

PREPARED REMARKS BY THE HON. GEO. W. CROCKETT, JR.
BEFORE THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON SOUTH AFRICA

TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 1986 AT 9:30 A.M.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE, I
THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WHAT THE UNITED STATES
SHOULD BE DOING TO ENCOURAGE THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA TO
END APARTHEID AND TO BEGIN MEANINGFUL AND PEACEFUL POLITICAL
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE COUNTRY'S BLACK MAJORITY.

AS YOU MAY KNOW, I AM THE RANKING MAJORITY MEMBER OF THE
HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA AND A MEMBER OF
THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.
IN 1984, I INTRODUCED THE MANDELA FREEDOM RESOLUTION CALLING ON
OUR GOVERNMENT TO URGE SOUTH AFRICA TO FREE NELSON MANDELA FROM
PRISON AND TO LIFT THE BANNING ORDERS ON WINNIE MANDELA. THE
RESOLUTION WAS PASSED OVERWHELMINGLY BY BOTH THE HOUSE AND THE
SENATE.

LAST YEAR, I WAS ONE OF THE CONFEREES WHO FORMULATED THE HOUSE
SENATE AGREEMENT ON THE ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF 1985, WHICH WAS
PASSED BY THE HOUSE LAST AUGUST. IN A PRIVATE CAPACITY, I NOW
SERVE AS THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN FOR THE LAWYERS CAMPAIGN TO
FREE NELSON MANDELA.

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IN THE PAST 20 MONTHS, OVER 1500 PEOPLE, THE MAJORITY OF THEM BLACK, HAVE BEEN KILLED AND 36,000 ARRESTED IN THE GOVERNMENT REPRESSION OF ANTI-APARTHEID PROTESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. VIOLENT CONFRONTATION IS ESCALATING RAPIDLY.

THE SO-CALLED GOVERNMENT "REFORMS", SUCH AS THE PENDING ABOLITION OF PASS LAWS, RESTORATION OF CITIZENSHIP TO BLACKS IN SO-CALLED INDEPENDENT STATES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA, AND A PROPOSED INTERRACIAL ADVISORY COUNCIL DO NOT DEAL WITH THE DRIVING ISSUES OF CONTINUED WHITE POLITICAL DOMINATION AND ENDURING SEGREGATIONIST STRUCTURES LIKE SEPARATE RESIDENCES, SEPARATE EDUCATION, AND ETHNIC "HOMELANDS" FOR BLACKS.

NO ONE WANTS TO PREDICT CATASTROPHE FOR SOUTH AFRICA--BUT THERE IS GROWING EVIDENCE EACH AND EVERY DAY THAT UNLESS CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS FUNDAMENTAL, FAR-REACHING AND EVEN REVOLUTIONARY IN ITS PROPORTIONS, THE RISKS OF DISASTER WILL CONTINUE TO INCREASE DANGEROUSLY. IT IS ALSO EQUALLY CLEAR THAT 24 MILLION BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS WILL NOT BE DENIED THEIR FREEDOM MUCH LONGER AND THAT THEY WILL WIN THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP BY PEACEFUL, OR BY OTHER MEANS.

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EXCEPT POSSIBLY THE STATE DEPT

NO ONE IS CERTAIN AT THIS MOMENT WHAT ROLE AMERICA IS PLAYING OR WILL PLAY TO FOSTER ACCOMMODATION AND RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. WILL IT BE SAID THAT WE HELPED THE BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN TO ACHIEVE FREEDOM AND DIGNITY IN HIS OWN COUNTRY; OR WILL WE BE SEEN AS RACISTS HIDING BEHIND A FACADE OF ANTI-COMMUNISM -- AS SO OFTEN HAS BEEN THE CASE -- AND THUS STRENGTHENING THE STATUS QUO BY DOING NOTHING POSITIVE TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL CHANGE?

~~YOUR ASSIGNMENT IS AN IMPORTANT ONE. HOPEFULLY, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO PERSUADE THIS ADMINISTRATION TO PURSUE NEW POLICY INITIATIVE WHICH WOULD USE OUR VAST INFLUENCE AND OUR MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY TO HELP SOUTH AFRICA END ITS TURMOIL.~~

AT THIS MOMENT, OUR QUIET DIPLOMACY IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACEFUL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS FAILED. WHATSMORE, IT HAS ALIENATED US FROM OTHER AFRICAN AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES AND IS PRESENTLY EARNING FOR US THE HOSTILITY OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS.

(DELEGATION TO AFRICA THAT FOUND HOSTILITY FROM BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS - STEPS TOWARD)

A FIRST STEP IN A NEW DIRECTION WOULD HAVE THE UNITED STATES BEGIN A PUBLIC DIALOGUE WITH THE BANNED AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND OTHER BLACK ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS. THE ANC IS THE OLDEST AND MOST PROMINENT OF THE ORGANIZATIONS OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE APARTHEID SYSTEM OF SOUTH AFRICA AND IS HIGHLY REGARDED BY THE COUNTRY'S BLACK MAJORITY.

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IN A MEETING WITH EDITORS OF THE NEW YORK TIMES LAST OCTOBER, SECRETARY SHULTZ OBSERVED RATHER CASUALLY THAT THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT SHOULD FREE NELSON MANDELA AND SHOULD MEET WITH THE ANC TO SHOW ITS WILLINGNESS TO SEARCH FOR A POLITICAL COMPROMISE. I BELIEVE IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT FOR OUR OWN GOVERNMENT TO MEET WITH OFFICIALS OF THE ANC AND TO ANNOUNCE PUBLICLY THAT WE'RE DOING IT IN THE EFFORT TO COMMUNICATE WITH ALL THOSE WHO MAY BE INVOLVED IN BRINGING PEACEFUL CHANGE TO SOUTH AFRICA.

A SEEN, PRACTICAL THING *HIMSELF*
ANOTHER IMPORTANT MOVE WOULD HAVE PRESIDENT REAGAN CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE FROM PRISON OF NELSON MANDELA AND OTHER SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS. MANDELA, WHO HAS BEEN IN SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS SINCE 1962, IS REGARDED BY MANY BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS AS ONE OF THE MOST RESPECTED SYMBOLS OF RESISTANCE AGAINST APARTHEID AND AN INDIVIDUAL WHO WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN ANY POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS. HIS RELEASE IS JUSTIFIED ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS ALONE. TWENTY-FOUR YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT IS LONG ENOUGH FOR AN OFFENSE THAT CARRIES A MAXIMUM OF FIVE YEARS IN OUR COUNTRY.

OUR EMBASSY IN SOUTH AFRICA MUST ALSO ASSUME A MORE ACTIVIST ROLE. HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS SHOULD BE MEETING PUBLICLY WITH REPRESENTATIVE POLITICAL LEADERS AND GROUPS IN THE COUNTRY AND ATTENDING PUBLIC GATHERINGS OF ALL SEGMENTS OF THE POPULACE.

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*IN SOUTH AFRICA IN 1980, AND OCCASION
TO MEET WITH BUSINESS MEN*

I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT SEND A SPECIAL ENVOY, OF AMBASSADORIAL RANK, TO ADVISE AND ASSIST AMBASSADOR NICKLES IN ESTABLISHING THE IMPORTANT COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE BLACK-LED ORGANIZATIONS. I WOULD FURTHER SUGGEST THAT THIS ENVOY BE A BLACK AMERICAN FOR REASONS THAT ARE EVIDENT. THIS SELECTION WOULD CLEARLY SPEAK TO THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT, THE NON-WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND TO AMERICANS HERE AT HOME.

I ALSO SUPPORT THE EFFORTS BEING MADE BY BOTH OUR GOVERNMENT AND THE AMERICAN PRIVATE SECTOR TO PROVIDE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES ABROAD FOR BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS. I WOULD SPECIFICALLY URGE THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF A POLITICAL LEADERSHIP PROGRAM HERE FOR SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS. SUCH A PROGRAM COULD CALL UPON THE EXPERTISE OF THE CONGRESS AND ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, THROUGH INTERNSHIPS, AND COULD UTILIZE THE SPECIAL EXPERIENCES OF THE HISTORICAL BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES HERE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE STEPS I HAVE PROPOSED HERE ARE SIMPLE AND DIRECT. THEY ARE ADMINISTRATIVE AND THEY REALLY SHOULD HAVE BEEN TAKEN SEVERAL YEARS AGO. IT MAY BE TOO LATE TO GET THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT TO REACT FAVORABLY TO THESE INITIATIVES NOW.

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THE LIMITED SANCTIONS ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT LAST YEAR ARE APPARENTLY HAVING A MINIMAL EFFECT ON SOUTH AFRICA, AND IT MAY BE THAT NOTHING SHORT OF A COMPLETE PULL-OUT OF U.S. INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AS ENVISIONED IN PENDING LEGISLATION, WILL GET THE BOTHA REGIME TO MOVE FORCIBLY TO END ITS RACIAL SEGREGATION.

I WISH WE COULD GET THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO DO THE RIGHT THING THROUGH DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES AND PROPOSALS, SUCH AS I HAVE SUGGESTED HERE. BUT I HAVE MY DOUBTS.

MOREOVER, I AM CONVINCED THAT IF THE UNITED STATES IS TO BE A POSITIVE AGENT FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE TROUBLED SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION, THEN WE MUST BE PREPARED IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS TO TAKE DIRECT ACTION THROUGH THE IMPOSITION OF STRINGENT ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

WITHOUT ACCESS TO AMERICAN CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY, THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE STATE WOULD BE DENIED MUCH OF THE MEANS THAT IT USES TO SUSTAIN THE REPRESSION INHERENT IN THE PRACTICES OF APARTHEID. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO ELIMINATE WHAT HAS BECOME AMERICAN ECONOMIC AID TO THE APARTHEID ^{system} GOVERNMENT.

OUR MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA TODAY MUST BE THAT WE WANT REAL AND PEACEFUL CHANGE NOW.

THANK YOU.