

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1985



## Women Against Apartheid: Feminism Can Wait

By ALAN COWELL  
Special to The New York Times

NEW BRIGHTON, South Africa — On a day of sun and sadness and defiance, Virginia Ngalo, a large and powerful woman, rose to address a funeral rally and told other women to unite with her in struggling against white domination.

The crowd of thousands greeted her words with familiar responses — clenched fist salutes and cries of "Amandla!" or "Power!"

The fervor seemed familiar in this sprawl of shacks and shanties and more solid homes hard by the auto plants and the railroad shunting yards outside Port Elizabeth in the heart of the Eastern Cape, where hundreds have died in township violence.

But then another woman entered the stadium where the funeral was taking place, and, as if one person, the black people crowding the stand rose in a spontaneous salute of clenched fists.

### White Woman Earns Respect

The oddity was that the woman, Molly Blackburn, is white, one of the few white politicians known and respected in black townships. She has earned the reputation of a crusader on behalf of blacks at the cost of vilification among some whites.

In the stadium together, Mrs. Ngalo and Mrs. Blackburn seemed to symbolize a nascent sisterhood in what people here call "the struggle" — a term that encompasses anti-Government action ranging from monitoring civil rights abuses to throwing rocks at the police and soldiers who patrol this and other black townships.

Yet there remain subtle and overt distinctions in the relationship between blacks and whites based not only on the different visions that separate the two races, but also on the schism within the black struggle to end white minority rule.

Women have long been involved in South Africa's conflict, but that activism is defined by what Mrs. Ngalo, in an interview, called the task of "supporting the men."

### Key Roles by Women

Still, women such as Helen Suzman, a white opposition legislator, and Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned black leader, have for many years played key roles as rallying symbols and articulators of dissent.

In recent years as townships have become more embroiled in politics, women's organizations have taken root along with groups of youths and scholars — organizations offering an alternative to the largely discredited local government bodies set up by the white authorities.

In South Africa, for now, women against apartheid appear to be putting the struggle for racial liberation ahead of that for sexual equality. And the same women activists, at least in the Port Elizabeth area, who challenge white authority accept a subordinate position to men in the struggle.

"The role of women," Mrs. Ngalo said, "is to stand by their men and help them in the struggle." Thus, she said, women organize the funerals of victims of unrest that have become a principal platform for political debate.

Mrs. Ngalo, a 49-year-old mother of nine, said women here would obtain legal help for detained men, and collect donations for bereaved families.

"Some of the women," she said, referring to the tens of thousands here who find work mainly as servants in white households, "are not politically active."

Her group, called the Port Elizabeth Women's Organization, numbers only several hundred of the potential thousands of women, she said.

Mrs. Blackburn said the black women she met seemed to be in an



Molly Blackburn, a political activist in South Africa, attending a funeral in Port Elizabeth. A member of the official white opposition party in Parliament, she says she seeks "a fair deal for all the people in our country."

early stage of political organization. But she noted that in a part of the country hard hit by recession and gripped with violence, "they are battling for survival."

### Children 'Are the Targets'

Mrs. Ngalo said that when she spoke at the funeral the other day in the Xhosa language that prevails here, "I was trying to organize women to stand up and help the children because the children are the targets" of police action.

"I was trying to tell them that the struggle was something that has not just begun now," she said at her small, square home here. "The struggle began long ago, in 1852, when the whites came and robbed our forefathers of their lands."

With a mounting fervor in her voice, she continued, "I was trying to put the idea forward to all women that there is no need for women to sit down and fold their hands, because they are the mothers who give birth to those children who are dying by bullets."

Some of her comments seemed to indicate she despised all whites, but, no, she said, "we only hate the whites who are cruel to us" and who thwarted "liberation." Other whites, such as activists with the Black Sash civil rights group, founded by white women, were welcome, she said.

### Part of United Front

Mrs. Ngalo's organization is one of the 600 groups affiliated with the United Democratic Front, a multiracial alliance opposed to apartheid. Increasingly, its foe seems to be a rival black group, the Azanian Peoples Organization, which discourages white involvement in its activities, arguing that white liberals deflect blacks from "liberation." South Africa is called Azania by many black activists.

The ideological division dates to the late 1950's when the Pan African Congress broke from the African National Congress over the alliance between the national congress and white Communists, particularly the Soviet Union.

Later, the Pan Africanist's ideals were taken up by the Black Consciousness Movement, led by Steve Biko in the 1970's. The Azanian Peoples Organization regards itself as the linear descendant of Black Consciousness and also advocates a struggle for socialism that regards the dismantling of apartheid as only a starting point for land reform and a wider revolution.

The distinctions between the two movements highlight a quandary for blacks in their relationship with whites. Mrs. Blackburn, who is 54, and

I don't like people being fobbed off with second-rate justice." As a Black Sash member, Mrs. Blackburn spends more time than most white women in the company of blacks. "My hope," she said, "is that they see me as a person, not as a white."

Yet, the distinctions are there, even beyond skin tone. Mrs. Blackburn lives in a comfortable house near the ocean in the white part of town. Mrs. Ngalo's house is what township residents call a matchbox, the standard two or three rooms with corrugated roof and brick walls.

"I have never felt the need to apologize for privileges," Mrs. Blackburn said. And comments from many of the blacks who visit her indicate that they see no need for one.

The ideological discrepancies, however, seem more far-reaching, at least in the eyes of the Azanian Peoples Organization.

### Active Political Role

Mrs. Blackburn is a member of the Progressive Federal Party, the official white opposition in Parliament, which advocates creating a geographical federation in South Africa, not a unitary state. As a party member and legislator in a provincial assembly, she said, she supports the party's policy. But many of her black friends and associates call for the creation of a unitary state in this divided nation.

Thus, the Azanian group might argue, her association with blacks will ultimately retard their cause because her political beliefs collide with black ambitions. Such conflict, however, is not evident in the townships here.

People call her "Molly" and, some black activists say she is one of very few white people who may enter black townships during times of trouble without risk of attack. Even before unrest spread here, she had collected evidence of purported police misbehavior in the townships of the Eastern Cape.

Her work carries risks. She said there had been death threats and obscene phone calls. The security police, she says, is very active in the Eastern Cape, and "women fear security police activity in this area and that has had a very inhibiting affect" on recruiting white women supporters.

"One is made to feel guilty if you have a normal friendship with another person" of a different color, she said, explaining one reason that not too many white women become involved in political activities.

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

"Husbands say they don't want their wives to get involved," she said in an interview. As in black society here, that means a woman's role is supposed to be that of homemaker and mother.

Not long ago, black supporters daubed a slogan on a wall near the center of Port Elizabeth supporting Mrs. Blackburn's crusades. Whites responded by daubing obscenities about her on the same wall.

With others, Mrs. Blackburn has goaded and angered the white authorities, insuring that word of township injustice is widely heard in the press and Parliament.

Mrs. Blackburn said she was fighting "for a fair deal for all the people in our country."

### 'I Can't Stand Bullies'

"I can't stand bullies," she said, referring to the white authorities, "and

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## 3 Minnesota firms defend South Africa role

Associated Press

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

Apartheid, the system of racial segregation in South Africa, has been the focus of a new round of protests this year.

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

"We believe our continued existence there keeps pressure on the system for change in a way that wouldn't be possible if we left," Kathy Tunheim, a Honeywell spokeswoman, said last week.

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

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

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

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

sure companies to push South Africa to change.

All Sullivan signatories are evaluated by an independent consulting firm, Arthur D. Little Associates, and ranked for performance in three areas: Efforts on behalf of black education, training and advancement for black employees, and community development.

Control Data and 3M were given the top ranking of "making good progress," in 1984 while Honeywell received the second ranking, "making progress."

Ending operations in South Africa "will only force U.S. companies to leave South Africa and thereby deny black people help from one of their important allies," said William Norris, Control Data's chief executive officer.



*THE TAMPA (FLORIDA) TRIBUNE 6/3/85*  
**South African Whites Prisoners of Their Own Illusions**

By DAN CRYER

**Waiting: The Whites of South Africa.**  
By Vincent Crapanzano. Random House.  
358 Pages. \$19.95.

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

They are, in fact, two separate minority groups. Sixty percent are Afrikaans-speaking, 40 percent English-speaking. Both are trapped, Crapanzano argues, by their limited understanding of their world, by a subtle "psychological apartheid" that prevents them from seeing blacks, mixed-race "coloureds" and Asians in all their subjective reality.

"The other," he writes, becomes "at once a menial object to be manipulated and a mythic object to be feared. He cannot be counted in his humanity."

Despite the alarms of imminent revolution and bloodbath, the author believes, South Africa is "caught in a deadened time of waiting," the future far off and enshrouded in a surreal mist. Whites fear what is going to happen, to be sure, but they tend to block out the unknown by nostalgically dwelling on the past, by pretending that relations among ethnic groups are tolerable, by worshipping a

God that justifies the present injustice.

For the most part, however, Crapanzano, a professor of anthropology and comparative literature at Queens College, does not waste words generalizing about his subjects. He lets them do the talking.

*Waiting* is a Studs Terkel kind of book. It is based on exhaustive interviews with a few people, the white residents of a small village north of Cape Town disguised with the fictional name "Wyndal." And, like a Terkel book, the resulting cacophony of voices does not lend itself to easy summary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For the Afrikaners, the shame of de-

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

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

*Waiting* is a fascinating, anecdote-filled glimpse at a faraway world that sooner or later will affect all Americans. Crapanzano gives a smooth narrative flow to what might have been an unwieldy mass of information. Occasionally, though, he muddles things with pretentious rhetoric about violence as "the realm of all-pervading unpredictability" or "the terrifying instant of silence" between an act of violence and its reporting in the news media.

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

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**Books  
of  
Ideas**



# Princeton students, faculty in blockade dealt mild rebuke

By PAUL BEN-ITZAK  
Home News staff writer

PRINCETON BOROUGH — Princeton University students and faculty members who blockaded Nassau Hall last month were dealt the lightest possible penalty yesterday by a faculty-student committee.

The Judicial Committee, an official body of the university, issued warnings to 87 of 89 members of the Coalition for Divestment after finding them guilty of violating university regulations on campus demonstrations.

Decisions on the two remaining members are still pending.

The committee — comprised of administrators, faculty and students — deliberated for half an hour behind closed doors before announcing its decision.

The coalition members blocked all three entrances to Nassau Hall May 23 in protest of Princeton's holdings in companies doing business in South Africa.

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

The warning issued by the committee will not appear on the students' permanent records. The committee's other options included doing nothing, expelling the students involved and withholding degrees.

Danielson cited the non-provocative nature of other demonstrations held by the group this spring as a reason for the committee's unanimous decision.

He also cited misunderstandings surrounding events that took place

the week of the blockade, which became clarified during three hours of testimony yesterday.

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

The story, which appeared in May 20 issue of the Princetonian, concerned a press conference held by Bowen following a May 17 meeting of the board's Policy and Budget Committee.

Representatives of the administration and the coalition yesterday called the story inaccurate.

Upset by the article, coalition members began planning the blockade.

Lowe and Bowen got wind of the protest. Lowe met with members of the coalition on the morning of May 22 and again that afternoon, with Bowen present.

During the afternoon meeting, witnesses recalled, Bowen assured coalition members that the story had misrepresented his sentiments. The group responded by asking him to make a public clarification of his position, according to senior Lisa Robinson, a witness called yesterday.

"Bowen said, 'I will think, I will think,'" Ms. Robinson recalled. "We said, 'You have given us nothing concrete.' He said, 'I appreciate that.' ... Everyone in the room felt there wasn't going to be any statement."

The university issued a statement the following day clarifying Bowen's position, but by then the protesters already had been arrested.

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

6/5/85 HOME NEWS (NEW BRUNSWICK NJ)





BY SHARON FARMER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

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

## Arresting Presences

TransAfrica Honors the Volunteers Who Keep the Faith

6/13/85

By Jacqueline Trescott  
Washington Post Staff Writer

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

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

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

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

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

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

See DINNER, C2, Col. 1



# TransAfrica Celebrates



From left, Charlie Lewis, Roscoe Nix, Martha Cobb and Lionel Barrow at the TransAfrica dinner.

BY SHARON FARMER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## DINNER, From C1

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

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

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

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

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

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

For some, picketing has given new direction.

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

"I was born black and I didn't grow my hair to identify myself before. Now I am working for my peace of mind."

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

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

"Ironically," he said, "constructive engagement has even pushed [Alabama Gov.] George Wallace to support the South African freedom movement because ships now being built in Mobile are using South African steel—while up the road in Birmingham, steel mills are closing down in the face of this stiff foreign competition."



## Economic Threats Won't End Apartheid

By STUART BUTLER

Politicians love an opportunity to express righteous indignation when it costs them nothing. So it is hardly surprising that the disinvestment campaign against South Africa is popular on Capitol Hill. Senators and congressmen have been provided with a marvelous photo-opportunity: being arrested outside the South African embassy.

The pictures play well back home, and the arrest procedures are now handled so smoothly and quickly that it hardly interferes with the cocktail circuit. And well-publicized hearings allow legislators to moralize about the inappropriateness of Americans investing in a racist country.

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

There are several reasons for this inconvenient conclusion. First, an investment boycott of South Africa would actually have little economic impact. Three times more money is currently flowing out of South Africa, in the form of dividends, than is flowing into the country in foreign investment. If Pretoria took the elementary step of countering disinvestment with a ban on capital exports, far from the South African economy being starved of capital, it would actually receive a cash boost. Moreover, if U.S. companies were forced by Congress to close down their South African operations, it would mean a fire sale to reactionary white Afrikaners of assets owned by American employers — employers who have set the social pace in South Africa by desegregating the workplace, providing equal pay, and upgrading black skills. As the respected *London Economist* has noted, "It is hard to see how replacing an American personnel director with an Afrikaner one is an advance for anti-apartheid."

Second, even if disinvestment did bite, there is no reason to believe economic hardship would make white South Africans, outnumbered 6-to-1, suddenly embrace democratic principles. In particular, the Afrikaners of Dutch origin, who

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

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

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

Pretoria has slowly but surely been

forced to change from within in the face of economic growth. Following the breakdown of many labor restrictions, the government has accepted the principle of black property ownership in "white" South Africa, recognized that the "homeland's policy" is more form than substance, and has even announced that it will recognize interracial marriage — to the horror of many Afrikaners. Each of these concessions is a desperate attempt to hold back the economic and social pressure building up for national political rights for blacks. But each concession is also another nail in the coffin of apartheid.

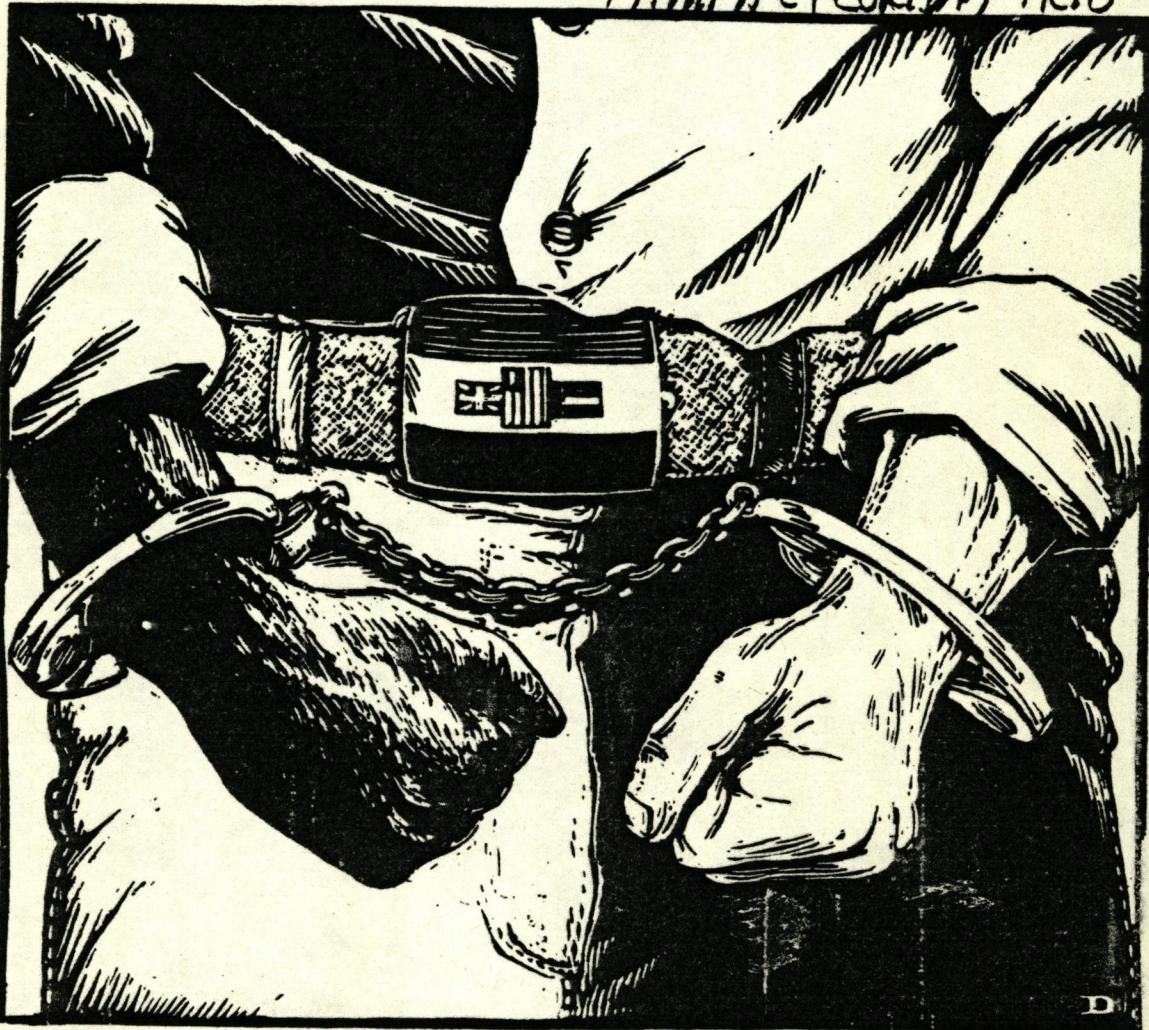
If disinvestment were to slow down economic growth in South Africa — the expressed goal of its supporters — it would also slow down this remorseless economic tide of change, making bloody revolution the only option available for blacks. This would be a high price to pay for what many congressmen believe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

disinvestment.

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

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

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





# South Africa: Take a clearer look

By CAL THOMAS

**A**PARTHEID IS unnatural, unholy and wrong, whether practiced today in South Africa or practiced by another name in the all-too-recent past in the United States. It took us 180 years to turn our system around, though it is still far from the ideal, but we expect South Africa, in existence only since 1910 and independent since 1960, to be as racially "advanced" as we are.

Imagine how frustrated Americans would be if they knew South African television carried pictures of the Philadelphia police operation against MOVE as typical of the way we handle our black population and you will begin to understand South Africans who believe their problems have received one-sided treatment.

Twice in the same week, I had the opportunity to consider another point of view from the one I have been accustomed to receiving from the "morally upright" American press.

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

The most dramatic story was told by Joyce Kinikini, whose husband, son and two nephews were murdered just weeks ago. Another son is missing. Kinikini says her husband, a black councilman, was suspected of collaborating with the white government. Kinikini, who says her family was slaughtered by Communist supporters, gave me a videotape of the slayings, made by a Dutch TV crew. It is horrible. Her husband and son are shown being hacked to death with knives, doused with gasoline and set afire while people stand around, cheer and raise their fists at the camera. I wonder why we never saw this on American television?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NY Daily News  
6/3/85



By George D. Moffett III  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The days of the Reagan administration's policy of friendly persuasion toward South Africa appear to be numbered.

Facing growing public opposition to Pretoria's policy of racial segregation, called apartheid, the full House and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this week take up legislation that could lead to imposition of stiff new economic and political sanctions against South Africa.

The legislation reflects rising congressional impatience with the slow pace of reform in South Africa.

It also reflects a calculation that continued support of the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" is becoming more risky politically. "The anti-apartheid bill is a clear indication of no confidence in the administration's South Africa policy," a congressional source says.

The main vehicle for House opponents of apartheid is the omnibus Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985.

The legislation, which will be debated on the House floor, calls for the end of most bank loans and of the sale of computer technology to the South African government. It also includes restrictions on new investment and

Please see SANCTIONS page 41

MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1985

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

41

## NATIONAL

### SANCTIONS from page 1

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

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

Similar legislation is being considered by the Senate Banking Committee.

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

Supporters of legislation to impose sanctions on South Africa say five years of "constructive engagement" have been ineffective in producing reform. "It's time to replace accommodationist policies with pressure on South Africa to negotiate a fair settlement," Mr. Scott says. "It's clear South Africa won't negotiate on apartheid until it makes

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

But critics of economic sanctions say limiting US investment would hurt the very enterprises that are on the cutting edge of social reform in South Africa. "If you force US companies to sell out, all you would have is Afrikaner firms there," says Stuart Butler of the Heritage Foundation, a Washington public-policy institution. "They would buy US assets at low prices and replace the progressive American management that's encouraging desegregation. This won't benefit black South Africans."

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

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

But such arguments seem unlikely to prevail, given the desire of an apparent majority of congressmen to distance themselves from the Reagan administration's South Africa policy.

"The administration's public-relations image ranges from poor to counterproductive on this issue," says one Washington observer with close ties to Capitol Hill. "Even Republicans are trying to take South Africa policy away from the administration." Two Republican-sponsored House measures call for the creation of a bi-

partisan commission to oversee US policy in South Africa.

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

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

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

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

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