chickens.

Coal smoke billowed from large tin cans in front of cardboard and sheet-metal huts. The dark mist hung in the air just above the ground, so that the drawn faces of barefoot children running by quickly faded from view.

"They claim if there are sanctions, we will suffer," my guide said. "But look"—his intense gaze focused on a woman surrounded by children squatting by the side of a dirt road selling rotten fruit—"we suffer already. Sanctions will not make us hungry; we are already hungry."

After introducing me to several young mothers who had not seen their migrant-worker husbands in months, Bieki took me aside. "Tell the Jewish people that we need sanctions. Tell your people we are grateful for sanctions. Only outside influence will move this government to end this injustice. Sanctions must be maintained until there is change. They must get this message."

Five years ago the American Jewish community stood behind people like Bieki and campaigned for sanctions against South Africa, over the objections of Ronald Reagan's veto and the failed policy of "constructive engagement". It was easy then; "Arrests were rampant; government violence was widespread. A state of emergency was in effect. The world was outraged.

Five years later the winds of change have unraveled South Africa's political balance. A new president, F.W. de Klerk, has been elected; Nelson Mandela has been freed. Apartheid laws are being abolished. The world is happier.

The black and white arguments that compelled much of the world to impose sanctions have faded to gray. The European Community abandoned sanctions last month, rewarding de Klerk for his bold step toward scrapping major apartheid laws and negotiating with the African National Congress.

Now de Klerk wants the world's remaining superpower to endorse the changes in South Africa and boost his leadership by waiving sanctions. With world attention focused on the U.S., the anti-apartheid coalition that overpowered Reagan's objections to sanctions in 1986 has received what one anti-apartheid

leaders.

"The American Jewish community is going to make a decision on the principles and the merits just as it did before when it decided that sanctions had to stay in place," says Arden Shneider, chairman of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC), the umbrella policy-making organization for American Jewry. NJCRAC's ad hoc committee on apartheid "does look at the merits of how much progress has been made. That committee is going to continue to do that."

In recent meetings the ad hoc committee has continued to uphold its support for sanctions. But in a bow toward what some see as inevitable, they have recommended that NJCRAC begin to examine its policy in a time when sanctions are no longer desirable. The NJCRAC executive committee will meet in June in Chicago to finalize the findings of the ad hoc committee.

The CAAA, the initials used by legislative assistants, State Department officials and South African diplomats to refer to the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, remains the crowning achievement of the anti-apartheid movement. With its passage by Congress the U.S. becoming the only country to impose sanctions against South Africa by legislative action rather than executive decree.

The CAAA banned new investments in South Africa and barred significant South African imports, among a host of other biting and symbolic restrictions that reflected American abhorrence of apartheid. NJCRAC, the umbrella organization for 13 national Jewish agencies and 117 local Jewish

The president might reject "shifting of the goalposts," but he is not likely to waive sanctions unilaterally. According to a State Department official familiar with the issue, the president told de Klerk and Mandela when each visited the White House that there are certain rules and laws that we must follow concerning the CAAA. When those laws have been adhered to, then the administration would move on the consideration of lifting sanctions in consultation with Congress.

The South African diplomat concedes there are elements in Congress and around the country opposed to lifting the sanctions soon, but he believes "their bark is worse than their bite."

The issue, as it is perceived in the Jewish community, can best be described not as a bite or bark, but a growl that will continue to intensify as the South African government approaches meeting the five conditions of the CAAA.

"I think sanctions should be continued until blacks, everybody, has a vote in South Af

ica," says Marsha Goldstone, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Indianapolis. "This is a case where sanctions have worked. My own fear is that if we support a waiver of sanctions before apartheid has been truly dismantled, and not merely reformed, we will in fact retard the process." Her comments reflect the feelings of many Jewish professionals involved in community relations.

But Goldstone, who participated in a NJCRAC fact-finding mission to South Africa in 1988, admits "there will be some split in the American Jewish community. My guess is that the ADL, which was not

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