

MEMO

MAY 1, 1980

TO: PAUL
FROM: CHRIS C.

RE: TALKING POINTS FOR ROCKEFELLER STUDY COMMISSION ON US POLICY TOWARD S.A.

1. The Ad Hoc Monitoring Group on Southern Africa

Among the submitted documents is a history of the Group authored by Congressman Thomas Downey, one of the four co-coordinators of the Group. I recommend the History to you as an accurate and comprehensive document.

I will confine myself to a few points worth emphasizing.

The Group is truly ad hoc with no funding and no paid staff.

The membership of 2 senators and 44 Congressmen share a general perspective as reflected in the statement of purpose:

"Given the importance of Southern Africa to our national interest and to world peace now and in the future, the purpose of the Ad Hoc Monitoring Group on Southern Africa is to monitor developments in Southern Africa, to make available information on Southern Africa, and to work for the attainment of social, economic, and political justice in Southern Africa."

Beyond that basic commitment the membership includes a diversity of opinion on a number of sub-issues.

For example, the role of the Sullivan Principles as a vehicle toward significant political change in S.A. is debated among members.

I do not regard them as a substitute for political change while some of our members see the Principles as effective.

The issue of investment in S.A. also involves differences of opinion within the Group. Most probably feel that restrictions on American investment would be an effective lever on and a potent message to the South African government. Others feel that such economic measure will hurt the U.S. and reduce the jobs in S.A. for Blacks.

This diversity of opinion in the Group does not prevent us from taking common action. On the Rhodesia sanctions issue, most members took part in efforts to forestall a sanctions lift until internationally supervised elections could take place in Rhodesia. On the question of civil liberties and political repression in S.A., the Group has sent a number of joint letters to South African officials over such cases as the execution of Solomon Mhlangu, bannings in Transkei, the revocation of Bishop Desmond Tutu's passport, and the "Free Mandela" campaign, all of which are enclosed. The Group has also launched a political prisoner adoption project in which each member is invited to adopt a political prisoner who is the victim of political persecution.

While the Group is united in its opposition to racial injustice in S.A., a central purpose of the Group is to promote a dialogue with S.A. leaders, including the present government. To that end, Congressman McCloskey arranged a luncheon for 22 Parliamentarians from S.A. which was attended by 16 members of the Group. The Group has also met with Piet Koornhoof, Minister of Plural Relations, a representative of the Republic of Transkei, and a representative of the Caterpillar Co which has significant commercial interests in S.A.

2. PET's Views

1. Revolution vs. Evolution and the example of Rhodesia.
2. Preserve and strengthen moderates operating inside S.A.
3. S.A. will act in its own interests, but in doing so may lose all hope of cordial relations with the United States.
4. Phased-Conditional Divestiture and the role of American moral and symbolic pressure on S.A.. South Africa's preoccupation with American public opinion. The Muldergate or Infogate affair. The Namibia propaganda ad in the NYT, Wash. Post, and LA Times. The South Africa Foundation has completed a study saying that the popular American attitudes toward disinvestment are potentially very strong.
5. Namibia is effectively stalled. S.A. military has interpreted the Rhodesia election of Mugabe as proof that guerillas must be excluded from election process.
6. Tsongas three point plan and 6 month probation period.

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7. Results to date in SA. are not encouraging:
 - a) passport revocation of Tutu
 - b) detention of Curtis Nkondo and 3 other Black Consciousness leaders
 - c) the failure of the Parliament to enact any legislation dismantling apartheid.
 - d) Minister of Finance Horwood's new budget and its emphasis on increased defense expenditures and national security with minor increases for the purpose of racial reconciliation.
 - e) the refusal of the SAG to enter into meaningful negotiations with authentic black leadership.
 - f) the continuing stall on a Namibia resolution