIBITION ON LOANS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 305. (a) No national of the United States may make or approve any loan or other extension of credit, directly or indirectly, to the Government of South Africa or to any corporation, partnership or other organization which is owned or controlled by the Government of South Africa.

(b) The prohibition contained in subsection (a) shall not apply to—

(1) a loan or extension of credit for any education, housing, or humanitarian benefit which—

(A) is available to all persons on a nondiscriminatory basis; or

(B) is available in a geographic area accessible to all population groups without any legal or administrative restriction; or

(2) a loan or extension of credit for which an agreement is entered into before the date of enactment of this Act.

PROHIBITION ON AIR TRANSPORTATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 306. (a)(1) The President shall immediately notify the Government of South Africa of his intention to suspend the rights of any air carrier designated by the Government of South Africa under the Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of South Africa Relating to Air Services Between Their Respective Territories, signed May 23, 1947, to service the routes provided in the Agreement.

(2) Ten days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall direct the Secretary of Transportation to revoke the right of any air carrier designated by the Government of South Africa under the Agreement to provide service pursuant to the Agreement.

(3) Ten days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall direct the Secretary of Transportation not to permit or otherwise designate any United States air carrier to provide service between the United States and South Africa pursuant to the Agreement.

(b)(1) The Secretary of State shall terminate the Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of South Africa Relating to Air Services Between Their Respective Territories, signed May 23, 1947, in accordance with the provisions of that agreement.

(2) Upon termination of such agreement, the Secretary of Transportation shall prohibit any aircraft of a foreign air carrier owned, directly or indirectly, by the Government of South Africa or

by South African nationals from engaging in air transportation with respect to the United States.

(3) The Secretary of Transportation shall prohibit the takeoff and landing in South Africa of any aircraft by an air carrier owned, directly or indirectly, or controlled by a national of the United States or by any corporation or other entity organized under the laws of the United States or of any State.

(c) The Secretary of Transportation may provide for such exceptions from the prohibition contained in subsection (a) or (b) as the Secretary considers necessary to provide for emergencies in which the safety of an aircraft or its crew or passengers is threatened.

(d) For purposes of this section, the terms "aircraft", "air transportation", and "foreign air carrier" have the meanings given those terms in section 101 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 (49 U.S.C. 1301).

PROHIBITIONS ON NUCLEAR TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 307. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

(1) the Nuclear Regulatory Commission shall not issue any license for the export to South Africa of production or utilization facilities, any source or special nuclear material or sensitive nuclear technology, or any component parts, items, or substances which the Commission has determined, pursuant to section 109b. of the Atomic Energy Act, to be especially relevant from the standpoint of export control because of their significance for nuclear explosive purposes;

(2) the Secretary of Commerce shall not issue any license for the export to South Africa of any goods or technology which have been determined, pursuant to section 309(c) of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978, to be of significance for nuclear explosive purposes for use in, or judged by the President to be likely to be diverted to, a South African production or utilization facility;

(3) the Secretary of Energy shall not, under section 57b.(2) of the Atomic Energy Act, authorize any person to engage, directly or indirectly, in the production of special nuclear material in South Africa; and

(4) no goods, technology, source or special nuclear material, facilities, components, items, or substances referred to in clauses (1) through (3) shall be approved by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission or an executive branch agency for retransfer to South Africa,

unless the Secretary of State determines and certifies to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate that the Government of South Africa is a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, done at Washington, London, and Moscow on July 1, 1968, or otherwise maintains International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards on all its peaceful nuclear activities, as defined in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978.

(b) Nothing in this section shall preclude—

(1) any export, retransfer, or activity generally licensed or generally authorized by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission or the Department of Commerce or the Department of Energy; or

(2) assistance for the purpose of developing or applying International Atomic Energy Agency or United States bilateral safeguards, for International Atomic Energy Agency programs generally available to its member states, for reducing the use of highly enriched uranium in research or test reactors, or for other technical programs for the purpose of reducing proliferation risks, such as programs to extend the life of reactor fuel and activities envisaged by section 223 of the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 or which are necessary for humanitarian reasons to protect the public health and safety.

(c) The prohibitions contained in subsection (a) shall not apply with respect to a particular export, retransfer, or activity, or a group of exports, retransfers, or activities, if the President determines that to apply the prohibitions would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of United States nonproliferation objectives or would otherwise jeopardize the common defense and security of the United States and, if at least 60 days before the initial export, retransfer, or activity is carried out, the President submits to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report setting forth that determination, together with his reasons therefor.

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA BANK ACCOUNTS

SEC. 308. (a) A United States depository institution may not accept, receive, or hold a deposit account from the Government of South Africa or from any agency or entity owned or controlled by the Government of South Africa except for such accounts which may be authorized by the President for diplomatic or consular purposes. For purposes of the preceding sentence, the term "depository institution" has the same meaning as in section 19(b)(1) of the Federal Reserve Act.

(b) The prohibition contained in subsection (a) shall take effect 45 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

PROHIBITION ON IMPORTATION OF URANIUM AND COAL FROM SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 309. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no—

(1) uranium ore,

(2) uranium oxide,

(3) coal, or

(4) textiles,

that is produced or manufactured in South Africa may be imported into the United States.

(b) This section shall take effect 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

PROHIBITION ON NEW INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 310. (a) No national of the United States may, directly or through another person, make any new investment in South Africa.

(b) The prohibition contained in subsection (a) shall take effect 45 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

(c) The prohibition contained in this section shall not apply to a firm owned by black South Africans.

TERMINATION OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS

SEC. 311. (a) This title and sections 501(c) and 504(b) shall terminate if the Government of South Africa—

(1) releases all persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained unduly without trial and Nelson Mandela from prison;

(2) repeals the state of emergency in effect on the date of enactment of this Act and releases all detainees held under such state of emergency;

(3) unbans democratic political parties and permits the free exercise by South Africans of all races of the right to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process;

(4) repeals the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act and institutes no other measures with the same purposes; and

(5) agrees to enter into good faith negotiations with truly representative members of the black majority without preconditions.

(b) The President may suspend or modify any of the measures required by this title or section 501(c) or section 504(b) thirty days after he determines, and so reports to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, that the Government of South Africa has—

(1) taken the action described in paragraph (1) of subsection (a),

(2) taken three of the four actions listed in paragraphs (2) through (5) of subsection (a), and

(3) made substantial progress toward dismantling the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy,

unless the Congress enacts within such 30-day period, in accordance with section 602 of this Act, a joint resolution disapproving the determination of the President under this subsection.

(c) It is the policy of the United States to support the negotiations with the representatives of all communities as envisioned in this Act. If the South African Government agrees to enter into negotiations without preconditions, abandons unprovoked violence against its opponents, commits itself to a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa under a code of law; and if nonetheless the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, or their affiliates, or other organizations, refuse to participate; or if the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress or other organizations—

(1) refuse to abandon unprovoked violence during such negotiations; and

(2) refuse to commit themselves to a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa under a code of law,

then the United States will support negotiations which do not include these organizations.

POLICY TOWARD VIOLENCE OR TERRORISM

SEC. 312. (a) United States policy toward violence in South Africa shall be designed to bring about an immediate end to such violence and to promote negotiations concluding with a removal of the system of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

(b) The United States shall work toward this goal by diplomatic and other measures designed to isolate those who promote terrorist attacks on unarmed civilians or those who provide assistance to individuals or groups promoting such activities.

(c) The Congress declares that the abhorrent practice of "necklacing" and other equally inhumane acts which have been practices in South Africa by blacks against fellow blacks are an affront to all throughout the world who value the rights of individuals to live in an atmosphere free from fear of violent reprisals.

TERMINATION OF TAX TREATY AND PROTOCOL

SEC. 313. The Secretary of State shall terminate immediately the following convention and protocol, in accordance with its terms, the Convention Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of South Africa for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and for Establishing Rules of Reciprocal Administrative Assistance With Respect to Taxes on Income, done at Pretoria on December 13, 1946, and the protocol relating thereto.

PROHIBITION ON UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT FROM SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 314. On or after the date of enactment of this Act, no department, agency or any other entity of the United States Government may enter into a contract for the procurement of goods or services from parastatal organizations except for items necessary for diplomatic and consular purposes.

PROHIBITION ON THE PROMOTION OF UNITED STATES TOURISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 315. None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by any provision of law may be available to promote United States tourism in South Africa.

PROHIBITION ON UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO, INVESTMENT IN, OR SUBSIDY FOR TRADE WITH, SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 316. None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by any provision of law may be available for any assistance to investment in, or any subsidy for trade with, South Africa, including but not limited to funding for trade missions in South Africa and for participation in exhibitions and trade fairs in South Africa.

PROHIBITION ON SALE OR EXPORT OF ITEMS ON MUNITIONS LIST

SEC. 317. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), no item contained on the United States Munition List which is subject to the jurisdiction of the United States may be exported to South Africa.

(b) Subsection (a) does not apply to any item which is not covered by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 418 of November 4, 1977, and which the President determines is exported solely for commercial purposes and not exported for use by the armed forces, police, or other security forces of South Africa or for other military use.

(c) The President shall prepare and submit to Congress every six months a report describing any license issued pursuant to subsection (b).

MUNITIONS LIST SALES, NOTIFICATION

SEC. 318. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the President shall:

(i) notify the Congress of his intent to allow the export to South Africa any item which is on the United States Munition List and which is not covered by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 418 of November 4, 1977, and

(ii) certify that such item shall be used solely for commercial purposes and not exported for use by the armed forces, police, or other security forces of South Africa or for other military use.

(b) The Congress shall have 30 calendar days of continuous session (computed as provided in section 906(b) of title 5, United States Code) to disapprove by joint resolution of any such sale.

PROHIBITION ON IMPORTATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND FOOD

SEC. 319. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no:

(1) agricultural commodity, product, byproduct of derivitive thereof,

(2) article that is suitable for human consumption, that is a product of South Africa may be imported into the customs territory of the United States after the date of enactment of this Act.

PROHIBITION ON IMPORTATION OF IRON AND STEEL

SEC. 320. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no iron or steel produced in South Africa may be imported into the United States.

PROHIBITION ON EXPORTS OF CRUDE OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

SEC. 321. (a) No crude oil or refined petroleum product which is subject to the jurisdiction of the United States or which is exported by a person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States may be exported to South Africa.

(b) Subsection (a) does not apply to any export pursuant to a contract entered into before the date of enactment of this Act.

PROHIBITION ON COOPERATION WITH THE ARMED FORCES OF SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 322. No agency or entity of the United States may engage in any form of cooperation, direct or indirect, with the armed forces of the Government of South Africa, except activities which are reasonably designed to facilitate the collection of necessary intelligence. Each such activity shall be considered a significant anticipated intelligence activity for purposes of section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947.

PROHIBITIONS ON SUGAR IMPORTS

SEC. 323. (a)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no sugars, sirups, or molasses that are products of the Republic of

South Africa may be imported into the United States after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) The aggregate quantity of sugars, sirups, and molasses that—

(A) are products of the Philippines, and

(B) may be imported into the United States (determined without regard to this paragraph) under any limitation imposed by law on the quantity of all sugars, sirups, and molasses that may be imported into the United States during any period of time occurring after the date of enactment of this Act,

shall be increased by the aggregate quantity of sugars, sirups, and molasses that are products of the Republic of South Africa which may have been imported into the United States under such limitation during such period if this section did not apply to such period.

(b)(1) Paragraph (c)(i) of headnote 3 of subpart A of part 10 of schedule 1 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States is amended—

(A) by striking out "13.5" in the item relating to the Philippines in the table and inserting in lieu thereof "15.8", and

(B) by striking out the item relating to the Republic of South Africa in the table.

(2) Paragraph (c) of headnote 3 of subpart A of part 10 of schedule 1 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph:

"(iii) Notwithstanding any authority given to the United States Trade Representative under paragraphs (e) and (g) of this headnote—

"(A) the percentage allocation made to the Philippines under this paragraph may not be reduced, and

"(B) no allocation may be made to the Republic of South Africa,

in allocating any limitation imposed under any paragraph of this headnote on the quantity of sugars, sirups, and molasses described in items 155.20 and 155.30 which may be entered.".

TITLE IV—MULTILATERAL MEASURES TO UNDERMINE APARTHEID

NEGOTIATING AUTHORITY

SEC. 401. (a) It is the policy of the United States to seek international cooperative agreements with the other industrialized democracies to bring about the complete dismantling of apartheid. Sanctions imposed under such agreements should be both direct and official executive or legislative acts of governments. The net economic effect of such cooperative should be measurably greater than the net economic effect of the measures imposed by this Act.

(b)(1) Negotiations to reach international cooperative arrangements with the other industrialized democracies and other trading partners of South Africa on measures to bring about the complete dismantling of apartheid should begin promptly and should be concluded not later than 180 days from the enactment of this Act. During this period, the President or, at his direction, the Secretary of State should convene an international conference of the other industrialized democracies in order to reach cooperative agreements to impose sanctions against South Africa to bring about the complete dismantling of apartheid.

(2) The President shall, not less than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, submit to the Congress a report containing—

(A) a description of United States efforts to negotiate multilateral measures to bring about the complete dismantling of apartheid; and

(B) a detailed description of economic and other measures adopted by the other industrialized countries to bring about the complete dismantling of apartheid, including an assessment of the stringency with which such measures are enforced by those countries.

(c) If the President successfully concludes an international agreement described in subsection (b)(1), he may, after such agreement enters into force with respect to the United States, adjust, modify, or otherwise amend the measures imposed under any provision of sections 301 through 310 to conform with such agreement.

(d) Each agreement submitted to the Congress under this subsection shall enter into force with respect to the United States if (and only if)—

(1) the President, not less than 30 days before the day on which he enters into such agreement, notifies the House of Representatives and the Senate of his intention to enter into such an agreement, and promptly thereafter publishes notice of such intention in the Federal Register;

(2) after entering into the agreement, the President transmits to the House of Representatives and to the Senate a document containing a copy of the final legal text of such agreement, together with—

(A) a description of any administrative action proposed to implement such agreement and an explanation as to how the proposed administrative action would change or affect existing law, and

(B) a statement of his reasons as to how the agreement serves the interest of United States foreign policy and as to why the proposed administrative action is required or appropriate to carry out the agreement; and

(3) a joint resolution approving such agreement has been enacted within 30 days of transmittal of such document to the Congress.

(e) It is the sense of the Congress that the President should instruct the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations to propose that the United Nations Security Council, pursuant to Article 41 of the United Nations Charter, impose measures against South Africa of the same type as are imposed by this Act.

LIMITATION ON IMPORTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

SEC. 402. The President is authorized to limit the importation into the United States of any product or service of a foreign country to the extent to which such foreign country benefits from, or otherwise takes commercial advantage of, any sanction or prohibition against any national of the United States imposed by or under this Act.

PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION

SEC. 403. (a) Any national of the United States who is required by this Act to terminate or curtail business activities in South Africa may bring a civil action for damages against any person, partnership, or corporation that takes commercial advantage or otherwise benefits from such termination or curtailment

(b) The action described in subsection (a) may only be brought, without respect to the amount in controversy, in the United States district court for the District of Columbia or the Court of International Trade. Damages which may be recovered include lost profits and the cost of bringing the action, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

(c) The injured party must show by a preponderance of the evidence that the damages have been the direct result of defendant's action taken with the deliberate intent to injure the party.

TITLE V—FUTURE POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA

ADDITIONAL MEASURES

SEC. 501. (a) It shall be the policy of the United States to impose additional measures against the Government of South Africa if substantial progress has not been made within twelve months of the date of enactment of this Act in ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy.

(b) The President shall prepare and transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate within twelve months of the date of enactment of this Act, and every twelve months thereafter, a report on the extent to which significant progress has been made toward ending the system of apartheid, including—

(1) an assessment of the extent to which the Government of South Africa has taken the steps set forth in section 101(b) of this Act;

(2) an analysis of any other actions taken by the Government of South Africa in ending the system of apartheid and moving toward a nonracial democracy; and

(3) the progress, or lack of progress, made in reaching a negotiated settlement to the conflict in South Africa.

(c) If the President determines that significant progress has not been made by the Government of South Africa in ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy, the President shall include in the report required by subsection (b) a recommendation on which of the following additional measures should be imposed:

(1) a prohibition on the importation of steel from South Africa;

(2) a prohibition on military assistance to those countries that the report required by section 508 identifies as continuing to circumvent the international embargo on arms and military technology to South Africa;

(3) a prohibition on the importation of food, agricultural products, diamonds, and textiles from South Africa;

(4) a prohibition on United States banks accepting, receiving, or holding deposit accounts from South African nationals; and

(5) a prohibition on the importation into the United States of strategic minerals from South Africa.

(d) A joint resolution which would enact part or all of the measures recommended by the President pursuant to subsection (c) shall be considered in accordance with the provisions of section 602 of this Act.

LIFTING OF PROHIBITIONS

SEC. 502. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the President may lift any prohibition contained in this Act imposed against South Africa if the President determines, after six months from the date of the imposition of such prohibition, and so reports to Congress, that such prohibition would increase United States dependence upon any member country or observer country of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.) for the importation of coal or any strategic and critical material by an amount which exceeds by weight the average amounts of such imports from such country during the period 1981 through 1985.

(b)(1) Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Commerce shall prepare and transmit to the Congress a report setting forth for each country described in subsection (a)—

(A) the average amount of such imports from such country during the period of 1981 through 1985; and

(B) the current amount of such imports from such country entering the United States.

(2) Thirty days after transmittal of the report required by paragraph (1) and every thirty days thereafter, the President shall prepare and transmit the information described in paragraph (1)(B).

STUDY OF HEALTH CONDITIONS IN THE "HOMELANDS" AREAS OF SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 503. The Secretary of State shall conduct a study to examine the state of health conditions and to determine the extent of starvation and malnutrition now prevalent in the "homelands" areas of South Africa and shall, not later than December 1, 1986, prepare and transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report setting forth the results of such study.

REPORT ON SOUTH AFRICAN IMPORTS

SEC. 504. (a) Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit 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 the United States is dependent on the importation from South Africa of—

(1) chromium,
(2) cobalt,
(3) manganese,
(4) platinum group metals,
(5) ferroalloys, and
(6) other strategic and critical materials (within the meaning of the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act).

(b) The President shall develop a program which reduces the dependence, if any, of the United States on the importation from South Africa of the materials identified in the report submitted under subsection (a).

STUDY AND REPORT ON THE ECONOMY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

SEC. 505. (a) The President shall conduct a study on the role of

be done, and what can be done to expand the trade, private investment, and transport prospects of southern Africa's landlocked nations.

(b) Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall prepare and transmit to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report setting forth the findings of the study conducted under subsection (a).

REPORT ON RELATIONS BETWEEN OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES AND SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 506. (a) Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall prepare and transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report containing a detailed assessment of the economic and other relationships of other industrialized democracies with South Africa. Such report shall be transmitted without regard to whether or not the President successfully concluded an international agreement under section 401.

(b) For purposes of this section, the phrase "economic and other relationships" includes the same types of matters as are described in sections 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, sections 301 through 307, and sections 309 and 310 of this Act.

STUDY AND REPORT ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONALS IN UNITED STATES BANKS

SEC. 507. (a)(1) The Secretary of the Treasury shall conduct a study on the feasibility of prohibiting each depository institution from accepting, receiving, or holding a deposit account from any South African national.

(2) For purposes of paragraph (1), the term "depository institution" has the same meaning as in section 19(b)(1) of the Federal Reserve Act.

(b) Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report detailing the findings of the study required by subsection (a).

STUDY AND REPORT ON THE VIOLATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL EMBARGO ON SALE AND EXPORT OF MILITARY ARTICLES TO SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 508. (a) The President shall conduct a study on the extent to which the international embargo on the sale and exports of arms and military technology to South Africa is being violated.

(b) Not later than 179 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report setting forth the findings of the study required by subsection (a), including an identification of those countries engaged in such sale or export, with a view to terminating United

REPORT ON COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

SEC. 509. (a) Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall prepare and transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate an unclassified version of a report, prepared with the assistance of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Advisor, and other relevant United States Government officials in the intelligence community, which shall set forth the activities of the Communist Party in South Africa, the extent to which Communists have infiltrated the many black and nonwhite South African organizations engaged in the fight against the apartheid system, and the extent to which any such Communist infiltration or influence sets the policies and goals of the organizations with which they are involved.

(b) At the same time the unclassified report in subsection (a) is transmitted as set forth in that subsection, a classified version of the same report shall be transmitted to the chairmen of the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate and of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives.

PROHIBITION ON THE IMPORTATION OF SOVIET GOLD COINS

SEC. 510. (a) No person, including a bank, may import into the United States any gold coin minted in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or offered for sale by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(b) For purposes of this section, the term "United States" includes the States of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and any territory or possession of the United States.

(c) Any individual who violates this section or any regulations issued to carry out this section shall be fined not more than five times the value of the rubles involved.

ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR DISADVANTAGED SOUTH AFRICANS

SEC. 511 (a) Chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 535. ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR DISADVANTAGED SOUTH AFRICANS.—(a)(1) Up to $40,000,000 of the funds authorized to be appropriated to carry out this chapter for the fiscal year 1987 and each fiscal year thereafter shall be available for assistance for disadvantaged South Africans. Assistance under this section shall be provided for activities that are consistent with the objective of a majority of South Africans for an end to the apartheid system and the establishment of a society based on non-racial principles. Such activities may include scholarships, assistance to promote the participation of disadvantaged South Africans in trade unions and private enterprise, alternative education and community development programs.

"(2) Up to $3,000,000 of the amounts provided in each fiscal year pursuant to subsection (a) shall be available for training programs for South Africa's trade unionists.

"(b) Assistance provided pursuant to the section shall be made available notwithstanding any other provision of law and shall not be used to provide support to organizations or groups which are financed or controlled by the Government of South Africa. Nothing in this subsection may be construed to prohibit programs which are consistent with subsection (a) and which award scholarships to students who choose to attend South African-supported institutions.".

(b) Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall prepare and transmit to the Congress a report describing the strategy of the President during the five-year period beginning on such date regarding the assistance of black Africans pursuant to section 535 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and describing the programs and projects to be funded under such section.

REPORT ON THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

SEC. 512. (a) Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney General shall prepare and transmit to the Congress a report on actual and alleged violations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, and the status of any investigation pertaining thereto, by representatives of governments or opposition movements in Subsaharan Africa, including, but not limited to, members or representatives of the African National Congress.

(b) For purposes of conducting any investigations necessary in order to provide a full and complete report, the Attorney General shall have full authority to utilize civil investigative demand procedures, including but not limited to the issuance of civil subpenas.

TITLE VI—ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

REGULATORY AUTHORITY

SEC. 601. The President shall issue such rules, regulations, licenses, and orders as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, including taking such steps as may be necessary to continue in effect the measures imposed by Executive Order 12532 of September 9, 1985, and Executive Order 12535 of October 1, 1985, and by any rule, regulation, license, or order issued thereunder (to the extent such measures are not inconsistent with this Act).

CONGRESSIONAL PRIORITY PROCEDURES

SEC. 602. (a)(1) The provisions of this subsection apply to the consideration in the House of Representatives of a joint resolution under sections 311(b), 401(d), and 501(d).

(2) A joint resolution shall, upon introduction, be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

(3)(A) At any time after the joint resolution placed on the appropriate calendar has been on that calendar for a period of 5 legislative days, it is in order for any Member of the House (after consultation with the Speaker as to the most appropriate time for the consideration of that joint resolution) to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of that joint resolution. The motion is highly privileged and is in order even though a previous motion to

the same effect has been disagreed to. All points of order against the joint resolution under clauses 2 and 6 of Rule XXI of the Rules of the House are waived. If the motion is agreed to, the resolution shall remain the unfinished business of the House until disposed of. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the motion is disagreed to shall not be in order.

(B) Debate on the joint resolution shall not exceed ten hours, which shall be divided equally between a Member favoring and a Member opposing the joint resolution. A motion to limit debate is in order at any time in the House or in the Committee of the Whole and is not debatable.

(C) An amendment to the joint resolution is not in order.

(D) At the conclusion of the debate on the joint resolution, the Committee of the Whole shall rise and report the joint resolution back to the House, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution to final passage without intervening motion.

(b)(1) The provisions of this subsection apply to the consideration in the Senate of a joint resolution under section 311(b), 401(d), or 501(d).

(2) A joint resolution shall, upon introduction, be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

(3) A joint resolution described in this section shall be considered in the Senate in accordance with procedures contained in paragraphs (3) through (7) of section 8066(c) of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1985 (as contained in Public Law 98-473), except that—

(A) references in such paragraphs to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate shall be deemed to be references to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate; and

(B) amendments to the joint resolution are in order.

(c) For purposes of this subsection, the term "joint resolution" means only—

(A) in the case of section 311(b), a joint resolution which is introduced in a House of Congress within 3 legislative days after the Congress receives the report described in section 311(b) and for which the matter after the resolving clause reads as follows: "That the Congress, having received on the report of the President containing the determination required by section 311(b) of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, disapproves of such determination.", with the date of the receipt of the report inserted in the blank;

(B) in the case of section 401(d)(3), a joint resolution which is introduced in a House of Congress within 3 legislative days after the Congress receives the document described in section 401(d)(2) and for which the matter after the resolving clause reads as follows: "That the Congress, having received on the text of the international agreement described in section 401(d)(3) of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, approves of such agreement.", with the date of the receipt of the text of the agreement inserted in the blank; and

(C) in the case of section 501(d), a joint resolution which is introduced in a House of Congress within 3 legislative days after the Congress receives the determination of the President pursuant to section 501(c) and for which the matter after the resolving clause reads as follows: "That the Congress, having received on a determination of the President under section

501(c) of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, approves the President's determination.", with the date of the receipt of the determination inserted in the blank.

(d) As used in this section, the term "legislative day" means a day on which the House of Representatives or the Senate is in session, as the case may be.

(e) This section is enacted—

(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking powers of the House of Representatives and the Senate, and as such it is deemed a part of the Rules of the House and the Rules of the Senate, respectively, but applicable only with respect to the procedure to be followed in the House and the Senate in the case of joint resolutions under this section, and it supersedes other rules only to the extent that it is inconsistent with such rules; and

(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of the House and the Senate to change their rules at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of the House or Senate, and of the right of the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives to report a resolution for the consideration of any measure.

ENFORCEMENT AND PENALTIES

SEC. 603. (a)(1) The President with respect to his authorities under section 601 shall take the necessary steps to ensure compliance with the provisions of this Act and any regulations, licenses, and orders issued to carry out this Act, including establishing mechanisms to monitor compliance with this Act and such regulations, licenses, and orders.

(2) In ensuring such compliance, the President may—

(A) require any person to keep a full record of, and to furnish under oath, in the form of reports or otherwise, complete information relative to any act or transaction described in this Act either before, during, or after the completion thereof, or relative to any interest in foreign property, or relative to any property in which a foreign country or any national thereof has or has had any interest, or as may be otherwise necessary to enforce the provisions of this Act; and

(B) conduct investigations, hold hearings, administer oaths, examine witnesses, receive evidence, take depositions, and require by subpena the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of all books, papers, and documents relating to any matter under investigation.

(b) Except as provided in subsection (d)—

(1) any person that violates the provisions of this Act, or any regulation, license, or order issued to carry out this Act shall be subject to a civil penalty of $50,000;

(2) any person, other than an individual, that willfully violates the provisions of this Act, or any regulation, license, or order issued to carry out this Act shall be fined not more than $1,000,000;

(3) any individual who willfully violates the provisions of this Act or any regulation, license, or order issued to carry out this Act shall be fined not more than $50,000, or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both; and

(4) any individual who violates section 301(a) or any regulations issued to carry out that section shall, instead of the

penalty set forth in paragraph (2), be fined not more than 5 times the value of the krugerrands or gold coins involved.

(c)(1) Whenever a person commits a violation under subsection (b)—

(A) any officer, director, or employee of such person, or any natural person in control of such person who knowingly and willfully ordered, authorized, acquiesced in, or carried out the act or practice constituting the violation, and

(B) any agent of such person who knowingly and willfully carried out such act or practice,

shall be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply in the case of a violation by an individual of section 301(a) of this Act or of any regulation issued to carry out that section.

(3) A fine imposed under paragraph (1) on an individual for an act or practice constituting a violation may not be paid, directly or indirectly, by the person committing the violation itself.

(d)(1) Any person who violates any regulation issued under section 208(d) or who, in a registration statement or report required by the Secretary of State, makes any untrue statement of a material fact or omits to state a material fact required to be stated therein or necessary to make the statements therein not misleading, shall be subject to a civil penalty of not more than $10,000 imposed by the Secretary of State. The provisions of subsections (d), (e), and (f) of section 11 of the Export Administration Act of 1979 shall apply with respect to any such civil penalty.

(2) Any person who commits a willful violation under paragraph (1) shall upon conviction be fined not more than $1,000,000 or imprisoned not more than 2 years, or both.

(3) Nothing in this section may be construed to authorize the imposition of any penalty for failure to implement the Code of Conduct.

APPLICABILITY TO EVASIONS OF ACT

SEC. 604. This Act and the regulations issued to carry out this Act shall apply to any person who undertakes or causes to be undertaken any transaction or activity with the intent to evade this Act or such regulations.

CONSTRUCTION OF ACT

SEC. 605. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as constituting any recognition by the United States of the homelands referred to in this Act.

STATE OR LOCAL ANTI-APARTHEID LAWS, ENFORCE

SEC. 606. Notwithstanding section 210 of Public Law 99-349 or any other provision of law—

(1) no reduction in the amount of funds for which a State or local government is eligible or entitled under any Federal law may be made, and

(2) no other penalty may be imposed by the Federal Government,

by reason of the application of any State or local law concerning apartheid to any contract entered into by a State or local government for 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

THOMAS S. FOLEY,
Speaker of the House of Representatives pro tempore.

STROM THURMOND,
President of the Senate pro tempore.

I certify that this Act originated in the House of Representatives.

BENJAMIN J. GUTHRIE,
Clerk.

CHRONOLOGY

1488	Portuguese mariner Bartolomeu Dias discovers Cape of Good Hope.
1652	Jan van Riebeck establishes provision station for Dutch East India Company at Cape.
1779-1908	Series of wars on the expanding frontier with the Nguni--primarily ZULU--including the famous 1878-79 campaign against the ZULU and the last uprising by Dinizulu in 1906-08.
1795	Cape of Good Hope surrenders to the British. (It reverted to the Dutch in 1803 but returned to the British in 1806.)
1817-1828	Rise of Shaka and the Mfecane, i.e. the scattering of the NGUNI tribes out of the interior of South Africa.
1820	5,000 British settlers arrive in eastern Cape.
1835-1837	Great Trek (migration of Boers from Cape and British administration, into highland interior).
1866-1871	Discovery of diamonds in Kimberley area, beginning industrial era in South Africa.
1886	Discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand (world's richest reef, or deposit).
1889-1902	Anglo-Boer War.
1909	South African Native Convention meets to protest terms of the draft constitution for the Union of South Africa.

1910	Establishment of Union of South Africa. South Africa becomes a self-governing dominion within the British Empire. Union consists of the four provinces of Natal, the Cape, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The three British High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland (now Botswana), Basutoland (now Lesotho) and Swaziland, as well as Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), are excluded from the Union.
1912	Formation of the South African Native National Congress (renamed the African National Congress in 1925) as the oldest African nationalist movement on the continent.
1913	Bantu Land Act (with subsequent 1936 amendment set up land bases for present homeland).
1914	National Party is established by General J.B.M. Hertzog.
1920	League of Nations gives South Africa mandate for South West Africa.
1936	Blacks are removed from the common voting roles in the Cape Province where they had a qualified franchise and an indirect method of representation is introduced.
1945	South Africa joins U.N. as Charter Member.
1948	National Party comes to power, defeating Jan Smuts' United Party.
1948-1959	Series of laws removing all political representation for blacks, coloreds, and Indians in the Cape and Natal.

1950	Passage of Population Registration Act
	Passage of Group Areas Act.
	Banning of the South African Communist Party
	ANC sets up London overseas office.
1952	Introduction of "Pass Laws."
	Beginning of the "Defiance Campaign" led by the ANC to protest the Pass Laws.
1953	Introduction of Bantu Education.
1955	The "Congress of the People" hosted by the ANC draws up the Freedom Charter.
1958	Dr. H.F. Verwoerd becomes Prime Minister.
1959	Eleven U.P. Parliamentarians split away to form new Progressive Party.
	Promotion of Bantu self-Government Act (First promulgation of homelands).
	Formation of the Pan African Congress by members of the ANC, led by Robert Sobukwe, who were disgruntled with the multi-racial approach of the ANC--wanted to reduce communist influence and stick with traditional African nationalism.
1960	British Prime Minister Macmillan's "winds of change" speech to South Africa Parliament in Cape Town.
	Sharpeville: 69 blacks shot by police during campaign against enforced carrying of pass books.
	African National Congress and Pan African Congress resistance movements banned and leadership goes underground. PAC's Robert Sobukwe is imprisoned.

1961	Union of South Africa becomes Republic of South Africa; the Republic of South Africa withdraws from the British Commonwealth. Formation of "Umhonto we Sizwe" (The Spear of the Nation) by the ANC as a paramilitary sabotage unit.
1963-1964	Nelson Mandela captured and, along with most of the ANC executives, tried for treason in what became known as the Rivonia Trial. Mandela is sentenced to life in prison and bulk of the leadership goes to jail or exile.
1966	Dr. Verwoerd assassinated in Parliament, succeeded by Justice Minister B.J. Vorster.
1966	U.N. passes Resolution 2145 terminating South Africa's mandate for South West Africa (Namibia).
1967	Passage of Terrorism Act.
1969	The formation of the South African Students Organization, the first of the black consciousness entities. South African government passes the South West Africa Affairs Bill which gave it the power to apply South African laws, including apartheid restrictions, in Namibia.
1971	Bantu Homelands Constitution Act.
1972	The formation of the Black Peoples' Convention, the main black consciousness political body.
1973	The U.N. General Assembly approves Resolution 3111 (XXVIII) which recognizes the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) as "the authentic representative of the Namibian people."

1974 Prime Minister Vorster's "six-month" speech at Nigel and Ambassador Pik Botha's speech in the U.N., about moving away from discrimination.

Coup in Portugal and agreement to relinquish Portuguese control over Mozambique and Angola.

The revival by Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi of the Inkatha yeNkululenko yeSizwe (Inkatha), an old Zulu cultural organization as his political vehicle.

1975 Mozambique (June) and Angola (November) become independent.

(November) South African troops move into Angola against MPLA.

1976 Pretoria officially recognizes new government of Transkei (first of four "homelands" to become "independent").

(March) South African troops withdraw from Angola and deploy along border of SWA (Namibia).

Black townships of Soweto erupt into violence after peaceful protests against a South African government directive that half of all courses above the primary level be taught in Afrikaans in Soweto. At least 750 persons killed in Soweto and disturbances spread to much of the rest of the country, particularly the Eastern Cape. In all over the next year, possibly 2,000 persons killed.

(August) Turnhalle Conference in Windhoek decides on multiracial interim government with Namibia independence set for December 1978.

1977 The Progressive Federal Party is formed from the old United Party and the Progressive Party. It becomes the official opposition.

Western Five led by the United States begin Namibia negotiations with South Africa and SWAPO.

(September) Steven Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa, dies in police detention.

(October 19) Banning and detention of most significant black groups and leaders.

(November) General election with Nationalist Party receiving largest parliamentary majority in history.

1978 The formation of the Azanian Peoples' Organization (AZAPO) to replace the banned BPC.

South Africa and SWAPO accept Western Five Namibia plan (later called the U.N. plan) for Namibian independence which called for free elections under U.N. supervision and cessation of hostile acts by all parties.

U.N. Secretary General Waldheim issues plan to implement Western Five proposal on Namibia. South Africa rejects Waldheim plan. UNSC passes resolution accepting UN SYG Waldheim report implementing Western Five proposal on Namibia (Resolution 435).

Vorster resigns and P.W. Botha becomes Prime Minister.

1979 Black Labor Unions are allowed to organize legally after passage into law of Weihahn Commission Report.

Lancaster House settlement is signed granting independence to Rhodesia as the new nation of Zimbabwe.

1980 Zimbabwe becomes independent. Robert Mugabe and his ZANU party win first election.

1981 "Pre-implementation" negotiations on Namibian independence are held in Geneva under U.N. auspices but collapse without agreement on implementing the U.N. proposals.

1982 (March) The Conservative party is formed to the right of the government.

(August) The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is launched at the annual conference of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), at that time the largest black labor federation. A young lawyer, Cyril Ramaphosa, was asked to organize NUM, which was to become the largest single union in South Africa (over 500,000 membership in 1988) and the most powerful.

1983

A national convention of over 400 diverse organizations, including trade unions, church and civic groups, forms the United Democratic Front (UDF), an organization adhering to the ANC's Freedom Charter.

AZAPO and other black consciousness organizations meet to form the National Front as a counter to the UDF. Organization flounders over time.

The white electorate approves a new constitution which replaces that of 1961 and grants limited electoral power to "colored" and Asian South Africans but none to blacks.

1984

A new Tri-Cameral Parliament is introduced by terms of the new constitution in which coloreds and Indians are represented along with whites. Whites have 178 seats, coloreds 85, and Indians 45. White control is assured with the State President having veto power over all legislation. Africans are excluded.

South Africa and Mozambique sign the Nkomati Accord, a mutual nonaggression pact.

The South African government states that forced removals of blacks would be suspended; in early May, it admitted that about 2 million black persons had been resettled by the government since 1960.

Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, a black South African and General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, is awarded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of his efforts on behalf of peaceful change in South Africa.

1985 (July) South African government proclaims a state of emergency in 36 cities and towns in response to increasing anti-government violence. The declaration empowers the government to make arrests without warrants, impose curfews, and detain suspects for interrogation indefinitely.

(November) Eleven new unions affiliated with the UDF, along with the National Union of Mineworkers merge with the Federation of South African Trade Unions, one of the old federations, to form the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). COSATU, closely associated with the UDF, will become the largest black labor federation with a reported membership of 1.3 million in 1988.

1984-1986 South Africa is in turmoil with constant political disturbances, set off by the elections leading up to the new parliamentary system, which culminate in widespread rioting and violence. Black townships in the Eastern Cape and Transvaal become "ungovernable."

1986 The Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), now without the Mineworkers, decides to merge with the Azania Council of Trade Unions, a black consciousness associated federation, to form the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). Still associated with the "Africanist" or black consciousness view, NACTU is the smaller of the two major federations with 150,000 membership.

1987 State of Emergency is extended to entire country and still remains in effect.

Parliamentary elections show strength of Conservative Party which becomes official opposition, ousting the liberal Progressive Federal Party. National Party holds firm majority.

1988 (February) Government banns United Democratic Front and 16 other anti-apartheid organizations.

(March) Sharpeville Six are granted stay of execution as a result of the introduction of new evidence. President Botha later commutes sentence.

(March) South African commandos launch raid on suspected ANC house in Gaborone.

(March) Dulcie September, ANC representative in Paris, is assassinated outside her office.

(September) Three prominent political prisoners escape and take refuge in the U.S. Consulate in Johannesburg. Leave U.S. Consulate in October.

(October) Municipal elections are held throughout the country, including back townships, to put in place elected town councils to rule over local matters. Black turnout is 10-15%. Conservative Party takes over most white towns in the Transvaal.

(November) A member of neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement opens fire on blacks in downtown Pretoria, killing six. Government responds by banning ultra-rightwing White Liberation Movement--the first white group to be banned.

(December) Three UDF leaders are sentenced to 10-12 years in prison in Delmas/Pretoria treason trial, longest running trial in South Africa's history.

(December) Signing of peace accords with Angola which call for withdrawal of Cuban troops by 1991 and the implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia leading to its independence in 1989.

(December) President P.W. Botha has a stroke and is partially paralyzed.

1989

(January) F.W. de Klerk is named new leader of the National Party but Botha holds on to presidency.

(January) Liberal opposition announces a coalition to form a new party, the Democratic Party, to the left of the government.

(March) Botha resumes duties as State President. National Party Caucus unanimously requests his retirement and struggle for party leadership ensues.

SOUTH AFRICA

A Country Profile

The Republic of South Africa occupies the southernmost portion of the African continent. It stretches from the Limpopo River in the north to Cape Agulhas in the south. Its area is 472,359 square miles; about twice the size of Texas.

The country has a narrow coastal zone and an extensive interior plateau with altitudes ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. South Africa lacks important arterial rivers or lakes, so extensive water conservation and control are necessary. The country is surrounded on three sides by the ocean (the Atlantic in the east and the Indian Ocean in the south and west). In total there is about 2,700 miles of coastline.

South Africa's climate is generally moderate, with sunny days and cool nights. The seasons are reversed because the country is in the Southern Hemisphere. The average mean temperature is remarkably uniform, the most southerly point having a mean yearly temperature of 61.8°F, while Johannesburg, about 1,000 miles to the northeast and 5,700 feet higher, has an annual mean temperature of 60.8°F. Mean annual precipitation ranges from less than 5 inches along the west coast to 40 inches or more in the east.

South Africa shares borders with Namibia (Southwest Africa), the Republic of Botswana, Zimbabwe, the Kingdom of Swaziland and the People's Republic of Mozambique. Its possessions, the Prince Edward and Marion islands, (taken in 1948) are found 1,920 km southeast of Cape Town.

South Africa is divided into four provinces: the Cape Province which covers about 198,760 square miles or 57.1% of the territory; the Transvaal with an area of 81,930 square mile or 23.6% of the country; the Orange Free State (OFS), 38,860 square miles or 11.2%; and the smallest province, Natal, with an 28,310 square miles or 8.1% of the territory.

The total population of South Africa is estimated at 37 million*. Much of the country is urbanized and the five major urban centers in South Africa in terms of population are: the Cape Peninsula (1,911,521 people); Johannesburg (1,609,408); East Rand (1,038,108); Durban (982,075); and Port Elizabeth (822,925).

South African law divides the population into four major population categories: the Whites, Indians, Coloreds, and Africans.

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*All population data are estimates, as a new census will not be undertaken until 1991.

The Whites are approximately 16% of the population. They are mainly descendants of Dutch, French, English, and German settlers. Fifty-six percent are Afrikaners (who speak Afrikaans) and 36% are English speaking. Ninety percent of Whites live in cities. The majority live in the Transvaal, 73% of whom live in the urban areas of Pretoria-Witerwatersand-Verreenging.

The Indians constitute 3% of the population. They are mainly descendants of Indian workers brought to South Africa in the mid-19th century as indentured laborers on sugar estates in Natal. Ninety-three percent of Indians are urbanized. Eighty five percent of all Indians still live in Natal, within 150km of Durban.

Coloreds are designated as such because they come from a mixed race origin. They make up 9% of the population and live primarily in the Cape Province, mostly in the peninsula and along the west and south coasts as far a Port Elizabeth. Approximately seventy-eight percent of them live in cities.

Africans are the largest population group in the country, making up 72% of the population. They are mainly descendants of Sotho and Nguni peoples who migrated southward centuries ago. They are subdivided into 10 groups corresponding to the 10 ethnically based "homelands" (or national states). Four of these are considered independent by the South Africa government: Transkei, Venda, Ciskei, and Bophuthatswana. The largest African ethnic groups are Zulu (6.4 million). Other large groups are Xhosas (6.2 million), North Sothos (2.9 million), Tswanas (2.9 million), South Sothos (1.9 million), Shangaan-Tsongas (1.1 million), and Swazis (1 million). Forty-five percent of Africans live in the "homelands" and about 40% (10 million people) live in urban areas.
English and Afrikaans are the official languages of South Africa. However, there are 11 other languages spoken in the country (not one is spoken by a majority of all the people).

Christianity is the predominant religion in the country, and diverse christian sects exist. There are also small Hindu and Islamic poulations, mostly among the Indians, and a small Jewish population among the English speaking Whites.

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KEY ECONOMIC INDICATORS
(Money Values in $US Billions Except as Noted)

Domestic Economy	1986	1987	est 1988	PERCENT CHANGE 1986-1987
Gross Domestic Product (market prices)	61.2	81.0	96.0	18.3
Gross Fixed Domestic Investment	12.7	16.4	19.8	19.1
Private Consumption	33.8	45.5	55.0	20.3
Government Consumption	11.4	15.5	18.5	21.6
Treasury Expenditures	17.3	23.0	27.0	18.8
Treasury Receipts	14.4	18.4	22.4	14.2
Government Fiscal Deficit	2.8	4.6	4.6	46.9
Population (millions)	33.4	34.2	35.1	8.5
Per Capita GDP ($US)	1800	2400	2700	19.2
Manufacturing Volume Index	95.5	98	N/A	2.6
Mining Volume Index	100.9	97	N/A	-3.9
Nonagricultural Employment Index	103.4	104	N/A	.58
Balance of Payments and Foreign Investment				
Exports (FOB)	18.3	20.8	22.4	1.6
Gold Output	7.3	8.6	9.8	5.3
Exports to the U.S. (U.S. data)	2.5	1.3	N/A	-48.0
Imports (FOB)	11.2	13.7	15.7	9.3
Imports from the U.S. (U.S. data)	1.3	1.2	N/A	-7.7
Trade Balance	7.1	7.1	6.7	10.6
Current Account Balance	3.2	3.2	2.0	10.7
Foreign Reserves Held by Reserve Bank	2.0	3.5	3.5	56.2
U.S. Direct Investment (Book Value; U.S. data)	1.3	N/A	N/A	N/A
External Public Debt	1.6	N/A	N/A	N/A
Commercial Exchange Rate (US$/rand)	0.438	0.49	0.49	N/A
Selected Growth Rates				
Gross Domestic Product	0.5	2.5	3.0	
Gross Domestic Fixed Investment	- 17.6	- 0.3	5.0	
Personal Consumption	0.3	3.8	4.0	
Government Consumption	1.7	5.0	4.0	
Consumer Price Index (year-end)	18.3	15	14.5	
Producer Price Index (year-end)	16.4	12	11.0	
Non-gold Export Volumes	7.0	0	1.0	
Import Volumes	- 5.1	5.0	9.0	

Notes on Table: Primary data sources are the South African Reserve Bank and the Central Statistical Services. Data are subject to revision and may not appear as previously reported. Values for 1987 and 1988 have been forecast from data available as of December 1987, except for entries marked "N/A," for which no forecasts were made. Rand values have been converted into dollars using the exchange rates shown. Growth rates are real, reflect rand-denominated values, and may differ from growth in dollar-denominated values. Treasury receipts and expenditures exclude debt transactions. Population estimates are based on the 1985 census, adjusted to include the "independent" homelands. Indices are based on 1980 averages set at 100. Foreign reserves are year-end foreign currency reserves and gold holdings valued at 90 percent of recent average London gold fixings.

SUMMARY

Most of the classic early signs of a cyclical economic upswing have been evident in South Africa for nearly 2 years: lower interest rates, depleted commercial inventories, large trade and current account surpluses, and, until the recent crash, record prices on the stock exchange. In short, the "fuel" has become available for a strong economic recovery after 6 years of minimal growth. Moreover, the fiscal and monetary authorities have virtually pushed the economy's gas pedal to the floor with heavy deficit spending and negative real interest rates. Until quite recently, however, the recovery has failed to generate any sustained forward momentum.

The key to creating sustained forward momentum for the economy has been a revival of domestic economic confidence, especially in the form of stronger consumer spending. Consumers have weathered a traumatic period of record personal indebtedness, record interest rates, falling real wages, and a rising tax burden relative to income. Their willingness and ability to borrow new money, and thus boost private-sector spending, have recovered only gradually, despite more stable domestic financial markets. Now that consumer borrowing is again showing signs of life, a recovery of domestic investment is needed to consolidate the upswing. However, the rate at which investment will recover is difficult to forecast accurately, depending as it does on the state of surplus capacity after years of minimal maintenance, business perceptions of long-term prospects, and adjustments to changing spending patterns.

There are some signs that the modest recovery that began in 1987 will carry forward into 1988: increases in world gold and other mineral prices, stronger growth in domestic monetary aggregates, and early indications of a good agricultural year. Economic analysts anticipate roughly 3 percent real economic growth in 1988, with a current account balance of about $2 billion and inflation cooling to slightly less than 15 percent. However, until South Africa can normalize its external economic relations and create a firmer basis for internal stability, economic growth is likely to remain well below the 5 percent necessary to absorb new entrants in the labor market.

Slow economic growth and the depressed value of the rand have cut sharply into U.S. exports to South Africa over the past several years. While market conditions may improve modestly in 1988, the best prospects remain in those areas where U.S. manufacturers maintain a technological advantage, such as mining equipment, process control equipment, computer hardware and software, and industrial and scientific instrumentation. In addition, there are business opportunities in the black community, particularly in consumer products, franchising, and joint ventures.

RECENT ECONOMIC GROWTH TRENDS

The economic recovery, which had proved surprisingly weak in the first half of 1986, gained a little more momentum in the second half. Performance nonetheless has remained uneven. Seasonally-adjusted and annualized real GDP growth rates by quarter were:

4th Q. 1986	1st Q. 1987	2nd Q. 1987	3rd Q. 1987
3.5%	2%	1%	1.5%

One positive sign for the recovery is that poor third quarter of 1987 growth may be attributed to weak performances by the mining and agricultural sectors, whereas the rest of the economy grew an annualized and seasonally adjusted 6 percent. Admittedly, some of the factors that hurt primary sector output (e.g., a three-week-long strike by black mine workers) could be repeated in 1988 to the detriment of growth. On balance, however, strong growth outside of the primary sectors suggests that domestic economic confidence has in large measure returned.

Gross domestic expenditure was boosted by a continued modest recovery in consumer spending, which has grown an average of 4 percent (annualized and seasonally adjusted) over the past 5 quarters. For example, vehicle sales rose sharply from their dismal 1986 level. Real domestic fixed investment continued to shrink (according to preliminary data) for the sixth straight year. Even here, however, the apparent reduction was quite modest. With durable goods spending on the upswing and some spare industrial capacity having been written off after years of significant underutilization, the way seems clear for a modest upswing in investment.

EMPLOYMENT AND LABOR

The uneven economic upswing probably has reduced unemployment rates marginally in the short run, although the official data on black unemployment have been widely challenged. A government survey of black unemployment (excluding the "independent homelands") indicated that 15.8 percent were unemployed as of July 1987, down from a January figure of 17.4 percent. However, in May 1987 an official government advisory body, the President's Council, appeared to accept estimates of total unemployment of about 3.3 million in a work force of just over 12 million. Official surveys of "colored" and Asian unemployment in January 1987 showed unemployment rates of 10.7 percent and 10.8 percent, respectively.

According to the Reserve Bank, nominal wages and salaries per employee in the nonagricultural sectors of the economy rose 14.4 percent in 1986, compared to 11.1 percent in 1985. In real terms, remuneration per employee declined by 3.6 percent in 1986, versus a drop of 4.4 percent in 1986. Average wage rates in the manufacturing sector are low relative to the levels in the major industrialized countries. South Africa has no national minimum wage. The average factory wage rate for the first half of 1987 was R3.05 an hour, an increase of 17.3 percent over the same period a year earlier (i.e., wages in manufacturing are roughly keeping pace with inflation).

Black trade unions were accorded full legal status in 1979 and have grown tremendously since then. According to government estimates, trade union membership stood at 2,069,000 at the end of 1986, and at least half of those trade union members were black. Strike action has increased steadily since 1983. In 1986, 1,308,958 work days were lost to strike action, compared to 678,274 in 1985 (an increase of 93 percent). The upward trend in strike action continued in 1987 at a rapid rate. According to private estimates, over 1 million work days were lost to strike action in the first half of 1987 alone (even before major August strikes in mining and postal services).

MONEY AND PRICES

South African authorities have maintained expansionary monetary and fiscal policies intended to rekindle economic growth and thus reduce black unemployment. Debt-weary consumers and investors initially failed to respond to this intended stimulus, apparently out of a combination of interest rate fears (most loans have variable rates) and broader concerns over the economic and political climate. The level of personal debt fell modestly from historic highs as consumers used extra income to pay off old obligations rather than enter into major new durable goods purchases. More recently, credit demand has begun a gradual recovery, reflecting, as examples, the stronger vehicle sales and rebuilding of commercial inventories.

South Africa's inflation rate (which was 18 percent in 1986) has cooled modestly to around 15 percent at year-end, but has remained consistently far above those of the country's major trading partner countries since the early 1980s. Should inflationary pressures gain even more strength, the monetary authorities probably would react by tightening monetary policy somewhat, thus forcing the prime lending rate up from its current 12.5 percent, where it sat for virtually all of 1987.

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

The fiscal year 1987/88 budget called for a fiscal deficit before borrowing equivalent to 4.7 percent of forecast gross domestic product. Revenues were projected at R39 billion and expenditures budgeted at R46 billion. As a proportion of GDP, this target deficit would have been higher than those called for in the previous several budgets, but by no means a record.

The actual fiscal deficit before borrowing is likely to approach 6 percent for FY 1987/88. Many observers have noted that in the face of a weak aggregate demand in the first half of 1987, government spending played a major role in maintaining the forward momentum of the economic recovery. In any case, over-budget spending has long been a regular feature of the South African budgetary process. For example, a target deficit of R3.9 billion was set in the 1986/87 budget, equivalent to 2.7 percent of GDP; the actual fiscal deficit before borrowing was R6.4 billion, or some 4.8 percent of GDP.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

South Africa has achieved a substantial surplus on its current account in 1987 for the third consecutive year. Export growth was in a sense illusory, however, being a function only of improving terms of trade, rather than of larger volumes; total export receipts grew as a result of a higher dollar-denominated world gold price. The volume of nongold exports stagnated under the twin pressures of international trade sanctions and a weak market for South Africa's other commodity exports. Gold production actually fell from some 640 tons in 1986 to about 605 tons in 1987, the result of mines working lower average ore grades and the three-week-long black mineworkers' strike. Import volumes, on the other hand, grew moderately as a result of the gradual economic recovery.

The current account surplus of some $3.2 billion was ample to cover foreign debt repayments. Indeed, net capital outflows were small, especially in the first half of the year. Some foreign trade credits were resumed, generating a tiny capital inflow. More importantly, only a modest amount of foreign debt was repaid through June, as provided under the terms of the first (March 1986) "interim debt accord" with major commercial creditor banks. (The accord had been reached after a serious liquidity crisis had led South African authorities in August 1985 to suspend most principal repayments on the country's foreign debt.) A new interim accord was reached in early 1987 that effectively rescheduled South African debt through 1990. In addition, some banks appear to be exercising an option under this second interim accord to convert their debt within the "standstill net" to 10 year loans.

In addition to allowing modest debt repayments, the authorities

have been able to apply the strong current account surplus to rebuilding foreign currency and gold reserves, and stabilizing the South African rand. Total foreign reserves held by the Reserve Bank have more than doubled since April 1986, reaching the equivalent of 3 months' merchandise import cover, up from a low of only 1.5 months in early 1986, despite stronger import demand. The rand varied roughly between 47 and 51 U.S. cents in 1987, compared to a range of 38 to 50 U.S. cents in 1986.

MINING

In 1986, mining and quarrying contributed 16 percent of GDP, while mineral and processed mineral exports accounted for about two-thirds of total exports. The industry was one of the larger sectors in terms of employment, with 782,000 persons earning a total of more than R6 billion. Gross domestic fixed investment in mining and quarrying grew by 14 percent in constant prices in 1986, in contrast to falling investment elsewhere in the economy.

Mineral export revenues, which were 85 percent of total mineral sales, increased by 14 percent to R25 billion in 1986. Most of the increase was attributable to higher prices for gold, which constituted 69 percent of mineral exports, platinum group metals (6 percent of mineral exports), and diamonds (2 percent). Coal, which is the second largest foreign exchange earner after gold, maintained volume and prices at 1985 levels despite depressed world markets. Processed mineral exports such as ferroalloys, aluminum and vanadium rose by 24 percent to R2.3 billion.

Precious metals have continued to be the outstanding performer in 1987. Increased gold prices have more than offset declining gold production, resulting from reduced average grades, and a decline in production in August caused by the mine strike. Although some analysts question how long the bull market in platinum can last, higher prices this year will probably push platinum group metals into being the second largest export earner, ahead of coal. Strong European demand and new production capacity coming on stream could assure its number two position within a few years unless the coal market improves substantially. Despite South Africa's status as a low-cost producer, the coal industry was the biggest loser in 1987, suffering from sanctions, high rail freight rates, low energy prices, and increased worldwide output. For the mining industry as a whole, investment grew a further 12 percent in the first half of 1987 over the same period in 1986, with most of the new investment focused on precious metals and diamonds.

AGRICULTURE

Recent early summer season rainfall set records for September precipitation in many areas and caused extensive flood damage in Natal. The rains were beneficial for subsoil moisture and the replenishing of irrigation water supplies leading to improved

summer grain prospects. The wheat crop benefited immediately and the 1987 crop will now be sufficient for domestic consumption, alleviating the need for imports. Under normal conditions, the corn crop prospects would be considered to be very favorable at this stage. Depressed international market conditions are, however, causing the industry to reconsider its traditional role as an exporter.

Under normal conditions, domestic corn producer and selling prices were set by the government, and export profits accumulated in the stabilization fund of the Maize Board. Over the past few years, inflation put upward pressure on domestic price levels, while the international market declined resulting in a accumulated loss of R493 million in the stabilization fund at the end of the 1986/87 marketing season on April 30, 1987. Current FY 1987/88 export losses are estimated at R215 per metric ton based on the producer price and storage and transport costs to the ports. The South African government subsidizes domestic prices but has not granted export loss assistance except for ad hoc payments to bolster domestic producer payments.

OUTLOOK

Economic analysts anticipate roughly 3 percent real economic growth in 1988, with a current account balance of about $2 billion and inflation cooling to slightly less than 15 percent by year-end. Many factors could alter this forecast, however, such as sharp changes in the world gold price, OECD growth rates, or the level of political protest within South Africa.

In the early stages of an upswing, manufacturing output is boosted largely by hiring retrenched workers, rather than by building new plant and equipment. This becomes less true as fixed investment begins to recover. At that stage, a given amount of economic growth is likely to produce fewer new jobs. For this reason, the 3 percent growth that is expected in 1988 may have less of an impact on unemployment than the roughly 2.5 percent growth in 1987 did. Indeed, over the long haul, many observers believe that South Africa will need some 5 percent real growth just to keep unemployment from rising.

The balance of payments is unlikely to constrain the import of capital and intermediate goods needed for growth next year. Stronger foreign reserves, a relatively stable rand, a massive current account surplus, and tight foreign currency controls will provide a cushion against new foreign capital shocks. On the other hand, demand for South Africa's nongold exports will have an important impact on total demand within the country. Thus, the rate of OECD growth will affect South Africa's growth rate, especially if a world economic recession occurs.

A higher gold price in 1988 would not necessarily speed South Africa's upswing; in the short-run, gold output falls as its price

rises, thus dampening activity within the economy. However, the psychological benefit of the higher price probably would outweigh this effect. Important factors influencing the performance of nongold mineral exports include the value of the rand against major foreign currencies, the local inflation rate, and the demand for minerals by the industrial countries. A gradual rise in the exchange value of the rand against the dollar in 1987 has dampened the benefits of higher dollar prices for minerals. However, if the rand does not appreciate further, higher dollar prices would improve earnings. Higher base metal prices (nickel, copper, lead, and zinc) and increased processed mineral prices (aluminum and most ferroalloys) should boost dollar earnings from these exports.

In recent years, agricultural-sector performance has affected overall economic growth by as much as 1 percentage point or even more. To better balance supply and demand for the corn crop, various new schemes have been announced. Most damaging to the corn farmer is a sliding scale of producer prices planned for the 1988/89 crop. For total producer deliveries to the Maize Board of 6 million tons, farmers can expect between R255 and R260 per ton, but for total deliveries of 12 million tons, the producer price will fall to R150 or R155 per ton. In addition, a scheme to facilitate the switching of low potential cropland to perennial pastures was instituted, with subsidies of R130 per hectare. The initial effect of this scheme probably will be limited since farmers will have to change their traditional farming patterns, suitable pasture seed is in short supply, livestock to utilize the fodder is very expensive, and, given the lingering impact of the drought, many farmers will not be able to finance the changeover.

The situation regarding summer grain production prospects is still very unclear, while the possible land use switch to other cash crops is causing further concern. Any major switch from corn plantings can cause overproduction and export losses for the alternative crops produced such as oilseeds, wheat, sorghum, and cotton. The agricultural problems forecast for South Africa for production year 1987/88 are more market- and surplus-oriented than the drought-related problems of the past few years. The problems are also concentrated in the summer cash crop sphere while the traditional wool, mohair and fruit product exports are still doing well in spite of sanctions.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES

Opportunities for the sale of American products in South Africa are limited by several factors. While the South African economy is moving gradually out of a deep recession, import volumes are still at a low level; in the third quarter of 1987, they were only 80 percent of 1980 levels. Comparative advantages in the terms and conditions of credits that foreign companies make available may be accelerating the swing away from American goods. While

normal, established supplier credits, such as short-term letters of credit or open accounts, are not included in the U.S. loan and investment barriers, most American banks ceased to offer these facilities as of 1985. Commercial credits are now channeled through third countries, in some cases through our direct competitors. In addition, disinvestments by about 100 American subsidiaries in the past 3 years may encourage the new managements to consider the products of alternative suppliers.

The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 confirmed and extended the ban on the supply of all commodities to the South African security forces, extended the ban on computer sales to listed entities, embargoed all exports to the United States by South African parastatals (except strategic minerals), and closed American import markets to South African textiles, clothing, iron and steel, uranium, agricultural products and edible materials. The legislation is the apparent cause of a dramatic drop in South African shipments into the United States which became evident during the first half of 1987. This export trade had been remarkably steady at just over $2 billion annually for each of the preceding 5 years. It showed little seasonality. From January to June 1987, however, it collapsed and, projected to year-end, will probably not exceed $1.3 billion, or one-half of 1986's total. The dollar value of American shipments to South Africa has not declined when compared to the previous 2 years and is likely to be about $1.2 billion.

While export possibilities to South Africa are not bright, there are some prospects, particularly where U.S. manufacturers maintain a technological advantage. Market demand for U.S. computer hardware, software, and peripherals remains strong, but exporters must take into account U.S. laws regarding such exports. The Anti-Apartheid Act prohibits sales of computers, software, and technology to certain entities of the South African Government (which accounts for an estimated 40 percent of the market), including the military, police, and apartheid-enforcing agencies. Computer sales to South Africa, as to other countries, are subject to U.S. export controls.

The markets for U.S. mining equipment, process control equipment, industrial and scientific instrumentation, and public transportation equipment have been historically strong. Modernization and rationalization of productive capacity may involve greater automation of private sector operations and lead to increased imports of automation equipment, industrial controls, and instrumentation.

Urbanization will provide opportunities for fast food, laundromats, and other self-service operations and for do-it-yourself outlets. Over the longer term, consumer spending among blacks is likely to continue to increase faster than that of the white population. American firms offering products or services catering to the preferences and pockets of the black consumer market could win important shares of it. Many South African blacks are first-time

buyers of consumer durables and luxury consumables including toiletries, cosmetics, and quality clothing, where a distinct preference for American style is evident.

Black entrepreneurs are increasingly active in modern business sectors. Apartheid has inhibited black entrepreneurs from gaining experience, and franchising, with its framework and formulas, may provide a support structure measurably improving the new businessman's prospects of success. Furthermore, some central business districts have been opened to all races, while a slow pruning of inhibiting commercial regulations has begun. Some of the immediately interesting possibilities for American franchisors are auto parts and service, quick printing, hairdressing and beauty treatment, employment and staff training, dry cleaning, industrial catering, and plant maintenance. The franchisor must be committed to share in the initial investment or offer long-term credit in a sector short of venture capital. Investment in black-owned businesses is permitted by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. The Export-Import Bank has been mandated by Congress to extend its support to developing black business.

For American subsidiaries here and for U.S. traders selling to the market through independent distributors, a major concern is the proliferation of South Africa-targeted economic sanctions being imposed by U.S. state and municipal jurisdictions. The issue of constitutional preemption has yet to be decided conclusively by U.S. courts.

The U.S. Foreign Commercial Service maintains an office in Johannesburg where counselling and introductions to the business community can be made available to Americans seeking opportunities in the South African business community.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER[1]

Adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown,
Johannesburg, on 25-26 June 1955.

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the People of South Africa, black and white together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

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[1] Freedom Charter, Treason Trial Evidence, Reel 1, LC.

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The State shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship, and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The State shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The Government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture , to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the State;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The Aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the State;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettoes shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates - Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say her "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUG OUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

APPENDIX C

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PROFILES

SOUTH AFRICAN ORGANIZATIONS

The African National Congress (ANC)

The ANC is the oldest nationalist organization in sub-Saharan Africa. Its roots go back to early pan-Africanist and nationalist thinkers of the late nineteenth century, many of whom were educated in the United States. Organizationally, it developed from protests about the terms of the proposed South African constitution written after the Boer war and was officially formed in 1912, predating both the National Party and the Russian revolution. With an early history of moderate protest politics, including the famous "Defiance Campaign" of 1952 in which mass civil disobedience was used to protest the new "Pass Laws", the ANC nevertheless was banned in 1960. Since then, the organization has operated in exile through its diplomatic and information offices, headquartered in Lusaka, Zambia, and has waged an insurgency inside South Africa through its military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. The ANC always has been identified by its adherence to nonracialism. The Freedom Charter, which enshrines its basic philosophy, advocates a "South Africa which belongs to all who live in it, black and white." In fact, the presence of whites within the ANC command structure is seen by some as indicative of the organization's broad appeal, but by others as proof of the domination of the ANC by the South African Communist Party and the Soviet Union. Indeed, individual communists within the party hierarchy have considerable influence and played a particular role in moving the ANC from the peaceful protest of the 1950's to its present activism. Since its exile, the ANC has received the bulk of its weaponry and training from the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc nations. Still, the last two years have seen a concerted move to reinforce the ANC's image in world eyes. Continuing and frequent consultation with the academic, business, legal, and anti-apartheid opposition sectors in South Africa has been part of this effort. The ANC has also reached out for broader contacts with the Western world, meeting in 1987 with Secretary of State Schultz and improving contact with the American Embassy in Lusaka. It has reaffirmed its commitment to a multi-party democratic system and condemned such brutal practices as "necklacing." Finally, it has promulgated a draft constitution intended to ease white concerns about its type of rule.

Major Office Holders (all in exile):

President General - Oliver Tambo
Secretary General - Alfred Nzo
Treasurer General - Thomas Nkobi
Chief of Staff for Umkhonto weSizwe - Chris Hani
Publicity Secretary - Thabo Mbeki
New York Representative - Tebogo Mafole

The Azanian Peoples' Organization (AZAPO)

AZAPO is the political home of the "Black Consciousness" movement and the heir to the organizations, in which Steve Biko played such a prominent role, that were banned by the government in 1977. It formed in 1978 and, until 1983, it was, along with trade unions, the primary black organizational force within South Africa, although its effectiveness was minimalized by constant bannings and detentions of leaders. In 1983, it participated in the formation of the National Front--meant to be a coalition of black consciousness and Africanist forces, remnants of the old Pan-African Congress. The Front has not gotten off the ground and AZAPO remains the primary and most prominent adherent of black consciousness thinking, which promotes black pride, self sufficiency and development in a liberation sequence that starts with independence of person, then community, then nation. Black consciousness, and therefore, AZAPO, has tended to be more socialist and revolutionary in its stated objectives than the ANC or other internal black organizations. In February 1988, AZAPO was effectively banned, along with at least 16 other organizations in the forefront of antiapartheid activities.

Major Office Holders:

President - Nkosi Patrick Molala
Deputy President - Lybon Mabasa
Publicity Secretary - Muntu Myeza
Secretary General - George Wauchope

The Conservative Party (CP)

The CP was formed in 1982 after a number of National Party (NP) MP's under the leadership of Dr. Andries Treurnicht broke party ranks over the issues of reform and a new constitution. The CP openly desired a return to the apartheid of the former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd and felt that P.W. Botha was leading the NP and the country into a set of policies which would eventually lead to majority, and therefore black, rule. The basis of Verwoerdian apartheid is that all ethnic groups must remain separate in their communities, i.e. in residence, education, social affairs, and personal intimate relationships, or they will lose their cultural identities. It was these ideals on which the apartheid of the NP was based originally and on which the CP desires to return. The rationale behind CP thinking is that their policies are not racist, but they are seeking to protect all races against domination and dislocation by each other. The CP began contesting elections from the time of its birth and in the 1987 election it became the official opposition, replacing the Progressive Federal Party. Knowledgeable observers feel that its growing strength was due to a white population frightened by growing unrest and the State of Emergency, the international sanctions movement, and a sense of unease at NP leadership which was exhibiting little initiative. Still, it

gained only 23 seats of the 178 in parliament in 1987. Even its subsequent showing in the municipal elections of October 1988 showed a regionally limited strength. It took over 70% of the white town councils in the Transvaal but gained little elsewhere. It has recently been the subject of great controversy as some of the towns which it gained have returned to old "petty" apartheid ways and engendered commercial boycotts by blacks which have seriously harmed the white business sectors.

Major Office Holders:

Leader - Dr. Andries Treurnicht, MP
Chairman of the Caucus - Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, MP

The Democratic Party (DP)

On April 8, 1989 the DP will officially come into being bringing under one body the former Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Independent Party (IP). The latter two groups represent personal vehicles for former National Party Members of Parliament who broke with the party in 1987, including Wynand Malan of the NDM and Denis Worrall of the IP. The Progressive Federal Party (which will be discussed below) is the longest standing opposition party until the 1987 election. All parties are from "the left" in white parliamentary affairs of South Africa. The new coalition will bring together a liberal grouping that many observers feel can win up to 20-25 seats in the next election. This total is, of course, far short of any majority in parliament and some insiders see the purpose of the DP as the establishment of a parliamentary party that can bridge the gap between "white" politics and the growing, disaffected, multiracial "democratic" forces outside the electoral system, rather than seeking parliamentary control. In this regard, several extra-parliamentary organizations, like the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (IDASA), have endorsed the new party. The NP does not yet have a formal leadership structure.

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA)

IDASA was formed in 1986 by Dr. Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, who had both just resigned as members of parliament from the Progressive Federal Party (PFP). Slabbert stated in a recent interview that they quit elective politics because the constitution of 1983 had "entrench(ed) extraordinary powers in the president and alienat(ed) the vast majority of the people" so that participation became impossible. IDASA, he says, was meant as an extra-parliamentary effort targeting white groups "to put them in touch with civic associations, democratic movements, the ANC, the unions and get a debate going about a non-racial democratic alternative." IDASA has proceeded to provide forums, through conferences and seminars, undertake reasearch and

publications, and create opportunities to bring whites together with blacks in a variety of ways to explore and discuss democratic futures. Somewhat suspect in the black community at first due to its white "liberal" makeup, IDASA has emerged as probably the most credible organization involved in reconciliation and understanding. Its conference efforts have been controversial. It sponsored the first, widely publicized, open meeting between South Africans and the ANC in Dakar in 1987 and has continued to hold a series of such encounters, bringing academics, businessmen, legal experts and community leaders from South Africa together with the ANC. At one such meeting, which took place in Europe, Soviet representatives were also present. Internally, its meetings are meant to enlighten white South Africans and they revolve around issues such as the Freedom Charter, nonracial education, strategies for change, the right to freedom of expression, and others. IDASA now has a nationwide network of offices and conducts its activities in all provinces as well as abroad. It has faced some official harrassment, including having at least two officials detained, one board member's passport revoked, attendees at meetings intimidated, and government proposal to cut off funding. IDASA is not a political party.

Major Office Holders:

Director of Policy and Planning - Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert
Executive Driector - Alex Boraine
National Coordinator - Wayne Mitchell

<u>InKatha yeNkululenko yeSizwe (Inkatha)</u>

Inkatha is a Zulu cultural organization founded in 1928. Its name means a woven grass ring used by peasant women to cushion loads carried on their heads; figuratively, it denotes the cushion between the people and their burdens. The movement remained obscure for nearly half a century until Chief Mangosuthu Gathsa Buthelezi revived it in 1974 to sidestep legal repression of political activity. Its constitution adopted in 1975 describes Inkatha as a "national cultural movement" that "desires to abolish all forms of discrimination and separation" and to bring change in an "orderly and controllable fashion which will lead to a liberated South Africa which is governable." Inkatha claims a paid membership of nearly one million people which would make it the largest single black organization in South African history. It is based in KwaZulu, the Zulu tribal homeland, but is well organized throughout the country in black townships. Inkatha claims to be open to all black persons but is predominantly Zulu. It is led by Chief Buthelezi who is also the Chief Minister of KwaZulu. Although he rejects homeland independence and stands for a central, unified South Africa, many

black South Africans criticize his use of the homeland platform for his leadership role. Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi, who is its personification, are viewed with great emotion and division within the black community of South Africa. Buthelezi has clashed with other leaders over issues like divestment, sanctions, the use of violence in the struggle, and his willingness to be associated with government through the homeland. His very use of a tribal base is seen by some as supportive of white stereotypes and government planning. Inkatha also proves to be somewhat intimidating in its insistence on membership of blacks within Natal townships and has reportedly participated in repeated clashes with its opponents in other black organizations. In some areas of Natal, these clashes have resulted in hundreds of deaths, whichever side is at fault. Inkatha had cordial relations with the ANC until 1979, but they have soured over the last decade due to these various issues. Other major black organizations are also now openly hostile to it. Still, Inkatha represents the largest tribal group in South Africa (Zulus number 7 million), has enormous potential for contesting local elections, promoting strikes, boycotts or work stayaways, and will be a major player in South Africa's future.

Major Office Holders:

President: Chief Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
Secretary General: Dr. Oscar Dhlomo
National Chairman: Dr. Frank Mdlalose

<u>The National Party (NP)</u>

The NP has been the ruling party in South Africa since 1948. Created in 1915 as an Afrikaner nationalist party to counter the United Party headed by General Jan Smuts--a coalition of Afrikaners and English speaking white South Africans which had ruled since the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910--the NP accommodated dissident elements that had opposed South Africa's entrance into World War II on the side of the allies. Playing on white fears of a United Party opening South Africa to black political aspirations, the NP won a surprise electoral victory in 1948 and has not been challenged seriously since. Its platform was then based on the adherence to strict separation of races with blacks serving only as labor in the white areas of South Africa (comprising 87% of the land mass) and seeking any political or economic outlet in their tribal homelands. This system, which came to be known as apartheid, was brought into being by a series of laws dating from 1952 to 1972 which structured the legal, educational, residential, and employment pictures to match this outlook. There was very little challenge, either from domestic white constituencies or the international community, to this view until the 1960's. The challenges came from a world, led by Britain's Prime Minister Harold McMillan and his "Winds of Change" speech and President John Kennedy, who saw the South African system as an anachronism

in an Africa swept by decolonization. The massacre of 1960 at Sharpsville which left 67 blacks dead and 186 wounded after a peaceful protest to pass laws, also impacted a worried world. The National Party reaction was to leave the Commonwealth, reject British ties, and become a republic. Domestically, opposition has grown apace over the last twenty years from white and black South Africans alike. The NP has been moved to redefine its goals several times, finally foregoing "petty apartheid" (discrimination in public conveniences and employment) as a policy and instituting a vision of reform as defined by P.W. Botha, who was elected in 1978 and is currently the State President. The NP keeps a significant majority of whites on its side. In the most recent national election of May 1988, it was returned to power with 133 seats out of 178. It has recently seen some inroads into its voter base in the Transvaal Province from the Conservative Party, but does not face any serious challenge. The State President and party leader, P.W. Botha, suffered a stroke in December, 1988, and subsequently gave up the party leadership, which was won by Minister of National Education, F.W. de Klerk, widely assumed to be in line for the presidency. Botha has, however, indicated that he will serve out his term and a leadership struggle is now underway.

Major Office Holders:

State President - P.W. Botha
Minister of Foreign Affairs - R.F. (Pik) Botha
Minister of National Education and Party Leader - F.W. de Klerk
Minister of Constitutional Development & Planning - J. Chris Heunis
Minister of Defense - General Magnus Malan
Minister of Finance - Barend du Plessis
Minister of Law and Order - Adrian Vlok
Minister of Information - Dr. C. J. (Stoffel) van der Merwe

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

The PAC was formed in 1959 by a group of ANC members who were uncomfortable with the vague socialism and multiracial approach of the ANC. The thrust behind the PAC's formation derived in part from black suspicions of Indian and white communist activists in the ANC and their external connections, but the underlying theme of the new movement was a purified form of African nationalism. The founders viewed the ANC Freedom Charter as a betrayal of that principle. While rejecting white alliances, the PAC was also strongly anticommunist. The PAC's founder-leader was Robert Sobukwe--imprisoned in 1960 when the PAC was banned, later released and banned himself in internal exile until his death of cancer. Sobukwe has had a strong intellectual influence on early black consciousness thinkers and current youths who term themselves "Africanists." After the PAC's banning, it es-

tablished an exiled presence, headquartered in Tanzania, but it has traditionally not had the financial backing or organizational impetus of the ANC. It nonetheless has retained considerable internal support and has enjoyed a recent resurgence, possibly connected to the rise in popularity of black pride and self sufficiency ideologies like black consciousness and Africanism. It has continued throughout the years to conduct a small but effective insurgency, mostly in the northeastern part of South Africa. Its president, Zephania Mothopeng, was recently released from over 20 years in detention.

Major Office Holders:

President: Zephania Mothopeng
Chairman: Johnson Mlambo (in exile)
Secretary General: Joe Mkwanazi (in exile)
Secretary of Defense: Sabela Phaama (in exile)
Chief UN Representative: Lesaonna Makhanda (in exile)

<u>The Progressive Federal Party (PFP)</u>

The PFP came into existence in 1977 when the old Liberal Party combined with the Republic Party and the United Party members to form a new, united opposition in the white parliament. The United Party had been the official opposition since 1948 but had been eclipsed in relevance for a variety of reasons and the liberal opposition was seeking a new formation. As a coalition, the PFP succeeded in becoming the new official opposition in the 1977 election. It remained in that position until 1987 when the Conservative Party won 23 seats to its 20. Its numbers later slipped to 17, where they presently stand, as three of its members left to form new party organizations. PFP support has traditionally come from the more liberal, English-speaking white electorate, which represents only 40% of the white population, and it therefore has never seriously challenged the government party for control. It has, nevertheless, served an important role in publicizing and protesting the serious abuses of human rights and abridgements of freedoms that have been government policy over the years. If plans go as indicated, the PFP will go out of existence on April 8 when the Democratic Party is formed.

Major Office Holders:

Leader - Dr. Zach de Beer
National Chairman - Helen Suzman, MP
Caucus Chairman - Ray Swart, MP

<u>The United Democratic Front (UDF)</u>

The UDF is the broadest-based of the new political movements.

Ideologically, it bears comparison with the ANC as an adherent to the Freedom Charter and it openly accommodates many ANC members. Organizationally, however, it resembles the Congress Alliance of the 1950's which brought together a much broader cross section of anti-apartheid activists. The UDF came into being in 1983 as an umbrella organization to represent some 400 diverse trade union, sports, civic, community and church groups, whose number reportedly has grown to over 700 now. The UDF now claims over 2.5 million affiliate members. The immediate reason for its coming into existence was community opposition to the pending constitutional changes which were to bring Indians and coloreds into a tri-cameral parliament with whites. In its founding documents, the UDF demanded a "true democracy (for) all South Africans" and "a single, nonracial, unfragmented South Africa." It actively lobbied against the 1983 referendum for the constitution and the subsequent parliamentary and township elections. After losing that issue, the UDF decided to use its broad, grassroots and multi-racial base to protest and work against other apartheid laws, repressive actions, and political developments. It has been successful in that endeavor to a great extent and most observers feel, despite repressive government actions against it, that the UDF has had the most impact of the internal organizations. Although it has differed ideologically with AZAPO and other Africanists, the UDF has worked in the community with them for joint goals. It has, however, clashed bitterly with Inkatha, particularly in the Pietermaritzburg area of Natal. From its inception, the UDF faced bannings and detentions of individual leaders and affiliate organizations, but stayed viable as an organization until, like AZAPO, it was effectively banned in February, 1988. It has since carried on its activities through other affiliates and individuals known to be associated with it.

Major Office Holders:

Presidents: Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede
Executive Chairperson: Curnick Ndlovu
National Publicity Secretary: Patrick Mosioua Lekota (in detention)
National Secretary: Popo Molefe (in detention)
National Treasurer: Azhar Cachalia
Acting Publicity Secretary: Murphy Moroba

U.S. COMPANIES WITH DIRECT INVESTMENT OR EMPLOYEES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Although a continual stream of U.S. companies have sold their South African investments since 1984, 138 U.S. Companies still have direct investment or employees in South Africa. Of the companies identified by IRRC as having direct investment or employees in South Africa, 15 are among Fortune magazine's 1988 list of the 50 largest U.S. corporations, and 29 are included in the top 100 companies on that list.

From the U.S. point of view, American business involvement in South Africa is relatively small. At the end of 1984, for example, it accounted for 0.79 percent of all American direct investment abroad. At the end of 1987, it accounted for half of 1 percent of all American direct investment abroad. For most U.S. firms operating in South Africa, their investment there represents less than 1 percent of their total assets.

INVESTMENT TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

For 15 years, from 1966 to 1981, investment by U.S. companies in South African subsidiaries and affiliates increased steadily. From $490 million in direct investments in 1966, U.S. companies had expanded their presence in South Africa to $2.6 billion in assets by 1981. Since 1981, however, a combination of a declining South African economy, a change in governmental regulations that from 1982 to 1985 made it easier to withdraw investments from South Africa and a decline in the value of the South African rand against the dollar have led to a drop in the value of the direct investments of U.S. companies in the country. According to U.S. Commerce Department figures, the value of American firms' investments in South African subsidiaries and affiliates stood at $1.59 billion at the end of 1987.

The number of U.S. companies ending their direct investment in South Africa accelerated rapidly beginning in 1985, and apparently peaked in 1987. Seven U.S. companies sold or closed down their operations in 1984, 40 followed in 1985, another 50 disinvested in 1986, followed by 57 in 1987. The pace of disinvestment for 1988 appears to have dropped significantly, with 25 withdrawals as of Nov. 15.

Many of the disinvesting firms have retained some economic links with South African companies through non-equity links such as licensing or distribution agreements.

U.S. COMPANIES WITH DIRECT INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA
AS OF JANUARY 1989

AM International Inc.
Abbott Laboratories
Air Express International Corp.
Albany International Corp.
Louis A. Aleen Associates Inc.
Amerford International Corp.
American Brands Inc.
American Cyanamid Co.
American Home Products Corp.
Amsted Industries
Applied Industrial Materials Corp.
Arvin Industries Inc.
Avery Inc.
Avery International Corp.
Baker Hughes Inc.
Bandag Inc.
Banner Industries Inc.
Becor Western Inc.
The Boeing Co.
Borden Inc.
Bristol-Myers Co.
Buckman Laboratories Inc.
Butterick Co. Inc.
CBI Industries Inc.
Carpenter & Paterson Inc.
Cascade Corp.
Caterpillar Inc.
Champion Spark Plug Co.
Chevron Corp.
Colgate-Palmolive Co.
Combustion Engineering Inc.
Control Data Corp.
Cooper Alloy Corp.
The Cooper Cos. Inc.
Coulter Electronics Inc.
Crown Cork & Seal Co. Inc.
Darmex Industrial Corp.
Deere & Co.
Dibrell Bros. Inc.
Donaldson Co. Inc.
Dresser Industries Inc.
The Dun & Bradstreet Corp.
E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.
Duriron Co.
Echlin Co.
Eriez Magnetics
Evapco
Ferro Corp.
Carl Fischer Inc.
Foote, Cone & Belding Commun. Inc.
Franklin Electric Co. Inc.
Fruehauf Corp.
Gillette Co.
The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.
Grey Advertising Inc.
Harnischfeger Corp.
Harsco Corp.
Hewlett-Packard Co.
Hydro-Air Engineering Inc.
Ingersoll-Rand Co.
Internat'l Flavors & Fragrance Inc.
International Paper Co.
The Interpublic Group of Cos. Inc.
Johnson & Johnson Co.
S.C. Johnson & Son Inc.
Joy Technologies Inc.
Kellogg Co.
Kimberly-Clark Corp.
L&M Radiator Co.
Estee Lauder Inc.
Lawter International Inc.
Leco Corp.
Eli Lilly and Co.
Loctite Corp.
The Lubrizol Corp.
Lykes Bros. Steamship Co. Inc.
MGM/UA Communications Co.
MacAndrews & Forbers Group Inc.
MacDermid Inc.
McDermott International Inc.
McNally Pittsburg Inc.
The Mentholatum Co. Inc.
Metallurg Inc.
Minnesota Mining & Manufact. Co.
Mobil Corp.
Molex Inc.
Monsanto Co.
NCR Corp.
Nalco Chemical Co.
National-Standard Co.
The Ogilvy Group
Olin Corp.
Owens-Illinois Inc.
PacifiCorp
Parker Hannifin Corp.
Pfizer Inc.
Phelps Dodge Corp.
The Polymer Corp.
Precision Valve Corp.
Preformed Line Products Co.

Premark International Inc.
Quadrex Holdings Inc.
Quaker Chemical Corp.
RJR Nabisco Inc.
Raychem Corp.
Raytheon Co.
Reader's Digest Association Inc.
Redken Laboratories Inc.
Riklis Family Corp./World Wide
Computer Partnership L.P.
The Robbins Co.
H.H. Robertson Co.
The St. Paul Cos. Inc.
Schering-Plough Corp.
Schlumberger Ltd.
SmithKline Beckman Corp.
Squibb Corp.
Standard Commerical Corp.
Strategic Minerals Corp.
Sybron Chemicals Inc.
Tenneco Inc.
Texaco Inc.
The Timken Co.
Tokheim Corp.
Trade & Industry Corp. (USA) Inc.
Trinova Corp.
Twin Disc Inc.
USG Corp.
USX Corp.
Union Camp Corp.
Union Carbide Corp.
United Technologies Corp.
Upjohn Co.
Warner-Lambert Co.
Wean Inc.
Wesray Capital Corp.
Wilbur-Ellis Co.
Wynn's International Inc.
Young & Rubicam Inc.

NOTE: Direct investment in South Africa is defined as a company owning 10% or more of a South African subsidiary or affiliate.

TOP U.S. EMPLOYERS IN SOUTH AFRICA
(Companies with majority ownership)

1.		Mobil Corp.	2,793
2.		The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.	2,419
3.		International Paper Co.	2,242
4.		RJR Nabisco Inc.	2,196
5.		Caltex Petroleum Corp.	2,109
6.		Johnson & Johnson Co.	1,342
7.		United Technologies Corp.	939
8.		Joy Technologies Inc.	856
9.		Baker Hughes Inc.	855
10.		Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co.	848
11.		American Cyanamid Co.	756
12.		Crown Cork & Seal Co. Inc.	739
13.		The St. Paul Cos. Inc.	696
14.		Colgate-Palmolive Co.	671
15.		Dresser Industries Inc.	664
16.		Union Carbide Corp.	607
17.		Warner-Lambert Co.	590
18.	(tie)	Strategic Minerals	550
18.	(tie)	Tenneco Inc.	550
19.		NCR	528

U.S. AND CANADIAN COMPANIES THAT HAVE ENDED THEIR DIRECT INVESTMENT IN, OR EMPLOYEE TIES TO SOUTH AFRICA SINCE JAN. 1, 1986

1986

APL Ltd. Partnerships (owner of Van Dusen Air Inc.)
Alcan Aluminium Ltd.
American Standard Inc.
Armco Inc.
Ashland Oil Inc.
Baxter Travenol Laboratories Inc. (now called Baxter International Inc.)
Bell & Howell Co.
CBS Inc.
CIL Inc. (Canada)
The Chase Manhattan Corp.
The Coca-Cola Co.
Cooper Industries Inc.
Cummins Engine Co. Inc.
Delaware North Cos. Inc.
Diamond Shamrock Corp.
Dominion Textile Inc.
Eaton Corp.
Emerson Electric Co.
Exxon Corp.
Fairchild Industries Inc.
GTE Corp.
Fairchild Industries Inc.
GTE Corp.
Gelco Corp.
General Electric Co.
General Motors Corp.
General signal Corp.
Gilbert Associates Inc.
W.R. Grace & Co.
Healthdyne Inc.
Heller International Corp.
Honeywell Inc.
International Minerals & Chemical Corp.
Johnson Controls Inc.
Kidder Peabody & Co.
Kraft Inc.
Macmillan Inc.
Manpower Inc.
Marriott Corp.
McLean Industries Inc.
Noranda Inc.
Pennwalt Corp
Phillips Petroleum Co.
Platex Inc.
The Procter & Gamble Co.
Rohm & Hass Co.
SPS Technologies Inc.
Sara Lee Corp.
Scovill Inc.
The W.R. Stamler Corp.
The Stanley Works
Sun Chemical Corp.
Titanium Industries
Uniroyal Inc.
VF Corp.

1987

AMCA International Ltd.
Air Products & Chemicals Inc. (see also 1988)
Allegheny International Inc.
Allied-Signal Inc.
Allis-Chalmers Corp.
Amdahl Corp.
American International Group Inc.
Bata Ltd (Canada)
The Black & Decker Corp.
Borg-Warner Corp.
Bradley Corp.
Bundy Corp.
CPC International Inc.
Canadian Pacific Ltd. (Canada)
Champion Road Machinery Marketing Ltd. (Canada)
Chicago Pacific Corp.
Cigna Corp.
Citicorp
Clark Equipment Co.
Cobra Metals & Minerals Inc. (Canada)
Columbus McKinnon Corp.
Cominco Ltd. (Canada)
Continental Grain Co.
Dames & Moore
Danaher Corp.
D'Arcy Masius Benton & Bowles Inc.
Delcanda International Ltd. (Canada)
Dravo Corp.
The Dun & Bradstreet Corp.

Eastman Kodak Co. (see also 1988)
Emery Air Freight Corp.
Emhart Corp.
FMC Corp.
Falconbridge Ltd. (Canada)
Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. (now owned by Bridgestone Corp., of Japan)
Fluor Corp.
Foster Wheeler Corp.
GAF Corp.
GATX Corp.
The Gates Rubber Co.
Frank B. Hall & Co. Inc.
Intergraph Corp.
International Business Machines Corp.
International Thomson Organisation Ltd. (Canada)
Kennametal Inc.
The Marmon Group
McDonnell Douglas Corp.
McGraw-Hill Inc.
Measurex Corp.
Mine Safety Appliances Co.
Moore Corp. Ltd. (Canada)
NCNB Corp.
Norton Co.
Pepsi Inc.
The Pullman Co.
Raychem Corp.
Reed Stenhouse Cos. Ltd. (Canada)
The Seagram Co. Ltd. (Canada)
The Sentry Corp.
Skok Systems Inc.
Sotheby's Holdings Inc.
Square D. Co.
L.S. Starrett Co.
Stone & Weber Inc.
Sybron Corp.
Tambrands Inc.
Warner Communications Inc.
Westinghouse Electric Corp.
Xerox Corp.

<u>1988, as of Nov. 15</u>

Air Products & Chemicals Inc. (see also 1987)
Allegis Corp.
Bausch & Lomb Inc.
Cargill Inc.
Cooper Development Corp.
Corning Glass Works
The Dow Chemical Co.
Eastman Kodak Co. (see also 1987)
Erico International Corp.
Federal-Mogul Corp.
Flow Industries Inc.
Ford Motor Co.
Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd. (Canada)
The Harper Group
Heinemann Electric Co.
ITT Corp.
Kendavis Holding Co. Inc.
Marsh & McLennan Cos. Inc.
Medtronic Inc.
Merck & Co. Inc.
National Education Corp.
Newmont Mining Corp.
Reynolds and Reynolds Co.
Steiner Corp.
Unisys Corp.
Valmont Industries Inc.