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REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT
THE AMHERST TOWN COMMON

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YOU HAVE ALL HEARD POLITICIANS BEGIN THEIR SPEECHES WITH THE WORDS "I AM HAPPY TO BE HERE TODAY". THESE WORDS MAY SEEM HOLLOW TO YOU, BUT I CAN SAY, WITH DEEP FEELING, THAT AFTER THREE MONTHS OF CONTENDING WITH SOME OF THE OLD LIONS OF THE SENATE, I AM HAPPY INDEED TO BE HERE, NOT THERE.

I SHOULDN'T MAKE FUN AT THE EXPENSE OF MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE. THEY BELIEVE VERY DEEPLY IN THEIR POINTS OF VIEW, THEY ARE SINCERE, AND WELL MEANING. BUT THEY CAN MAKE THINGS TOUGH FOR ME, ESPECIALLY ON AFRICAN ISSUES.

BUT I DID NOT COME HERE TO SPEAK TO YOU ABOUT MY COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE. YOU HAVE OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON THAT SCORE. NO, I WANT TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY ABOUT AMERICAN POLICY IN AFRICA.

MY INTEREST IN AFRICA BEGAN QUITE SOME TIME AGO, IN A PLACE CALLED WOLISSO. YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD OF WOLISSO, BUT THAT TINY ETHIOPIAN VILLAGE WAS A PLACE WHERE I SPENT TWO OF THE MOST HAPPY AND PRODUCTIVE YEARS OF MY LIFE. I WAS A PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER IN WOLISSO, AND IN MY TWO YEARS THERE I LEARNED MORE ABOUT AFRICA AND THE THIRD WORLD THAN ANY BOOK, ARTICLE, OR LECTURE WILL EVER IMPART TO ME.

I RECOMMEND THE PEACE CORPS TO YOU. GIVING OF YOURSELF TO OTHERS IS A JOYFUL EXPERIENCE.

A FEW YEARS LATER I SERVED AS A SUMMER INTERN IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, AND I WROTE A STUDY FOR MY BOSS, BRAD MORSE, A STUDY ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. NOBODY PAID ANY ATTENTION TO THAT STUDY THEN BECAUSE, I SUPPOSE, IT WAS A BIT TOO RADICAL FOR THE TIME.

IN 1974 I WAS NO LONGER A CONGRESSIONAL INTERN, BUT A MEMBER OF CONGRESS. THE PAY WAS CERTAINLY BETTER, AND I WAS MY OWN BOSS. WHEN SOMALIA INVADED ETHIOPIA IN 1977 I DECIDED TO GO BACK TO AFRICA. I WAS DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD RESPOND TO SOMALIA'S PLEAS FOR ARMS. I WROTE A REPORT ON THAT TRIP, AND I LIKE TO THINK THAT THE REPORT, THE PUBLICITY, AND MY DIRECT APPEAL TO PRESIDENT CARTER HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION NOT TO SEND ARMS TO SOMALIA. THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN A GRAVE MISTAKE-- AIDING SOMALIA WOULD HAVE ALIGNED US WITH THE AGGRESSOR IN THAT CONFLICT, AND PLACED US IN ANOTHER PROXY WAR WITH THE SOVIETS, WHO CLEARLY HAD OUTFLANKED US BY SWITCHING THEIR SUPPORT FROM SOMALIA TO ETHIOPIA. INSTEAD OF PLUNGING

INTO A WAR WE HARDLY UNDERSTOOD, WE EXERCISED RESTRAINT. ETHIOPIA DID NOT INVADE SOMALIA IN RETALIATION. A FRAGILE PEACE DID RETURN TO THE OGADEN. FALSTAFF WOULD HAVE BEEN PROUD OF PRESIDENT CARTER. "DISCRETION" WAS INDEED "THE BETTER PART OF VALOR."

MORE RECENTLY, I HAVE BECOME CONCERNED ABOUT PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTHERN HALF OF THE CONTINENT. I HAVE BEEN ACTIVE ON RHODESIAN ISSUES, ANGOLA, AND SOUTH AFRICA. BUT I THINK I HAVE RECOUNTED ENOUGH OF MY AFRICA EXPLOITS TODAY. SOUTHERN AFRICA DESERVES A MORE SYSTEMATIC DISCUSSION--THERE ARE MANY VERY COMPLEX, INTERRELATED ISSUES AT STAKE HERE. THERE ARE NUMEROUS QUESTIONS WITH NO EASY ANSWERS. AS YOU ALL KNOW, THE LAST BASTIONS OF WHITE RULE IN AFRICA THREATEN TO DRAG THE ENTIRE REGION INTO A RACIAL CONFLICT OF FRIGHTENING PROPORTIONS. THIS IS AN URGENT POLICY PROBLEM IN NEED OF AN EFFECTIVE APPROACH.

LET ME SET OUT SOME SELF-EVIDENT ASSUMPTIONS WHICH I FIRMLY SUPPORT. THEN WE CAN PROCEED TO SPECIFICS.

FIRST, WE MUST UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEM. THE PROBLEM IS NOT FREEDOM FIGHTERS OR GUERILLAS. IT IS NOT SOVIET SUBVERSION. IT IS NOT TRIBALISM. THE PROBLEM IS WHITE SETTLERS. WHITE SETTLERS ARE,

HAVE ALWAYS BEEN, A REGRESSIVE, DISRUPTIVE POLITICAL FORCE IN BLACK AFRICA. TRUE, THEY HAVE EXPLOITED THE LAND AND ORGANIZED THE LABOR TO PRODUCE IMPRESSIVE ECONOMIC RESULTS, BUT POLITICALLY, THEY ARE A DESTABILIZING FORCE. FORGET ABOUT THE AFRIKANERS AS THE ARCH RACISTS OF AFRICA. THEY ARE NO DIFFERENT THAN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING SOUTH AFRICANS, NO DIFFERENT THAN WHITE RHODESIANS, NO DIFFERENT THAN THE WHITE KENYANS WHO FOUGHT THE MAU MAU REVOLT, NO DIFFERENT THAN THE PORTUGUESE WHO FLED ANGOLA----- THEY ALL SHARE THE SAME INTERESTS, PURSUE THE SAME OBJECTIVES, FEAR THE SAME OUTCOME. ONLY STYLISTIC VARIATIONS DISTINGUISH ONE FROM THE OTHER. YOU CAN EXPECT THE SAME SORT OF BEHAVIOR FROM THEM ALL. THEY ARE ALL FIERCELY DEDICATED TO WHITE PRIVILEGE AND WHITE RULE.

* BUT, this does not mean that whites must leave Africa; it means that they must share power.

SECOND, BLACK AFRICANS HAVE THE ASPIRATIONS OF ANY ECONOMICALLY EXPLOITED, POLITICALLY OPPRESSED PEOPLE. THEY ARE NATIONALISTS. THEY ARE NOT PREDESTINED TO BE COMMUNISTS AS SOME INCORRECTLY THEORIZE, BUT THEY WILL FIGHT, IF NECESSARY, TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE.

* conveyed to Paul orally.

U.S. POLICY MAKERS HAVE UNDERESTIMATED AFRICAN NATIONALISM BEFORE, AND WERE SHOCKED WHEN WHITES GAVE UP THE FIGHT IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA AGAINST THE BLACK LIBERATION GROUPS WHO NOW GOVERN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, AND GUINEA BISSAU.

THIRD, TRUE MAJORITY RULE WILL COME TO RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA -- IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF WHEN AND AT WHAT COST IN HUMAN LIVES AND DEVASTATION. WHITE MILITARY POWER IS EXTREMELY WELL ORGANIZED AND CAPABLE, BUT TIME, NUMBERS, AND HISTORY ARE AGAINST THEM. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI WOULD OBJECT TO BEING QUOTED IN THIS CONTEXT, BUT HE DID ONCE REFER TO THE LOCOMOTIVE OF HISTORY BEARING DOWN ON THE WHITE RULERS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. I HAVE TO HOLD HIM TO IT.

FOURTH, U.S. POLICY MAKERS MUST ACCEPT AND ACT UPON THESE AND OTHER AFRICAN REALITIES. WHEN FORMULATING AMERICAN POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THEY MUST RESPOND TO AFRICA FIRST AND THE SOVIETS SECOND. COLD WARRIORS TAKE NOTICE! AFRICA IS NOT THE PLACE FOR YOUR ADVENTURES. YOUR TACTICS ONLY DISCREDIT THE UNITED STATES AND HELP THE SOVIETS WIN UNDESERVED STATURE AND INFLUENCE.

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I HAVE LISTED FOUR ASSUMPTIONS. THERE ARE OTHERS, BUT I THINK MOST OF THEM FLOW FROM THESE FOUR. "FINE", YOU SAY, "THESE ARE REASONABLE ASSUMPTIONS, SENATOR TSONGAS, BUT WHAT KIND OF U.S. POLICY CAN YOU SUGGEST THAT WILL RESPOND TO THESE ASSUMPTIONS AND GAIN ANY MEASURE OF SUPPORT IN WASHINGTON?" IN OTHER WORDS, WE HAVE A POLICY PROBLEM AND A POLITICAL PROBLEM. THE COUNTRY IS EXPERIENCING A RIGHTWARD DRIFT. FEAR OF SOVIET EXPANSIONISM AND ADVENTURISM IS VERY WIDESPREAD. AMERICANS IN LARGE NUMBERS WANT TO "STRIKE A BLOW"; THEY WANT TO ASSERT AMERICAN POWER, CONFRONT THE SOVIET DEMON. SOME MAY EVEN PREFER A MILITARY TEST IN THE THIRD WORLD. THESE ARE DISTURBING, YET VERY REAL CURRENTS IN AMERICA TODAY. THEY HAVE ELOQUENT AND NUMEROUS SPOKESMEN IN THE SENATE.

I HAVE BEEN WRESTLING WITH THIS DILEMMA IN MY OWN MIND FOR SOME TIME NOW. I HAVE DISCUSSED THESE QUESTIONS WITH AFRICA EXPERTS FROM MASSACHUSETTS, I HAVE CONFERRED WITH STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS, I HAVE CONSULTED WITH BRZEZINSKI AND HIS PEOPLE, AND I HAVE TALKED OVER THESE MATTERS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS. TWO WEEKS AGO I WENT TO NEW YORK FOR A

DAY OF TALKS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE LIBERATION GROUPS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND KEY AFRICAN STATES. THESE TALKS WERE VERY PRODUCTIVE.

INFORMATION FROM ALL THESE SOURCES HAS HELPED ME TO FORMULATE WHAT I CONSIDER A HARD-HEADED, YET PROGRESSIVE POLICY FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA. SOME WILL SAY THAT AMERICA IS INCAPABLE OF AN ENLIGHTENED AFRICA POLICY. BUT I SEE NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN A PROGRESSIVE AFRICAN POLICY AND AMERICAN IDEALS. WE NEED ONLY APPRECIATE AFRICAN REALITIES, AND THE REST FALLS INTO PLACE. THESE REALITIES, TO REPEAT WHAT I SAID EARLIER, ARE: 1) THE PROBLEM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS WHITE SETTLERS; 2) ONE CANNOT UNDERESTIMATE AFRICAN NATIONALISM; AND 3) IT IS INEVITABLE THAT BLACK MAJORITY RULE WILL COME TO SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE POLICY IMPLICATIONS ARE CLEAR ENOUGH. THE UNITED STATES MUST CONFRONT WHITE SETTLERS, NOT SUPPORT THEM. WE MUST ACCEPT THE LEGITIMACY AND THE STRENGTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND RESPOND POSITIVELY TO IT. WE MUST ACT DECISIVELY TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE.

IF WE FOLLOW THESE PRESCRIPTIONS, THE SOVIET THREAT IN AFRICA WILL WHITHER AWAY OUT OF ITS OWN INEPTITUDE. WHEN YOU TALK WITH AFRICANS, YOU REALIZE HOW MUCH WE HAVE HELPED THE SOVIETS ACHIEVE WHAT THEY NEVER COULD HAVE DONE FOR THEMSELVES. WE HAVE MADE SOME SERIOUS BLUNDERS IN AFRICA BECAUSE WE IGNORED AFRICAN REALITIES. THE SOVIETS, WHO HAVE BEEN KICKED OUT OF ONE AFRICAN COUNTRY AFTER ANOTHER, HAVE REAPED THE REWARDS OF OUR FOLLY. I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THIS POINT. THE SOVIETS ARE INEPT IN AFRICA. THEY ARE EFFECTIVE ONLY AS FINANCIERS OF CUBAN MERCENARIES. THEY HAVE NEITHER THE WILLINGNESS NOR THE CAPABILITY TO RESPOND TO AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTAL NEEDS. THEY ARE NOT ONLY USELESS TO AFRICANS, THEY FREQUENTLY OFFEND THEM.

AN EXAMPLE OF THIS SORT, OF THE SOVIETS CAPITALIZING ON AMERICAN FOLLY, IS OUR CURRENT U.S. POLICY IN ANGOLA. AS YOU ALL KNOW, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION REFUSES TO RECOGNIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA. ANGOLANS HAVE ASKED US FOR RECOGNITION, BUT WE REFUSE. IN ALL THE WORLD ONLY ONE OTHER COUNTRY HAS NOT RECOGNIZED ANGOLA -- THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

OUR POLICY OF NON-RECOGNITION CARRIES HEAVY COSTS. WE ARE PREVENTED FROM REGULAR AND RELIABLE COMMUNICATION WITH THIS KEY AFRICAN STATE. AT A TIME WHEN WE SEEK THE COOPERATION OF PRESIDENT NETO OF ANGOLA IN THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS, WE SHUT THE DOOR. AT A TIME WHEN ANGOLA IS REACHING OUT FOR WESTERN INVESTMENT, TECHNOLOGY, AND AID, WE DRAW AWAY AND LEAVE THE FIELD TO THE SOVIETS. THIS IS NOT THE WAY FOR AMERICA TO SUCCEED IN AFRICA. ON THE FLIMSY PRETEXT OF FOREIGN TROOPS ON ANGOLAN SOIL, (DO I DARE MENTION THEIR NAME?) THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION EFFECTIVELY ELIMINATES US FROM ANY ROLE IN ANGOLA. THIS POLICY OF NON-RECOGNITION IS SUCH PATENT NON-SENSE---IT SO COMPLETELY DEFIES EVERY PRINCIPLE OF SELF-INTEREST---THAT I AM STILL ASTOUNDED WHENEVER I THINK ABOUT IT. AND I HAVE THOUGHT ABOUT IT A GOOD DEAL -- OUR ANGOLA POLICY WAS THE SUBJECT OF MY FIRST FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH ON THE SENATE FLOOR.

A SECOND AREA OF AMERICAN MISCALCULATION IS RHODESIA. THE AFRICAN REALITIES IN THAT SITUATION CLEARLY TELL US THAT WE SHOULD NOT BACK IAN SMITH OR HIS SURROGATES. BUT OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS WE

HAVE VACILLATED BETWEEN OVERT SUPPORT FOR SMITH'S REGIME AND A FRAGILE NEUTRALITY. IN 1977 THE SENATE REPEALED THE BYRD AMENDMENT AND EFFECTIVELY REIMPOSED THE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA WHICH WE HAD VOTED FOR IN THE U.N. SINCE THEN THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS HAVE MAINTAINED A FRAGILE, YET CONSISTENT POLICY OF NEUTRALITY TOWARD THE RHODESIAN CONFLICT. BUT LAST YEAR THE SENATE CAME WITHIN FOUR VOTES OF LIFTING THOSE SANCTIONS. THIS YEAR THE RHODESIAN ISSUE IS WITH US AGAIN. THE SENATE JUST COMPLETED CONSIDERATION OF A MEASURE TO SEND A CONGRESSIONALLY SPONSORED TEAM OF ELECTION OBSERVERS TO RHODESIA. THE MEASURE WAS WELL INTENDED BY AT LEAST ONE OF ITS SPONSORS, BUT THE SENDING OF OFFICIAL AMERICAN OBSERVERS TO THE RHODESIAN ELECTIONS THIS MONTH WOULD BE DIASTROUS. I OPPOSED THAT MEASURE IN THE SENATE AND LED THE FLOOR FIGHT AGAINST IT. I ARGUED THAT THIS OFFICIAL AMERICAN TEAM WOULD AMOUNT TO A DE FACTO RECOGNITION OF THE ILLEGAL RHODESIAN REGIME. IT WOULD PLACE US IN SUPPORT OF A CONSTITUTION SO BLATANTLY RACIST AND PRO-WHITE THAT AMERICAN CREDIBILITY IN BLACK AFRICA WOULD SUFFER GREAT HARM. SENDING OBSERVERS WOULD ALSO TEND TO ESCALATE, PROLONG, AND INTERNATIONALIZE THE CONFLICT IN RHODESIA.

WHEN WE BEGAN OUR CAMPAIGN TO OPPOSE THE RESOLUTION, WE WERE SURE OF PERHAPS TWO OR THREE "NO" VOTES. THE RESOLUTION ENJOYED GREAT SUPPORT -- IT WAS SO PLAUSIBLE AND REASONABLE ON THE SURFACE THAT NO ONE DARED OPPOSE IT. BY THE TIME WE REACHED A VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION, THE SITUATION HAD CHANGED. THE FINAL TALLY WAS 66 TO 27 IN FAVOR OF THE RESOLUTION. THAT MAY SOUND LIKE A STRANGE VICTORY -- 27 NO VOTES. IT LOOKS LIKE WE WERE TROUNCED, BUT I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THOSE 27 NO VOTES WERE CRUCIAL. THEY PROVIDED CREDIBILITY FOR THOSE OPPOSING THE RESOLUTION. THE SENATE WAS NOT UNANIMOUS. WHEN THE RESOLUTION WENT TO THE HOUSE, THE AFRICA SUBCOMMITTEE WAS ABLE TO VOTE ITS CONSCIENCE, WHICH IT PROMPTLY DID -- 9 TO 0 AGAINST THE RESOLUTION. THERE WILL BE NO CONGRESSIONALLY SPONSORED OBSERVER TEAM GOING TO RHODESIA.

BUT THE SENATE FIGHT OVER RHODESIA POLICY WILL GO ON FOR MANY MORE ROUNDS BEFORE IT IS OVER. THERE ARE POWERFUL FORCES IN THE SENATE, PLANNING STRATEGY RIGHT NOW ON HOW TO ENGINEER A SANCTIONS LIFTING VOTE. WE MAY POSSIBLY SEE THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF THAT STRATEGY IN THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE NEXT WEEK, BUT MY BEST GUESS IS THAT THE REAL FIREWORKS WILL FOLLOW THE APRIL RECESS.

THE VOTE IN THE SENATE WILL BE VERY CLOSE. I WILL DO EVERYTHING IN MY POWER TO DEFEAT ANY SANCTIONS LIFTING MEASURE. GIVEN THE PRESENT MOOD OF THE SENATE, I CANNOT PROMISE YOU SUCCESS. I WILL NEED HELP -- YOUR HELP. YOU ALL CAN PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE IN THIS FIGHT. GROUPS SUCH AS THIS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY MUST EXERT PRESSURE ON THEIR SENATORS AND CONGRESSMAN. LETTERS ARE GOOD. PERSONAL VISITS TO CONGRESSIONAL OFFICES ARE BETTER. PETITIONS ARE EFFECTIVE. PEACEFUL RALLIES AND MARCHES SUCH AS THIS ONE TODAY ARE HELPFUL, TOO. I APPEAL TO YOU. ORGANIZE YOUR FORCES STATEWIDE AND NATIONWIDE. STUDENTS, CHURCH GROUPS, CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, ALL MUST ACT. I NEED YOUR HELP.

LET ME SAY THAT THE ONLY LASTING SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM IS TRUE MAJORITY RULE. I FERVENTLY HOPE THAT THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT WILL COME TO THEIR SENSES AND WORK TOGETHER FOR A PEACEFUL, NEGOTIATED TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE, PREFERABLY UNDER U.N. AUSPICES. BUT, THE OUTLOOK FOR PEACE IS GLOOMY INDEED. AMERICA MUST REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT FURTHER INFLAME THE SITUATION. WE MUST ALLOW AFRICANS TO WORK OUT THEIR OWN SOLUTIONS. THAT IS THE WAY THEY WANT IT IN RHODESIA. THEY WANT TO BUILD A NEW ZIMBABWE

WITHOUT AMERICAN OR SOVIET INTERVENTION. MY WISH IS THAT THEY DO SO PEACEFULLY, BUT THAT DECISION IS IN AFRICAN HANDS, WHERE IT BELONGS.

IT IS NOT BY CHANCE THAT I HAVE LEFT SOUTH AFRICA AS THE LAST TOPIC IN MY TALK TODAY. THIS RALLY WAS ORGANIZED TO PROTEST APARTHEID AND APARTHEID REMAINS THE MOST THREATENING AND INTRACTABLE ISSUE WE FACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

I AM NOT GOING TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS AND ECONOMY. THEY ARE, I AM SURE, FAMILIAR TO ALL OF YOU. THE QUESTION TO CONSIDER IS U.S. POLICY. WHAT SHOULD WE DO TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL YET PROMPT TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE?

TWO THINGS NEED TO BE SAID BEFORE I TALK ABOUT POLICY. FIRST, SOUTH AFRICA IS AN AWESOME MILITARY POWER WITH A VAST INTERNAL SECURITY APPARATUS. IT IS AN ENORMOUSLY WEALTHY, ALMOST SELF-SUFFICIENT STATE. ITS POWER TO PRESERVE ITSELF IN ITS PRESENT FORM SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED. SECOND, THE FORCES OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND LIBERATION ARE PRESENTLY EMASCULATED AND STILL RECOVERING FROM

THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST THEM IN THE 1960's AND 1970's. AT THIS TIME, GUERILLA ACTIVITY IS AT A VERY EARLY STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT. IT IS AN EXILE MOVEMENT WITH ALL THE PROBLEMS THAT USUALLY AFFLICT EXILE MOVEMENTS.

I MENTION THESE FACTORS ONLY TO POINT OUT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICA SITUATION WILL BE WITH US FOR A LONG TIME. MY VIEWS ON POLICY ARE TIED TO THIS REALIZATION AND TO THE ASSUMPTIONS I MENTIONED EARLIER. I THEREFORE SUPPORT A STEP-BY-STEP ESCALATION OF AMERICAN PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA TO COMPELL THAT GOVERNMENT TO ABANDON ITS POLICY AND PRACTICE OF APARTHEID.

I HAVE BEEN INTIMATELY INVOLVED IN SUCH EFFORTS. LAST YEAR, AS A CONGRESSMAN, I AUTHORED AN AMENDMENT TO LEGISLATION FUNDING THE UNITED STATES EXPORT-IMPORT BANK. MY AMENDMENT ORDERED THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK TO CEASE ALL LOANS AND LOAN GUARANTEES TO COMPANIES DOING BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA UNTIL SUCH TIME THAT SOUTH AFRICA MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARD THE DISMANTLING OF APARTHEID. MY AMENDMENT WAS AMENDED BY OTHERS.

WHEN IT REACHED THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE, IT WAS WEAKENED TO SOME EXTENT. NONETHELESS, THE AMENDMENT WAS SIGNED INTO LAW BY PRESIDENT CARTER AND IT STANDS NOW AS THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE ACT EVER TO IMPOSE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. I AM FOLLOWING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AMENDMENT CLOSELY TO INSURE THAT ITS PROVISIONS ARE ENFORCED.

I BELIEVE THAT AMERICAN SUPPORT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S SYSTEM OF RACIAL INJUSTICE IS INTOLERABLE. I SUPPORT THE DIVESTITURE CAMPAIGN IN UNIVERSITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY. I WILL SUPPORT CONGRESSIONAL INITIATIVES TO LIMIT PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. ONLY THROUGH CONSTANT RESOLUTE PRESSURE WILL THE UNITED STATES MAKE ITS WILL KNOWN TO SOUTH AFRICA. THIS IS THE CONTRIBUTION AMERICA CAN MAKE TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. WE CAN TRY TO PRESSURE SOUTH AFRICA INTO MAKING SIGNIFICANT CHANGES, CHANGES WHICH MIGHT OUTPACE THE GROWING BLACK RAGE AGAINST THIS EVIL SYSTEM. UNDER PRESSURE, SOUTH AFRICA MAY CHANGE, AND SIGNIFICANT REFORMS MIGHT AVERT THE BLOODY RACE WAR, WHICH LOOMS AHEAD. TO STAND BACK AND ALLOW U.S. ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA IS MORALLY WRONG AND THOROUGHLY IMPRACTICAL IN THE LONG TERM.

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WE FACE SIMILAR CHOICES ALL OVER SOUTHERN AFRICA. BLACK AFRICA IS WATCHING US CLOSELY. BASED ON THEIR PAST EXPERIENCE, THEY ARE SKEPTICAL OF AMERICA'S GOOD INTENTIONS. THE SOVIETS ARE WATCHING US, TOO, HOPING THAT OUR ANTI-COMMUNIST IMPULSES WILL LEAD US TO ERRORS ON WHICH THEY CAN CAPITALIZE. WE AND THE WHITE SETTLERS ARE POTENTIALLY THE BEST ALLIES THE SOVIETS COULD HOPE FOR. THE SOVIETS ARE COUNTING ON US TO ADVANCE THEIR CAUSE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. I WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO DISAPPOINT THEM. I WANT THE UNITED STATES TO ACT IN ITS OWN INTERESTS, NOT FOR THE SOVIETS. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE UNITED STATES DO THE RIGHT THING IN AFRICA.

I BELIEVE THAT THE FOREIGN POLICY APPROACH I HAVE DISCUSSED TODAY HAS POTENTIAL FOR WIDE-RANGING APPEAL. IT IS BASED ON SOUND ASSUMPTIONS. IT REFLECTS THE REAL WORLD. IT APPLIES TO ALL THE WHITE-RULED STATES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. ABOVE ALL, IT WILL ELEVATE AFRICAN REALITIES TO THE PROMINENCE THEY DESERVE AND WILL DEMOTE OUR SELF-DESTRUCTIVE COLD WARRIOR APPROACH TO THE OBSCURITY IT DESERVES.

I HOPE THAT I CAN COUNT ON YOUR SUPPORT.