

AMBASSADOR HERMAN W. NICKEL

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Background	
Correspondent for TIME magazine	1961-1962
Expelled from South Africa	
Returned as correspondent for FORTUNE	1978
Appointed Ambassador to South Africa	1982-1986
Recollection of Expulsion	
US Policy considerations	
Importance of race relations in US policy	
Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique	
Area Problems	
Mozambique	
Namibian-Angola settlement	
Soviet attempts to spread influence	
European support for Savimbi	
SWAPO operations	
Independent homelands	
Concept supported only by South Africa	
Concept flawed	
Political corruption	
African National Congress	
Considered by blacks as leader of liberation movement	
Gatsha Buthelezi importance	
Nelson Mandela	
Not effective as guerilla operation	
Supports idea of military confrontation	
Soviet connection	
Changing position of blacks	
Rising number of black professionals	
Error of apartheid – Bantu education	
Education of blacks inferior	
Greater participation of blacks in universities	
Little change in public education	
US Political considerations in viewing South Africa	
Press quick to report to public	

Sanctions campaign
Black caucus and liberal institutions influence
South Africa became a morality play
Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986
Administration's opposition to sanctions

Attitude of South African government officials
P.W. Botha suspicious and difficult
Accuse US of interfering in SA affairs
Some more cooperative than others
Desmond Tutu supported sanctions

Embassy contacts with blacks
Good lines of communication
Elites support sanctions; rank and file oppose
Black leaders generally cordial despite differences

General comments
SA whites 60% Afrikaner and 40% English speakers
Most whites fear unfettered black majority rule
Whites less polarized than before
Blacks against "capitalist exploitation"
Capitalism and apartheid viewed as an unholy alliance
Sanctions have driven off capital inflow
Sanctions have created new markets for S. Africa
Strategic importance secondary