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# Institute for Policy Studies

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April 22, 1982

TO: Basker Vashee  
FROM: Carole Collins  
RE: Attached Memo/Proposal on Linking Anti-Apartheid/Disarmament Constituencies in the US and Europe

I've written up a very rough proposal/request to outline some thinking Jerry Herman of AFSC and I have been doing on some possible meetings/conferences that we think could assist in developing an effective campaign against nuclear collaboration with South Africa. On page 4 are the specific requests we are making of TNI.

I would most appreciate your reactions to the proposal/request--substantively as well as to the specific requests and in particular if you think we are approaching the issues in the wrong way, or if we are being unrealistic. In a sense, the proposals relate to the theme of your talk while here in DC in January--which, by the way, I got several 'rave' reviews of and reactions to.

Because the June Meeting proposed in the attached is so close in time, could you let Bob Borosage know your reactions to the requests made of TNI relative to that next week before he returns? If you are willing to do a mailing to European groups on that meeting, would it be sufficient for me just to mail you a letter with all the details, proposed agenda, sponsors, etc. for you to duplicate and send out? At this point the sponsors would include COBLSA, AFSC, and WOA--we are in the process of contacting other groups about the meeting and their involvement in it. The other requests are more elaborate and would require a greater commitment of time and resources, so you may need time to consider them. It would be helpful, however, if you could let me know when you might be able to respond on these requests.

Following your visit, we had a larger meeting of groups re a campaign to break US/South Africa nuclear collaboration. There seems to be general interest in such a campaign, but fewer people to do the groundwork and research to make it happen. WOA is interested in developing such a campaign. Currently, I am getting together a draft paper on what we know of the 'local' corporate connections of this collaboration to enable the campaign to suggest local targets to organizers in regional/local areas. It will be the basis for a brochure to be used locally to mobilize people, and to link them to national legislative efforts to end such collaboration. Already, DC groups have demonstrated outside the headquarters of Edlow International, which helped get enriched uranium to South Africa in violation of US bans on export of such materials to South Africa (of course, Reagan may soon lift these restrictions). Several legislative handles re ending collaboration are being explored with legislative aides of Congressmen and Senators, though no clear legislative strategy has yet emerged or been decided on.

I and others do appreciate your taking time to consider these requests. I hope things are going well at TNI--it was really good to get to meet you and other TNI Fellows in January. And I hope your Zimbabwe trip went well--how is Mtchana?

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PROPOSAL: LINKING ANTI-APARTHEID AND ANTI-NUCLEAR WEAPONS ACTIVISM IN EUROPE AND THE U.S.

1. The Problem and the Need: The disarmament movement in Europe and the U.S. has grown dramatically in the past year, using a variety of means and arenas to raise public consciousness about the dangers of a nuclear weapons race and mobilize public action on this issue. Cooperation between European and U.S. groups has grown in the past 1-2 years as this mobilization has gained momentum.

The anti-apartheid movement, which reached a heightened level of activity in the 2-3 years immediately following the Soweto Uprising of 1976--particularly among churches and on campuses--has developed new legislative arenas in the past 2-3 years. Legislation has been introduced in over 12 states and a number of cities to prohibit deposit or investment of public monies on banks and corporations active in South Africa. The South Africa issue is second only to the issue of nuclear energy/weapons in the number of shareholders' resolutions pending before major U.S. corporations this year. In the early 1970s, a number of "Easter Conferences" of US and European anti-apartheid and solidarity groups were held which provided a forum in which tactics, strategies and research could be shared, assessed, developed. These were discontinued and only partly replaced by a growing number of international conferences sponsored by the U.N. Center Against Apartheid, which mainly focused on exchange of research and information but provided little, if any, opportunities for groups to assess "the state of the art of organizing" on these issues and explore areas for joint, multi-national coordinated work. The Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa was one of the few contexts in which some loose coordination was developed from such conferences; but it has remained sporadic and ad hoc for the most part.

More recently, the issue of U.S.-South African nuclear collaboration has begun to claim the attention of many anti-apartheid and disarmament groups, who are concerned with (a) how that collaboration assists South Africa in the development of nuclear weapons; and (b) how that collaboration links our domestic nuclear energy industry to the South African white-controlled government and economy. This has been of concern to European groups for some time, as South African and Namibian uranium is depended on heavily by Britain and France and several other European nations for fueling their nuclear industries. While some U.N. conferences have dwelt on this issue, they have not provided the forum or resources to bring local or regional groups (as opposed to representatives of national groups) and organizers together to explore how a joint, coordinated international campaign to break such collaboration might be developed. They have failed to provide a context for sharing of tactics, strategies, etc. essential to developing an effective campaign strategy and implementing it creatively and effectively at national, regional/state and local levels.

Several recent events underline the urgency of the need to coordinate international efforts to end nuclear collaboration with South Africa:

- South Africa's reported explosion of two nuclear weapons devices in the South Atlantic in 1979 and 1980, bringing nuclear weapons to the African continent for the first time;
- its increasingly reckless military attacks on the neighboring countries of Angola and Mozambique and continued refusal to rule out the first use of nuclear weapons against these countries, thus extending the threat of a nuclear conflict to the whole region (Nigeria and other black African countries have already expressed interest in obtaining a defensive nuclear weapons capability of their own);

- South Africa's continued refusal to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (ratified by Congress in 1978) or allow international inspections of its nuclear facilities to ensure they are not used to manufacture weapons;
- moves by the Reagan Administration to ease South African access to enriched uranium and high tech equipment essential to its nuclear energy and weapons program;
- South African vulnerability at the present time to sanctions against its nuclear program, which will not exist within 2 years if such sanctions are not imposed swiftly and effectively;
- white South Africa's escalating repression of black protest, raising the risk of white South African threats to use nuclear weapons to blackmail neighboring black-ruled countries into not assisting liberation forces.

South Africa's uranium exports to Europe and the U.S. continue to bring it much-needed foreign exchange. It is currently experiencing the highest recorded balance of payments deficit in its history. Ending nuclear collaboration would pressure the white minority through reducing its export earnings while delaying the further development of its nuclear weapons capability. Continuing nuclear collaboration will maintain white South African resistance to making meaningful moves toward Namibian independence (since Namibia is a prime source of uranium for European countries and the US) and enable South Africa to blackmail western governments into not imposing meaningful sanctions against South Africa, one of the few measures with the potential to reduce the human cost of the inevitable conflict in that country.

The disarmament and anti-nuclear movements have been reluctant to deal with international issues on which many divisions of opinion exist. The issue of nuclear collaboration with South Africa, however, is one of the few issues on which this diverse and broad movement can be expected to come to agreement with the anti-apartheid forces who have targeted such collaboration over the past decade. This issue provides a unique opportunity to broaden the array of political forces and constituencies united in opposing white minority rule in South Africa, while simultaneously mobilizing anti-apartheid forces to more directly support the dramatically growing international movement for nuclear disarmament.

## 2. Goals and Objectives:

The goal of this proposal is to help develop an effective international campaign to end nuclear collaboration between South Africa and all countries, in particular the U.S. and Western European powers, who are linked to South Africa's nuclear industry or nuclear weapons program. A secondary goal is to increase the effectiveness of disarmament and anti-apartheid groups organizing on this and related issues.

The objectives of this proposal are:

- to enable groups from the US and Europe to share tactics, strategies, research on U.S./South Africa nuclear collaboration;
- to facilitate joint work by anti-apartheid and disarmament/anti-nuclear constituencies at national, regional/state and local levels (which have not worked together in the past to any appreciable extent);
- to develop a common/strategy for an international campaign to end collaboration <sup>and effective</sup> by the U.S. and other countries with South Africa's nuclear industry and nuclear arms industry (as part of the U.N. program of sanctions against South Africa);
- to develop a sustained network for sharing research, new information, actions and tactics among those organizing in different countries to end such collaboration.

### 3. Proposed Activities:

#### A. Working Meeting in June During Special UN Session on Disarmament:

American Friends Service Committee-Southern Africa Program & the Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa have taken the initiative to explore such a meeting. It would take advantage of the fact that many anti-nuclear weapons organizers from Europe will be in the U.S. during that period, and that many U.S. organizers on both anti-nuclear and anti-apartheid issues will be participating in the large mass rallies planned for June 12 and 13th. The idea is to take advantage of their presence in NYC to plan a working meeting of organizers to:

- get to know each other for the first time
- share their experiences in organizing on anti-apartheid and anti-nuclear issues
- explore the possibility of an international campaign on nuclear collaboration with South Africa
- set up an informal cooperative network for further joint work, sharing of information.

The meeting would probably last  $\frac{1}{2}$  or a full day, with an informal reception or party planned for the evening. AFSC is exploring options for space in NYC. We would probably need some funds collected for the evening social events. Participants would have to agree on some raising of funds to enable any follow-up.

An immediate need, if this is to happen, is contacts: anti-apartheid and anti-nuclear groups, in the US and Europe, who actively organize on these issues and are most likely to be responsive. They need to be invited to the meeting and urged to contact COBLSA for further information on time and place. It will be held either June 11th or 14th in New York City. We will be seeking contacts from all groups which we invite to the meeting. In particular, we need contacts with European groups, who will need the most advanced notice of the meeting to plan their travel arrangements. I have appended a cursory list of some of the contacts we have to date in Europe. We are asking TNI if they would be willing to share their contacts among anti-apartheid groups and anti-nuclear groups and possibly mail out invitations to this June meeting.

#### B. Trip of U.S. Organizers to Meet with local Anti-Apartheid and Anti-Nuclear Organizers in Europe (proposed for Fall 1982)

Objectives of this trip would be:

- to deepen working relations with European counterparts organizing on anti-apartheid issues generally and nuclear collaboration with South Africa issues specifically
- to further facilitate a loose networking of groups to share strategies, analyses, tactics, resources, research and information on a sustained basis
- to better understand similarities and differences in local organizing conditions and strategies/<sup>and tactics</sup> arising from those conditions, to enrich and strengthen organizing in the U.S.

The proposed trip would include:

1. Length: About 15-20 days.
2. Countries visited: England/Ireland; France; Holland; West Germany; Belgium; Norway/Sweden/Denmark; possibly Switzerland.
3. Context of visits: US participants would want to meet with local anti-apartheid and anti-nuclear organizers in each country, to learn about the local organizing conditions, history, tactics and strategy, linkages to other groups/campaigns, etc. They would want to meet with the broadest diversity of groups, politically, who are actively organizing on these issues. They would be willing to speak, as appropriate, about organizing on these issues in the U.S.

If it seems feasible, a meeting of groups from several countries might be planned to share US and European experiences in a more collective context and to build on the beginning dialog of the NYC June Meeting re developing an international campaign against nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

4. Participants: They should come from every region of the U.S. and reflect the diversity in this country. The groups should include 50% women and 50% minorities. Our target size for the delagation is 10, but could be expanded. National groups ~~should~~ should, where possibly, represent networks of local organizers and share information on that local organizing as well as national work. Regions/cities of the US that should be represented include: West Coast (Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oregon/Washington); Southwest (Texas; Phoenix, Ariz.; Denver); Midwest (Chicago; St. Louis; Detroit; Indianapolis; Minnesota; Kansas); South (Atlanta; Mobile and Birmingham, ALA; Memphis, Tenn.; Jackson, Miss.; New Orleans; Miami); and the East (Washington, D.C.; New York; Philadelphia; Baltimore; New England). / Cities are listed to indicate where we know active work is going on./
5. Estimated costs: The proposed budget is 1500 per person.  
New York-London flight = \$628.00 (summer rates; may be cheaper in fall)  
Eurail pass - 15 days = \$250.00 (summer rates)

We would depend on local anti-apartheid groups for <sup>local</sup> hospitality (sleeping arrangements) in most places visited.

6. Groups being consulted re participation in the tour:  
American Friends Service Committee  
Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa  
Washington Office on Africa  
Black United Front  
American Committee on Africa  
Clergy & Laity Concerned  
TransAfrica
7. Funding: We will work to raise funding for the trip from several church and foundation sources; in particular, funding will be important for those representing local anti-apartheid groups. Some possible sources to approach for funding include: UN Centre Against Apartheid; The Funding Exchange; World Council of Churches/Program to Combat Racism; funders of peace activities.

4. What We Are Requesting of TNI:

- A. June Meeting:
- that TNI share contacts with European anti-apartheid and anti-nuclear arms race groups so they may be invited to participate in the June Meeting
  - that TNI send out invitations to European-based groups once the precise date and place are chosen in the next week (would save tremendous postal costs)
- B. Fall Tour by US Activists:
- that TNI suggest contacts in all the countries we may visit, who would be most appropriate<sup>and willing</sup> to set up our itinerary in each country and enable us to meet the broadest diversity of groups politically in that country, and who might be willing and able to assist in arranging local hospitality
  - that TNI set up meetings for the delegation with Dutch groups and handle our local hospitality while in the Netherlands;
  - that TNI consider whether they could host a<sup>working</sup> meeting, similar in nature to the June Meeting, during our stay in Holland, that would bring together groups to build on the NY meeting (see p. 3, No. 3 re this type of meeting). It would be good to consider whether and what amount of funding this would require (e.g. publicizing (postage, phone calls, printing invitations and any conference materials), arranging local hospitality for tour participants and reps from other European groups, etc.), and how we might raise it.

Submitted by Carole Collins, national coordinator, Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa and Guest Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies.

## PROPOSED PLAN FOR MEDIA/EDUCATIONAL OUTREACH

- Purpose: - ~~raise~~ public knowledge of US/SA nuclear collaboration and issues it raises: human rights violations and nuclear dangers
- mobilize public support for national legislation to end such collaboration and public hearings on the issue

### National vs. regional/local outreach:

- National groups should jointly do outreach to national media, to other national groups and to DC area
- Local groups/activists should be mobilized by national groups and their affiliates to work jointly on local media and educational events, and to push for action by state and municipal legislative bodies (UK model)

Time frame: Need to know form of likely legislation, timetable for introduction & hearings so as to give local groups a sense of when action is most needed. Other activities providing time frame for needed immediate action:

- primaries in states for congress (make this an issue for candidates to take a stand on)
- UN Disarmament actions June 11 (churches) and 12 (general):
  - push to ensure issue is raised by at least one speaker
  - build a contingent raising the issue (already endorsed at student anti-apartheid conf. in KY)
  - push for issue to be raised at local events/actions leading up to June national action

### Needed Resources:

- simple brochure explaining issue and what people can do about it
- list of audio-visual and written materials on issue for use at educational events; *BASIC ARGUMENT SHEET*
- list of sponsoring groups and local affiliates to indicate to local groups who their allies are at local level on this issue

### Media Outreach:

1. To Mass media: letters to the editor/calls to TV & radio stations asking to make statement on the issue  
op ed pieces  
meetings with editorial boards asking them to state clear opposition to such collaboration  
monitoring how issue is covered (or not covered) and contacting reporters re new developments in story
2. To specialized media:
  - a) by constituency:(must be aware of how issue may impact group)
    - church groups (relig. talk shows; denom. publications & local church bulletins)
    - unions (papers; central labor councils)
    - black community (papers; radio & TV; black church networks & civil rights groups)
    - hispanic and other minority groups (papers; HR groups)
    - community groups (NPA' NAN;etc.)
    - scientific community
    - peace/disarmament groups
    - anti-apartheid groups
    - women's groups
    - anti-nuclear groups