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Series D. International Relations Activities. 1961-1992.

Box 71, Folder 10, South Africa, 1985.

SOUTH AFRICA - AUGUST / SEPTEMBER 1985

In South Africa the situation has never been worse than it is at the present time.

Black communities all over the country are living in a state of siege and are suffering the most terrible repression.

Since September 1984 at least 650 people have died in the unrest. The Minister of Law and Order has said that two thirds of the deaths have resulted from police action. Of the remaining third many deaths have not yet been explained. The killings of Victoria Mxenge, Matthew Goniwe and three other leaders from Cradock remain unsolved as do others.

Others have died as a result of attacks on black policemen, local black councillors, people suspected of being informers. Deaths have also resulted from conflicts between different political groups particularly in Natal and the Eastern Cape. Many people believe that some of the deaths in this group have in fact been inspired and instigated by the security forces.

According to the police 182 people were in Security Act detention as at 12th August 1985. By 26th August this figure had risen to 517.

Five new deaths of people in police custody were reported in August. 12 people have died in Security police detention since Steve Biko died and 9 people died in police custody between 3rd September 1984 and May 1985. (All these figures from DPSC)

According to Police statistics as at 31st August 1985 2414 persons had been detained in terms of the State of Emergency Regulations of whom 1218 had been released leaving 1196 in detention.

School pupils are being detained daily - in some areas because they are not in school, in other places because they are in school but not attending classes, and in other areas because that are trying to attend schools which have been closed.

Because of the total clampdown on free information it is impossible to know how accurate the figures are. There is reason to believe that they are not comprehensive.

In many areas there is what amounts to a total ban on all meetings. In other places specific meetings are banned regularly.

The army is in occupation in many townships. There is a curfew in areas within the State of Emergency districts, people who are not resident in a particular township in the emergency areas are not permitted to enter that township. Regulations have been promulgated forcing children to be inside school buildings during school hours.

Many people are reporting injuries arising from unmerciful beatings by the police wielding quirts. The police are not equipped with defensive riot control weapons but with weapons of aggression such as the quirt (a kind of whip which inflicts terrible wounds).

The illegal occupation of Namibia shows no signs of ending and South Africa has again invaded Angola.

All over South Africa black communities are organising consumer boycotts and worker action. In Sebokeng (Vaal Triangle) people have refused to pay rent since September 1984.

School boycotts are widespread and students in schools and tertiary institutions are resisting the apartheid oppression with determination and anger.

The Council of South Africa students was banned. As one leader said "they can ban the name" but not the struggle of the students.

On the 15th August 1985 the State President addressed the National Party congress in Natal. This speech was expected to be the vehicle for the announcement of far reaching changes to the Apartheid system. He said nothing of significance although many western diplomats seemed to have been given reason to believe that some significant announcements were to be made.

In the weeks that followed this speech the following things happened.

1. International banks refused to roll over South Africa loans which fell due for repayment before the end of 1985. South Africa declared a moratorium on repayment to 31st December 1985. This was the first time this country had ever reneged on its debts. During the course of 1986 a total of R31 billion will fall due for repayment by South Africa to foreign creditors.
2. The Rand fell in value to below 35 american cents.
3. President Reagan issued an executive order imposing certain limited economic sanctions against South Africa. "Constructive Engagement" has become "Active Constructive Engagement" and it seems there has been a marked withdrawal of Washington's support for the South African government.
4. The European Economic Community, with the exception of Britain, agreed upon certain economic sanctions against South Africa.
5. Some countries, such as Canada, acted unilaterally in imposing sanctions.

6. South African business leaders were galvanised into action to pressurise the government for real political change. A group of leading business men and newspaper editors travelled to Zambia for talks with an ANC delegation led by Mr Oliver Tambo.
7. A gathering of significant and widely representative Church leaders called for a day of prayer on 9th October urging Christians to stay-away from work in order to pray for justice and peace.
8. On Wednesday 11th September the State President announced a complete reversal of the government's policy regarding citizenship for black people.
9. On Thursday 12th September a committee of the President's Council released its report on the pass laws, influx control and urbanisation. The committee recommends the abolition of the pass laws and influx control. The full President's Council accepted the report the next day. (The Council has a built in majority of representatives of the ruling National Party and appointees of the State President).

What is Apartheid ?

Apartheid is not a system of social racial discrimination. It is a deliberate, coldly planned and very sophisticated design to bring about the separation of race groups from one another in as many areas as possible and to exclude the black majority from participation in the common society.

Apartheid as it relates to the African majority rests on the following foundations :

1. The removals programme which uproots black people from where they have been living and resettles them within homeland borders. Between 1960 and 1980 approximately 3 million people were removed in this way. By 1980 54% of the total black population was officially resident within homeland borders.

It is unclear as yet what government intends. Large numbers of urban townships which were scheduled for removal are now to remain. The extension of 99 year leasehold rights are a sure indication of this.

Removals of people from white owned farms are continuing. Black spot removals are under departmental investigation.

2. The pass law and influx control system which totally controls the movement of african people within South Africa and prevents people leaving the homelands to live elsewhere, or to work elsewhere except under the most rigidly restrictive conditions. The so-called reforms which have been introduced between 1980 and 1985 have actually increased the severity of influx control by providing privileges and preferential access to jobs for the minority of people (approximately 4 million) who have urban rights. Those who are already legally working within urban boundaries can now establish urban rights more easily. The rights of their wives and children to reside with them in urban areas were taken away in 1983 except for the families of those people who were born in town.

If the President's Council recommendations are accepted and implemented the whole system will collapse completely. Black people will no longer have to have a pass. They will be issued with exactly the same Book of Life as other race groups. The identity document will have to be produced on demand but it will not be a criminal offence not to do so. The Committee says people must not be forced to carry the document but must be encouraged to do so. This will apply to all races.

The committee rejected the idea that discrimination be removed by making influx control applicable to all races. It recommended that complete freedom of movement be allowed to all people including those who live within the homelands.

The only control will be that squatting on open land will not be permitted.

The committee recommends that large tracts of land be aquired and serviced for housing within the existing urban areas. It specifically rejects what has been the policy in recent years to build new townships far away from centres where people work and says new development must be planned to minimise travel distances.

It recommends that large amounts of land be serviced and that people be allowed to build their own homes as best they can afford. Standards should be based on minimal requirements for the maintenance of health.

The State President announced that citizenship is to be restored to the 9 million people who lost it because of homeland independence. 4 million of them live outside the homelands concerned. 5 million of them live inside the 4 independent homelands. The State President said he would negotiate with the governments of these places for a mechanism to allow dual citizenship for that 5 million.

It is not clear what the details of dual citizenship will be but if people are now to be allowed to move freely out of the homelands presumably their South African citizenship will predominate outside the homeland borders.

The significance of this move is that in terms of the apartheid policy all black people were in the process of being turned into foreigners. This is to be totally reversed. Government spokesmen have acknowledged in the course of this week that citizenship means political rights.

4. The homelands policy. 4 homelands are independent states and have full sovereign powers of government within their borders. The other 6 homelands are self governing and have legislative as well as administrative powers within the homelands over all the normal functions of government such as health, welfare, pensions, education, housing, public works, justice at the magistrate's court level, prisons, police. They are allocated inadequate sums from the central government's budget, collect income tax and general sales tax within the homeland and design their own budgets from the total revenue.

Fragmentation of government in racially separated structures.

This homeland legislative and administrative policy is echoed in the new Constitutional structure. Each race group has its own government to deal with the above functions. South Africa has 14 governments - 10 homelands, one each for coloured, indian and white people and one overall general government which deals with foreign affairs, defence, finance etc. and in which power is in the hands of the ruling white party. This structure and white control of the allocation of resources is what causes the injustices and inequalities in education, health, housing and so on which are the marks of the apartheid society.

Apartheid relating to all race groups is based on the Population Registration Act (Race Classification) which requires that everyone resident in South Africa must be classified according to their race, and the Group Areas Act which requires that everyone must live in a separate residential area set aside for members of his race group.

Decentralised development must be planned only on economic grounds. These changes will be a most fundamental reversal of policy and removes one of the pillars of apartheid. It will be a long hard battle to ensure that legislation does what has been recommended but for the first time in decades the way is open for constructive, creative work.

A few years ago legislation was passed requiring that people of all races be required to surrender their fingerprints when applying for identity documents. This has not yet been enforced and it will be one of the most contentious issues when the law is changed for black people.

3. Denationalisation and citizenship. Apartheid policy has been that all african South Africans must become foreigners. It was clearly stated by Dr Connie Mulder in 1978 when he said that the day would come when there would be no black South Africans.

There are 10 homelands. Legislation in 1970 said that every black South African is a citizen of one of the homelands wherever he or she may live. If a person has no geographical connection with any homeland his citizenship is decided by the language he speaks. Thus all Zulu speaking black people are citizens of Kwa-Zulu, all Tswana speaking black people are citizens of Bophuthatswana, and so on. In spite of this homeland citizenship people remained South African citizens.

Transkei became independent in 1976, Bophuthatswana in 1977, Venda in 1979 and Ciskei in 1981. On the day of independence every person who speaks the language of the homeland ceased to be a citizen of South Africa whether he was resident inside the homeland or outside it. 9 million people are now aliens in the land of their birth.

The consequences of this foreignness are exceedingly serious. Any person who was resident in the homeland at the time of independence and any person born after the date of independence of his parent's homeland has no legal right to reside in South Africa. Black foreigners are always present in South Africa by permit only and the maximum length of time for which such a permit is issued is 5 years.

These two Acts are now constitutionally entrenched as the 1983 Constitution and government structure is based on them and would fall apart if either Act were repealed.

Apartheid has not been dismantled but for the first time there has been a reversal (not a reform) to two essential aspects of the policy and the structures which maintain that policy.

Political rights for all South Africans remain the basic point of conflict. Meaningful political rights cannot be exercised within the apartheid structure because all the racially defined governing bodies are subordinated to the power of the white minority.

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18th September 1985.



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September 1985

REGIONAL TOPIC PAPER : 85/10

Consensus Politics or Bloodshed ?

by H W van der Merwe



This series of papers is published by the Cape Western Region of the South African Institute of Race Relations in an attempt to provide information on topical issues and to stimulate debate. The views of the authors do not necessarily represent the views of the Institute.

Consensus Politics or Bloodshed?
A Search for the Constructive Accomodation
of Conflict in South Africa

by H W van der Merwe

Written for The Star: Published 11-17 February 1985
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Accommodating conflict in SA

CONFLICT is part of the world we live in. More specifically, a leading academic says: "I do not believe that in a complex society such as South Africa there can ever be complete resolution of conflict." However, Professor HW van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, does not preach despair. In a series of articles appearing in *The Star* this week he has made it clear that "the real problem does not lie in the presence of conflict but in the way it is handled". What he advocates is the need to find constructive ways of dealing with it. But he warns that "the extent to which we fail to do that will largely determine the amount of bloodshed that lies ahead".

Professor van der Merwe's analysis has a strong message for both the principal antagonists — the white and the black nationalists. One of the myths subscribed to by black people is that peace and jus-

tice would reign if apartheid were dismantled and a multiracial government were set up. The professor discounts this theory, explaining that "while I do not believe whites are superior to blacks, I also do not believe blacks are more just than whites". In other words, ending apartheid will not mean an end to institutionalised violence.

The whites should take note of two points: violence is committed on their behalf by the State and the distribution of resources between the population groups has been so unequal that a peaceful resolution would seem to be impossible.

Perhaps what can be achieved is what Professor van der Merwe terms the win-win outcome in which the antagonists will "find a modus operandi aimed at maximum gain for each party". But both black and white will have to budge if we hope to move towards more reasonable political behaviour.

The Star

Ball is still in play

PRESIDENT BOTHA has pronounced on the Mandela affair. He does not see his way clear to order the release of a man who remains committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism. The debate is not — dare not be — over. In fact, Mr Botha said the door had not been closed on the offer. "The Government's attitude flows on the one hand from a concern for the men who have spent a long time in prison; on the other hand, we cannot order their release if they remain committed to violence."

The Government's decision is understandable; but is also a simplistic response to a complicated issue. Mandela has made it clear that the ANC does not support violence *per se*. He made counter-demands of the Government: it must re-

nounce violence, dismantle apartheid, unban the ANC, free those imprisoned or banished for their opposition to apartheid and guarantee free political activity.

Conflict resolution, as we explain in the editorial above, may not be easy. What is important, however, is how conflict is managed. The significance of the current debate is that white and black South Africans are for the first time being seen to attempt resolution through a joint process. The mere fact that a National Party Government is prepared to consider releasing jailed ANC leaders is a significant advance. It is also important that Mandela has been able to re-state that the ANC believes there can be a resolution without violence.

Consensus politics or bloodshed? While the Government is taking bold steps towards a new deal, the responses of most opposition groups have not been very positive.

As an extreme case, the African National Congress is reported to have stated it will from now

on go for soft targets, ie innocent civilians.

This kind of response causes rising scepticism among whites who are inclined to think nothing will satisfy militants.

It reinforces the view that the ANC is a terrorist organisation that should be dealt with by

force.

In this series of articles, extracts from a forthcoming book, Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, discusses the current conflict and assesses prospects for the constructive accommodation of conflict in South Africa.

Warning: the end of apartheid will not mean the end of violence

The Star Monday February 11 1985

Conflict should not necessarily be seen as bad or destructive. It is endemic in any society and can be seen as stimulating and invigorating. It can serve useful social functions, provided a constructive attitude is projected towards it. The real problem does not lie in the presence of conflict but in the way it is handled, accommodated and/or resolved. If conflict is handled in a negative, destructive way it ends in violence, the extreme manifestation of conflict. Violence can serve no long-term constructive social function, even if it may have desirable short-term effects. We have to accept conflict as endemic in our society. Our major task is to find constructive ways to accommodate it. The extent to which we succeed in this task will reduce the amount of violence and bloodshed. If we should be reasonable we would readily admit in principle (though not easily in situations where we are personally involved) that conflict, violence and malice could not be attributed to one party only: either to the oppressor or the terrorist; to the employer or the trade union; to

the whites or the blacks. The implication is that we must not anticipate a Utopia under any regime. The end of apartheid will not mean the end of violence either physical, mental or institutional. Everyone talks so glibly of the goals of justice and peace as if these are states of society that can be easily achieved. A year ago our State President claimed in his New Year's Message that South Africa was one of the most peaceful societies in the world, thanks to the protection we receive from the security forces.

★ ★ ★
But Government opponents argue quite the opposite. They believe South Africa is a most violent society and, in addition, they hold these very security forces responsible for what has become known as institutional or structural violence, ie violence committed by the State. Many of these critics also imply that the security forces are the *only* instruments of violence and once we have a new black or multiracial Government there will be peace and justice. This is simply not true. We need only look at

Zimbabwe and America, where we have clearly seen that once certain sources of conflict are removed, new ones emerge. And while I do not believe whites are superior to blacks, I also do not believe blacks are more just than whites. I do not want to hold our politicians and political journalists responsible for all or most of the over-simplifications in our political jargon, but they certainly contribute towards political over-simplifications which interpret conflict as unidimensional. Anybody involved in an action programme is tempted to present the problem in simple terms, to look for simple causes and to propose simple remedies. Simple political slogans are easy to sell to the public and to uninformed masses. I want to stress that our problem is not just that of race prejudices of the whites; neither is it a mere problem of capitalist greed and exploitations. It is therefore obvious that there are no simple remedies or solutions. Neither the removal of apartheid nor the demolition of exploitative capitalism will resolve our conflict.

For these reasons I regard many current measures by the Government to remove race discrimination as quite insufficient to promote a just and peaceful society. But I am equally sceptical about the negative destructive approach and methods of the anti-apartheid movement here in South Africa and abroad. Structural conflict is usually defined in terms of competition for economic resources, political power and social status.

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When competition becomes too intense or gets out of hand it may lead to violence. Ideological conflict refers to a conflict of ideologies, values, beliefs and perceptions. Goals, interests and values (such as race discrimination, apartheid, capitalism, Communism) can acquire ideological meaning and may motivate people to act independently of their objective structural position or interests.

For that reason whites will oppose apartheid; privileged people in a capitalist society may propagate Communism; British working-class people will support the Conservative

and not the Labour Party. We cannot decide on ways of resolving the conflict without knowing the sources of conflict. It will be fatal to either over-emphasise or ignore any of the more important structural or ideological sources. Since structural material resources are usually finite, contradictory claims may be difficult or impossible to reconcile or accommodate. This has been described as a situation of pure conflict and the outcome is referred to as a zero-sum result.

The one party's gain is the other party's loss. Sometimes the competitive spirit prevails and results in violent conflict. To the extent that these resources are logically and rationally developed and exploited the contending parties may, however, find a modus operandi based on a non-emotional cost analysis aimed at maximum gain for each party. This has become known as the win-win outcome. The old Parliamentary system of winner-takes-all has been compared with the zero-sum outcome, while it is argued that the new consensus politics

in South Africa are based on the win-win principle. Value or ideological conflict does not concern finite resources and should therefore be more amenable to resolution by mere adaptation and adjustment of opinions and attitudes. But unfortunately this is not so.

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Ideological commitment usually leads to excessive intolerance, over-simplifications, polarisation and refusal to compromise or reconcile. Ideologies reduce flexible, complicated life situations to rigid, stark, irreconcilable alternatives and promote paranoia. We have no dearth of ideologies in South Africa. For decades millions of people have suffered from the evils of a system motivated by the granite wall of apartheid. Are we heading for some more reasonable political behaviour now that this apartheid ideology is waning, or are we headed for another equally evil or even worse kind of fanaticism? This matter will receive attention later.

When a losing gambler keeps placing bets

While the concept of conflict resolution is the most prevalent in popular languages and also in academic circles abroad, I have found it evokes strong emotional opposition in this country.

There are two reasons:

⊗ Resolution implies that conflict is actually resolved and disappears into thin air.

○ It implies that people (especially the oppressed) will be pacified, will be won over to continue living peacefully in an unjust society.

This kind of resolution that promotes apparent peace merely enables the oppressors to continue with the exploitation of the masses.

There can be no peace without justice.

I do not believe that in a complex society such as South Africa there can ever be complete resolution of conflict.

Material resources are limited and traditionally the distribution between population groups has been so unequal and unjust that a peaceful, amicable resolution is not only unlikely, it is impossible.

The challenge to us is therefore to

DAY TWO of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

accommodate the conflict as constructively as possible.

The extent to which we fail to do that will largely determine the amount of violence and bloodshed that lies ahead. Current research on the resolution of conflict is characterised by a relatively positive approach based on the belief that the resolution, or at least

accommodation of conflict, is much more likely and possible than is usually assumed.

The traditional negative or pessimistic approach was largely due to the recognition of a strong element of natural human aggression that often constituted a major obstacle to peaceful resolution.

The scarcity of finite material resources such as possessions and territory often rules out any chance of conflict

resolution.

- Ideological commitment, - competitive processes and ineffective

- communication greatly contribute to the escalation of conflict.

One reason for the perpetuation of apartheid as a major source and manifestation of conflict in South Africa is suggested by Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance: people tend to make their beliefs and attitudes accord with their actions.

The pressure for self-consistency leads to an unwitting involvement in and intensification of conflict because one's actions have to be justified to oneself and to others.

These pressures explained the tragic course of American involvement in the civil war in Vietnam and South African involvement in Namibia.

The reason for our continued involvement is the fact that we are involved: once involved it is exceedingly difficult to disengage and to admit thereby how inappropriate our past involvement has been.

This reminds of the psychology of gambling. The losing gambler gets deeper and deeper into a hole but keeps on betting with the hope that by so doing he will recover his initial losses.

While conflict can serve a social function in the sense that it is a source of renovation of energy and of renewal in society and can thus be channelled constructively, it can also serve certain social functions that perpetuate conflict.

When conflict becomes institutionalised, that is, part of certain institutions and structures, the members of those institutions develop a vested interest in the perpetuation of that conflict.

Members of the Defence Force would not like to see the end of all wars because that would bring an end to their careers. But I have also come across vested interest

abroad in the perpetuation of the conflict in South Africa.

During many visits overseas and during a few periods of extended study and employment in England and the United States, I have established close contact with leaders of liberation movements living in exile and leaders of the many groups that I would collectively refer to as anti-apartheid groups. I could not help but observe that there was a greater willingness among leaders of the liberation movements living in exile than among anti-apartheid leaders to bring an end to the conflict in South Africa.

The explanation is obvious: a settlement will enable them to return home and participate in the governing of their own fatherland, while the anti-apartheid groups would be stranded without a cause and without jobs.

Ineffective measures by either party, oppressor or oppressed, are likely to elicit resistance, alienation and the escalation of conflict, rather than its resolution. Such measures include

illegitimate techniques, negative and inappropriate sanctions and excessive pressure.

Typically, a competitive process tends to produce the following effects which tend to perpetuate and escalate conflict:

⊗ Communication between the conflict parties is unreliable and impoverished.

Espionage and other circuitous means of obtaining information are relied upon.

Error and misinformation reinforce pre-existing orientations and expectation.

○ The view develops that the solution of the conflict can only be imposed by one side or the other by means of superior force, deception or cleverness.

○ A suspicious hostile attitude develops that increases the sensitivity to differences and threats while minimising the awareness of similarities.

NEXT

The total strategy; the banning of the African National Congress; the judgmental approach.

ANC: was outright banning the answer?

The Star Wednesday February 13 1985

I have argued earlier that malice, conflict and violence should not be attributed to only one party.

Similarly the mismanagement of conflict and negative destructive measures to accommodate conflict can be found in all parties, also in South Africa.

On the Government side I would single out in this respect the perception of the so-called Total Onslaught which has given birth to the development of the inevitable response: the Total Strategy.

"That South Africa is the prize objective in the Soviet bid to control Southern Africa is an established fact,"

claimed the SABC in an editorial on July 4 1983. This is the essence of the perception of the Total Onslaught: it is a Communist-inspired, ideologically-motivated struggle and the aim is the overthrow of the constitutional order and its replacement by a subject

Communist-oriented black Government.

To combat the total onslaught a total national strategy had to be formulated.

The 1977 White Paper defined total national strategy as the comprehensive plan to utilise all the means available to a state according to an integrated pattern, in order to achieve the national aims within the framework of the specific policies.

Mass mobilisation of the

DAY THREE of the series in which Professor HW van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

public in support of the Government's total strategy is vigorously campaigned by mass media, especially the SABC:

"But, as emphasised by General Malan, the African National Congress terrorist has no conscience as far as his choice of targets or weapons is concerned. His goal is the whole country and the entire population.

"And it is the main advantage of the terrorist, his ability as a clandestine operator to strike unexpectedly at vulnerable targets, which must be recognised and countered by the adoption of security as a general public obligation.

"Realistically speaking, it is the responsibility of organisations and individuals at all levels to play their part towards the overall security of their country."

While the South African Government and conservative media continue with their efforts to mobilise public opinion against the total onslaught allegedly orchestrated from Moscow, respectable scholars warn against this delusion.

In a concise, well-written and scholarly account of

Soviet policy in Southern Africa, published by the respectable, conservative Africa Institute of South Africa, Peter Vanneman and Martin James (1982) argue that Soviet policy-making with regard to Southern Africa is largely the preserve of lower levels of the Soviet bureaucracy.

They point out that Soviet foreign policy does not emanate from a monolith.

On the anti-apartheid side I would single out what I would call the judgemental approach which is characterised by a boycott mentality.

It is understandable that such an approach would have developed.

The rigidity and intransigence of the white establishment and oppression of the system have led to despair and cynicism.

The result of this cynical attitude is a refusal to do or contribute anything positive or constructive; every action should be aimed at destroying the

present evil, fighting apartheid, opposing the oppressor and bringing down the Government. The primary motivating force is not the search for justice but the pronouncement of judgment, the wish to retaliate, to punish the

evildoer, to take revenge. Conditional sanctions, strikes, boycotts or such withholding actions are valuable and efficient strategies in political struggle.

But when boycott becomes an end in itself, a principle and not a strategy, it does not constitute a constructive, positive approach to the accommodation of conflict.

Economic boycott if successfully applied will bring economic regression and ruin, physical and mental suffering to millions in South Africa and all its neighbours.

Mozambique has argued that it would be tantamount to suicide to support an economic boycott against South Africa.

Let's face it: economic boycott, just like the objectionable system of apartheid, is a classical case of institutional or structural violence.

This was so well put by Dr Kenneth Kaunda in one of his latest books:

"But economic sanctions if firmly applied are only more humane than war in the sense that starving someone to death is more humane than shooting him."

As in the case of war, politicians and even Christian leaders here and abroad justify this kind of violence.

What good could come out of this violence and suffering?

Some radicals argue that it will cause polarisation, hatred and protest and thus hasten the revolution.

As a white American academic glibly put it: "Suffering will result, but it could be justified because people will suffer for their freedom."

These anti-apartheid propagandists fail to distinguish between two types of suffering. On the one hand the suffering of local people which results from their own initiative and own action such as strikes or conditional boycotts against specific employers; on the other hand there is suffering caused by boycott campaigns initiated and orchestrated by overseas groups.

It seems in retrospect that the banning of the African National Congress in 1960 might not have been a very constructive way of handling the situation. Indications that the Government may now be willing to talk to them, given certain conditions, hold more promise for a settlement than outright banning.

New insights have contributed to a more positive and optimistic approach to conflict accommodation. Given man's aggression and additional obstacles, social scientists have developed and promoted approaches and techniques that have made the resolution of conflict much more likely than usually anticipated.

Six of these new insights can be noted:

● While material resources may indeed be scarce and finite, a rational approach to

their optimal development and exploitation may yield higher returns than those that could be gained by means of destructive competitive processes.

● Non-material resources are not finite and need not be scarce. Resources such as skills, expertise and security indeed have the tendency to increase through use. Sharing, therefore, is a way of increasing one's benefits.

● The emphasis on the importance and satisfaction of needs, rather than interests and values is more likely to promote conflict resolution.

● Perceptions, opinions and attitudes are subjective and are determined by the social context of the observer. These subjective observations can be influenced and rectified and more accurate observations will facilitate conflict resolution.

● The prospects of improved communication have been a major source of a more positive and optimistic approach to conflict resolution.

● The experience of co-operative processes of conflicting resolution and the striving for win-win solutions have yielded encouraging results during the past decade or two.

NEXT

Violence; who will denounce it?; the cycle of violence; the Pretoria bomb.

Who is prepared to renounce violence?

Conflict in its broader sense should be seen as a natural, endemic condition of society which could also serve positive functions provided it is channelled, directed and accommodated constructively.

Conflict is therefore not seen as necessarily dysfunctional or as pathological. Social conflict is the continuous process of redistribution of power and resources within a social system.

Violence is an extreme manifestation of destructive conflict. It is a result of the failure to accommodate successfully, or to regulate conflict. Violence is destructive and destabilising. While it has the obvious advantage of obtaining immediate short-term gains, it cannot form the basis of a durable society.

Violence refers to behaviour which violates the dignity and integrity of a person. For our purpose we define it as the application of force, act, motive or thought in such a way (overt, covert, direct or indirect) that the person or group is injured, controlled or destroyed in a physical, psychological or spiritual sense. We used to think of violence only in physical terms and as acts committed by those who oppose authority.

DAY FOUR of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

Violence of a psychological or mental nature, however, is as harmful as physical violence. In recent years we have come to the realisation that force used by the instruments of the State can be interpreted as institutional or structural violence. This is violence committed through the institutions or the structure of the social system controlled by the rulers or the authorities. The effect of structural violence, such as discriminatory customs or legislation, is that the actual realisation of human beings is below their potential realisation.

The system prevents them from full development. In brief, then, this violence violates the person's integrity and dignity. While violence is usually abhorred in public rhetoric, especially in religious and respectable circles, it is true that it is almost as endemic as conflict. This is due to many factors, including the relatively aggressive human nature, the generally accepted view that violence

does work and the fact that, with the exception of a minute percentage of genuine universal pacifists, war is accepted by all mankind as a legitimate instrument of last resort.

Violence as a manifestation of destructive conflict has a tendency to expand and escalate. It encompasses a shift away from conciliatory strategies of persuasion and accommodation toward strategies of power and tactics of threat and coercion. The extent to which conflict in South Africa becomes or has become destructive is of direct relevance to any attempts or programmes aimed at the accommodation and management of conflict. The impact of structural violence as experienced and perceived by blacks in South Africa constitutes the major basis of their opposition to the present establishment regardless of its ethnic composition. It is also seen as the major reason for their resort to what is known as political violence, sabotage, guerilla warfare or terrorism. In turn, the African National Congress's resort

to violence is given as a major reason why the present Government cannot have negotiations with them.

While violence seems to be so obviously pathological and deplorable, the vast majority of human beings have come to accept it as if it is as endemic and normal as conflict.

All our major churches argue that violence in its most destructive form, war, can be justified under certain circumstances. The theology of a just war dates back to the early history of almost all Christian churches. I belong to a very small religious community, the Quakers, that objects to violence in principle. I therefore do not believe that violence can be justified under any circumstances.

This stand especially applies to modern war. One of the criteria laid down to justify resort to war is that the army should discriminate between soldiers and non-combatants and not attack the latter. The killing of the innocent was always illicit. This kind of argument had some applicability in the time of personal physical combat. However, the means of warfare have changed radically in the meantime.

We need only look at the casualties in the two World Wars to

understand the obsolescence of this criterion.

World War 1 claimed the lives of 8 million military staff and caused the death of 1 million innocent civilians.

World War 2, which made use of only two nuclear bombs, claimed the lives of 17 million military personnel and killed 34 million civilians.

Today the major Powers have stock-piles of sophisticated nuclear weapons not meant to kill the enemy but to exterminate whole populations.

Americans believe they now have sufficient bombs to kill every living Russian 40 times over. This situation has brought little change in official church policy in recent times.

Neither South African Christian churches nor our most prominent leaders, including Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, has adopted a pacifist stand.

This being the position of the churches it is unlikely that political parties and political leaders will support pacifism.

Quite naturally they would, like their spiritual brethren, deplore violence, but they will not in principle renounce it.

They will reserve the right to use violence as a last resort.

If they are in power they will use it to maintain law and order or to squash protest, rebellion,

armed revolution or invasion by foreign powers. If they are in opposition and they believe that all normal channels of protest have been closed and the Government is completely intransigent, they will resort to violence believing that justice is on their side.

And depending on the political and moral convictions of the clergy they will rally behind either those in authority or those in rebellion, arguing that God is on their side.

Who besides the handful of pacifists in our troubled country will renounce violence unconditionally?

It is not always easy for the population of a strifetorn society such as South Africa to avoid being drawn into the cycle of violence.

And once one has been sucked into this cycle it takes a lot of initiative and guts to break out of it.

And as long as our religious leaders, who form part and parcel of our political problems, believe that violence on either side could be justified under certain conditions, we have little hope of significant initiatives that will save us from the destructive effects of this evil spiral.

The increasing spiral of violence in Southern Africa was manifested in three major events in Lesotho, South Africa and Mozambique.

continued...

... continued

In December 1982 the South African Defence Force launched an attack in the suburbs of Maseru, killing 30 African National Congress members and 12 civilians including five women and two children.

On May 20 1983 African National Congress agents detonated a bomb outside the offices of the South African Air Force in Pretoria, killing 19 people and wounding more than 200, mostly civilians.

On May 23 1983 the South African Defence Force launched a retaliatory attack on Maputo in Mozambique.

While the South African Government claimed that they had killed 64 people, including 41 African National Congress members, 17 Frelimo members and six civilians, overseas newspapers reported that six people had been killed, of whom five were Mozambican civilians. These events and the response to them in both white and black circles, among conservatives and liberals, made me intensely aware of the spiral of polarisation that is driving our country into rigidly opposed camps of mutual hatred and commitment to revenge.

This element of revenge was evident in the public statements of both the African National Congress and the South African Government.

On Monday May 23 General Malan, Minister of Defence, stated in Parliament that the security forces of South Africa would revenge every drop of blood shed by the innocent, white, black, or brown, with all the force at its disposal. I saw these events as dramatic outbursts in a series of acts of physical and institutional violence, committed in this country by both the Government and its opponents.

I believe these actions will increase in frequency and intensity in coming years and with it, hatred and animosity will grow.

Given this situation I saw it as my primary task to break this cycle and to build a middle ground.

I found inspiration and support for my intention in the silent meeting for worship of the handful of Quakers (Religious Society of Friends) in Cape Town on the Sunday morning after the attack on Maputo.

I proceeded to draft a statement expressing:
○ My disapproval of violence on both sides.
○ My sympathy with the victims of both sides.
○ My belief in the elements of goodwill on both sides.

This statement accompanied a small financial contribution to the trustees of the State President's Fund in South

Africa which was established to assist the victims of the Pretoria bomb and similar acts of terrorism.

I visited Lesotho to hand money to the Lesotho Christian Council which assisted victims of the South Africa attack in Maseru.

I also used this occasion to make contact with African National Congress leaders in exile.

I think I succeeded in conveying to them that there are in South Africa people who are neither ANC supporters, nor Government supporters, nor fence-sitters.

But how big, how significant, how influential is this group? Probably very small, judging from the response I got from many of my friends. By some I was accused of supporting apartheid and by others of supporting terrorism. This was the sad evidence of the extent to which we have become drawn into the cycle of polarisation. Where have all the mediators gone?

NEXT

Third party intervention; face saving; there's something of God in each person.

The importance of letting the other side save face

In its editorial of October 27 1983 *The Star* made a strong case for the "Vital Need for a Third Party Force" in view of the polarisation between the Yes and No votes in the referendum.

The referendum was only one example of polarisation in our society.

Polarisation seems to be a natural tendency in all conflict situations since it meets certain emotional needs of mankind.

It eliminates the middle grounds, not only in each specific conflict situation (such as the referendum and the Pretoria bomb blast) but especially in the broad sphere of national political attitudes. The fanatic emotionalism of extremism has led to the rejection in our society of well-meaning (though often naive) moderate peace-making groups such as white liberals, verligtes, pacifists, moderate blacks.

People who propagate gradual change are rejected for wanting cosmetic change.

Pacifists are rejected on the ground that they are merely passive.

Non-violence is rejected as if it implies a failure to act.

A good example of this emotional need to take polarised sides was the 1983 referendum on the constitutional proposals when those who advocated a spoiled ballot were attacked equally forcefully by both sides.

DAY FIVE of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

Peacemakers are always suspect on both sides and unless there is a strong enough support group most people do not opt for the middle ground for fear of falling between two chairs.

The Rev Ian Paisley of Northern Ireland has expressed his aversion for the middle group very clearly: *Bridge builders and traitors are alike. They both go over to the other side.*

Change-oriented groups have indeed reason to be sceptical of moderates advocating gradual change because too often this is the tactic of those who want to retain vested interests.

Given the state of political polarisation in South Africa there is indeed a vital need for third party intervention.

Third party intervention can have one of two sources:

○ Those who operate with authority or from positions of power and are able to enforce decisions.

○ Those who act merely in advisory capacities.

The former category includes governments, especially the superpowers; and the latter individuals such as academics, church and community leaders.

One of the most important roles of the third party is to improve communication between conflicting groups to assure the flow of accurate and reliable information.

It also needs to identify and maintain contact with both parties.

Third parties can help in resolving disputes constructively to the extent that they are known, readily accessible, prestigious, skilled, impartial and discreet.

While we have made significant progress in this field in industrial relations, nothing has been done to develop such a professional mediating group in the field of politics in South Africa.

We have a long way to go.

The acceptance of incremental progress has been identified by social-scientists as an important condition for the constructive accommodation of conflict.

Many steps taken by the present Government are little more than what has become known as cosmetic change. But what should not be overlooked is the fact that the accumulation of many kinds of minor or cosmetic changes eventually may add up to

substantial, fundamental change.

To the extent that superficial change constitutes a form of incremental progress, it should not be dismissed completely. Parties in conflict hold strong subjective convictions and beliefs about themselves, their adversaries and about the nature of society and of that particular conflict.

Very often a precondition for the resolution of conflict is the adjustment of these opinions and attitudes or even the acceptance of completely new, even contradictory, opinions and attitudes.

This shift in beliefs publicly held can usually be facilitated greatly if the person or the party is allowed to save face. That is, it is better if the change can be made in such a way that all parties do not have to suffer a loss in status from having held the old ideas but rather can experience a gain in status for accepting the new ideas.

Face saving allows the individual or group to make major concessions or adjustments with their self-esteem intact.

It greatly facilitates the constructive accommodation of conflict.

Needless to say, face saving is not easily reconcilable with the judgmental approach.

The Quakers have an expression which has constituted for centuries a fundamental tenet of their

religious belief and has been a primary motivating factor in the commitment to reconciliation, especially on an international level.

It states: "There is something of God in every person."

Adam Curle, international conciliator and founder of the School of Peace Studies at Bradford University, argues that in order to apprehend the divine in others we must recognise it in ourselves.

We are all members of one body, as St Paul tells us so cogently.

If one is hurt, all suffer.

We are involved with all humankind, because we *are* all humankind.

The more we recognise God in others, the closer we shall grow to them.

This concern for all mankind is expressed in Laurens van der Post's argument that the only hope for the future lies in an all-embracing attitude of forgiveness of the people who have been our enemies.

He writes in his book "The Night of the New Moon": "Forgiveness, my prison experience had taught me, was not mere religious sentimentality; it was as fundamental a law of the human spirit as the law of gravity.

"If one broke the law of gravity one broke one's neck; if one broke this law of forgiveness, one inflicted a mortal wound on one's spirit and became once again a

member of the chain-gang of mere cause and effect from which life has laboured so long and painful to escape."

For the cynics among us who are not convinced of the goodwill on the part of the enemy, there is some evidence to prove that just as violence breeds violence, goodwill also breeds goodwill.

The famous social scientist Deutsch called it the crude law of social relations.

The characteristic processes and effects elicited by a given type of social relationship (co-operative or competitive) tend also to elicit the same type of social relationship.

Thus the strategy of power and the tactics of coercion, threat and deception result from, and also result in, a competitive relationship.

Similarly the strategy of mutual problem-solving and the tactics of persuasion, openness and mutual enhancement elicit and also are elicited by a co-operative orientation.

All this may be summarised by saying that co-operation breeds co-operation, while competition breeds competition.

NEXT

The basis of conflict; new decisions and alliances; from race to class conflict; the proposed forum.

DAY SIX of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of the University of Cape Town Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

The new tri-cameral Parliament has set South African political parties on new paths. The new politics in South Africa have cut across traditional race lines of conflict and have brought new divisions within race groups.

The essential values and motivating forces that are holding together the major political configurations are changing and these processes lead to new alignments. The establishment used to be motivated by the wish to retain white purity and privilege and used to be exclusively white.

The emerging establishment is less motivated by the traditional apartheid ideology and is more motivated by a business ideology of a free market and efficiency. It is thus incorporating interest groups that share these values, regardless of their racial characteristics.

Opposition groups that used to rally support on the grounds of anti-apartheid platforms are increasingly basing their policy on more economic issues.

Opposition parties

As the nature of the establishment is changing, the nature of the traditional opposition group is changing and a new opposition group is emerging to take its place.

At present, parliamentary (and most legal) politics is conducted within a broad socio-economic system, which has been

and will continue to be accepted rather uncritically by both establishment and parliamentary opposition parties.

The legitimacy of this system and of the groups operating within it is increasingly being challenged by the majority of the population.

This opposition is being articulated by interest groups that are operating outside the parliamentary system.

As this system is itself becoming the basic issue, the opposition within the framework becomes less relevant and becomes merged with the establishment in defence against the onslaught to the system.

The establishment used to be exclusively white and the opposition black, indicating a conflict of race.

This situation is in flux with the incorporation of black elements in the economy and other areas in the establishment. The basic issue is changing in character and so are the components of both the establishment and the opposition.

It is useful to handle this state of flux within a framework that distinguishes between three major alliances of interest groups:

(a) The establishment — predominantly white and caters for white interests but is gradually incorporating black components and is increasingly catering for the interests of blacks as well as whites who have a commitment to and a vested interest

SA's new deal and the emergence of a new opposition

in the protection of the prevailing socio-economic system.

It includes the major white parties and to an increasing extent the coloured and Indian parties participating in the new constitutional dispensation.

In a peripheral sense it also includes African bodies such as Community Councils operating under relatively rigid government auspices.

(b) The official or traditional opposition, including parliamentary opposition and other groups such as business and trade unions who have opposed the Government on race issues, but are willing to co-operate within the broad socio-economic system of the free market. As the major thrust of the Government is shifting, this group is also undergoing change. Some elements within this group find themselves more in sympathy with the Government as it removes race discrimination and takes a firmer stand in favour of free enterprise.

To an extent this includes the PFP and the coloured and Indian parties and African councils mentioned above. It also includes the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Inkatha. Seen from within the current political

system they constitute the official opposition to the ruling National Party. But seen within the total setting in South Africa, they are becoming part of the establishment.

Political structures

(c) Opposition operating outside the current socio-economic and political framework. They fall outside the framework in two respects:

(i) They are excluded from and/or refuse to participate in the current political structures created by the Government, such as the Parliament, the President's Council, Community Councils and homeland governments.

(ii) They reject the predominant free market socio-economic system and favour a more socialist system, industrial democracy or related systems.

This category includes organisations such as the UDF, the National Forum, Azapo and the ANC.

They see the basic issues not so much in racial terms but in economic terms. They want a fundamental change of the

socio-economic system along somewhat socialist lines. They see the PFP, TUCSA, Inkatha and such organisations as part of the capitalist establishment.

The third group is emerging as the major future opposition group in South Africa which, in time, will oppose the regrouped establishment which will probably include Nationalists, Inkatha leaders and the PFP.

The incorporation of coloured people and Indians into the central Parliament and the prospects of some kind of accommodation of Africans in the Government are evidence that race ceases to be the major criterion for discrimination and division in our society.

New alliances across racial lines and new divisions within racial groups suggest that there are other issues than race that constitute sources of division among some and grounds for common cause among others.

It is my distinct impression that those blacks who give cautious consideration to some kind of compromise and participation are those relatively favourably disposed towards the socio-

continued ...

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economic system of the free market.

This will include those groups that I classified as "opposition willing to operate within the present socio-economic frame-

They will assist in fundamental political change but will not demand a switch to a socialist economic system.

Equally, those who are relatively more favourably disposed towards a more socialist system (or who are merely anti-capitalist) will be less inclined to participate in the system. Thus the major political division of the future will not be between whites and blacks but between those who adhere to or propagate the free market ideology and the proponents of a more socialist ideology.

The extent to which their policies, practices and strategies will conform to their ideologies will remain a matter of ongoing debate.

The proposed Forum:

The State President's recent public statement that no negotiations with the ANC had taken place or will take place and will not even be allowed was interpreted by many critics as evidence of the intransigence of the Nationalist Government and the rigid adherence to white "baaskap"

This specific pronouncement should be interpreted within the wider context of his opening address in Parliament in which he suggested bold new initiatives and opened up new channels for communication.

These were followed by suggestions about the possible release of Nelson Mandela — a possibility stated more positively than before.

The proposed establishment of the Forum and the possible release of Mandela are evidence of a genuine element of reform in the establishment I am

convinced that there is a movement afoot within the Nationalist Party to accommodate Africans in the Government of South Africa.

What form will this new system take? Not even the Nationalists know. They have ruled out a fourth chamber in Parliament and they have ruled out "one man, one vote" Unless they find a face-saving device which will allow them to go back on their words they will have to devise a new formula.

I anticipate the establishment of some kind of superstructure or confederation with initially only nominal powers. Such a body, just like the new tricameral, multiracial Parliament, will develop its own internal dynamic and could pave the way for a body with real teeth.

This projection suggests some kind of hidden agenda on the part of the Nationalists. I am not so sure. I think it is more correct to say that they are cautiously searching for new formulae which would enable them to promote justice and at the same time retain as much power as possible.

NEXT

Negative black responses: the Freedom Charter: Adam's six principles.

How we can build the bridges of fellowship

WHILE the Government seems to be involved in cautious steps towards a new dispensation and a definite movement away from traditional dogma, as indicated by the presidential opening address to the 1985 Parliament, these proposals have been strongly rejected by black leaders. Why then do these leaders react so negatively?

Many reasons can be cited, and for me the following are the most significant:

1. There is always the danger that should blacks accept these half measures, the more fundamental issues of political rights are pushed into the background and apartheid is merely prolonged.
2. These measures, especially the proposal of a forum, are introduced by the whites without consultation with the blacks. They can be seen as impositions and in that sense as an affront.
3. The restriction of the concessions to economic property and decision-making in the socio-economic sphere rather than political rights is unacceptable, especially to those who want a fundamental change in the socio-economic system.
4. The fact that black participants in the forum will be by invitation is quite unacceptable. They should be elected leaders.

5. The Government's repeated reference now, as in the past, to the fact that it will only talk to "responsible" black leaders is an affront and an insult, and smacks of the traditional white chauvinism, if not racism.

(a) In the first place it suggests that some, probably the most prominent and outspoken black leaders of today such as Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak are not responsible.

(b) It suggests this distinction between responsible and irresponsible leaders does not apply to white leaders.

(c) The State President, and not blacks themselves, will decide who the responsible leaders are.

I think this frequent reference to "responsible" black leaders is one of the most unfortunate expressions in current government parlance.

While reasonable black leaders are expected to give favourable consideration to white proposals, the same can be expected of white leaders. In this connection the parliamentary parties could well have a new look at the Freedom Charter which has been accepted by a large number of organisations and extra-parliamentary groups as their major manifesto.

While this document will no doubt benefit from substantial updating and revision so that it could become a genuine national charter, I nevertheless do believe that in its present form it constitutes a sound basis for negotiations between

DAY SEVEN of the series by UCT Professor H W van der Merwe on political confrontation. In this final article he sums up the opportunities for avoiding conflict in Southern Africa.

most groups in our society.

In spite of current polarisation, there are academics who are confident that common ground might be found between the major conflicting parties.

Speaking at a conference of the Centre for Intergroup Studies last year, Herbert Adam, Professor of Sociology at Simon Fraser University in Canada, formulated six principles which he regarded as acceptable to all parties, including the National Party and the ANC. These six principles could constitute an agenda for a forum or a national convention:

1. The right of self-identification based on self-association;
2. Representative leadership as determined in free elections;
3. The institutionalisation of regional autonomy and veto rights of all substantial groups;
4. Proportionality;
5. Mental equality to assure the foster-

ing of psychological stability; and 6. Shared sentiments in building common institutions.

In the final instance, responsibility for building a better society rests with each of us as citizens of a democratic society. On various occasions we have been called upon to resort to mass action, such as civil disobedience.

When a system is as intransigent and laws remain as rigid as in South African society, it is no surprise that people resort to civil disobedience which is by its very definition a negative act — to disobey. My plea is for a more positive response, and more particularly for conscientious affirmation of interracial fellowship which, because of custom and law, may not always be legal.

This does not necessarily require breaking any law; it requires affirmative demonstration of fellowship, love, tolerance and a commitment to peace and justice.

Our consciences, rather than custom or law, should dictate the affirmation of our fellowship across racial lines. The motivation is positive, ie the promotion of fellowship.

While civil disobedience is largely concerned with challenging immoral and unjust laws, conscientious affirmation is concerned with personal commitment.

It is true that such a commitment may result in a brush with the law, just as in the case of civil disobedience, but

such a clash depends on the nature of the law and its application and is not, the major and direct object of the action.

While civil disobedience and conscientious affirmation may, under certain conditions, require similar behaviour, there is a marked difference in basic motivation.

The former is directed at what is wrong in society whereas the latter is concerned primarily with the promotion of what is right in society.

Support for conscientious affirmation was expressed by the Religious Society of Friends in South Africa (Quakers) a number of years ago.

May we accept this challenge in the spirit of Christian fellowship and love. In that way we will not shy away from our individual responsibility, but we will also contribute to the accommodation of conflict in a constructive, positive way.

While very few of us can contribute to or participate in official top-level negotiations between political parties, each of us can help pave the way for those discussions — especially when there is a deadlock — by breaking down on an individual level traditional and customary barriers between political parties or population groups.

Personal, face-to-face communication is an essential requirement for reliable communication and understanding.

Bayard Rustin
Chairman

PROJECT SOUTH AFRICA

260 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010

Tel. (212) 533-8000

An activity of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund to assist
individuals and organizations working for peaceful change in South Africa

*Call - am in South Africa - will
contact on return after Oct 20*

Called - 10/10

September 23, 1985

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Director - International Relations
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Marc:

Several months back you agreed to serve as a sponsor for PROJECT SOUTH AFRICA, a new program of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund. Progress has been hampered by the months of unrest in South Africa, but we have managed to assemble a group of prominent American sponsors and South African advisors, some of whom are listed on the enclosed, preliminary brochure.

We are now in the process of identifying non-governmental agencies in South Africa and here at home which would be interested in group-to-group contact. The benefits of such contact would be a strengthening of the democratic, anti-apartheid elements within South Africa and a heightened awareness on the part of Americans about the complexities of the situation there.

I am writing to ask whether you think individuals or groups in your organization would be interested in participating in PROJECT SOUTH AFRICA, and if so, what advice you can offer on how best to assist them to become active. Would you be interested in receiving a short announcement about the project for your newsletter? If so we would be pleased to prepare one for you.

I shall take the liberty of calling you after you have had a chance to look over the brochure and think about these questions, since I would like to discuss the project with you or your representative.

Sincerely,

Bayard

Bayard Rustin

OCT 21 1985

The United Progressive Jewish Congregation of Johannesburg

TEMPLE EMANUEL

38 OXFORD ROAD, PARKTOWN, JOHANNESBURG. TELEPHONE: 646-6170

Rabbi Norman T. Mendel B.A., B.H.L., M.A.H.L., DLitt et Phil

14th October 1985

Dr Marc H Tanenbaum
Director of International Relations
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
U S A

Dear Marc

I am delighted that we had the opportunity to meet and provide some input into your fact-finding mission here in South Africa.

As per your suggestion, I would be pleased to speak to your Steering Committee in New York either upon my arrival in December, or near the time of my departure for South Africa at the beginning of January 1986.

Accordingly, may I give you a brief run-down on my schedule while in the New York area, in the hopes that we can put something together.

We arrive on the morning of Thursday, December 5th, and leave immediately for Westfield, New Jersey. On Friday 6th we are in Rochester, Saturday 7th, in New Rochelle, and then on 8th and 9th in the Boston area. On Tuesday 10th my wife and I will be in Roslyn Heights, on 11th in Scarsdale, on 12th in Toronto, on 13th in Wayne, New Jersey, and on 15th in Philadelphia. From there we leave the general area travelling into the South and onto the West Coast.

Since most of these speaking engagements are in the evening, I would suggest something early in the day on either Tuesday 10th, or Wednesday December 11th; when, in each case, we only have to travel nearby for the evening presentations.

Perhaps the morning or lunch-time or an early afternoon meeting could be arranged? Failing that, might I suggest Tuesday 7th January, or early Wednesday 8th January 1986 as possibilities? In both cases, these dates would work as we will be leaving New York for South Africa later in the day on Wednesday 8th January.

If any of the above would work out, I would be more than delighted to accommodate. Please let me know as soon as possible, so that I might finalize and confirm with you.

I do feel it is vital that the effort be made to bring some background on our current situation here.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

I am
Sincerely yours


RABBI DR NORMAN T MENDEL



ROBERT F. KENNEDY MEMORIAL HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 1, 1985

SOUTH AFRICANS NAMED AS WINNERS OF ROBERT F. KENNEDY HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Winnie Mandela, the Reverend Christian Frederick Beyers Naude and the Reverend Allan Boesak have won the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award. Their selection was announced today by Lee Fentress, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation. The award will be presented at Georgetown University on November 20, Robert Kennedy's 60th birthday.

In selecting the winners the judges said, "These three individuals represent in a special way Robert Kennedy's words spoken twenty years ago in the same land: 'Each time a man stands up for an ideal or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring, those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.'

"Human rights violations today," the judges continued, "are almost universal from state to state. The major confrontation between those who hunger for dignity and freedom is occurring in South Africa and cannot be ignored by anyone. In the process of struggle there are hundreds of heroines and heroes -- most

(more)

obscure and nameless from every racial group in that sad state. From among them we have chosen three whose strength, courage and bravery in the face of one of the most cruel and oppressive systems in the world deserve recognition -- not just for themselves and their actions but for the many others whose sacrifices we may never know."

The \$50,000 Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Award is the largest tribute given annually for human rights. The award, given for the first time last year, reflects Robert Kennedy's conviction that all individuals have a basic right to participate in the economic, social and political decisions that affect their lives and that those who strike out against injustice and oppression show the highest form of courage.

Winnie Mandela has been a great source of strength and courage to all those South Africans who demand an end to apartheid. The wife of Nelson Mandela, who in 1964 was sentenced to life in prison, she herself is a striking symbol of pride and defiance. She has been jailed, banned and banished by the South African government. She is forced to live in the settlement of Brandfort in a primitive area of the country for her vigorous opposition to apartheid. Undaunted by continuous harassment, she established a clinic for the sick and offers solace, comfort and enormous encouragement to all who seek freedom and human rights in her country. Mrs. Mandela is an uncompromising symbol of the struggle for a just society in South Africa.

Reverend Beyers Naudé, whose 7-year banning order was lifted a year ago, succeeded Bishop Desmond Tutu this year as secretary

(more)

general of the South African Council of Churches. In 1963 he broke with the Dutch Reformed Church and launched the multi-racial and ecumenical Christian Institute which was for years the most outspoken anti-apartheid Christian organization in South Africa. His work demonstrates that there are a number of South Africans who, although not the immediate victims of apartheid, nevertheless recognize that their own sense of individual worth and humanity require them to join the struggle against the oppression which is visited upon their brothers and sisters.

Reverend Allan Boesak, a theologian in the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, was elected president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1982. His first action in that capacity was to declare apartheid a heresy. In opposition to the enactment of South Africa's new Constitution, Reverend Boesak called for a multi-racial resistance which became the United Democrat Front. Today, after having been released from weeks of detention and solitary confinement, he faces possible long-term imprisonment on charges of treason and political subversion for advocating peaceful change. He is currently under house arrest.

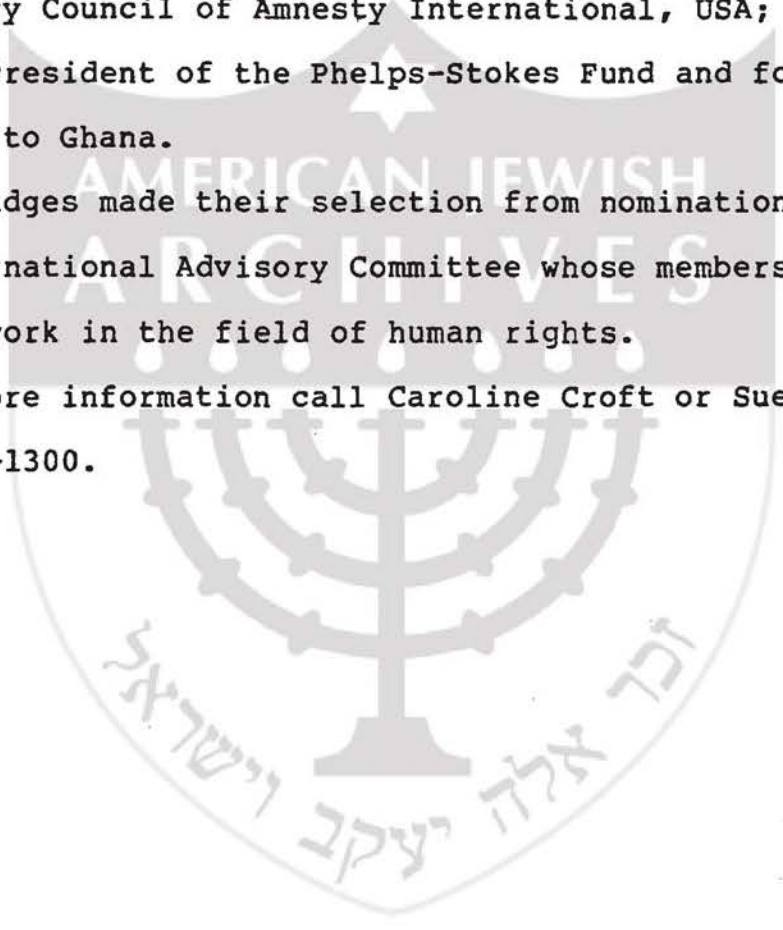
The Robert F. Kennedy Memorial has invited the three winners to come to Washington, D.C. where they will be honored at a ceremony at Georgetown University on November 20, at 10:00 a.m. in Gaston Hall. "We hope and trust that the South African government will allow these extraordinary individuals to come to the United States and receive the award," said Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, chair of the Human Rights Award.

(more)

Judges for the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award are Patt Derian, former Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights; Burke Marshall, professor of Law at the Yale University Law School and a former U.S. Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights; Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Rose Styron, chairman of the Advisory Council of Amnesty International, USA; and Franklin Williams, President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and former U.S. Ambassador to Ghana.

The judges made their selection from nominations submitted by an International Advisory Committee whose members are renowned for their work in the field of human rights.

For more information call Caroline Croft or Sue Vogelsinger at 202/628-1300.



October 4, 1985

Mr. Jeff Davidow Director
Ms. Susan Keogh
Office of Southern African Affairs
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Jeff and Susan:

We would like to express our appreciation for a most informative and pleasant meeting on Wednesday. Your insights and suggestions will be especially helpful as we make further preparations for our visit and brief our delegation members on issues that might well arise during the course of our nine-day stay.

Enclosed please find: a) the tentative itinerary, as of October 3rd, b) the June statement issued by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies to which we made reference, c) the most recent statements by the American Jewish Committee on the South African situation, and d) an analysis of the South African-Israeli relationship prepared by our staff.

We look forward to meeting with you again once our delegation has returned to permit a sharing of information and exchange of views.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Howard Kohr
Assistant Washington
Representative

David A. Harris
Deputy Director
International Relations
Department

Leo Nevas
Chairman
Commission on
International
Relations

Enclosures

bc: Marc Tanenbaum

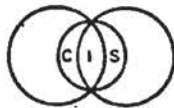
REPORT

Training Courses on
Conflict Management
Negotiation & Mediation

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Memo: R/21/1985

4 October 1985



Centre for Intergroup Studies



R/21/85

1985-10-04

REPORT ON TRAINING COURSES ON CONFLICT MANAGEMENT,
NEGOTIATION AND MEDIATION

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Series of National Training Courses

During July and August 1985, the Centre for Intergroup Studies conducted a programme of national training courses in conflict management, negotiation and negotiation skills. It consisted of four parts:

1. A seven day training course in conflict management, negotiation and mediation skills in Cape Town, attended by representatives from various centres in the country.
2. A four day training course in KwaZulu, hosted under the joint auspices of the Centre and the Liaison Committee for Community Development (LCCD) in Natal, a loose grouping consisting of the major organisations involved with community development in the region.
3. A weekend training course in Durban, hosted under the joint auspices of the Centre and Diakonia, an interdenominational grouping of eight churches in the greater Durban area which has a consistent involvement in social issues.
4. A weekend training course in Soweto, hosted under the joint auspices of the Centre and Sonqoba Advice Office in Soweto, which exists to serve the local community with advice and mediation services for community and family disputes.

Sponsorship and Auspices

The series of training courses formed part of the ongoing programme in the field of Conflict and Peace Studies at the Centre for Intergroup Studies. The national training course for instructors, held in Cape Town, and the regional courses for practitioners were organised under the joint auspices of the Centre for Intergroup Studies and the National Continuity Committee for Negotiation Skills which was established in 1984. (See the Report on the Seminar on Communication Skills - R/10/84 for further details on the background).

The main purpose of the Centre is to conduct and promote research into intergroup relations in South Africa, and its activities include academic research, empirical surveys and consultation on a local, national and international level.

The Centre receives regular financial aid from the Abe Bailey Trust and from the Council of the University of Cape Town. The Centre was awarded a generous Human Rights Grant from the United States Embassy for the series of training courses. Similar grants were awarded to the Liaison Committee for Community Development in Natal and the Sonqoba Advice Office in Soweto.

One of the tasks of the National Continuity Committee for Negotiation Skills is to co-ordinate the promotion of the development of programmes and courses concerning conflict management, negotiation and mediation in community and political relations in South Africa.

Purpose of the Training Courses

The need for a negotiated settlement in our polarised society is evident. In contrast to some other countries, such as the United Kingdom and the United States, South African organisations and individuals are poorly equipped to facilitate meaningful communication between conflicting parties. We lack expertise in conflict management and professionals to intervene in conflict situations.

The purpose of the training courses was therefore to provide training for facilitators, negotiators and mediators in community and political relations.

Trainers and Centre Staff

The chief instructors for the training courses were Richard and Greta Salem. Richard Salem was former midwest Regional Director of Community Relations Services of the U.S Dept of Justice, currently lecturer in mediation and negotiation at the School of Law, Loyola University of Chicago and an independent consultant. His wife, Professor Greta Salem, is presently Co-ordinator of the Dept of Social Science and Policy Studies and Alverno College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

This was Richard Salem's third visit to South Africa. The Salems were praised for their clear presentation, provision of good role models and sensitivity concerning both the participants and the South African situation. Mr Salem was consulted by a wide range of organisations on each visit to South Africa. He gave seminars and training courses to several bodies including the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Western Cape Community Council. (A separate report of his visit is available.)

They were assisted by the staff of the Centre for Intergroup Studies, Professor H.W. van der Merwe, Gayle Ravenscroft, Patrick Murphy, Odette Geldenhuys, Wanita Kawa and Gabi Meyer.

Training Course in Cape Town 14 - 20 July 1985

This intensive residential training course constituted the basic thrust of the series. The major purpose was to train instructors and community leaders from different parts of the country who will in their turn, assist with the training of practitioners in their respective areas and organisations.

The twenty seven participants reflected a wide range of political views in South Africa. They included academics, teachers and community leaders. Methods like short lectures, small group discussion, exercises, role plays and simulation games were used to cover the following areas; conflict (recognition, responses and how to deal with it); five methods of handling a conflict; listening; anger; mediation; negotiation and planning a workshop.

The most marked aspect of this training course was the active and lively interchange of various, and quite often, opposing views of conflict and its accommodation in South Africa. This occurred in open and honest discussion, rather than in confrontation. Participants in the course had an opportunity to test their skills as facilitators at a national conference of teachers' organisations which was concurrently convened at the University of Cape Town. They planned and executed a half-day human relations exercise for teachers attending the conference.

Training Course jointly hosted by the LCCD and the Centre at KwaNzimela 22 - 25 July 1985.

The second residential training course was at a mission station in KwaNzimela, near Melmoth in KwaZulu.

All but two of the twenty one participants were African. They included three researchers of the University of Zululand, one from the University of Natal in Durban, six from the KwaZulu government, two from the Zululand Council of Churches, two from the Inkatha Institute, two from the Inkatha Development Office and one from Inkatha Head Office. Almost all participants were associated with Inkatha, the National Cultural Liberation Movement.

An interesting development which occurred in this group manifested in plenary group discussion on actual case studies in which the participants were involved, some lasting for whole morning or evening sessions. The whole group would then attempt to apply their newly

learned techniques in an effort to accommodate the conflicts and re-define the problems and possible solutions. These disputes ranged from conflicts between community development workers and co-operatives which they had assisted in forming to conflicts between large squatter communities and existing township authorities.

Training Course jointly hosted by Diakonia and the Centre in Durban 2 - 4 August 1985

This third training course was organised by Diakonia. All thirty three participants had had previous contact and were concerned with or involved in local community issues such as housing, conscription and employment. Some participants took a leading part in political organisations such as the United Democratic Front. Fifty percent of the participants were white; the others Indian, Coloured and African. They included community workers, trade unionists, teachers, a city councillor, a personnel manager and a journalist.

Training Course jointly hosted by Sonqoba Advice Office and the Centre 23 - 25 August 1985

The final course held under joint auspices with the Centre was held in a retreat setting near Johannesburg and comprised 20 hours of training. The seventeen participants at the training course included law students affiliated with the Sonqoba Advice Office, representatives of the African Teachers Association of South Africa, black businessmen and employees of some major South African companies.

Training Course sponsored by the United States South Africa Leader Exchange Programme (USSALEP) in Port Elizabeth

Richard and Greta Salem also conducted a training course in Port Elizabeth, which was attended by teachers from the Cape African Teachers Union. This training course was held under the auspices of USSALEP in co-operation with the Centre for Intergroup Studies.

Evaluation of the Series of Training Courses

In written assessments participants expressed appreciation for the Salems' relaxed, but professional approach, the participation and involvement of Centre staff, the chance to work with people from different backgrounds, and the participation in role plays. They also highly valued the gaining of mediation skills and the use of role plays. Some recommendations were also put forward: role plays dealing specifically with popular organisations, negotiation skills suitable for empowerment and dealings with authorities, the sharing of personal experiences and crisis intervention techniques.

Most felt an urgent need for more time to cover the material and they highly recommended this type of training for others dealing with and involved in community and political conflict in South Africa.

Publications

A package of seventy handouts, prepared by the Salems and Gabi Meyer, was used and distributed at the training courses. The handouts related to the relevant sections and covered the following areas: conflict, mediation, negotiation, listening, power, group process, community intervention, anger and miscellaneous.

Gabi Meyer also compiled a booklet "Readings for Workshop in Negotiation and Mediation Skills".

As a follow-up to the series of training courses, the Centre is planning the production of handbooks on mediation and negotiation. This will be done with the assistance of Ms Jean Albert, Chief Librarian at the University of Cape Town.

(Information about Centre publications is available on request)

Future Direction

The overwhelmingly positive response to these practical training courses has indicated the need for further work in the field of negotiation and mediation skills. Three major areas require special attention in a national programme, namely:

- a) promotion of communication between conflicting groups by way of problem-solving workshops, seminars, conferences and consultation.
- b) training in negotiation skills to both mediators (neutral third parties) and negotiators (i.e. members of interest groups in conflict)
- c) the promotion of general public acceptance of the role of mediators and of some kind of negotiated settlement instead of adversarial, confrontational politics.

The basic task of the Centre for Intergroup Studies is academic and applied research. The promotion of communication between conflicting groups has in the past been successfully achieved with regional, national and international workshops where academics and representatives of major conflicting groups had in-depth discussions on papers presented.

The Centre has also been successful as consultant and mediator in various community and national issues. Many requests have recently been received for training, consultation and intervention in conflict situations. The Director was invited to intervene in Natal in an attempt to accommodate the conflict between political groups and to reduce the violence. He was also asked to offer a training course in conflict management to senior officials and academics at a South African university.

We also plan to expand the Resource Centre on Conflict and Peace Studies considerably. A major focus of the Resource Centre is on conflict accommodation and negotiation skills. Resource material includes existing literature and new materials compiled by Centre staff.

While the Centre will continue to promote training programmes, it is anticipated that its rôle will be largely limited to that of catalyst and co-ordinator.

Our association with the Continuity Committee for Negotiation Skills (CCNS) and the various regional organisations have paved the way for the development of national and regional infrastructures. As national and regional organisations and institutions may develop they can undertake more training programmes independent of the Centre.

While the Centre for Intergroup Studies will thus continue to form a nucleus for a comprehensive national training programme and will continue to provide relevant material, it is anticipated that other organisations will assume relatively greater responsibility for training programmes.

THE ALLIANCE THAT ISN'T:
ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

By Allan L. Kagedan

Currently, the world public is focusing its attention on South Africa, where the apartheid system provokes bloodshed and elicits almost universal condemnation. In response to public pressure, Western governments have begun to impose sanctions on Pretoria, raising the question of what relations countries should entertain with South Africa.

In the public debate over policy toward South Africa, some have argued that nations should sever all ties with it until apartheid is eliminated; others contend that the cause of abolishing apartheid and upholding Western security is best served by continued Western ties with Pretoria. Whatever position one takes, most of the world's nations, including many Black African states, do conduct public and private economic, diplomatic, political and military relations with the South African government.

Recently, Israel trade and military relations with South Africa have attracted much public interest. Several studies have assessed this relationship, and briefly, their conclusions are as follows.¹ Western nations, the Communist bloc, and even Black African states trade more with South Africa than Israel does. In 1983, South Africa exported 796 million dollars of goods to African states and only 142 million to Israel. In the same year, Saudi Arabia, the

United Arab Emirate and Oman provided South Africa with 76% of its oil. South African trade with the United States, Japan and Western Europe and [Western Europe runs into the billions of dollars.

Militarily, since 1977, Israel has abided by the UN embargo on arms transfers to South Africa. Conceivably, Israeli arms have reached South Africa through third party sales, but even here the amount is meager. Before the 1977 embargo was imposed Israel sold South Africa six Reshef class warships, used for coastal security, and signed a contract to modernize Centurion tanks.

Citation
~~source~~

It is not surprising that Israel has provided few arms to South Africa; Pretoria does not need weapons. In response to the 1977 arms embargo, South Africa has developed an indigenous arms industry, reducing the proportion of its defense budget devoted to arms purchases from 70 in 1966 to 15 in 1982. Furthermore, before 1977, many countries supplied South Africa with more arms than has Israel. Jordan, for instance, provided Pretoria with Centurion tanks and Tiger surface-to-air missile system worth over 17 million dollars.

Citation
~~source~~

Commentators may criticize reasonably even limited Israeli ties with South Africa, just as they may censure many other states for their ties. Indeed, Israeli observers, the most prominent among them Hebrew University professor Naomi Chazan, have argued that Israeli connections with Pretoria harm Israel's relations with Black African states.² Unfortunately, coexisting with this reasoned discussion of Israeli ties to African states, including South Africa, is the false, hostile notion of an Israel-South Africa "alliance." This mythical alliance was conceived by propagandists who seek to manipulate global

anti-apartheid sentiment to advance their objective of ostracizing Israel politically, as a prelude to its physical destruction. During 1985, this false slogan has been taken up by writers in American newspapers, such as the Chicago Sun-Times, and the Christian Science Monitor.³

This paper assesses the themes and political roots of the canard that Israel and South Africa are "allies" in the hope that, if properly understood, writers will be more cautious about resorting to it in future.

Colonial-Settler States

The word "alliance" implies affinity and shared objectives. Marxist writers using the analogy of the relationship of European powers to the developing nations, ~~Originated~~ the notion that Israel and South Africa resemble one another ~~was provided by~~ In 1967, Maxime Rodinson, a French Jew who belonged to the French Communist Party from 1937 to 1958, wrote an article for Jean-Paul Satre's journal, Les Temps Modernes labeling Israel as a colonial-settler state. Widely read in left-wing circles, the article was published in English in 1973 as Israel: A Colonial Settler State. In it Rodinson argues that "Israel was established as the result of colonial conquest, justified by an ethnocentric and racially exclusive ideology marked by chauvinistic attitudes..."⁴ Since 1967, Rodinson's argument has become a standard refrain of many leftists.

Anti-Israel publicists from the PLO, Arab and Soviet bloc states, and their supporters seized on the colonial-settler state theme to portray Zionists as white supremacists bent on "enlightening" the backward peoples of the Middle East.

The authors of Israel and South Africa: The Progress of a Relationship, (1976) for instance claim that "the relationship between Israel and South Africa is something more than pragmatic... /it/ is ordinary and natural, for it flows from the nature of Zionism," which mandated European colonization of an undeveloped region. Similarly, Phillip Oke, a representative of the Christian Peace Conference, which has been identified as a Soviet front organization, told a UN body on November 5, 1984, that Israel, like South Africa, is a "racist settler state."

No historical analogy may be drawn, of course, between the origins of Israel and the development of South Africa. Zionism's aim was not colonization for profit or proselytism. It was a reaction to European hostility toward Jews and Jewish traditions. In Russia, for example, a Tsarist version of apartheid limited the movement of Jews to a borderland region, away from political and economic centers, and restricted Jews to certain occupations. Government-sanctioned attacks on Jewish communities in the form of pogroms led Jews to fear for their lives. Zionism's cultural program was not directed at "enlightening" other peoples: its focus was on the revival of Jewish culture. Quite simply, Zionism shares more with the "self-determination" African movements of the 1950s and 1960s, than it does with nineteenth century European colonialism.

South African apartheid sprung from markedly different historical conditions. Its roots lie in the South African slave trade of the early 1700s, administered by the Dutch East India Company. In the 19th century the white South African Transvaal Republic's constitution provided for "no equality in church or state for blacks." The Republic established separate areas for the

two races, and required blacks visiting white areas to carry passes. Legally-mandated geographic restriction, and the carrying of passes provided a prototype for today's South African "homelands" and "pass laws." Nowhere in Zionist history can one find slavery, doctrinal statements favoring inequality, or discriminatory legal decrees. Indeed, Zionism's founding father, Theodore Herzl, pledged that after liberating the Jews, he would help to liberate African blacks.

Nor do contemporary conditions in Israel and South Africa compare. Israeli Arabs enjoy the right to vote -- one-person-one-vote -- freedom of movement, including the freedom to reside where they wish. Indeed Israeli Arabs possess all the rights to which black South Africans aspire. As for Arabs in the Occupied Territories, their enfranchisement into the Israeli political system would necessitate the formal annexation of the territories. South African blacks want full integration into their country; Palestinians on the West Bank on Gaza strive for separation, autonomy, from Israel. Recently, moreover, Israel welcomed thousands of black Jews -- Ethiopian falashas -- to its shores removing any question of its devotion to racial equality.

Global Menace

In July, 1983, an International Conference on the Alliance Between South Africa and Israel was held in Vienna under the auspices of the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid. The Conference Declaration, echoing a theme found in other UN documents, states that the Israel-South Africa "alliance" constitutes "a grave menace to peace and stability in Africa and the world, and a serious

challenge to the United Nations." The "collaboration" between these two states, the Declaration continues, is directed against "the independent states of Africa and the Arab world."

Elaborating on this far fetched theme, James Adams, author of Israel and South Africa: The Unnatural Alliance (London: Quartet Books) 1984, describes how, united, these two nations, will limit Black Africa's "freedom to develop economically and to take independent political action." By gaining military self-sufficiency, Adams claims, Israel and South Africa, in a "pincer movement", will secure a controlling influence over Africa. To lend credence to this supposed Israeli-South African plot against the Third World, the Soviet and Syrian media have levelled the absurd charge that Israel and South Africa are developing "racist" biological weapons capable of killing blacks and Arabs, and sparing whites -- a moral and medical impossibility.

This conspiracy theory falls down on several counts. First, Israeli public opinion is firmly opposed to racism of any kind -- including the South African variety. The Israeli cabinet in August 1985, reiterating a stand Israel has long taken at the United Nations, expressed its abhorrence of apartheid. Second, if the United States and the Soviet Union -- the world's superpowers -- are incapable of exercising "control" over Africa and Asia, how can two weaker states be expected to achieve "control?" Third, there is a divergence of foreign policy interests between Israel and South Africa. The South African government's basic aim is to preserve white minority rule, placing it at odds

with black African states. Israel has always sought friendly relations with black Africa, and when permitted during the 1950s and 1960s, provided them with extensive agricultural and technical assistance.

South African Jews

Grasping for straws, anti-Israel publicists use the 119,000 member South African Jewish community to allege the existence of an Israel-South African "alliance." Omitting the fact that the South African Jewish community was formed only in the 20th century, long after the establishment of apartheid, writers identify Jews as agents of Israel working with the South African government. They label normal contact between South Africa's Jews and Israel -- visits, charitable donations, cultural events -- as evidence of an Israeli-South Africa "axis." Charitable donations to Israel are termed "a South African transfer of funds to Israel," as if this were a government to government project. Speaking engagements of Israeli representatives are described as "official" meetings between South African leaders and Israel. An Israeli comedian's arrival in South Africa is cited as evidence of extensive cultural exchange. A Jewish community's attachment to Israel is no indication that the state where they live is allied with Israel.

Motives

Who is behind the campaign to identify Israel and South Africa as allies? The "List of Participants" in the United Nations Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, held in 1983, is revealing. The governments of

the Soviet and Arab blocs attended; so did representative of the UN Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Non-governmental Organizations include the Arab League and the Arab Labour Organization the PLO, and Soviet-front organizations such as the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions. Working together, these states, UN agencies and private organizations are able to push resolutions condemning the "Israel-South Africa Alliance" through the UN General Assembly and other UN bodies and they are able to use the UN machinery, such as The Centre Against Apartheid, to prepare "studies" and hold meetings on this theme.

The propaganda campaign to link Israel with South Africa is waged outside the UN as well, in the Soviet and Western media. Richard P. Stevens, an American, co-authored the book called Israel and South Africa: The Progress of a Relationship. Stevens who has been affiliated with Lincoln University in Lincoln, Pennsylvania, in 1976 attended a symposium in Bagdad, Iraq, on "Israel and South Africa: A Comparison of Racist Colonialist Settler States." He has written for the Journal of Palestine Studies published by the Institute of Palestine Studies, an organization close in its ideology to the PLO. In 1962, Steven published American Zionism and U.S. Foreign Policy, in 1970, Prelude to Israel and Palestine A Search for Truth, all pro-Arab. Clearly, Stevens, and others like him, are trying to manipulate anti-apartheid feeling to serve Arabs interests.

What is the aim of anti-Israel propagandists who talk of an Israel-South African alliance? Notwithstanding overlap, three parties, each with a different primary motive, may be identified: the Arab bloc, the Soviet bloc, and some

Marxist intellectuals and politicians. Arab bloc states hope to depict Israel as an illegitimate state, so that it will be ostracized like South Africa; also, they hope to generate support among black Africans for the Palestinian cause. The political motivation for Arab and PLO "concern" with apartheid is made clear by the Declaration of the UN Conference of the Alliance Between Israel and South Africa, paragraph 19: "The conference expresses the hope that no State would resume relations with Israel so long as it continues collaboration with South Africa..." The canard that Israel and South Africa are allies serves as a ploy to restrain black African states from renewing relations with Israel.

The Soviet Union, its supporters and surrogates, have another reason for disseminating the Israel-South Africa alliance notion. The Soviets are engaged in a campaign to villify the United States in the Third World in order to undermine the U.S. image and increase Soviet influence there. By linking Israel with South Africa, and in turn by linking Israel with the U.S., the Soviets have constructed a syllogism that increases their own stature on the African continent. Indeed, some analysts rate the Soviet Union's ability to criticize the U.S. and other Western powers for their South African ties as one of its chief assets for its policy toward Africa.⁵

For some Marxist intellectuals and politicians, in the West and in the Third World, treating Israel as an ally of South Africa legitimizes their analysis of world conditions. European colonialism is dead; for this term to mean something, ideologues must be able to point to contemporary colonialism

and, if possible, an alliance between colonial powers. The linking of Israel with South Africa serves to sustain the credibility of this variety of Marxist analysis of relations between developed and developing nations.

Conclusion

If the Soviet Union, the Arab bloc, and Marxist ideologues gain from this anti-Israel propaganda slogan, who loses? Jews do because this notion triggers anti-Semitic and anti-Israel feeling. America and its Western allies also lose because this canard aids Soviet diplomacy. But the biggest loser is the anti-apartheid movement. The linking of Israel with South Africa clouds the real issue at hand -- the need for eliminating apartheid -- and weakens the anti-apartheid coalition in the United States and elsewhere. Ironically, the false notion that South Africa and Israel are allies legitimizes South Africa even as it delegitimizes Israel. Politics makes strange bedfellows; the supporters of apartheid, and Arab and Soviet bloc nations all benefit from distorting the truth about relations between Israel and South Africa.

* * *

FOOTNOTES

¹ Aaron S. Klieman, Israel's Global Reach, Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985. Brenda Branaman, "Israel: Relations with Africa," Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress Sept. 5, 1984. Kenneth Bandler and George E. Gruen, Israel and South Africa: A Special Report of the International Relations Department, American Jewish Committee, 1985.

² "Israel and South Africa", Israeli Press Highlights, American Jewish Committee, August 26, 1985.

³ Mark A. Bruzonsky, "Israel Is Too Much Like South Africa," Chicago Sun Times, September 11, 1985; Peter Allen-Frost, "South Africa and Israel: An Alliance of Pragmatism," Christian Science Monitor, September 25, 1985.

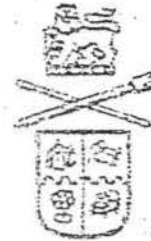
⁴ Maxime Rodinson, Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?, trans. David Thorstad, New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973.

⁵ Peter Clement, "Moscow and South Africa," Problems of Communism, March-April 1985, 29-50.

Address during recess :

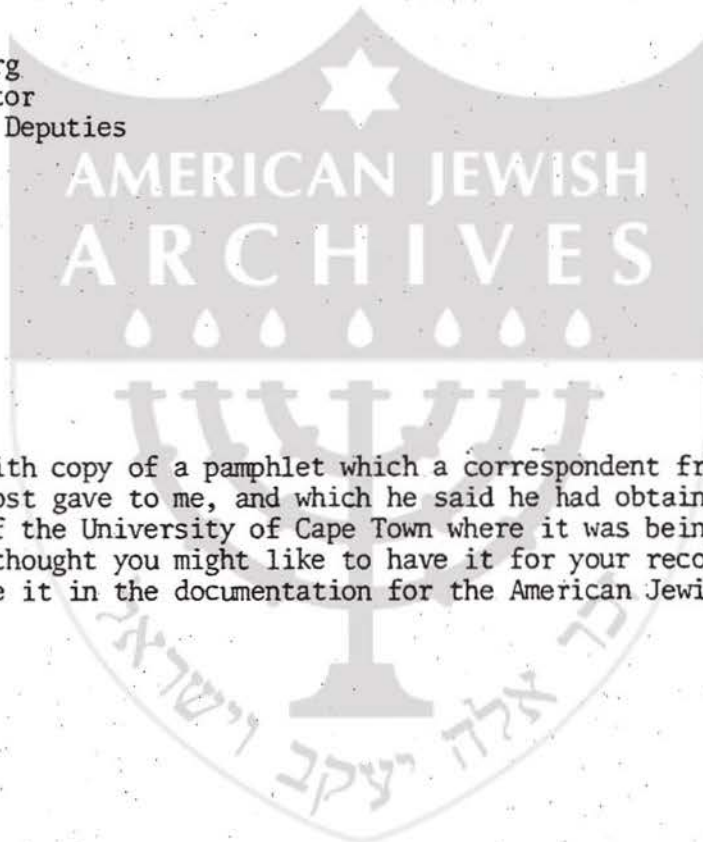
P O BOX 7407
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9 October 1985.

Mr Aleck Goldberg
Executive Director
Jewish Board of Deputies
P O Box 1180
JOHANNESBURG
2000



Dear Aleck

I enclose herewith copy of a pamphlet which a correspondent from The Jerusalem Post gave to me, and which he said he had obtained on the campus of the University of Cape Town where it was being circulated. I thought you might like to have it for your records, and also include it in the documentation for the American Jewish Committee.

Yours sincerely


HARRY SCHWARZ M.P.

Enc.

Dar ✓

URGENT APPEAL!!

boycott

**Anglo American Life, Southern Life,
Russels, Dion, Wesbank, Barclays Bank,
Checkers, Market Toyota and Pick 'n Pay**

If you have any policies or accounts with these companies, please cancel them and take out with other companies. These companies are Zionist organisations and send 80% of their profits to Israel (whose inflation rate is 1000%) who buy arms to murder our Arab brothers. It was Anglo American that fired 15 000 black workers because they spoke out against inferior working conditions. Did you know that a minimum wage for a black worker is R160 per month and the maximum is R500. As compared to the minimum wage of a white which is R3 000 per month. By exploiting our black workers these companies are keeping alive the illegal regime of Israel as well as South Africa. How can we support such companies? Other companies that need mentioning, which are racist organisations are

**SANLAM INSURANCE COMPANY
SANTAM BANK**

These companies are definitely anti-Black. If you have any dealings with them cut them off NOW. We learn from the media that certain businessmen are talking to the ANC. Why now? Why were they silent all these years? They are 300 years too late. They are only trying to safeguard their own interest, because they know their days are numbered. We earnestly appeal to the suppressed people of South Africa to be united in this struggle to rid us of these degenerates that are destroying our beautiful country.

Members of the tri-cameral parliament should walk out now from this racist system and get some credibility and save face, because if you don't, P.W. Botha and his sadistic police will not be around to save you from the fate that awaits you.



The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

BY HAND

October 9, 1985

Mr. Harry Schwarz
c/o South African Jewish Board
of Deputies
Johannesburg,
SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Harry,

I have asked Marc Tanenbaum to hand-carry this note to permit me to convey personal greetings and deep appreciation for your efforts in helping arrange the extraordinarily full and exciting itinerary for our AJC delegation.

As you know, I would have liked nothing better than to convey these sentiments to you in person as a member of our visiting group, but I do trust there will be other occasions in the not-too-distant future. In the meantime, I very much look forward to our continued contact and collaboration.

With warmest wishes.

Sincerely,

David A. Harris
Deputy Director
International Relations Department

DAH:CH



The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

October 9, 1985

Ms. Sylvia Gon
South African Institute for Race Relations
68, De Korte Street
Braamfontein,
Johannesburg

Dear Sylvia,

It was a great pleasure to have you visit our offices last week and share your views with members of our staff. As you could doubtless tell from the reaction of the attendees, there was considerable interest in your comments and a great deal of respect for the important work in which you are engaged.

I very much hope that we will continue to be in contact, that you will send me relevant material about the Institute, and that you will be so kind as to advise me whether you, or others whom you feel it would be of interest for us to meet, have any plans to come to New York.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

David A Harris
Deputy Director
International Relations Department

DAH:CH

P.S. I note with pleasure that the members of our AJC delegation will be meeting John Kane-Berman at a dinner offered by Helen Suzman at her home on October 12th.



The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

BY HAND

October 9, 1985

Mr. Aleck Goldberg, Executive Director
South African Jewish Board of Deputies
Johannesburg,
SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Aleck,

Permit me to express my gratitude for the generous cooperation you have extended in helping plan and arrange the visit of our leadership delegation. The program appears to be such a comprehensive and stimulating one that I have little doubt it will far surpass even our most optimistic expectations of the need and utility of such a trip. We are deeply indebted to you for your efforts.

I hope we shall continue to be in touch in the coming months to allow for a further exchange of information and views.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

David A. Harris
Deputy Director
International Relations Department

DAH:CH

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, President ■ THEODORE ELLENOFF, Chair, Board of Governors ■ SHIRLEY M. SZABAD, Secretary ■ ALFRED H. MOSES, Chair, National Executive Council ■ DAVID H. PEIREZ, Associate Treasurer ■ ROBERT S. JACOBS, Chair, Board of Trustees ■ RITA E. HAUSER, Chair, Executive Committee ■
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AJC LEADERSHIP DELEGATION

TO

SOUTH AFRICA

October 9 - 18, 1985

REVISED ITINERARY
(as of October 9, 1985)

Wednesday, October 9 7:30 p.m. Departure on South African Airways flight #204

Thursday, October 10 5:30 p.m. (local times 6 hours ahead of Daylight Savings Time in New York) Arrival at Johannesburg Airport. Harry Schwarz and Shirley Bricker, Jewish Board of Deputies, will meet flight.
Evening: Free

Friday, October 11 9:15 a.m. Visit to Black Sash office, accompanied by Helen Suzman
Noon - 2 p.m. Lunch with Jewish community leadership including representatives of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Zionist Federation, Board of Education and Union of Jewish Women.
2:15 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Rhye Watson, representative of the Urban Foundation
3:15 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Kutumela, National African Chamber of Commerce
4:30 p.m. Meeting with U.S. Ambassador Herman Nickel, at the Carlton Hotel
6 p.m. Shabbat service at the Great Synagogue (Orthodox)
Shabbat dinner with representatives of the Orthodox community

(2)

Saturday, October 12

9 a.m. Meeting with Bishop Tutu

10 a.m. Meeting with Dr. C.E. Beyers Naude

12:15 p.m. Luncheon hosted by Professor Michael Katz, Chairman of the Jewish Board of Deputies, with leading Jewish personalities from the judiciary

Afternoon: Free

7:30 p.m. Dinner hosted by Helen Suzman, with John Kane-Berman, Director, South African Institute for Race Relations; Dr. Ntatho Motlana, black civic leader and medical doctor; Brian Doctor, prominent attorney; Percy Qhoboza, Editor of City Press, a black newspaper; Arthur Chaskelson, well-known civil rights attorney affiliated with the Legal Resources Council; and others

Sunday, October 13
lay

9-10:30 a.m. Meeting with the Orthodox and rabbinic leadership, including Chief Rabbi Casper

11 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Meeting with Reform lay and rabbinic leadership

2:30 p.m. South African Airways flight #317 to Capetown, accompanied by Dr. Stephen Cohen, Deputy Director, Jewish Board of Deputies

4:30 p.m. Arrival in Capetown and transfer to Cape Sun Hotel (tel. 23-0884)

Evening: Meeting with the leadership of the Capetown Jewish community

Monday, October 14

Morning: Meeting with Leon Markowitz, Mayor of Capetown

Possible visit to Crossroads Squatters Camp

Mid-day meeting with leaders of the Progressive Federal Party

Meeting with Dr. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches

Meeting with Franklin Sonn, a leader of the Capetown "colored" community

5:05 p.m. South African Airways flight #624

8:20 p.m. Arrival in Durban and transfer to Maharani Hotel (tel. 32-7361)

Tuesday, October 15

Separate meetings in Durban with Jewish, Asian and Black community leadership, to include a luncheon hosted by the Jewish community

7:05 p.m. South African Airways Flight to Johannesburg (flight number not available)

8:05 p.m. Arrival in Johannesburg and transfer to Carlton Hotel

Wednesday, October 16

Morning: Being left open for possible meeting with State President Botha

3 p.m. Meeting with Minister of Development G. Viljoen, in Pretoria

5:30-7 p.m. Cocktail reception hosted by Dr. Shlomo Peer and other leading Jewish members of the ruling National Party

Evening: Meeting with National Party Members of Parliament (tentative)

Thursday, October 17

Morning: Visit to Soweto, accompanied by Helen Suzman and Harry Schwarz

Lunch: Israeli Charge d'Affaires, in Pretoria (tentative)

3 p.m. Meeting with Foreign Minister R.F. Botha, in Pretoria

(4)

Friday, October 18

Morning: Tour of Jewish community facilities

12:15 p.m. Briefing on the South African economy by officials of the Standard Bank

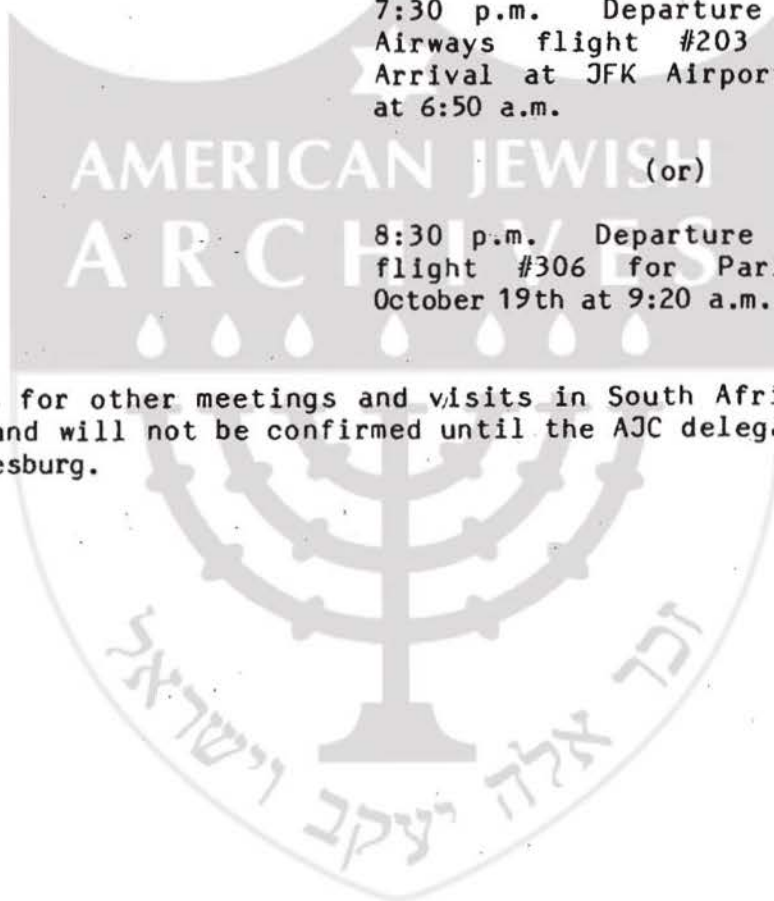
Lunch, at the Standard Bank, with representatives of American, South African and multi-national corporations, as well as the U.S.-South African Chamber of Commerce

7:30 p.m. Departure on South African Airways flight #203 for New York. Arrival at JFK Airport on October 19th at 6:50 a.m.

AMERICAN JEWISH (or)

ARCHIVES
8:30 p.m. Departure on Air France/UTA flight #306 for Paris. Arrival on October 19th at 9:20 a.m.

NOTE: Requests for other meetings and visits in South Africa are still pending and will not be confirmed until the AJC delegation's arrival in Johannesburg.



REPORT ON THE MISSION
OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE OFFICERS
TO THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

OCTOBER 10 - 18, 1985



INTRODUCTION

As a pioneering human relations agency, the American Jewish Committee has been long concerned about the violations of human rights deriving from the apartheid system practiced in South Africa. Following a major address by the Hon. Helen Suzman, of Johannesburg, a leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the South African Parliament and an outstanding opponent of apartheid for some 27 years, before the AJC's National Executive Council on November 2, 1984, a policy statement was adopted ^{underscoring} expressing AJC's abhorrence of apartheid and calling for specific measures that would lead to its speedy elimination. (Copy attached.)

At its 79th Annual Meeting, AJC adopted on May 1, 1985, an additional "Statement on South Africa" expressing its outrage over the escalation of violence and the system of legalized racism. That statement supported a series of proposed Federal legislative measures designed to speed the dismantling of apartheid through peaceful, non-violent, but urgent changes. (Copy attached.)

On August 2, 1985, Howard I. Friedman, AJC President, and Leo Nevas, chairman of AJC's International ~~Ext~~ Affairs ~~Department~~ Commission, wrote a letter to President Reagan urging him to support the House-Senate Conference bill on South Africa.

On July 30, 1985, Messrs. Friedman and Nevas issued a public statement calling upon the South African government to lift the state of emergency and to move "without delay" toward abolition of apartheid. (copy attached.)

Throughout these months, AJC lay and professional staff were in regular communication with U.S. State Department officials, Congressional leaders, and with key leaders of the South African

Board of Jewish Deputies, the representative body of South African Jewry. In particular, regular telephone and written communication was maintained with Ms. Suzman, the Hon. Harry Schwartz, a PFP member of the South African Parliament and a leader of the S.A. Board of Jewish Deputies, and Alec Goldberg, executive director of the S.A. Board of Jewish Deputies.

~~(director of African Affairs of the U.S. State Department, Both Ambassador Alex (?) Coocker, and the leaders of the~~
Chester
South African Jewish Community, urged us to send a delegation to South Africa in order to obtain a first-hand grasp of the problems, the forces and the actors at work in seeking to bring about the end of apartheid.

~~in light of these~~

The South African Jewish Community spokespersons were particularly eager to have a demonstration of solidarity from the American Jewish Committee at this difficult time.

In response to these invitations, AJC leaders undertook this mission of fact-gathering and establishing personal relationships with key elements in South African government and society.

The AJC delegation consisted of:

Howard I. Friedman, AJC President;

Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman of the Board of Governors;

Leo Nevas, Chairman of the International Affairs Commission;

and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of International Affairs.

A comprehensive background briefing book on every aspect of South African life and its Jewish community was prepared by AJC's International Affairs Department under the coordination of David Harris, deputy director.

MEETINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA

- - - - -

In order to gain as comprehensive a picture as possible of developments and personalities in South Africa today, we held detailed discussions with key leaders in each of the major areas of South African life. These included the following:

GOVERNMENT (in Pretoria)

Foreign Minister Pik Botha

Minister of Labor du Plessis

DIPLOMATIC

U. S. Ambassador Herman Nickel

POLITICAL PARTIES

Nationalist Members of Parliament:

Max Leon Wessels, liaison with the Black Community leaders

Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, Information officer of the National Party
in the Transvaal

Dr. George Barrie, former senior official in the Foreign Affairs Department
Prof. of Constitutional and International Law,
Rand Afrikaans University

Progressive Federal Party:

Dr. Frederick van zyl Slabbert, Chairman

Colin Eglin, Chairman of Foreign Affairs

Helen Suzman

Harry Schwartz

Mayor Leon Markowitz of Capetown

Communist

Rowley Ahrenstein

Black

Bishop Desmond Tutu

Black Chamber of Commerce, NAFCCOC, Mr. Kutumela and staff

Black (Cont'd)

Black Trade Unionists, CUSA

(Chief Butelezhi was in Switzerland)

Soweto (Stanley Kahn and black leaders in education)

Coloreds

Dr. Franklin Sonn, Rector of the Pensinsula Teknikon, Capetown
Chairman of the Teachers Union

Indian

, Member of the Indian chamber of Parliament, Durban

Christian

Rev. Beyers Naude, secretary, South African Council of Churches

Bishop Tutu

(Rev. Allan Boesak cancelled the appointment)

Business

Zach de Beers, Anglo-American Company

Tertius Mayburgh, editor of the Sunday Times (member of group that
met with African National Congress in Lusaka)

Standard Bank group

American businesses in South Africa

Citizens, Vduntary groups

Black Sash

Urban Foundation, L. Dean

Academic

Dr. H. W. van der Merwe, director of the Center for Intergroup Studies
University of Cape Town

Military

, Durban

Jewish groups

South African Board of Jewish Deputies, Johannesburg

South African Zionist Federation

South African Board of Jewish Education

S.A. Union Jewish Students

Union of Jewish Women

Orthodox

Chief Rabbi Capar and Orthodox Jewish delegation

Reform

Jewish delegation, Rabbi Mandel

(Separate meeting with Rabbi Isaacson)

Capetown

Gerald Kleinman

Ian Sacks

Durban

A. Benn

John Moshal

(Meeting at the President's Table)

*During social visits, meetings were held with people from the Institute of Race Relations and the Legal Resources Council

FRIDAY, OCT. 11, 1985 - Johannesburg

9:30 a.m. - Helen Suzman took us to our first meeting - the Black Sash group. This is a women's political protest group with 8,000 members in 8 offices throughout the country. The group was organized in 1961 to protest "the rape of the constitution" which led to the packing of the Senate. Black Sash provides legal resources to aid blacks who are victims of influx control, forced removals, migrant workers, squatters, and people who suffer labor ~~problems~~ and problems family/and criminal charges. They deal also with the loss of urban rights when homelands are incorporated. Since 1961, blacks have lost the right to protest, and Black Sash has become their legal nerve center. Significantly, we thought, the two key Black Sash women we met were Jews - Beulah Rodnick and Ethel Walters, the later working on a subcommittee dealing with influx control, forced removal, and exclusion of blacks from urban centers. We were told that of the 24 million blacks, about half (53%) were forcibly removed to 10 homelands on 13% of South African landmass. Organized in ethnic-language groups, blacks are not entitled to own land outside their homelands. With growing industrialization and the need for labor, influx control has been somewhat eased. Pass laws require that each black from age 16 must always carry a "Reference Book" (a Passport). Pass laws are very expensive to enforce and have become an impediment to the economy. There is repression at the highest levels of the police and army in the townships. The blacks generally, we were told, are a "totally clinically depressed community." Under the 1945 Black Urban Areas Act, four independent homelands were created, with 3 million blacks forcibly uprooted from white areas and placed in homelands, another 2 million still to be removed.

In 1979, a freeholder amendment was adopted granting blacks 99-year leasehold right to land.

With the growth of urbanization and industrialization - and the need for blacks as a labor reservoir for the white economy - PLM. Botha still has not accepted to abolish the influx control laws. The economic burden is colossal. There are 250,000 arrests every year of "illegals" for violation of the pass laws.

The UDF (see Ahrenstein discussion later) has observer status with the Black Sash. UDF was described as a multi-racial organization advocating 1-man, 1-vote, freedom to move, proper housing, the right to work and to be self-employed. It supports the Freedom Charter (called by others a Communist or Socialist document) that asserts that "the land belongs to the people".

11 a.m. - Helen Suzman, in a private meeting with us at the Hotel Carleton, set forth her PFP's proposals for dismantling apartheid:

- 1) A Federal System be set up with an Upper and Lower House based on one-man, one-vote with representation from geographical states;
- 2) A Bill of Rights be adopted with safeguard of minorities.
- 3) Proportional Representation (abandon the Westminster system, and have direct representation of the constituencies, the basis of a stable government);
- 4) A minority veto exercised by 12% of the Parliamentary chambers.
- 5) The Judiciary should remain independent.
- 6) A confederation of independent homelands.
- 7) Abolish the Group Areas Act (does not see change in foreseeable future, won't change race stratification)
- 8) Reexamine Pass Laws which make it a crime to look for work.
- 9) Urban rights should provide that blacks can become leaseholders.

Other observations by Ms. Suzman:

- Business community is influential but has little political power;
- worried about rise in Conservative right-wing power;
- Bureaucracy programmed over 40 years can't change easily and impedes implementation of reforms;
- Detention of prisoners without trial must be stopped
- Chief Butzleizi refused to take independence for his Zulu homeland in order not to lose his Zulu citizenship; he is an important homeland leader;
- Nelson Mandela is an important folk leader, representative of blacks;
- African National Congress is pledged to armed struggle and a black Socialist government. Freedom Charter it advocates calls for abolition of all discrimination; mixed economy with state responsible for all welfare; seeks to contain excesses of capitalist economy. Believes status quo untenable, wants one-man, one-vote in townships.
- Government through "Political Interference Act" improperly resists any interference from outside.

12:30 p.m. - Meeting with South African Board of Jewish Deputies

Prof. Michael Katz presented overview of South African Jewry:

- 147,000 Jewish "souls" - 120,000 South Africans, 27,000 Israelis;
- Of late, S.A. Jews not growing; declined in relation to general population
- Becoming an older population; away from rural to urban centers; once a strong rural population, now clustered in Johannesburg (about 60,000), Capetown, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Bloemfontein.

The SABJD is organized domestically (1) as spokesman; (2) umbrella for domestic welfare, Bnai Brith, women, ORT, religious organizations; ~~xxx~~ (3) protects Jewish civil rights; (4) positive public relations; (5) combats anti-Semitism.

The Zionist Federation promotes good relations between South Africa and Israel, and advocates aliyah, especially among the young.

On Anti-Semitism - it was never an instrument of state policy, except for the Verwoerd government. There are harmonious relations with the state authorities, which is related to relations between South Africa and Israel. ^{Paradoxically,} When relations are good between South Africa and Israel, SABJD feels free to be more critical of South African policies; when relations are bad, SABJD ~~xxxxxx~~ is less critical. Jews have made a disproportionately positive contribution to a S.A. society - in business, culture, arts, etc. Jews therefore have a significant ability to influence the quality of life, and that position is accepted by Jews.

But S.A. Jewry is walking a tightrope - they have little actual political influence but ~~xxxxx~~ are perceived as having great influence by virtue of their contacts with the wider international Jewish community

Traditionally, SABJD is not a political body; that would undermine its ability to combat anti-Semitism. It is a humanitarian, moral body and is proud of its record of asserting itself.

SABJD is totally opposed to apartheid and racial discrimination. It was in the forefront of opposing the Crossroads repression. The Cape Town Times, in an editorial called the SABJD "the conscience of the white community."

"We are in a difficult position - a minority within a minority. The rightwing Afrikaans have a tendency toward anti-Semitism. The leftwing blacks are not pro-Jewish nor pro-Israel. The UDF was invited to luncheon and cancelled."

(Bishop Desmond Tutu)
Oct. 12 - 10:30 a.m.

- 10 -

CUSA - Black Trade union movement, met with four leaders; defined selves as "worker control federation"; used radical rhetoric: "struggle between oppressor and oppressed"

Listed complaints of government policies: pensions are about 25 Rand per month; blacks follow legal regulations but get dismissed anyway; brutal army in townships, harassment (sjambocked) by SA Defense Forces; can't have funerals at certain times; rent increases constantly; work 40 miles from homes, poor transportation; ~~tax~~ township taxes; Pretoria appoints officers in homelands who control movement to other areas; get arrested in wrongful areas, pay off officers; computers list defaults
-oppose homeland system; can't organize homelands; can't negotiate

-exploit cheap labor, business flourish - STOP BUYING KURGERANDS; SUPPORT SELECTIVE
BISINVESTMENT

-PEACEFUL CHANGE ONLY THROUGH ECONOMIC PRESSURES; don't need companies that support SA Defense Forces

DIMANTLE APARTHEID THROUGH SUCH MEANS AS THESE: RELEASE OF PRISONERS, UNBANNING OF AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS, ABOLISH PASS LAWS, MIXED ECONOMY: FAIR MULTINATIONALS ABIDE BY/FAIR LABOR PRACTICES; ABOLISH INFLUX CONTROL LAWS ("Nazis took Jews in cattle cars disregarding human rights, same here"); "political system reduces what you do to nothing?"; BETTER WAGES: MEANINGFUL POSITIONS; BAN HOSTEL SYSTEMS WHICH ARE INHUMAN; CHANGE SITUATION WHICH MAKES WHITE MAN SENIOR, BLACK MAN JUNIOR

General Secretary (an Indian): Sullivan principles are not scrutinized by workers; companies principles supplant Sullivan principles

-"Butalezhi is used by Pretoria" - "he has 20-27% popularity"

-"South Africa is on a time-based scenario - it's either pressurized change or armed revolution"

11:30 p.m. - THE REV. BEYERS NAUDE (get notes)

-change within the next decade - major economic problems- SA owes \$55 billion, verging on bankruptcy

12;30 p.m. - Luncheon at home of Prof Michael Katz, chairman of SA Bd Jewish Deputies

5 p.m. - Meeting with Rabbi Isaacson, caution about embarrassing Jewish community through charges in media that "Jewish community isnot doing enough"

7 p.m. - Dinner at home of Helen Suzman - among guests: A. Chaskelson, director of Legal Resources Council; J Kane-Berman, Institute of Race Relations; Dr. N. Motlana, Committee of Ten; B. Doctor

SUNDAY, OCT. 13 - MEETING WITH ORTHODOX HEWISH LEADERS

Chief Rabbi BM Caspar (formerly of London, Israel), Rabbi David Lapin(born in SA, young traditional professionals, intense personal cult),Rabbi Bernhard (20 yrs inSA), Lubavitch-supporter), Mr. Sakheim, chairman of Federation Synagogues, Mr.Kossof, Mr. Lawrence, vice-pres.,Fed. Synagogue)



(Bishop Desmond Tutu)
Oct. 12 - 10:30 a.m.

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SUNDAY, OCT. 13 - MEETING WITH ORTHODOX JEWISH LEADERS

Chief Rabbi BM Caspar (formerly of London, Israel), Rabbi David Lapin (born in SA, young traditional professionals, intense personal cult), Rabbi Bernhard (20 yrs in SA, Lubavitch-supporter), Mr. Sakheim, chairman of Federation Synagogues, Mr. Kossof, Mr. Lawrence, vice-pres., Fed. Synagogue)



to entire list of South African meetings

Dear Mr. Botha,

In behalf of our American Jewish Committee delegation, we wish to express our appreciation for the opportunity to meet with you during our recent visit to South Africa.

We found our conversation with you most helpful, ~~xxxxxxx~~

We hope there will be further opportunities for future communication with you.

With every good wish, we are,

Sincerely yours,

Howard I. Friedman
President

Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
International Relations Department

enclose WINS, South Africa



AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

WELCOME TO SOUTH AFRICA

With the exception of some last minute arrangements, your itinerary, which follows, should not alter at all.
(Shirley Bricker)

THURSDAY - 10 OCTOBER

Evening: Free

FRIDAY - 11 OCTOBER

- 9.15 am: Meet Mrs Helen Suzman at the hotel and proceed to Khotsoe House (42 de Villiers Street) - to meet with officials of the Black Sash.
- 11.30am: Return to Board's offices
- 12-2.00 pm : Working luncheon with community leadership. Board of Deputies Management and others; Union of Jewish Women President; S A Zionist Federation Honorary Officers; S A Board of Jewish Education; S A Union of Jewish Students, National Chairman.
- 2.15 pm: Urban Foundation - Mr R Watson (UBS Building)
- 3.15 pm: NAFCOC - Mr Kutumela (15th flr African Life Centre, Commissioner Street *Chamber of Commerce black business*)
- 4.30 pm: US Ambassador - Mr H Nickel (Carlton Hotel) - Please meet Ambassador Nickel in Suite 1102. (*headship exchange*)
- 6.00 pm: Shabbat Service - Great Synagogue, Wolmarans Street (to be met by Mr Saenger) - followed by - Rabbi Caspar
- Shabbat dinner - Connoisseur Hotel - (Mr Saenger, Mr & Mrs I Mendelow, Mr & Mrs I Maisels, Mr & Mrs B Wunsh, Mr & Mrs M Sack).

SATURDAY - 12 OCTOBER

- 8.40 am: Mrs Suzman will meet you at your hotel.
- 9.00 am: Meet Bishop Desmond Tutu with Mrs Suzman - (St Albans Church Anderson and Ridout Streets) -
- 10.00 am: Meet the Rev Beyers Naude (Khotsoe House, 42 de Villiers Street)
- 11.00 am: Return to hotel
- 12.15 pm: Luncheon at the home of the Chairman of the Board of Deputies. *JCC*
Prof M Katz with guests including Justice Goldstone, Justice Margo, Mr J Unterhalter, Justice Melamed and Mr H Schwarz
Tax Defense

R. Fauson

EVENING : Dinner at the home of Mrs H Suzman with invitees Mr A Chaskelson, Mr J Kane-Berman, Mr B Doctor, Dr N Motlana, Mr P Qhoboza. *di legal resource Grant*

SUNDAY - 13 OCTOBER Bloemfontein Room, 4th floor Carlton Hotel
Mandela's Exp.

9.00 - 10.45 am/...

Bloomfontein

(Helen's camp manager)

9-10.45 am: Meet with leadership of the Orthodox community - (The Chief Rabbi B M Casper, Mr I Sackheim, Mr Kossieff, Mr ~~Berzack~~ and others).

11 - 12.30 pm Meet with the leadership of the Reform community

2.30 pm: Depart for Cape Town - Flight SA 317 ETA, 4.30 pm

Please arrange with the hotel to go to the airport with their Courtesy Bus

4.30 pm: Arrive Cape Town where you will be met by the Vice-Chairman of the Cape Committee of the Board, Mr G Kleinman and the Executive Director, Mr I Sacks who will take you to your hotel, the Cape Sun.

B. Selwyn Frankel

6.30 pm: A working supper with the Board's Executive at the home of Mr Gerald Kleinman

8.15 pm: Meet with community leadership at the Albow Centre

MONDAY - 14 OCTOBER

10.15 am: Meet the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr L Markowitz *(14th J. Mayor)*

12.15 pm: Meet with the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Mr Colin Eglin at Leusig Board Room (Board of Deputies office).

6 DF (Muslim)

1.30 pm: Meet with Dr A Boesak at his home

3.00 pm: Meet with Mr Franklin Sonn at the Peninsula Technicon *Chavim Teacher*

5.05 pm: Depart for Durban SA 624 ETA - 8.20 pm

You will be met at the airport by the President of the Council of Natal Jewry, Mr A Benn and the Immediate Past President, Mr J Moshal, who will accompany you to the Maharani Hotel where you will be staying.

TUESDAY - 15 OCTOBER *9.55 am - Dr Referstein - [Rohic Oberstein]*

Morning : Various meetings with Indian leaders have been arranged.

12.30 pm: President's Table - luncheon meeting with Jewish leadership

Afternoon : Further meetings to be finalised.

7.05 pm: Depart for Johannesburg Flight SA 516 ETA 8.05 pm. Please arrange your own transport with Courtesy Bus back to Carlton Hotel.

WEDNESDAY - 16 OCTOBER

SEE NEW SCHEDULE

3.00 pm: Meeting with Minister Gerrit Viljoen - Minister of Education & Training. Minister of Co-operation and Development *(Black affairs)*

5.30-7.00pm: Cocktails at home of Dr S Peer and others ~~National Party members~~ including Mr H Shill, Mr A Greenblo and Ms Reeva Forman. Balance of evening free. *Conservative / Propana / So Mr Broadcast / Nationalist MP / Week*

THURSDAY - 17 OCTOBER

9-11.30 am: Visit to Soweto with Mrs H Suzman and Mr H Schwarz

12.30 - 1.45 Lunch with Management + International affairs

3.00 pm: Meet with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at Union Buildings, Pretoria

FRIDAY - 18 OCTOBER

8.10-11.30 am: Visit local Jewish institutions including Jewish day schools

12.15-2.00 pm: Economic briefing and luncheon at Standard Bank (Fox Street)

(about 20)



DINNER 11.10.85

Mr. and Mrs. I.A. Maisel

Advocate.
Former Supreme Court Judge.
Past President of S.A. Jewish
Board of Deputies.
Past President of Zionist Federation.

Mr. and Mrs. I. Mendelow

Attorney.

Mr. and Mrs. B. Wunsh

Solicitor.
President of Art.

Mr. and Mrs. M. Sack

Architect.

Mr. H. H. Saenger

Director of Companies.
Past Chairman of Transvaal
Council of Board of Deputies.
Chairman of Public Affairs Committee.
Member of Executive of Federation of
Synagogues.
President - United Hebrew Congregation.





ה"ב

SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES
CAPE COUNCIL
KAAPSE RAAD
SUID-AFRIKAANSE JOODSE RAAD VAN AFGEVAARDIGDES

☎ 2009 CAPE TOWN 8000

☎ 5720081

☎ 'CAPEDEP'

☎ (021) 23-2420

ועד שליחי הקהילות (קיים טאון)

3rd Floor, Leeusig House, 4 Leeuwen St, Cape Town 8001 • 3de Vloer, Leeusig Huis, Leeuwenstr. 4, Kaapstad 8001

11 October 1985
26 Tishri 5746

Dear Dr Tanenbaum

AMERICAN JEWISH
WELCOME TO CAPE TOWN!
ARCHIVES

For your easy convenience I enclose your itinerary.

I should like to mention that you will be accompanied to all your appointments by Mr Kleinman (Acting Chairman) and myself and we will do our best to make things as easy as possible for you.

Dinner on Sunday night and lunch on Monday has, as you will note, been provided for. May I suggest that on Monday morning 14th October you have breakfast at your hotel before we call for you at 8.30.

My home telephone number is 444226 in case you need to call me at any time other than during office hours.

I do hope that your stay will be productive.

Yours sincerely

Ian Sacks
Executive Director

Encl.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

ITINERARY

October 13th

Arrive Cape Town at 16h35.

Will be met at the airport by Mr G Kleinman (Acting Chairman) and Mr I Sacks (Executive Director).

Sunday 13th October

Working supper at the residence of Mr & Mrs G Kleinman 10B Ocean View, Beach Road, Sea Point from 18h30 to approximately 19h45. Present at the supper will be members of the Executive Committee.

At 20h00 proceed to Albow Centre to meet at 20h15 with Rabbis and leaders of the Jewish Community.

Overnight at the Cape Sun Hotel.

Monday 14th October

08h30 will be fetched at Cape Sun Hotel to proceed to the Campus of the University of Cape Town.

09h00 will meet Professor H.W. van der Merwe Head of the Centre for Inter-Group studies. ✓

10h15 the delegation will be escorted by Mr G Kleinman and Mr I Sacks to meet with his Worship the Mayor at 10h30.

12h15 to 13h30 a working lunch with Mr Van Zyl Slabbert (leader of the Opposition), Mr Colin Eglin (Chairman of the Progressive Federal Party) and Mr R Sonnenberg (a leading businessman in South Africa) in the M H Goldschmidt Boardroom. ✓ ✓

13h30 depart to the residence of Dr A Boesak.

14h45 depart for Peninsula Technikon for a meeting with Mr Franklin Sonn (Rector of the Technikon) and his colleagues. (Mr Franklin Sonn circled)

At 16h10 depart from the Technikon for the airport.

17h05 depart D F Malan Airport Cape Town for Durban. (Durban boxed)

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MARC MANNENBAUM
CARLTON HOTEL
JOHANNESBURG



BEST BIRTHDAY WISHES. HOPE ALI GOES WELL WITH DELEGATION. REGARDS,
DAVID HARRIS

247



SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES
SUID-AFRIKAANSE JOODSE RAAD VAN AFGEVAARDIGDES

14 October 1985

CHANGES AND ADDITIONS TO YOUR ITINERARY

WEDNESDAY - 16 OCTOBER

10.00 am: Meet with Nationalist Members of Parliament, Mr Leon Wessels, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe MP, previously Professor of Political Science at the Rand Afrikaans University, presently Information Officer of the National Party in the Transvaal. Professor George Barrie previously a senior official in the department of Foreign Affairs presently Professor of Constitutional and International Law, Rand Afrikaans University. There may be one or two others who will join you.

Please meet in the Bloemfontein Room on the 4th Floor of your hotel.

12.30 pm Meet outside your hotel, where two of our drivers will fetch you and take you to lunch with Dr Zach de Beer, 29th Floor Life Building 45 Commissioner Street.

2.00 pm: Return to your hotel

Nothing has been arranged for the balance of the afternoon as yet. Unfortunately, Minister Gerrit Viljoen cancelled his appointment as he had to attend a Cabinet meeting.

4:30

5.30 pm -
7.00 pm

Miss Goldhamer

Cocktails at the home of Dr S Peer (attached please find a list of those who will be present. *National Party*)
 Please arrange your own transport to Dr Peer's home, his address is: 85 St Patrick Road, Houghton (telephone 6489100)

8.00pm Meet with representatives of the South African Union of Jewish Students and the Zionist Youth Council. (Bloemfontein Room)
(City Hall - P.P.P. - Helen Sorman)

THURSDAY - 17 OCTOBER

8:45 a.m.
9-11.30 am Visit to Soweto with Mrs Suzman and Mr Schwarz

12.45pm: Meet two of our drivers outside your hotel and proceed to Pretoria

1.45pm - Meet with Mr du Plessis the Minister of Labour at 5th Floor, Laboria Building, corner Paul Kruger and Schoeman Streets
 2.45pm

3.00pm: Meet with Foreign Minister Pik Botha at Union Buildings.

5.00pm: Meet at the offices of the Board with the Transvaal Council for a wrap-up meeting

Evening Free (*American Business Reps. - Ken Brown - Consul*)

FRIDAY - 18 OCTOBER

No changes to your itinerary.

SHOPPING

We have made contact with the following reputable jewellers and diamond merchants who will gladly assist you with any purchases you wish to make:

RONNIE TANUR (TANUR JEWELLERS) TELEPHONE: 7837191 (Business hours)
6465195 (Home, after hours)
ROBBIE SCHWARTZ (SCHWARTZ JEWELLERS) TELEPHONE: 7287540 (Business hours)
MANNE JUDIN (LUSTRE DIAMONDS) TELEPHONE: 3372820 (Business hours)

Please contact me if there is anything else you would like to know.

SHIRLEY BRICKER



LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY WHO WILL BE
ATTENDING THE FUNCTION ON 16 OCTOBER 1985

1. Mr Sidney Abramowitch

Is a well known Architect, a former President of the South African Society of Architects and Professor of Architecture at the Bloemfontein University.

2. Mr R Donner

Is Chairman of Mondi Paper and a Director of the Anglo American Industrial Corporation.

— 3. Miss Reeva Forman

Miss Forman is Chairman of Reeva Forman Holdings which markets beauty products. Twice voted South Africa's top model and in 1983 voted as Business Woman of the Year. She is also a member of the Board of the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

4. Colonel Basil Ginsberg

Businessman and a Colonel in the Citizen Force.

5. The Honourable Justice Richard Goldstone

A Judge of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal.

6. Mr Allan Greenblo

Is the Editor of Finance Week a leading financial publication. He is attending in his personal capacity.

7. Mr Meyer Kahn

Chief Executive of the South African Breweries, one of South Africa's top business organisations.

8. Mr JL Pamensky

A senior Chartered Accountant and Vice President of the South African Cricket Union. Has recently been appointed as a member of the South African Sports Policy Committee.

9. Dr Shlomo Peer

A Corporate Consultant and Director of several public and private companies including the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

10. Mr Darryl Phillips

Is the Chairman of Grey Holdings (Pty) Limited one of the top Advertising Agencies.

11. Mr Harry Schwarz MP

Member of Parliament for Yeoville (Progressive Federal Party).
Opposition Spokesman on Finance. He also acts as a Consultant
to a leading firm of Attorneys.

12. Attorney Gerald Stein

Senior partner of Werksmans which is a leading firm of Attorneys
in Johannesburg.

13. Mr Russell Crystal

Chairman of the National Students Federation



USEFUL TELEPHONE NUMBERS

SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES

JOHANNESBURG

		<u>Office</u>	<u>Home</u>
Executive Director	✓ Mr Aleck Goldberg	331-0331	640-6878
Chairman	✓ Prof Michael Katz	337-2100	784-0447
President	✓ Dr Boomie Abramowitz	337-7772	440-6788
Public Relations Officer	Mrs Shirley Bricker	331-0331	640-3709

GENERAL

	Mr Harry Schwarz, MP	833-7770	788-7654
	Mrs Helen Suzman		788-2833
Carlton Hotel	331-8911		

CAPE TOWN

BOARD OF DEPUTIES CAPE COMMITTEE

Executive Director	Mr Ian Sacks	(021) 232420	44-4226
Vice Chairman	Mr Gerald Kleinman	(021) 02211 31131	44-1402

GENERAL

Hotel Cape Sun	23-0884 (021)		
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DURBAN

COUNCIL OF NATAL JEWRY

Community Director	Mr Josh Goldberg	(031) 372581	219452
President	Mr Alan Benn	(031) 312345	235988

GENERAL

Maharani Hotel	(031) 32-7361		
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INVITEES TO LUNCHEON WITH AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
REPRESENTATIVES

BOARD OF DEPUTIES:

Prof M Katz ✓ - Chairman
Dr H Fabian ✓ - Chairman Transvaal Council
Mr G Leissner ✓ - Vice-Chairman
Mr D K Mann - Past President
~~Mr J Harwitz~~
Mr H Schwarz ✓ - Chairman International Affairs
Dr I Abramowitz - President
Mr H Saenger ✓ - Chairman Public Affairs
~~Mr H Rudolph~~
~~Mr M Kaplan~~

ZIONIST FEDERATION

~~Mr M Friedman~~
✓ Mr J Weinstein - President
Mr O Abraham - Vice Chairman
~~Mr S Sacks~~
Dr S Ossip ✓ - Vice Chairman
Prof M Sharon ✓ - Director General
Mr H Rosenberg ✓ - Executive Director

BOARD OF EDUCATION

~~Mr I Greenstein~~ ✓
Mr K Katz ✓ - Chairman

UNION OF JEWISH WOMEN

Mrs J Harrisberg ✓ - President

SAUJS

~~Miss L Bernstein~~
Mr A Goldberg - Executive Director SAJBD
Dr S Cohen - Deputy Executive Director SAJBD

Miss S. Bucher - PRO.



The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

October 14, 1985

Ms. Susan Keogh
Office of Southern African Affairs
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Susan,

A note of thanks for your assistance in arranging the meeting with Ambassador Nickel for our delegation. I have spoken with Dr. Tanenbaum since the Friday session in Johannesburg, and he noted that the discussion had been extremely informative and cordial, providing invaluable insights into the current political situation and getting the visit off to "an excellent start."

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

David A. Harris
Deputy Director
International Relations Department

DAH:CH

bc: Marc H. Tanenbaum

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, President ■ THEODORE ELLENOFF, Chair, Board of Governors ■ EDWARD E. ELSON, Treasurer ■ SHIRLEY M. SZABAD, Secretary ■ ALFRED H. MOSES, Chair, National Executive Council ■ DAVID H. PEIREZ, Associate Treasurer ■ ROBERT S. JACOBS, Chair, Board of Trustees ■ RITA E. HAUSER, Chair, Executive Committee ■ DAVID M. GORDIS, Executive Vice-President ■ HONORARY PRESIDENTS: MORRIS B. ABRAM, ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, PHILIP E. HOFFMAN, RICHARD MAASS, ELMER L. WINTER, MAYNARD I. WISHNER ■ HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS: NATHAN APPELMAN, MARTIN G. GIG, RUTH R. GODDARD, ANDREW GOODMAN, RAYMOND F. KRAVIS, JAMES MARSHALL, WILLIAM ROSENWALD ■ MAX M. FISHER, Honorary Chair, National Executive Council ■ EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENTS EMERITI: JOHN SLAWSON, BERTRAM H. GOLD ■ VICE-PRESIDENTS: NORMAN E. ALEXANDER, Westchester; HOWARD A. GILBERT, Chicago; ALAN C. GREENBERG, New York; ROBERT H. HAINES, New York; CHARLOTTE G. HOLSTEIN, Syracuse; ANN P. KAUFMAN, Houston; ROBERT L. PELZ, Westchester; IDELLE RABIN, Dallas; BRUCE M. RAMER, Los Angeles; DAVID F. SQUIRE, Boston; RICHARD L. WEISS, Los Angeles ■



SAUJS

SOUTH AFRICAN UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS

University
Address

WITS

התאחדות הסטודנטים היהודים דרום אפריקה

c/o SRC Student Union Building
University of the Witwatersrand
1 Jan Smuts Avenue,
Milner Park
Johannesburg 2000
Tel. (011) 716-3062

National Office
P.O. Box 18
Johannesburg 2000
Tel. (011) 29-0417
Telex 4-85024 SA

16 October 1985

Enclosed please find a selection of various articles, statements and newspapers which have been distributed by SAUJS over the past few years. We have restricted our selection to items dealing with the political situation in South Africa. These include statements on:

- the tricameral parliament
- deaths in detention
- violent actions of security police on campus
- justice and Jewish morality
- condemning apartheid

We hope that this information will be beneficial to your commission.

Sincerely

THE SOUTH AFRICAN UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS

(Chairperson)

Neill Abrams
57 Hyde Close
Hyde Park
Sandton 2196
South Africa

(Deputy - chair person)

Howard Sackstein
13 Boundary Rd
Parktown
2193
Johannesburg
South Africa

(National Activities officer)

Grant Gordon
501 Shannon
c/o 6th Rd & Jan Smuts Ave
Hyde Park
2196
South Africa

'JUSTICE, JUSTICE SHALT THOU PURSUE'

Deut 16:20

The creation of man in the image of G-d has important consequences for man in Jewish law, which demands that man must never be reduced to the level of a thing or chattel; he remains a personality with inalienable human rights. To rob a man of these inalienable rights constitutes an outrage against G-d. It is upon this thought that the Jewish conception of justice, as respect of human personality, rests.

The current conflict in South Africa has shattered our smugness, violated our self-righteous complacency and shaken our confidence in the values we have lived by.

Judaism teaches a common humanity and an instinctive revulsion from the perpetuation and perpetration of injustice. We of all people should instinctively recoil from perpetrating on other the injustices that we, more than any other people, have suffered from.

Jewish ethical law hails as a crime the doing of anything by which the health and wellbeing of a fellow human being is undermined. The crime of apartheid is an institutionalised denial of the Divine within each person. It therefore, follows that it is a denial of G-d who created man in His image.

Apartheid, even in its new 'liberal' sense further means discrimination in vital aspects of family and personal life in South Africa. Apartheid denies:

- *adequate education
- *meaningful family life
- *living wage
- *freedom of speech, movement and association etc.

It remains for those who have decided to stay in this country to participate actively in the process of change. One cannot reform an unjust system, one must abolish it.

At this time, the beginning of 5746, during these Days of Awe which according to the Talmud commemorates the creation of the world, let us pray for the creation of a new South Africa, and let us pray for the welfare of this land - for in its peace shall we find peace.



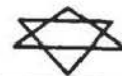
SOUTH AFRICAN UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS

התאחדות הסטודנטים היהודים דרום אפריקה

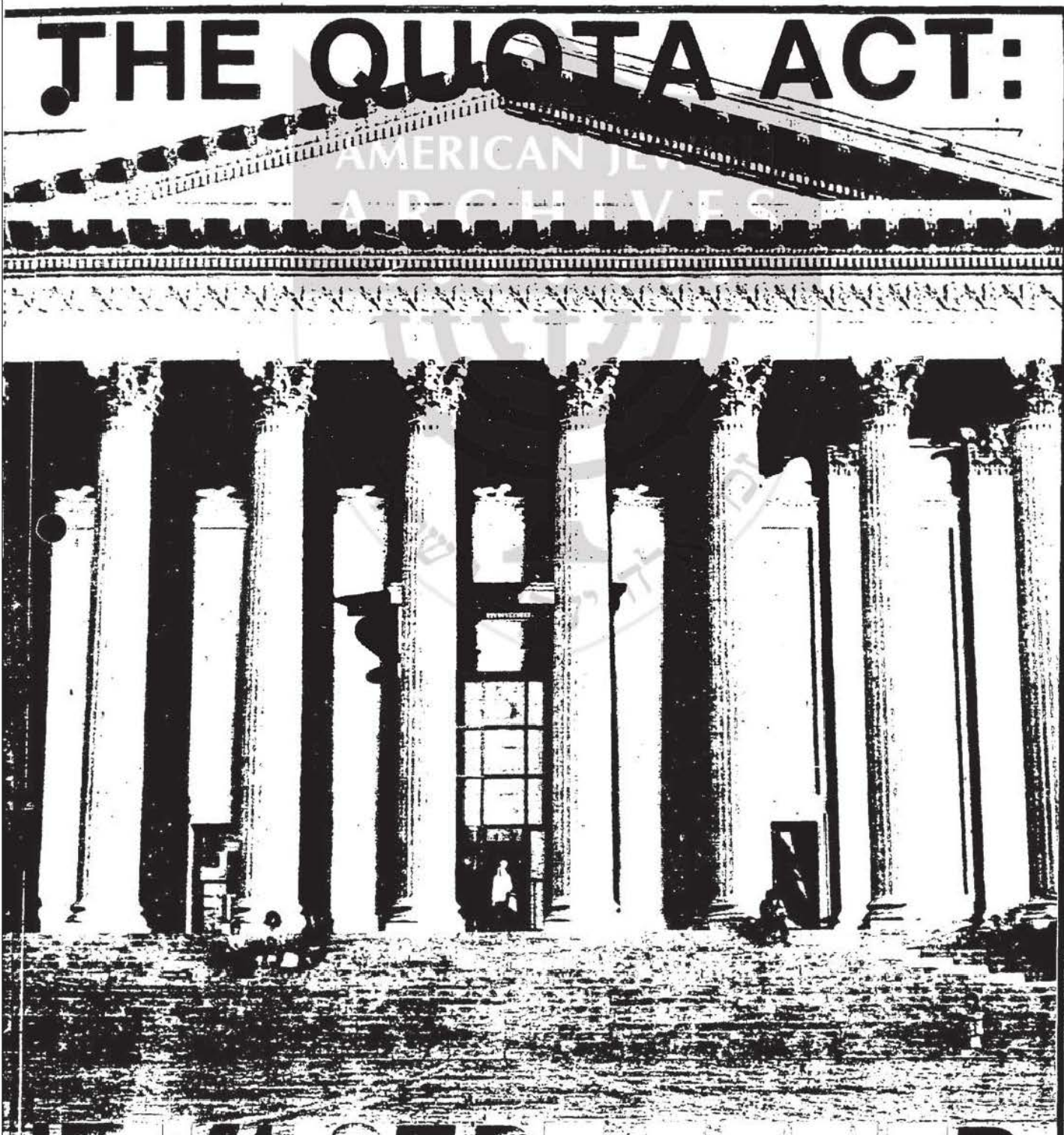
ENCAMPUS

A SASPU Affiliate

Official Publication of SAUJS



Vol 1 No 3



START

South Africa presents a problem for the Jewish people. While being good for the Jews, it is less good — perhaps even fatal — for the expression of Judaism. Belief and morals must be manifest in action. But sincere Judaic expression would run the risk of treading the toes of state structures, or at least, would conflict with the Alfas and the amphetamines.

The claim that no group has seen itself "so incessantly dying as the Jews" may be valid. This idea has, together with a history of outer hostility, formed part of the essential energy motivating the specific national experience of Diasporan Jewry in each country. In South Africa, this condition has given birth to a unique (and perhaps unnecessary) 'anxiety'. The question is whether this anxiety shall be made fertile or whether it will be squandered on self-pity.

Ascendance of this condition is made possible not by 'stepping out of the scene', but by *actively* utilising those principles which shape and guide us. We *must* analyse, criticise, judge and actively oppose the unequal and unfair system around us. Only then will our irrefutable obligations to justice and practical fairness no matter the race, colour or creed, be satisfied.

o o o

The recent tour of South Africa by 'The Liberated Wailing Wall' has once again sparked off anger and violence. One of their performances at the Market Theatre was attended by over 150 Jews with the express intention of disrupting the meeting. The disruption subsequently degenerated into chaos and the meeting was cancelled.

While it is generally agreed that the Jews for Jesus group may be seen as a spiritual threat to the Jewish people, the behaviour by those at the Market can in no way be condoned.

The Jewish people have always taken pride in their ability to rationalise situations, to acknowledge and honour other people's rights, to provide effective viable alternatives, and not to stoop to the tactics used by others.

We must never lose sight of the goals we are trying to attain. We must act from a position of strength, secure in tradition, unity and beliefs. We must always allow our heads to guide our hearts and not the other way round. For the Jews to have to face the riot police after the disruption shows lack of foresight.

Those at the Market turned an insignificant, unpublished tour into a national event — a tactical error. As Dave Brickner, leader of the group, said: *'Our PR agency made a mess of the publicity. We can only thank those at the Market on the Sunday night for catapulting us into the spotlight.'*

Freedom of speech must be respected by all!

o o o

START strongly condemns the arbitrary detentions which have once again been witnessed in South Africa. They are a denial of the due process of law which demands that people must be charged or released. Our Jewish ethic of justice is inextricably connected to our moral law. We urge the South African government, which claims to be Christian, to hold the many Biblical injunctions which it claims to follow, and release or try the detainees.

"... what the Lord doth require of thee: Only to do justly, and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy G-d."

Michah 6:8

o o o

START is a new beginning. A new era of self-realisation, self-analysis and self-criticism. It is editorial policy to publish material covering a wide range of opinions

On the Agenda

There is undoubtedly a decline in the level of Jewish 'religious' observance amongst the Jewish youth today, when compared with the level 40 or 50 years ago. Coupled with this decline in observance (and perhaps the chief cause of it), is a lack of 'classical Judaic' knowledge. Very few of the campus Jewish youth are familiar with Judaic terms and content. But while knowledge of Judaism may have decreased, the level of secular education, attained by Jewish people, is phenomenally high.

The time has come for each Jewish individual to challenge the very foundations of Judaism, to find out exactly what Judaism stands for, and then to make valued judgements.

One of the functions of SAUJS this year will be to act as a platform enabling Wits Jewish students to put forward these challenges and to receive well-informed replies through debate, talks, shiurim, a campus newspaper, pamphlets, etc. SAUJS will also endeavour to keep campus better informed of the goings on in Israel, and of opportunities for students to study or work there.

While SAUJS has a definite educative role to play, it also has the important function of organising social activities. The SAUJS 'Pool Jorls' at lunchtimes have been a great success, and will be continued, and it is also planned to have numerous night-time functions, ie razzles, Israeli Dancing, Get-Togethers, etc.

Politics, especially South African politics, is not the main function of SAUJS. However, events in the South African political and social sphere will present themselves for comment. SAUJS will always try to present a Jewish ethical and moral standpoint on these issues.

The newly elected SAUJS committee for 1984/5 is as follows: Dennis Connack (Chairperson); Ian Goldberg (Vice-Chairperson); Michael Esra (Treasurer); David Jayes (Executive member and Religion); Fran Buntman (Executive member); Grant Gordon (Media); Michael Wulffhart (Culture); Neil Herson (Zionism); Debbie Factor and Joel Amoils.

This year's SAUJS committee is highly enthusiastic about the tasks that lie ahead, and the year promises to be a full and exciting one.

The SAUJS committee would like to wish all Jewish students a Shanah Tova and well over the fast.

You can stay as you are
for the rest of your life . . .
or you can join

START

Input in the form of letters, articles
and ideas in any medium
is encouraged and welcomed.
The criterion for publication is
merit alone.

Contact Susan at 29-0417

CONTRIBUTORS:

Grant Gordon
Dennis Connack
Lorraine Bernstein
Fran Buntman
Michael Wulffhart
Michael Esra
Neil Herson
Debbie Factor
David Jayes
Joel Amoils
Susan Abelman
Debbie Handler

Paul Zolty
Bev Lester
Ian Goldberg
Mandy Kibel
Jackie McCarthy
Danny Berger
Ayal Rosenberg
Gideon Etzion
Neill Abrams
Rabbi Sternbuch

SOV'ET JEWRY S' 'A' 'EMENT

THE WORLD'S THIRD LARGEST JEWISH POPULATION LIVES IN THE U.S.S.R. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO FORMAL JEWISH COMMUNITY IN THE SOVIET UNION. IN FACT, JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE DENIED RIGHTS THAT FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE WOULD CONSIDER FUNDAMENTAL. DENIAL OF RIGHTS INCLUDE:

- QUOTA SYSTEMS IN CERTAIN UNIVERSITIES AND RESTRICTED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES.
- THE BAN ON THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF HEBREW, AND AN ACTIVE DESTRUCTION OF JEWISH CULTURE.
- THE BAN ON PRIVATE PRAYER SERVICES WHILE PUBLIC PRAYER SERVICES ARE EXTREMELY LIMITED AND INDIVIDUALS FACE EXTREME HARRASMENT WHEN INVOLVED IN PRACTICES PERCEIVED AS BEING JEWISH.
- THE RESTRICTION ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

JEWS INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION ARE FORBIDDEN FROM PRACTICING ANY FORM OF JUDAISM, AND ARE FORBIDDEN, WITH VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS TO LEAVE THE U.S.S.R.

S.A.U.J.S. CONDEMNS THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS AND DENIAL OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS. THOSE SOVIET JEWS WHO WISH TO LEAVE AND MAKE ISRAEL THEIR HOME, SHOULD BE PERMITTED BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO DO SO.

IN THE SAME WAY THAT S.A.U.J.S. CONDEMNS THE SITUATION IN U.S.S.R. WE CONDEMN THE INJUSTICES THAT ARE PERPETRATED AGAINST THE VAST MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS.

AS WE PROTEST ON BEHALF OF OUR FELLOW JEWS IN RUSSIA, WE PROTEST FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE TO THE STATUS AND RIGHTS GIVEN TO THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS.

JEWISH STUDENTS SHOULD ACT ACCORDING TO A JEWISH MORALITY WHICH TEACHES US TO WORK TOWARDS AND DEMANDS JUSTICE FOR ALL.

S.A.U.J.S. CALLS ON THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO:

"LET OUR PEOPLE GO"

A MASS MEETING WILL BE HELD TODAY IN SS10 AT 12.30pm.

SPEAKERS: ORIT KATZOW - EX-REFUSNIK
JAY RAWLINGS - CHRISTIAN ACTIVIST
KAREN LAZAR - S.A. OR RUSSIA
RABBI KOSSOVSKY

THE VIEWS AND OPINIONS EXPRESSED DO NOT PURPORT THOSE OF THE COUNCIL OR SRC OF THIS UNIVERSITY.

ISSUED BY S.A.U.J.S.

SOUTH AFRICAN UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS

STATEMENT ON NEW CONSTITUTION.

Isaiah 1: 17 : "Learn to do well; seek justice, relieve the oppressed."

Throughout the centuries and unparalleled trials Judaism has preserved its passion for justice and its desire to contribute to the defence of the rights of people of all races and origins.

S.A.U.J.S. has since its inception declared its opposition to discrimination in this country. We base these policies on the principles of democracy and justice which have always been pillars of the Jewish Faith. Furthermore, Zionism - the movement for national liberation of the Jewish People and foundation of the modern state of Israel - consists of principles wholly incompatible with Apartheid in origin, theory and application.

We are now faced with a referendum over the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act. Cutting across traditional party politics and opposition arguments, the referendum debate has thrown South African politics into disarray, the issues no longer being clear cut.

And while politicians are frantically attempting to define their standpoints and clarify the quagmire of confusion, the people of South Africa are being asked to take a decision based on arguments which all invariably contain legitimate elements.

So at this stage, the only approach can be to analyse the new constitution coldly and clinically and determine what it promises the people of South Africa.

- It promises us the entrenchment of racial discrimination as seen by the separate Houses for Whites, Coloureds and Asians and the exclusion of Blacks.
- It promises us no alleviation of the racist legislation that has affected the lives of so many South Africans of all races.
- It promises us a President with wide powers seemingly unfettered by legislative or judicial sanction.
- It promises us effective one party rule by the majority party in the White House of Assembly.

In short, it promises us precious little reform from the policy of Apartheid which S.A.U.J.S. has repeatedly condemned.

While the crucial decision of which way to vote remains the subjective prerogative of every individual, S.A.U.J.S. urges Jewish students to seriously consider the issue in terms of Jewish principles and in terms of the heritage of discrimination which is stamped on Jewish History.

A statement of policy can never go into detailed discussions and we therefore request Jewish students to read the literature presently being issued by S.A.U.J.S. which serves to amplify this statement in presenting a united Jewish student approach to the new constitution.

SAUJS: TRICAMERAL ELECTIONS

Isaiah 1:17 : "Learn to do well; seek justice, relieve the oppressed."

Throughout the centuries and unparalleled trials, Judaism has preserved its passion for justice and its desire to contribute to the defence of the rights of people of all races and origins.

S.A.U.J.S. has since its inception declared its opposition to discrimination in this country. We base these policies on the principles of democracy and justice which have always been pillars of the Jewish Faith.

We are now faced with the implementation of the New Constitution of South Africa in the form of the Tricameral Elections.

For the people of South Africa, the elections promise:

- * the entrenchment of apartheid and racial discrimination as seen by the separate Houses for Whites, "Coloureds" and Indians and the exclusion of Blacks.
- * no alleviation of the racist legislation that has affected the lives of so many South Africans of all races.
- * the alienation of millions of Black South Africans simply on the basis of colour.
- * the continuation of social injustice, detention without trial, fragmentation of family life and harassment, to say the least.

In short, these elections promise us precious little reform from the policy of apartheid which S.A.U.J.S. has repeatedly condemned.

With these considerations in mind, it is clear that the Tricameral Elections are merely a token gesture offered to the South African people, a false and misleading gesture with the superficial promise of democratic reform. Indeed, it is clear, that we, the South African people, are being offered the continuation of oppression and repression, the perpetuation of apartheid.

S.A.U.J.S. supports fellow South Africans in their boycott of the racist elections and expresses solidarity with the struggle for freedom and justice.

S.A.U.J.S. regrets that we were not invited to state our opposition to the elections at the Great Hall meeting on Monday 20th August. This however, does not discourage or impede our protest against the entrenchment of apartheid through the Tricameral Elections.

Issued by S.A.U.J.S. Wits

The views expressed do not purport to be those of the SRC or Council of the University.



SOUTH AFRICAN UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS

WITS התאחדות הסטודנטים היהודים דרום אפריקה

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS ISSUED BY DAVID MAKOVSKY, CHAIRPERSON OF THE WORLD UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS (WUJS) IN JERUSALEM ON 16 AUGUST 1985.

CONDEMNING APARTHEID IS NOT ENOUGH

The World Union of Jewish Students condemns in the strongest terms the current State of Emergency declared by the regime in South Africa. It is not enough to condemn apartheid and at the same time be resigned to the status quo of Pretoria's ruthless repression. History reminds Jews not to be indifferent to those who are denied elementary rights because of their race. We therefore call upon Jewish students around the world to join demonstrations for the abolition of the repugnant system of apartheid and call for pressure against South Africa until this crime is eliminated. Jewish students have been at the vanguard of the campaign against apartheid on campuses both inside and outside South Africa, and the situation requires that more join their ranks.

To this end we ask that all countries bring diplomatic pressure to bear on South Africa and in this context we urge Israel to direct its energies to bring about significant reform.

As someone who has just returned from South Africa, I was struck by the banality of oppression. This Racism runs counter to the Biblical injunction, "One law shall be to you that is home born, and unto you the stranger that sojourneth among you". (Exodus 12:49). This moral imperative means Jews should join this human struggle for basic rights just as we ask all other people of good conscience to join us in our efforts against insidious repression of Jews in the USSR.

SAUJS STATEMENT



SOUTH AFRICAN UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS

WITS התאחדות הסטודנטים היהודים ורבים אחרים

SAUJS notes with horror the events that occurred on Wits campus yesterday. The uninhibited way with which the police and riot squad sjambokked and teargassed students who were peacefully protesting, is totally inexcusable.

A senior SAUJS Committee member states that a member of the police force, while running after students, shouted to a colleague, 'Hit any man, woman or child, whether they are running or standing'. This illustrates the total disregard for fundamental human rights. This action is totally immoral from a Jewish perspective and must be condemned in the strongest terms by all Jewish students.

One can only imagine what occurs in the townships where police are not constrained by any of the factors which constrain them on Wits campus.

SAUJS condemns this incident of police brutality and calls for the immediate release of all detainees, and particularly those Wits students arrested yesterday. We further call on all Jewish students to attend the Student Assembly today. We also encourage students to participate in any other campus protest meetings.



SOUTH AFRICAN UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS

WITS

התאחדות הסטודנטים היהודיים בדרום אפריקה

c/o SRC Student Union Building
University of the Witwatersrand
1 Jan Smuts Avenue,
Milner Park
Johannesburg 2000
Tel. (011) 716-3062

National Office
P.O. Box 18
Johannesburg 2000
Tel. (011) 29-0417
Telex 4-85024 SA

14 May 1985

SAUJS notes with disgust that Andries Raditsela died soon after his release from detention, and that Sipho Mutsi died in detention. This brings to 60 the number of people who have died in detention since 1961. The fact that people in this country can be detained without trial and can die in such circumstances is a concept abhorred by Jewish Law. Jews are taught, as a fundamental principle, that each individual has a right to a trial.

Both Raditsela and Mutsi were in detention for, at most, a few days. They were both medically healthy before their detentions and both died of brain injuries. This highlights the horrors that must befall the people who are detained.

The dignity and preservation of each and every human life is a central concept in the Jewish tradition. However we do not see evidence of this respect for life in the practice of the South African Security Police. This is shown by the number of deaths and all too frequent cases of reported torture.

SAUJS condemns, in the strongest terms: Detention without trial as we have witnessed in South Africa, and the actions of those 'people' who were responsible for the deaths of Raditsela and Mutsi.

SAUJS

SOUTH AFRICAN UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS

WITS

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6 May 1985

BELOW IS A COPY OF THE LETTER THAT WAS HANDED TO THE AMERICAN
CONSULAR GENERAL THIS MORNING

The American Consular General
Kine Centre
Commissioner Street
Johannesburg

Your Excellency

President Reagan's Bitburg Visit

We, the South African Union Of Jewish Students on Wits campus, strongly protest, and condemn, the thoughtless and provocative actions of President Ronald Reagan of the United States, on his visit to Bitburg cemetery to honour the SS butchers and murderers of the Holocaust. We believe such actions to be both immoral and grossly insensitive to the victims and families of the attempted Genocide. Such actions of your President may be politically expedient, but show a complete lack of ability to grasp the lessons of history.

The South African Union of Jewish Students runs a 'Survivor's Holocaust Interview Project' whose aim is to record testimonies of those who survived the Holocaust so that the extent of this crime against humanity may never be forgotten. Yet, your President has taken it upon himself to honour the memories of those slaughterers who committed this crime.

We consider the actions of your President to fall barely short of condoning the Holocaust.

Furthermore SAUJS committee adds that President Reagan's justification for such an act, claiming that the Nazis were as much a victim of the Holocaust as the Jewish people were, is tantamount to saying that the Security Police are as much a victim of Apartheid as the majority of the people of South Africa.



SAUJS

SOUTH AFRICAN UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS

WITS

התאחדות הסטודנטים היהודים דרום אפריקה

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2 August 1985

The Chairman
Sydenham Highlands North Council
24 Main Street
Rouxville
2192

Dear Sir

40TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

I am deeply disturbed to learn that Pik Botha is scheduled to speak at your Shul's 40th anniversary celebrations. Shuls in general, and yours in particular stand out as the focal points of our wonderful Jewish heritage and religion. It is the various Rabbis and associated shul communities that support and practise Judaism and Jewish Morality to its fullest.

- Pik Botha, on the other hand, is one of the most senior members of the National Party. This political party stands for, and implements, a system that is an antithesis to Jewish morality.

Judaism teaches and practises a system of justice that is unparalleled in any other society or country. This stand for justice makes every Jew, and specifically Jewish students on campus, very proud of their Jewish heritage. Consequently one would expect a Shul celebrating an anniversary to invite a speaker who is symbolic of, and who practises, this Jewish morality and justice.

Pik Botha, far from measuring up to these standards, stands for norms in direct contradiction to Jewish ones.

In light of the above and on behalf of the South African Union of Jewish Students (SAUJS), at Wits University, I strongly protest at the issuing of the invitation, and urge you and your council to retract your invitation to Pik Botha.

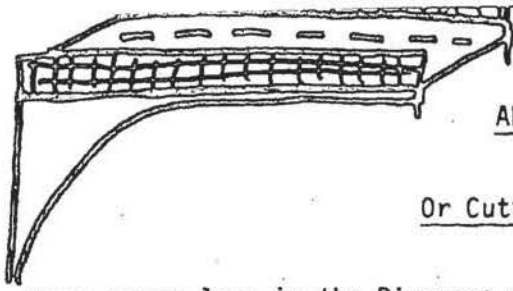
Yours sincerely

D. Connack

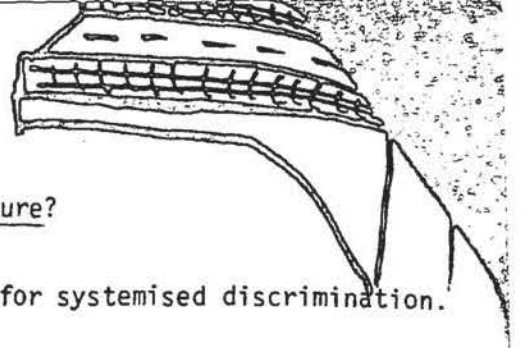
DENNIS CONNACK

SAUJS (WITS) CHAIRPERSON





ARE WE BUILDING BRIDGES -



Or Cutting Our Lifeline To The Future?

Most young Jews in the Diaspora today face personal dilemmas and sometimes crises over their Jewish Identity. They are born in one country and are growing up to discover that they have an allegiance to another - Israel.

This allegiance appears to defy any universally accepted or conclusive definition - and compounds the age-old challenge of religious commitment.

In a world torn apart by shattering social structures and increasingly decrepit ideologies, identity - any identity - becomes more relevant and even crucial to the individual. In South Africa all this applies, and is complicated tenfold for today's aware Jewish student. He is a person who has been exposed to Jewish ethics and values on one hand, and has to reconcile this with a South African reality of entrenched discrimination on the other.

Having been brought up to believe that one of humanity's greatest historical crimes has been its obsessional discrimination against Jews, it is difficult for the young Jew in this country not to develop guilt-complexes and near-schizophrenic attitudes in a society which is internationally regarded as the

'prototype' for systemised discrimination.

This results in an already shaky Jewish identity becoming further weakened and defective, almost always for the wrong reasons.

It is in this context that students find themselves examining the priorities of the South African Jewish establishment (if any priorities exist at all). There is a need to determine whether the establishment contributes to resolving the dilemma, or whether it in fact exacerbates it.

Much attention has recently been focused on relations between the Jewish and Afrikaans communities. Many issues have been raised - whether these relations need to be strengthened, how they can be better effected. One thing is not in question - the fact that firm bonds do exist.

However, we cannot say the same of relations with the Black community in South Africa, a community of superior numerical proportions and certainly of increasing relevance in any conception of South Africa's future.

The context here is not the cosmetic detente implicit in inviting Black choirs to sing before Jewish audiences or the inclusion of Black speakers in the agenda of community congresses. This veneer of consciousness is meaningless in assuming

any relevant future role of Jews in South Africa, and finds at best limited support among aware Jewish students. Rather, I mean that a positive programme of contact between Jewish and Black leadership should be started, designed to increase mutual understanding and dialogue at all levels.

I do not claim that even S.A.U.J.S. is fulfilling this role adequately in the student arena, but with the need recognised, steps are currently being taken to develop relations between SAUJS and Black student groups. My appeal is thus not only directed to the Jewish community as a whole, but especially to the student sector, to support and help develop these relations.

Why appeal to the Jewish establishment at all? If S.A.U.J.S. is implementing its own contact programmes, why drag the community in?

Our youth should be able to feel that they have the support of the community in this endeavour. They need to know that the Jewish establishment is creating similar avenues of real dialogue.

The young Jew needs to be shown (ideally before reaching university) that these activities can be part of a Jewish priority, that there can be a synthesis between being a Jew and being a South African.

If a perceived dichotomy between "Jewish priorities" and "involvement in South African affairs" is allowed to persist in the minds of young Jews, they will increasingly have to consult broader horizons (beyond the bounds of Jewish expression) in order to fulfil their needs to by part of a realistic South African future.

The danger is that their rejection of one aspect of the projected image of the Jewish community can be extrapolated into a rejection of Jewish identity in toto. In this tragic way some of the elite of our youth could become lost to the Jewish people. Moreover, the confusion which reigns in the political sphere and the mounting pressure for change suggests that time is too short to wait for today's student to be integrated into the upper echelons of the Jewish community before attempts are made to tackle the problems.

A vital issue of concern to students, and one sometimes erroneously used as an argument against developing relations with the Black communities, is the claim of anti-Semitism amongst Blacks. Dismissing the issue outright will have negative consequences. It demands positive investigation and analysis to determine its extent and degree. If it is as deep-rooted and wide-spread as some maintain, then surely a priority of the Jewish community must be to consider it constructively, within a framework designed to break down prejudices rather than perpetuate them, before they are translated into a definite

physical threat.

South African society is such that it lends itself to the development of serious prejudices amongst all sections of the population and, although anti-Semitism does not merit a high profile at present, the danger of it becoming a future crisis-point has already been illustrated in recent incidents. Ignoring the roots of the problem could spell tragedy in the future.

The primary question then is whether the

Jewish establishment is facing up to its real responsibilities for the future, or whether it is extending itself to accommodate so many divergent viewpoints, even those alien to Jewish ethics, that no priorities for the future can exist at all.

Building bridges is never easy, but in striving to maintain a status quo we risk losing our most critical life-line - our link with a meaningful future.

By Neville Eisenberg,
SAUJS National Chairperson

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

ARE YOU PATHETICALLY
APATHETIC?



READ ON!

APATHY KILLS - ARE YOU DEAD YET?

This may be your last chance ever to rescue yourself from the evil clutches of Apathy.

You have the ability to set yourself free. All you have to do is volunteer your services to help S.A.U.J.S. during Orientation Week 1984.

Gain your freedom TODAY - go to the S.A.U.J.S. office room 263, on the 2nd floor of the Students Union Building

(if you can manage the steps. Do not take the lift as it does not work. Do not pass begin do not collect 200.) and give your name and phone number to Lauren, S.A.U.J.S. secretary. You will be contacted before it's too late.

PLEASE JOIN THE S.A.U.J.S. ORIENTATION COMMITTEE. WE NEED YOU!!

By Howard Sackstein



The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

October 22, 1985

Mr. H.H. Schwarz
P.O. Box 7407
Johannesburg 2000,
South Africa

Dear Harry,

It was a pleasure talking with you earlier today. As I mentioned, our delegation members were most pleased with their visit and with the exceptional warmth and hospitality of the Jewish community. I look forward to learning more about their visit in the coming days and to participating in the consideration of the trip's programmatic implications for our agency.

I do very much hope that we will be able to see one another during your forthcoming visit to the U.S. In the meantime, I enclose our tentative agenda for the National Executive Council meeting in Miami and the article from the New York Times to which I made reference.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

David A. Harris
Deputy Director
International Relations Department

DAH:CH
Enclosures

BE MARC TAUBENBAUM

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DAVID SQUIRE, Boston; RICHARD L. WASS, Los Angeles		

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Howard Friedman, Ted Ellenoff, Leo Nevas, David Gordis

FROM: Marc Tenenbaum

DATE: Oct 24, 1985

RE: SOUTH AFRICA AND HIAS

Pursuant to Harry Schwartz' conversation (and that of others in South Africa) regarding the future of South African Jewry, I arranged a meeting on short notice yesterday with Carl Zuckerman, director of Hias. David Harris joined us.

I gave him a general report of our experience, and then asked Carl to give thought to developing a strategy for helping in a "worst case" possibility.

He welcomed being alerted to the general situation and said it was important to plan a year or two ahead for any effective responses.

I told him that Harry Schwartz will be here in Nov.-Dec. for the CJFJF convention, and Carl agreed to meet with him. We will help arrange for that meeting.

Carl said that HIAS would plan to send a small delegation to South Africa probably during next Jan. or Feb., and determine how they could quietly make further plans to be helpful in the United States, Canada, Australia, or elsewhere.

He accepted Harry's admonition that there be no publicity nor rumors in the Jewish community about any imminent mass exodus, nor that the South African Jewry is to be perceived as a "refugee population."

I will keep you informed of any further developments.

about it," said Mr. Reichley, who, when asked about his own religious identification, said he was raised a Methodist but recently switched over to the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.).

He said he became interested in doing the study, which he started three years ago, after observing the role played by conservative Christians in the election of President Reagan in 1980. Brookings does not officially endorse the reports it publishes, Mr. Reichley said, but added that many people see this as a false distinction since the institution sponsors the studies.

10-25-85

1875

Naude says ANC must help decide South Africa's future

By Jean Caffey Lyles

American Jewish Religious News Service Associate Editor

NEW YORK (RNS) — South Africa's most prominent white clergy critic of apartheid told United Methodist mission leaders here that from 66 to 70 percent of the country's black population now supports the African National Council, and that the political future of the country cannot be decided unless the ANC is included in the discussions.

The Rev. Beyers C. F. Naude, a Reformed cleric who is general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said in a fiery address Oct. 25 to directors and staff of the United Methodist Board of Global Ministers that Americans "have seen on your television screens and heard on your radios seven, eight or 10 times more" of the racial clashes now occurring in South Africa "than we have seen or heard over state-controlled television and radio in our country. I said to a friend who came to me to gain information, 'If you wish to know what's going on inside, you'd better get outside.' "

Mr. Naude, 67, was "banned" by the government for eight years for his outspoken opposition to its racial separation policies — a penalty that kept him under virtual house arrest and kept him from public speaking and writing. Shortly after the banning order was unexpectedly lifted in September 1984, he was named to succeed Bishop Desmond Tutu as top executive at the church council, taking the reins in February 1985.

Mr. Naude told the Methodist board that "the vast majority of white South Africa remains ignorantly and blissfully unaware" of the conflicts that are "escalating into bitterness and hatred." Many of them "wish not to be aware. One of the evil effects of the South African system is to separate people of different colors so effectively that the vast majority of whites live in ignorance of what is in the hearts of the suffering majority." Even in the multi-racial churches, he said, it is not easy for people of "divided interests and cultures to meet one another across the line."

The council of churches he heads has mapped out seven "crisis zones" and sent field workers into four of them to keep the council aware of developments that "normally never get into press." The organization is now trying to raise money to staff the three remaining zones.

The "state of emergency" declared by the government in July in 36 of the country's 261 magisterial districts has made it more difficult to get accurate news, he said. In the affected districts, no news can be published without the police first reading the reports, said the church leader.

Although the council has accurate reports from its own sources about the growing conflict in South Africa, "How do we get it across to whites?" asked Dr. Naude. He noted that 44 percent of the white population belongs to three Dutch Reformed bodies which are not council members. There are also evangelical, Pentecostal and charismatic groups that do not hold membership.

Mr. Naude had said in an address at the United Nations during his U.S. visit, "If somebody says today that South Africa is in a crisis, I would regard that as an understatement of fact. If someone says we are in a civil war, I would regard that as a statement of fact." A statement that the country is "moving toward revolution" is, he said, "a reasonable prediction for a troubled and difficult future."

He announced that he had just received a Telex message from the SACC that more than 50 persons were reported detained in Capetown Oct. 25 for violating security laws. One of those detained was the lawyer defending the Rev. Allan Boesak, another prominent foe of apartheid who faces subversion charges.

Mr. Boesak is scheduled to appear in court Nov. 6 on charges related to his stand on disinvestment and his support of consumer and school boycotts.

Also among those arrested were several religious leaders, including Charles Villavincencio, a Methodist academic.

"If a man like Boesak can be charged, there's no reason similar charges against me and many others shouldn't follow. I don't think we should complain. We should be gratified, because it comes across as a message to the people in distress that church people are involved and willing to be counted."

Dr. Naude said the current political crisis started "the day 68 percent of the whites accepted the new constitution" of South Africa which allows limited participation of "coloured" (mixed-race) and Indian voters, but shuts 20 million blacks from any participation "in deciding their own future."

He predicted, "We will never have peace in South Africa again until that constitution is abolished and democratic rule comes to our country."

10-25-85

1869

Fellow clerics rally to aid pastor on eve of sexual abuse trial

By Jean Caffey Lyles
Religious News Service Associate Editor

NEW YORK (RNS) — The trial of a United Methodist pastor on charges of sexually abusing six children in a day-care center, scheduled to open Oct. 28 in a Bronx courtroom, has generated strong support for the accused among fellow clergy.

Colleagues of the the Rev. Nathaniel Grady who believe the charges against him to be "baseless" have raised more than \$15,000 for his legal defense and more than a dozen of them plan to attend the trial daily wearing their clerical collars.

Mr. Grady, the 47-year-old black pastor of St. Luke's United Methodist Church in New Rochelle, N.Y., is accused of rape and sodomy of 3- and 4-year-old children in the city-funded Westchester Tremont Day Care Center housed in Westchester United Methodist Church in the Bronx. Mr. Grady was pastor of the Bronx congregation for a year and served on the board of the day-care center. The center is a corporation separate from the church that leases space in the church facilities.

Mr. Grady has been charged with 42 counts of sexual abuse — one count for each alleged act. The acts are alleged to have taken place, over a period of time, during the day-care center's "naptime," between 1:30 and 2:30 p.m.

The case is being tried by Judge Bernard Fried in the Supreme Court of New York in and for Bronx County. The first day of the trial is expected to be taken up by jury selection.

DOMESTIC NEWS

10-25-85

1874

Leading liberal think-tank calls religion essential to democracy

By William Bole

Religious News Service Staff Writer

WASHINGTON (RNS) — A three-year study by a leading liberal think-tank here has concluded that the future of American democracy depends on the strength of the nation's religious institutions, and calls for changes in public policies to accommodate religion in public life.

The new study by the Brookings Institution also states flatly that secularism — defined as the idea of a society based on non-religious principles — provides no adequate foundation for democracy in America.

Democratic government "depends for its health on values that over the not-so-long run must come from religion," according to the study, which breaks with past positions taken by secular liberal organizations.

Through religion, the study says, "human rights are rooted in the moral worth with which a loving Creator has endowed each human soul, and social authority is legitimized by making it answerable to transcendent moral law."

Titled "Religion in American Public Life," the 389-page report forecasts a religious revival in the United States, and takes heart in surveys showing widespread belief in God and importance placed by people on religion. "After several years of decline, the share of youth expressing some form of religious faith in the 1980s has begun to rise. A new religious awakening seems well within the realm of possibility," it says.

On specific issues, the Brookings report endorses social initiatives supported by the Reagan administration but opposed by liberal proponents of church-state separation. It calls for authorization of a "moment of silence" that can be used for voluntary prayer in public schools, use of school facilities for student religious meetings, and tax allowances for tuition paid by parents of parochial-school children.

Without endangering the separation of church and state, such initiatives could facilitate free exercise of religion by individuals and demonstrate the government's acknowledgement of the value of religion, the study argues.

The report on religion is likely to come as a surprise to many who know the Brookings Institution as a representative of American liberalism. Brookings is the largest and perhaps most prestigious of liberal research and study organizations in the country. Its scholars have played important roles in fashioning liberal social-welfare programs of the 1960s and 1970s.

A. James Reichley, the study's author, said Brookings has in recent years begun to move toward a more centrist position, although it has maintained its liberal reputation. In an interview, he said this was the first study on religion ever sponsored by Brookings, and cited growing recognition of the importance of religion in society.

In the study, Mr. Reichley takes a highly negative view of "civil," or secular, humanism, a viewpoint often contrasted with the religious view of the world which the study asserts has become a strong force in America.

"In a democratic society, persons subscribing to a classical humanist ethic are driven to hypocrisy or cynicism — either pretending admiration or fellow-feeling for the masses that their value system does not sustain or scorning the political forms under which they live," the report says. "In either case, social bitterness between humanist elites and the mass of working-class and middle-class citizens is bound to follow."

On the other hand, the report states that broad adherence to religious values serves as an anchor for a rapidly changing society.

"In a highly mobile and heterogeneous society like the United States," the document reads, "these values based on religion are even more essential to democracy than they may be in more traditional societies, where respect for freedom, order, and justice may be maintained for some time through social inertia or custom."

At the same time, the study acknowledges that religion can also do harm to society. Conflicts between different religious groups in places such as Northern Ireland, Iran, Lebanon and India show that "religious fanaticism may easily lead to social tragedy," it says.

While basing its values on religion, democracies "must be ever on guard against abuses that some tendencies within religion foster," the study urges.

The report rejects the argument advanced by church-state separationists that removal of religious symbols from government-sponsored settings has made the government neutral on religion.

"Banishment of religion does not represent neutrality between religion and secularism; conduct of public institutions without any acknowledgement of religion is secularism," the study argues.

It says that "a society that excludes religion totally from its public life, that seems to regard religion as something from which public life must be protected, is bound to foster the impression that religion is either irrelevant or harmful."

While the founding fathers of the nation steered a course away from government sponsorship of religion, they never intended the First Amendment of the Constitution — which contains a clause against government establishment of religion — to prevent the state from "acknowledging the dependence of civil society, as of all life, on transcendent direction," the study asserts.

"The First Amendment is no more neutral on the general value of religion than it is on the general value of the free exchange of ideas or an independent press," the report states. "The founders' conviction that free institutions derive much of their moral vitality from religion also led them to authorize numerous symbolic expressions of the religious character of the American people."

Yet, while depending on religion, the system of democratic government in America is necessarily limited in what it can do to develop religious beliefs and institutions, the study points out. This places a heavy responsibility on churches and synagogues, it says.

To maintain its important role in nurturing moral values, the study recommends, churches should avoid "squandering their moral authority" by taking stands on too many public-policy issues.

As examples of what to avoid, the study cited lobbying by liberal church groups against renewal of American support for the International Monetary Fund — on grounds that the fund's policies hurt poor nations — and opposition by Christian fundamentalists to the United States's 1977 move to give the Panama Canal back to Panama.

"If churches were to remain silent on issues like civil rights or nuclear war or abortion, they would soon lose moral credibility," the study says. "But if the churches become too involved in the hurly-burly of routine politics, they will eventually appear to their members and to the general public as special pleaders for ideological causes or even as appendages to transitory political factions."

Mr. Reichley is a specialist in government at Brookings who has served as an editor of Fortune magazine and as a legislative advisor to former Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania. He said he has no background in religious studies.

"I came to this with limited knowledge of religion, and have had to learn a good deal



ISRAEL DENOUNCES APARTHEID

By Yitzhak Rabi

UNITED NATIONS, Oct. 30 (JTA) -- Israel sharply denounced today South Africa's policy of apartheid, saying it was against Jewish tradition and values, and called on the Pretoria government to immediately stop its apartheid system.

Addressing the General Assembly's debate on apartheid, Binyamin Netanyahu, Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations, also charged that the Arabs, who are condemning Israel for its ties with South Africa, have more trade and more dealings with the South African government than Israel.

According to Netanyahu, 95 percent of the oil imported by South Africa comes from Arab sources. He said that Israel's trade with South Africa is marginal and amounts to only 0.4 percent of that country's total foreign trade.

Arabs Charged With Doubletalk

Charging the Arabs with hypocrisy and doubletalk in their attacks against Israel's alleged support of the apartheid policies, Netanyahu charged that the Arabs themselves practiced policies of supporting racism. He exhibited the German magazine, *Bunte*, which published in its issue this week an interview with Nazi war criminal Alois Brunner, who has been living in Damascus for many years under the protection of the Syrian government.

He also recalled that Saudi Arabia only recently abolished slavery by law, and charged that slavery still can be found in practice in that country.

The Arabs consistently tried to link Israel to the apartheid policies of South Africa, charging it with commercial and military collaboration with Pretoria. In recent years, they have passed resolutions in the General Assembly denouncing Israel's alleged South African ties, singling it out from other nations who have much more trade with South Africa. The Arabs also accuse Israel of nuclear collaboration with South Africa. A resolution containing that accusation will be introduced for a vote at the end of the debate on apartheid later this week.

SENATE UNIT BLOCKS PROPOSAL TO HIKE AMOUNT OF CASH TRANSFER FUNDS MARKED FOR EGYPT IN 1986 FOREIGN AID BILL

By Judith Kohn

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30 (JTA) -- A proposal to raise the amount of cash transfer funds designated for Egypt in the 1986 foreign aid bill was blocked in a Senate subcommittee yesterday, reflecting lingering resentment of Egypt's handling of the Achille Lauro hijacking earlier this month.

The proposal to grant Egypt double the \$100 million originally requested by the Administration, granting \$85 million more than the amount approved in the Foreign Aid authorization bill last summer, was introduced to the Appropriation Committee's Foreign Operations Subcommittee yesterday by subcommittee chairman Bob Kasten (R. Wis.) and Daniel Inouye (D. Hawaii).

Although the change would not have added to the total amount of \$815 million in economic support funds already approved for Egypt, it would have increased the share of aid that Egypt would receive in direct cash transfers.

The move was blocked by Sen. Arlen Specter (R. Pa.), who called for a cut in the already approved cash transfer grant from \$115 million to \$100 million, as an expression of anger over Egypt's handling of the Achille Lauro cruise ship tragedy.

Specter had called for a cut in U.S. aid to Egypt immediately after U.S. fighter jets intercepted an Egyptian civilian airliner carrying the hijackers of the cruise ship to freedom. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak had earlier maintained that the gunmen who seized the cruise ship and killed a 69-year-old American passenger, Leon Klinghoffer, had already left Egypt in accordance with an agreement that resulted in their release of the ship and passengers.

Mubarak reacted to the incident with equally bitter criticism of the United States for forcing down an Egyptian civilian plane. Assistant Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead traveled to Cairo shortly afterwards to patch up relations between the two countries over the affair.

Yesterday's subcommittee vote approving \$115 million in cash transfer funds for Egypt was a compromise that left the amount at the level originally authorized by Congress. The \$3 billion earlier authorized for Israel in both economic and military aid was also maintained at its original level by the subcommittee.

ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL WARNS CONGRESS NOT TO REJECT ARMS PACKAGE TO JORDAN

By David Friedman

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30 (JTA) -- Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy warned Congress today that if it rejected the Reagan Administration's proposed \$1.9 billion arms sale to Jordan the United States' role as a peacemaker in the Middle East would be damaged.

"The rejection of the arms sale and the elimination of the United States as a dependable arms supplier to the moderate Arabs would be a sharp break in the continuity of our relationships in the region," Murphy told the House Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.

He said it "would symbolize very powerfully the likelihood, in their eyes, in their perception, that we really aren't interested in playing a role."

Murphy, who heads the State Department's Near Eastern and South Asian Bureau, stressed that President Reagan is determined to go through with his proposal, submitted to Congress October 21, to provide Jordan with sophisticated planes and air defense missiles.

Resolutions sponsored by an overwhelming majority of both houses have been introduced in the Senate and the House to reject the sale.

However, the Senate adopted a resolution last week postponing the deadline for Congressional action from the normal 30 days after Presidential notification until March 1. The resolution states that before March 1 no

sale is valid "unless direct and meaningful negotiations between Israel and Jordan are underway." The House has not acted on this resolution, but there are indications that it might seek to amend it to strengthen provisions enabling Congress to reject the sale.

Murphy reiterated today that the Administration had not been behind the resolution. He said the resolution means that on March 1 the way will be clear for the sale to go through. However, he noted that before that time Congress still has the right to reject the sale by votes of both houses.

Sale Would Be A Signal To Hussein

Murphy argued today as he has in the past that the arms sales is a "powerful signal" to King Hussein of Jordan of U.S. support for his role in the peace process.

"It is especially important that we send a strong signal of support to those willing to take risks for peace," he said.

He noted that the U.S. has always believed that Israel's security must be guaranteed so that it has the "confidence" necessary to enter peace negotiations. "This is no less valid for Jordan," he said.

Hussein was unhappy with the Senate resolution. He called it blackmail. Murphy agreed with a suggestion from Rep. Ed Zschau (R. Cal.) that Congress might pass a resolution praising both Hussein and Israeli Premier Shimon Peres for their peace efforts.

At the same time, Murphy argued that Jordan needs the arms to protect itself from Syria. When several members of the subcommittee referred to the recent rapprochement between Jordan and Syria with an agreement for exchange of Ambassadors after a five-year break, Murphy noted a long series of Syrian threats to Jordan.

Lt. Gen. Philip Gast, director of the Defense Department's Security Assistance Agency, said that even after the delivery of weapons to Jordan, Israel will be in better military shape than Jordan. But he said Syria has modern Soviet-supplied military weapons while Jordan's air defense system is obsolete.

Warns Against Letting Opportunity Slip Away

As for the peace process itself, Murphy said that the "window of opportunity" is "fast slipping away." While he did not answer directly what the next step should be, he seemed hopeful saying that there had to be a series of steps to bring about direct negotiations. He said all sides have to move further in their positions.

However, the U.S. appears to be moving to have a closer contact in the process with the announcement by the State Department that Wat Cluverius, the U.S. Consul General in Jerusalem, has been named senior advisor to Murphy for the peace process.

Cluverius, who had been a Deputy Secretary in the Near East Bureau dealing with the Mideast peace process before going to Jerusalem in 1983, will maintain offices in Israel, Jordan and Egypt. Replacing Cluverius in Jerusalem will be Morris Draper, who was deputy to former Middle East special envoy Philip Habib.

MOVE TO COMBAT FARM BELT ANTI-SEMITISM

NEW YORK, Oct. 30 (JTA) -- Jewish officials from several Midwestern states will attempt to expand contacts with mainstream Christian clergymen and rural area farm organizations in an effort

to combat a recent rise in the activities of racist and anti-Semitic groups in the nation's farm belt. Jewish leaders from the region, concerned by the growing rise in the activities of these groups, including the Christian Identity movement, also held what was described as a confidential meeting to "assess extremism and anti-Semitism in farm and rural areas in the Middle West," according to David Goldstein, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Bureau of Greater Kansas City.

Goldstein told the Kansas City Jewish Chronicle, in an article published October 18, that he hoped mainstream Christian clergymen would "be able to create conditions in their communities that will make anti-Semitism unpopular." He said that the Christian Identity movement "is also a threat to mainstream Christian groups."

According to Goldstein, "What they (Christian Identity members) have is an ideology of anti-Semitism and a religion based on anti-Semitism. They combine and become a powerful message." He told Chronicle staff writer Michael Deverej that a major problem facing Jewish leaders is that Jews are generally an urban based group and many rural residents have never even met a Jew.

For example, wrote Deverej, out of some 18,000 residents of Dodge City, Kansas, there are only a few Jewish individuals and no Jewish families. Dodge City, it was recalled, is the home of radio station KTTL-FM, which was the center of a prolonged controversy following the broadcast of racist and anti-Semitic programs which urged listeners to kill Jews and other minorities.

The Common Ideological Tie

A recently released report prepared by Leonard Zeskind, research director of the Center for Democratic Renewal, outlines the far-right fringe groups. Zeskind found that the Identity movement serves as the common ideological tie between the various hate groups.

"Identity believes that the Jews were literally Children of Satan, the people of color were 'pre-Adamic,' and that white Christian Aryans were the 'lost sheep of the House of Israel' and that America was the Biblical Promised Land. Identity members began to collect weapons and ammunition in expectation that the Biblical 'End Times' are near," Zeskind wrote in the 10-page "Background Report on Racist and Anti-Semitic Organizational Intervention in the Farm Protest Movement."

Zeskind concludes that "in a number of geographical areas they have developed a real 'mass' following. Two or three dozen members in a rural county amount to a significant force."

The private meeting of the 27 Jewish leaders included representatives of Nebraska, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Oklahoma and New York. They included representatives of the Jewish Community Relations bureaus, representatives of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress, and the American Jewish Committee, and members of various Midwestern Jewish Federations.

* * *

SAO PAULO (JTA) -- The first Pan-American conference to evaluate the impact on Catholic Jewish relations in the Western Hemisphere of Vatican Council II's declaration on the Jews and commemorate its 20th anniversary will be held November 3-5 at the Hebraic Center here.

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR RELEASE AFTER 8 P.M.
TUESDAY, DEC. 10, 1985

NEW YORK, Dec. 10... A prominent American Jewish leader who recently returned from a two-week fact finding mission in South Africa asserted tonight that while the dismantling of apartheid was "a necessary requisite toward beginning the establishment of a just society in South Africa," the essential discussion now should be over "the contours and dimensions of the future political life in that unhappy nation."

Theodore Ellenoff, chairman of the American Jewish Committee's Board of Governors, spoke at a meeting jointly sponsored by AJC's New York Chapter and Central Synagogue in the synagogue's community house, at 123 East 55th St., New York City.

He reported on his recent trip to South Africa, together with Howard I. Friedman, AJC's President; Leo Nevas, chairman of its International Relations Committee, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of its International Relations Department.

On the same platform with Mr. Ellenoff, a noted New York attorney, was Rabbi Norman T. Mendel, of Temple Emanuel, Johannesburg, an American who has lived in South Africa since 1978.

"Any serious recreation of a truly democratic state in South Africa," Mr. Ellenoff said, "hovers between the poles of transfer of power and the sharing of power."

He pointed out that radical elements on the right and the left choose to shape South Africa's future with the vision of a society that would exclude either blacks or whites from participation in a government. He added:

-more-

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees; David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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CSAE 1707

"The unhappy population in the middle, who would seek to protect minority rights while providing an increase in meaningful participation to the black majority, is finding the way more and more difficult. The violence flaring in the black townships undoubtedly is spreading to the white urban centers, further undercutting the ability of those in the middle to explore broad constitutional political reforms. Rationality has little place in a pre-revolutionary society such as South Africa is today."

Mr. Ellenoff added that "only time will tell" whether divestment, disinvestment, or sanctions are policies that will assist the middle into reconciling "the apparent unbridgeable gulf between radicals on both sides."

"A good case can be made that these policies may very well undercut such efforts," he concluded.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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South Africa in Crisis

Evolution or Revolution?

AMERICAN JEWISH
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A SPECIAL EVENTS FORUM

Cosponsored by the
NEW YORK CHAPTER
of
The American Jewish Committee
and
CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE

on
Tuesday, December 10, 1985 — 7:45 PM
to be held at

Central Synagogue, Community House
123 East 55 Street, New York City



The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

The New York Chapter of AJC and Central Synagogue
Cordially invite you to A Special Events Forum
Commemorating New York Chapter's 40th Year
Tuesday, December 10, 1985 — 7:45 PM at Central Synagogue

South Africa in Crisis

Evolution or Revolution?

*Will the government of South Africa abolish apartheid?
Is the Jewish community in jeopardy?
Is disinvestment an answer?*

These and many more questions will be addressed by our two distinguished speakers. The issues are complex and events may have a profound effect on South African Jewry.

Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman
Board of Governors
The American Jewish Committee

[Mr. Ellenoff, as a member of AJC's fact-finding mission to South Africa in October 1984, conferred with government officials, leaders of the Jewish, black and Asian communities and others. The mission not only sought facts but guidance from South African Jewry.]

Rabbi Norman T. Mendel
Temple Emanuel
Johannesburg, So. Africa

[Rabbi Mendel, an American, has lived in South Africa since 1978 and is a firsthand observer of the government's policy on apartheid and efforts challenging that policy.]

**Mark your calendar now and make your reservations promptly.
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I (We) will be attending the Special Events Forum on December 10, 1985, at 7:45PM to be held at Central Synagogue.

Name _____

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Telephone: _____ Please reserve _____ places. (how many)

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For information please call Sadye Olivieri at 751-4000, Ext. 407

DEC 16 1985

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Charles W. Muller, *Secretary and Treasurer*

December 12, 1985

Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Dr. Tanenbaum:

Further to our discussions about The Urban Foundation, I thought you and your colleagues might be interested in the enclosed report on the educational scene in South Africa. It was prepared by Robin Lee, Managing Director, and Jane Hofmeyr, Education Consultant. The latter pages list the needs and opportunities. I hope you will find it useful.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,


Charles W. Muller



The Urban Foundation is a non-profit organization dedicated to improving conditions of life in urban communities in South Africa

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THE ROLE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

AN URBAN FOUNDATION POSITION PAPER

Introduction

Education in South Africa is in a state of crisis. The system is rejected by the majority of its users - black youth. The fundamental issues are the separateness and inferiority of black education. The black system is in a state of "creeping disintegration": over the past year nearly a quarter of a million black pupils were boycotting classes at any one time and currently half a million black pupils are not in school. "Black schooling is failing to meet both the needs and the aspirations of the people it is supposed to serve, and the needs - social, political and economic - of South Africa as a whole" (Hartshorne, 1985/6, p 20).

The crisis in black education reflects and contributes to the instability and turmoil in the political, social and economic structures of South Africa. It thus has serious consequences in South Africa, but its impact also is felt in a much wider, international context. The condition of the nation's blacks has become a major concern and focus of study in both the media and the corridors of power around the world. There is keen interest among pressure groups in the United States and Europe in the forces and actors capable of dismantling apartheid and effecting

fundamental change in South Africa. In this regard the role of the private business sector has caught their attention.

Against this backdrop of a worsening crisis in black education, instability in South Africa, and international pressures for change, this paper proposes to look at the role of the private sector in education in South Africa.

Recently, it has been estimated by Professor J P de Lange that the private sector in South Africa spends between R3 billion and R4 billion per annum on non-formal education. Most of this sum is spent on the training of employees, but a significant proportion is expended on a variety of other formal and non-formal educational programmes within and outside companies. Given expenditure of this level, it is essential to ask whether the private sector is obtaining the right kind of value and impact. In turn this implies defining what the private sector ought to be aiming to achieve in the field of education and the wider society. It also will be necessary to consider the areas in which it should be involved and the nature of this involvement.

What is an Appropriate Role for the Private Sector in Education?

In order to determine an appropriate role for the private sector in education, it is necessary first to examine a number of relevant issues: namely, public and private sector roles in

education; government policy towards the role of the private sector in education, the interests of the private sector in education; and the social responsibility of business.

Private and Public Sector Roles

Broadly speaking the term "private sector" includes all those individuals and groups outside the public sector but the focus of the paper is on the private business sector.

In most modernising countries, typically the public sector provides formal education - the schooling system and some tertiary education - whereas the private sector is concerned more with the provision of non-formal and informal educational opportunities. This conventional model has been generally true of South African education.

It is, of course, theoretically possible that all education in a country could be private. This is strongly advocated by free market proponents such as Milton Friedman. Even in South Africa, some educationists have argued for the privatisation of all education, and the introduction of a voucher system, whereby the state would provide each student with a voucher for education which he could cash in at the institution of his choice. While this system may have many advantages as claimed by its proponents, its application in an unequal society would lead to even greater inequalities; such a system makes the assumption

that the voucher recipients operate from a commonly agreed and more or less equal base, and this does not hold true in South Africa. The privatisation of all education is also politically unlikely in South Africa in the short or even longer-term.

In South Africa, therefore, the traditional model of the state as the main provider of formal education is likely to continue in the foreseeable future. However, given the present realities of the South African situation, the roles of the public and private sectors cannot be easily described and dismissed in terms of the conventional model.

Government Policy Towards the Role of the Private Sector in Education

An important factor which has a bearing on the future role of the private sector in education is government policy. Since the late 1970's government has accorded the private sector a new role in education. Whereas previously government discouraged private sector initiative in education and attempted to keep all education under its own control, in recent years it has allowed the private sector to become involved in non-formal education, in particular. The de Lange Report supported this trend. It regarded several educational functions as properly belonging to the private sector, and it proposed that the private sector play a greater role in the financing of education. Three of the 11 de Lange Principles refer specifically to the private sector.

Government's current attitude to the role of the private sector in education has emerged in the White Paper and recent legislation. These indicate that government's attitude at present seems cooler towards private sector involvement in education than that advocated by the de Lange Report. Government appears to be protecting the formal academic curriculum from inroads by the private sector. Nevertheless, the government still recognises the right of the private sector, as the largest employer and as a financial contributor to the system, to have a say in education. Thus it has given the private sector representation in the education management structure. By means of legislation passed in 1984 the Government established a new ministry of national education and a number of co-ordinating advisory bodies to handle "general education affairs." Through some of these co-ordinating advisory bodies like the South African Council of Education (SACE), its specialist sub-committees and the Universities and Technikons Advisory Council (UTAC), new channels have been created for private sector representation and communication with Government.

The Private Sector's Interests in Education

The private sector's immediate interest in the education system is for its manpower needs, and it is here that the education system poses a serious problem for the private sector. From about 1974 onwards the private sector has highlighted two issues: the failure of the black education systems to provide an

effective educational base for further education and training; and the overall need to create vastly increased opportunities and facilities for technical and vocational education. These shortcomings in the education system inhibit the supply of skilled manpower essential for economic growth.

International development studies and experience would argue that the private sector's interest in the education system is necessary. Education and employment are two sides of the same coin; they cannot be tackled as separate issues. Manpower planning can be effective only if it is integrated with a supporting education system; and selection and the creation of employment opportunities in the private sector impact education (Cubitt, Dock, Robson, 1980).

As its manpower problems have not yet been overcome and the economy is in a recession, the shortcomings of South African education continue to be a matter of very real concern to the private sector. However, beyond these immediate interests, lies the private sector's more fundamental interest in equal education for social stability. The evidence shows quite clearly that the South African system is failing to provide equal education for all its people. The main finding of the recent HSRC report on South African society reveals that South Africa's education system contributes to the deep segmentation of society and is in need of drastic changes before it can provide equal opportunities for all groups (The Star, 2/7/85, p 13). In recent years, many

private sector spokesmen have underlined the link between equal education and social stability: "shortcomings in the education available to the Black community strain South Africa's social fabric more than any other factor, retarding economic development, aggravating unemployment and making fertile ground for social and political unrest" (Optima, 1982). The private sector has to be concerned about this issue for the sake of its long-term future in the country.

The short- and long-term interests of the private sector in education are also intimately connected with the issue of the social responsibility of business and it is necessary to place the private sector's activities in education in that context for a fuller understanding of its role.

The Social Responsibility of Business in South Africa

Increasingly this topic has received attention with many seminars and journal articles devoted to the subject during the last few years. Here are some recent views of businessmen on the topic:

Mr K P O'Malley of Mobil Oil Southern Africa believes that social responsibility "revolves around business's reaction to the environment", and because the South African environment is so unique, this uniqueness needs to be reflected in the programmes pursued by the private sector in discharging its social responsibility. The private sector has a responsibility "to

influence the political economy of South Africa" (1985, pp 1-2).

Mr P Swartz of Superama, at a conference on Corporate Social Responsibility in Cape Town, maintained that the objective of social responsibility is not self-orientated, satisfying short-term needs, but that it has a greater and broader-based intent, namely:

"Corporate responsibility must take cognizance of the total requirements of workers, socially, economically and politically if our objective is to be a politically stable, economically sound and strategically strong South Africa. . . . Corporate social responsibility is not an own affair, affecting individual enterprises who seek only to promote productivity and profit, but a general one, affecting every aspect of our social and business lives, which in turn has a direct bearing on the existence of millions of South Africans and in the final result on the growth, development and stability of the country itself" (1985, p 5).

Professor J Leatt of the UCT Graduate School of Business at the same conference described corporate social responsibility as the "voluntary expenditure of resources to do something not required by law and without immediate economic benefits" (Argus, 1985, p 2). He also warned that if the problems of civil and political rights in South Africa were not solved, the country's economic structure would fail.

A number of important points are made by these spokesmen:

- they stress the uniqueness of the South African situation and therefore a unique role for the private sector in terms of its social responsibility in South Africa;
- instead of a limited definition of social responsibility, they argue for a wide definition that addresses national interest rather than narrow economic self-interest;
- they underline the importance of the fundamental social, economic and political change and the role of the private sector in helping to bring this about.

Given these kinds of arguments it seems that the conventional model of the private sector's role in education is an inadequate one in South Africa. The private sector's involvement in education here has to be seen as a special case, and this has certain important implications:

- firstly, the private sector must become involved in more than just non-formal and informal education. To meet its short- and long-term interests, the private sector will have to step into other areas of crucial educational and national importance in formal education, because they are areas of crisis or areas for which the State does not adequately provide.

- secondly, it is no longer adequate for the private sector to engage only in projects and deal only with the symptoms of educational problems. To date the focus of most corporate social responsibility in education has been project funding and activity which deals largely with symptoms. Projects in themselves constitute little more than "drops in an ocean of need" (Lee, 1985, p 2). Single projects have little hope of dealing with the root causes of the present crisis in education and, indeed, need to be grounded in an understanding of both causes and needs even to be really effective as projects. Project activity should be linked to carefully planned co-ordinated programmes to bring about positive changes in the institutions and structures of the education system and our society.

Black education has been rejected by its users. The mere allocation of private sector financial resources to help the government to do "more of the same" within the existing system will do nothing to change this; in fact, it will only serve to harden the anti-establishment mood that now prevails. The emphasis must be on fundamental change in education. Most blacks do not believe that the private sector has had much impact on the education system. They require evidence of sincere and determined action by the private sector to establish its "bona fides" and bring about fundamental change. As long as black education is separate and unequal it will never win acceptance by blacks. Thus

the private sector will have to lobby government to end the separation of black education and bring all education under the control of a single ministry, of the kind envisaged by the de Lange Report. It also should persuade government to announce a specific programme setting realistic goals for redressing inequalities with target dates for proposed achievement in order to give content to government's stated commitment to equal educational opportunities.

If the private sector only concerns itself with short-term remedial activities without an accompanying reform of the education system, it is in a sense condemned to pursue compensatory programmes in perpetuity. Hartshorne (1984/5, p 42) foresees that short-term remedial and compensatory programmes by the private sector will still be necessary, but it also will need to launch longer-term interventions designed to stimulate more rapid change in key areas within the system. Furthermore, he warns that "social responsibility can no longer be exercised simply by the funding of programmes: it must be exercised in influencing the directions of the fundamental reform of the education system and of the society in which the system operates."

- thirdly, it will not be enough for the private sector to address only education problems in isolation from the broader socio-political context. If the socio-political situation is not improved in the country, then only limited

action in education will be possible and there will be no effective gains for blacks even if there is an improvement in the quality of their education. "Only fundamental political reform is going to bring peace to the classrooms of this country" (Financial Mail, 1985, p 43).

The private sector will have to participate in reform in two main spheres:

- the political accommodation of the black community and removal of institutional discrimination
- the changes required to meet South Africa's needs as a developing country, faced by the challenges of rapid urbanisation, enormous shortfalls in education and training and an existing structural inability to provide employment for millions of its people.

Thus, the private sector must exert its influence on government in an active, lobbying role in order to bring about fundamental change in education and the wider society.

Increasingly, this line of argument is put forward by a variety of organisations and leaders. The South African Institute of Race Relations and the United States-South African Leader Exchange Programme believe that the private sector should act as strong negotiators for reform. Business needs to make a

deliberate effort to be on the side of fundamental political change. The recent Fourth Amplification of the Sullivan Principles encourages signatories to press the South African government to end the laws and regulations which govern apartheid. Many prominent black and white educationists also advocate a lobbying role for business.

Within The Urban Foundation, this view has produced a strong shift in general Urban Foundation policy towards structural reform. By structural reform we mean organised attempts to bring about identified changes in the fundamental structures in our society, so removing the causes of low quality of life and effecting a permanent wide-ranging improvement. Projects accordingly are conceived as they have a bearing on such improvement and are planned to deal with causes and structures. In education this means that all our programmes must influence the direction of national education policy and the makers of that policy. Government has provided the private sector with new channels for communication about education, and the private sector must use these and other contacts to influence policy.

It seems that increasingly the private sector accepts the need to influence policy. There has been a discernible swing in private sector opinion towards acceptance and implementation of a more active lobbying role. In recent months organised industry and commerce have made many calls for reform and launched reform initiatives.

In What Areas of Education Should the Private Sector be Involved?

In order for the private sector to facilitate fundamental reform in education it will have to decide on the areas in which it should become involved. Fortunately, there is considerable and growing consensus among educationists, researchers, community spokesmen, business leaders and public officials on a number of key areas for priority action and reform in formal and non-formal education.

A. Formal Education

In the formal education system, key points to aim at in bringing about change are:

In-service education and training (INSET) of black teachers.

Because of enormous problems relating to the poor morale, supply and qualifications of black teachers, this area has been declared the priority in all quarters. It is seen as crucial to equal quality education. INSET should include the training of teacher educators and lecturers at black teacher training colleges and universities.

Teacher associations. They are becoming important actors in the education scene and, if they were strengthened as institutions (with, say, training in management,

organizational and negotiating skills), they would exert a powerful influence for change and act as an important channel for black educational needs.

National education policy. Through the establishment of the general education affairs function the government has opened up a way for change from the top. The National Education Ministry and the co-ordinating advisory bodies like SACE and UTAC offer opportunities for input and influence on national policy-making.

Training in management skills. There is a general lack of management skills in all sectors of education. Training in management and organizational skills would greatly enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of agencies, institutions and programmes.

Evaluation and accreditation. Recent research and experience over the last two decades has revealed serious problems in these areas. Intervention in the evaluation and accreditation systems would have a powerful ripple-effect because of the influence of these systems on the whole school curriculum and selection and training in non-formal education. There also is limited expertise on educational evaluation and accreditation in South Africa.

Technical and vocational education. This must be greatly

expanded to correct the overly academic bias of South African education which does not equip school-leavers with the technical skills increasingly needed for jobs in the modern industrial economy.

The black primary school. To halt the vicious cycle of poor teaching resulting in a huge drop-out rate, too few black matriculants, too few quality teacher trainees and a shortage of well-qualified teachers, there is a need for many programmes aimed at regeneration of black primary schools.

Tertiary education for blacks. Bursaries and scholarships are needed to enable blacks who are completing school in rapidly increasing numbers to take advantage of all the tertiary educational opportunities opening up for them.

Bridging education and academic support programmes for blacks aim to overcome deficiencies in the black systems of education and enable blacks to make the transition from their disadvantaged secondary education into tertiary education institutions and the world of work.

B. Non-Formal Education.

In non-formal education, the crucial areas for action would include:

A national policy for non-formal education. Historical inadequacies in the education systems have created an enormous demand for non-formal education of all kinds but there is a complete absence of structures and systems for it. To meet the need for non-formal education the country must evolve a national strategy framework for non-formal education which involves government and the private sector in a partnership.

Language and literacy programmes aim to overcome black illiteracy and poor competence in English. After decades of mother-tongue or vernacular instruction under Bantu Education, blacks' competence in English, in particular, has dropped. As English is now the medium of instruction after Standard 2, poor command of English by pupils and teachers has profound negative implications for the whole learning process.

Compensatory adult basic education is essential because of the high illiteracy rate and lack of formal schooling among blacks.

Elementary skills training is needed to assist the vast numbers of poorly educated blacks to learn the skills needed for jobs in industry and commerce.

Short-term re-education and training programmes, and career

guidance are required for blacks who drop out of secondary school. Such programmes would enable them to acquire job skills to enter the economy or continue their education.

The training of non-formal educators. The shortage of teachers extends into the non-formal education sector, where currently there is a great shortage of adequately qualified trainers and where in the future there will be a growing demand for them to meet the need for basic education and skills training.

Training of black managers. There is a great shortage of managers in South Africa, and these training programmes would aim to assist blacks, in particular, to advance from skilled to supervisory and management positions.

Pre-schooling. The provision of pre-school education in South Africa is grossly inadequate with shortages of quantity and quality in almost every area. Vastly expanded pre-school opportunities for black children, in particular, are needed to overcome the effects of deprived backgrounds and lack of school readiness.

The key areas outlined above are areas of need in which positive change seems attainable and will have important multiplier effects in the education system. As the de Lange Report revealed, there are serious weaknesses in South African education

generally, but the focus of most of these priority areas is black education, the area of greatest crisis and need, demanding the most urgent and effective intervention.

On the basis of the accumulated research, expert and community opinion, and a major Urban Foundation research project in 1984, the Urban Foundation decided to concentrate on seven of the key areas during its 1984 strategic planning in education. These were:

General Education

1. Influence national education policy in formal education and contribute to formulation of policy in non-formal education.
2. Investigate and promote means of maximising private sector impact in education.
3. Influence national evaluation and accreditation procedures in formal and non-formal education.

Formal Education

4. Promote innovative approaches to INSET.
5. Improve management skills in schools and teacher associations.

Non-Formal Education

6. Initiate reforms in the structures for training of trainers in selected areas of non-formal education.
7. Identify and test a potentially replicable model of pre-school provision, promote its acceptance with the pre-school movement to produce a self-sustaining momentum.

However, owing to constraints on our capability to achieve all of these and the need to target our efforts, The Urban Foundation has further selected four of the seven as the areas for our four structural reform initiatives in education. They are those relating to the national education policy, the role of the private sector, teacher upgrading and pre-schooling. We are currently in the process of developing detailed plans of action for each of these areas.

How Should the Private Sector Be Involved in Education?

Once the areas for appropriate private sector action in education are decided, then it becomes necessary to consider the nature of that involvement.

It is possible to derive some guidelines for private sector initiatives in education from the views of educationists, private sector and community spokesmen, and from research and project experience inside and outside The Urban Foundation.

Research

Private sector involvement should be preceded by careful analysis and relevant research - the same sort of critical evaluation that would have to precede any business undertaking. The considerable pool of accumulated research and expertise in education can be used as a sound basis for additional information and validation.

Consultation

Here there are a number of relevant issues to consider:

- community consultation

An education initiative must arise from a perceived need of communities and involve community consultation and participation. "Too many programmes of social responsibility in South Africa are what management consider the best corporate image to portray and are conceived without any community consultation and therefore fail to address any real community problem" (O'Malley, 1985, p 3). Black participation in education must be sought and black views and needs openly accommodated in order for initiatives to be effective and achieve credibility in the community. To this end the private sector should persuade government to decentralise decision-making power in education and effect meaningful black participation at all levels in the education system.

There is a great need for good communication between all interested parties in education. A severe lack of communication frequently has been cited as a major cause of school boycotts and unrest. In the future, it is likely that the idea of consultation will have to include students and their organizations. Ideally speaking, an unbroken channel of communication should operate between the public

sector, the private sector and the parents, teachers and pupils.

- relations with the public sector

Relations with the public sector constitute another important aspect of consultation and a very sensitive issue for credibility amongst blacks and in the United States. The old issue of negotiation versus collaboration is relevant here. Too close a relationship would be problematical in the black and American contexts, but the co-operation of the education departments is needed for the success of projects, especially if the long-term aim is to embed the project in the system. As long as projects are thoroughly researched and fully negotiated with the authorities, some companies report little resistance from government departments.

Co-operation

Possibilities for co-ordinated action by the private sector to accelerate change and avoid duplicating, competitive activities should be investigated. Here there may well exist a tension between an individual company's business "enterprise" and its willingness to co-operate with other companies in the educational sphere. In practice this will probably be resolved by individual companies tackling some programmes independently and collaborating on others. But co-operation is vital. Expertise and resources must be pooled and all relevant agencies consulted.

Co-operation is also crucial for the private sector's lobbying role. Here the forging of reform alliances for each change required is very important in order to bring real and effective influence to bear in relation to the powerful forces upholding the "status quo".

Focussed Approach

For maximum impact private sector involvement should be targeted and concentrated on a few key areas; resources should not be spread too thin.

Experience has shown that it is essential to focus efforts on key targets. The old "ad hoc" approach of "anything is better than nothing" resulted in corporations and agencies becoming involved in a large number of diffuse, un-coordinated educational activities and charities without considering priorities or long-term impact. Yet another possible approach, the "utopian", sees the problems as so immense, serious and inter-linked that "nothing can change unless everything changes." Consequently, often nothing is done. By contrast, the more pragmatic, focussed approach would establish priority targets for change in the conviction that impacting on priorities in key areas will result in ripple effects throughout the education system. This approach would argue that if key problems are dealt with first, many other problems will be remedied naturally. For instance, reform that brings about meaningful black participation in education probably would ensure that blacks themselves will be able to attend to

many other problems affecting their education without the direct involvement of outside agencies.

Management

Successful initiatives require good management. Urban Foundation experience shows that the reform process can and must be managed. In order to achieve its objectives, a reform initiative requires careful planning and a structured, follow-through programme. In this way substantial progress can be made on an incremental basis.

Innovation

There is a great need in South African education for education programmes and activities to be genuinely innovative and creative in seeking new and effective ways of solving key education problems. For too long the South African remedy for educational problems has been seen as "more of the same" and this usually means more of the white models in education. However, increasingly the models in white education are seen to be flawed. Thus we need new models that will involve fundamental change in education in order to meet the country's developmental needs and its First and Third World challenges. International experience and educational technology could make a contribution here.

Replicability

Projects and programmes should also be designed and refined for their replicability and multiplier effect. They should contain

the elements of a model that could be repeated by others elsewhere so that in time the problems can be addressed on a scale large enough to make an impact. If they have an internal multiplier effect, programmes will ultimately benefit a far larger number than can be reached directly through the single programme itself. Teacher upgrading programmes are a good example; improving individual teacher quality will eventually benefit thousands of pupils taught by each teacher over a lifetime. This approach really means not simply giving a man a fish, nor even teaching him how to fish, but teaching him how to teach others to fish. Unfortunately, at present, most education innovations have not reached the critical mass to bring about reform system-wide, so the issue of replication on scale remains critical.

Evaluation

There is a great need for existing and new projects in South Africa to be evaluated, and a very limited expertise available to do so. All programmes and projects should have clearly stated objectives with built-in mechanisms for evaluation. Here the role of the private sector could extend to funding the development of evaluation expertise and viable models for evaluating programmes and projects.

Assertive Action

The private sector should adopt a more assertive active role in the reform process. In order to intervene effectively it will

have to concretise its vision of equal, effective education in a definite plan of action with a specific change agenda. To press for fundamental change the private sector must use the leverage of its economic power. Its stance should be more assertive with the persuasive power of its resources used conditionally as an incentive for change.

Flexible Funding Policy

The private sector should follow a more flexible funding policy than that suggested by the conventional three-year business model. For any education initiative or project to establish itself and make a significant impact, it will have to have multi-year funding and support - probably for at least five years. Unfortunately, there are few quick, neat answers to educational need and change.

There is a call from educational agencies for a longer-term investment in services and human resources rather than just projects and buildings. Some agencies need long-term backing in order to provide a crucial service until the State can be persuaded to fund it, and in order to retain their experienced staff who otherwise face insecurity of tenure.

There is also a strong common-sense argument against the private sector getting involved in infrastructural provision, although this is where much of its present effort is directed. In accordance with its stated commitment to equal quality education,

the state has begun to allocate a greater proportion of the budget to education. Its efforts in this direction are aimed primarily at physical facilities and salary parity for qualified teachers. Generally, therefore, it does not make sense for the private sector to duplicate the efforts of the State. Rather the private sector should exert its influence to persuade government to continue to make good its promise of equal educational facilities as soon as possible.

Furthermore, infrastructural improvement is likely to be perceived by blacks as "more of the same" and as cosmetic rather than structural change. The provision of buildings and equipment is important, but they have little immediate impact on the quality of education and they certainly are not seen as priorities in the eyes of black pupils when compared to teacher quality (Schlemmer, 1984).

Additional advice about private sector funding of education has been offered by a black organisation, Education Catalysts of South Africa (ECSA). Its members warn against free "hand-outs" and patronising generosity; instead they advocate helping blacks to help themselves, donations on a Rand for Rand basis, and loans instead of bursaries to black scholars. On the last point, a major survey undertaken by the World Bank would agree with them. Generally it seems that international experience in giving student loans has real advantages over bursaries (Woodhall 1985).

Multi-faceted Aid

Private sector aid to South African education should be conceived of as multi-faceted rather than just a "cheque-book exercise". It could consist of a combination of:

--money

--management and organizational expertise

Research indicates that there is a general lack of management skills in the formal and non-formal education sectors and in this area the private sector has very relevant expertise to contribute. Management expertise will allow the organizational development and institution-building of educational agencies and associations. In other words, the private sector may need to assist an agency with skills in management, accounting, training, recruitment, fund-raising and negotiation, and in this way strengthen the capacity of people to do things for themselves.

--technical expertise

--lobbying, facilitating and negotiating activities

These activities are essential in order to bring about fundamental change, but they also can fulfill a number of other functions. By acting as the driving force in the negotiation of a contract between the system and a project, the sponsor is able to lessen the pressures on an educational agency so that it can get on with its primary educational tasks within the security of a negotiated agreement with the department concerned.

Furthermore, in its negotiating role, a sponsor can explore the establishment of new, creative relationships between agencies and the system. For instance, there are indications that in future the state increasingly will be prepared to contract with the private sector for a service or product of a known quality. Sponsors should, therefore, consider adding to their repertoire, ways and means of persuading the education system to purchase innovation from outside the system itself. There are a number of ways in which this could be realized. For instance, sponsors could negotiate a three-way contract between the system, sponsor and project in which the system may well be persuaded to pay some of the costs of the project.

Alternatively, in an area of education requiring intervention and change, a private sector agency could design an innovation model and with the agreement of the education department concerned, mount a project to that model. A contract could be agreed with the department that the project would be evaluated after a given time period and if the outcome were positive, the department would fund the project in the future. The original agency would provide the service or product itself for the department or it would train others to administer the project on its behalf.

These kinds of contractual arrangements offer a means of reconciling the issues of departmental control and private sector innovation, and departmental co-operation and private sector independence. The Funda model of ownership by a Board of Directors with a strong community representation serves as another example.

Conclusion

There is a crucial and legitimate role for the private sector in education in South Africa. An analysis of its past involvement in education suggests that the private sector has not obtained adequate value and impact for its investment. However, in the future it is clear that it can and must play a more effective and appropriate role.

Priority areas can be defined in which the private sector can act positively in its own and the national interest to accelerate the process of educational reform. The options open to the private sector suggest that it can adopt an approach that is more focussed, innovative and assertive than merely producing "more of the same" for the education system. To achieve worthwhile goals, the private sector will have to act co-operatively, consult and negotiate with communities and education departments to avoid undertaking projects and programmes in "splendid isolation". The present crisis in black education, the turmoil in South Africa and international pressures demand that the private sector express its social responsibility by addressing national issues

to bring about fundamental changes in education and the society.

"The private sector is capable of playing a major role in reform and has a massive responsibility to take up this challenge. This is not to say that the private sector has been idle or irresponsible up to now: quite the reverse. But what is needed now is almost a quantum leap from conventional views of corporate social responsibility and patterns of expenditure associated with those to a definite, organised and visible role in bringing about rapid social and economic change" (Lee, 1985, p 1).

J M Hofmeyr

R H Lee

November 1985



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JOHANNESBURG - The "Kairos Document", [EPS 85.10.21] which its authors describe as a "theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa", and which calls for the church to take an active stand on the side of the oppressed in South Africa and against the oppressor, was released 25 September.

Describing "kairos" (one Greek word for "time") as "the moment of truth", the document offers critiques of what it calls South African "state" and "church" theology. Proposing to go towards a "prophetic" theology, the document says that "throughout the Bible, God appears as the liberator of the oppressed. He is not neutral. He does not attempt to reconcile Moses and Pharaoh, to reconcile the Hebrew slaves with their Egyptian oppressors, or to reconcile the Jewish people with any of their later oppressors. Oppression is sin and it cannot be compromised with; it must be done away with."

Under the heading, "a message of hope", the theologians say: "We believe that God is at work in our world turning hopeless and evil situations to good so that his 'kingdom may come' and his 'will may be done on earth as it is in heaven'. We believe that goodness and justice and love will triumph in the end...One day 'all tears will be wiped away' and 'the lamb will lie down with the lion'."

The document is signed by 151 theologians and church leaders, including members of Reformed, Methodist, Anglican, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic denominations. Signatories include C.F. Beyers Naudé, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

In conclusion, the signatories say "there is nothing final about this document. Our hope is that it will stimulate discussion; debate, reflection and prayer, but, above all, that it will lead to action. We invite all committed Christians to take this matter further, to do more research, to develop the themes we have presented here or to criticise them and to return to the Bible, as we have tried to do, with the question raised by the crisis of our times."

Citing the traditional Latin definition of a tyrant as "hostis boni communis" ("an enemy of the common good"), the document argues that "apartheid is a system whereby a minority regime elected by one small section of the population is given an explicit mandate to govern in the interests of and for the benefit of the white community. Such a mandate or policy is by definition hostile to the common good of all the people. ... Any reforms or adjustment it might make would have to be in the interests of those who elected it."

The theologians say that the description of God in the preamble to the South African constitution is "blasphemous", because "this god is an idol ... as mischievous, sinister, and evil as any of the idols that the prophets of Israel had to contend with. Here we have a god who is historically on the side of the white settlers, who dispossesses black people of their land, and who gives the major part of the land to his 'chosen people'."

Noting the "ineffectiveness of years and years of Christian 'moralising' about the need for love" and the dangers of uncritical and indiscriminate application of "absolute principles like reconciliation, negotiation, non-violence and peaceful solutions", the document says "there is no way of bypassing politics and political strategies. ... A truly biblical spirituality would penetrate into every aspect of human existence and would exclude nothing from God's redemptive will". - EPS

CAPE TOWN - Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who was released from prison (20 September, EPS 85.09.67), but whose liberties are restricted pending a trial on sedition charges next month, promised (22 September) to continue the struggle against white-minority rule in South Africa.

Preaching to his congregation, Boesak said: "I have not given up my conviction that our non-violent struggle for justice in this country is God's will. I will continue-as long-as there is breath in my body." He also repeated his commitment to non-violence: "Violence will destroy our soul even as their violence has destroyed their soul. This we must know. While evil is alive, the people of God are called to battle."

C.F. Beyers Naudé, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said during a visit to Geneva late last month that he found Boesak "emotionally and spiritually very strong and very committed" when he spoke to him on the telephone.

Naudé said the South African government seemed to be working to immobilise the United Democratic Front, a large anti-apartheid coalition which Boesak helped found. He said Boesak might be tried for his stands supporting disinvestment and school and consumer boycotts, adding that Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, Naudé himself, and other church leaders might also face such charges.

Despite government measures against it, he said, the UDF continues to grow in "emotional and psychological support". He added a "friendly warning" against accepting as legitimate, black leaders the government is trying "desperately" to encourage as an alternative.

"Apartheid cannot be reformed", Naudé said. "It has to be removed once and for all." The granting of a common citizenship and the scrapping of pass laws were a "first and important step" in reversing apartheid, but the legal pillars of the system like race classification laws must be removed, he said. As long as that basic structure remains, he said, the white minority will try to preserve white political and economic supremacy.

Asked about government statements that blacks suffer most from international economic boycotts, Naudé quoted surveys conducted by the London Sunday Times and the Institute for Black Research, which he said had found 77 and 73 per cent respectively of the country's blacks in favour of boycotts.

The South African church has a "tremendous responsibility", he said, if it is serious about justice and reconciliation. He noted that the SACC had FRG, UK, and US church delegations to visit and assess the situation. The first came at the end of last month, and the group from the US was expected soon.

In a report from Johannesburg (2 October), Reuter news agency said "riots sweeping South Africa are pushing churches to step up anti-apartheid protests, and church sources say even the more conservative of worshippers are beginning to take a stand", including even some congregations of the white Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) - "which once found theological justifications for apartheid - have begun praying for forgiveness."

An ecumenical church group from 25 denominations supported a call for a work stayaway (9 October) to pray for reconciliation. - EPS

House Bill 2001

Sponsored by Representatives CARTER, BAUMAN, BURTON, CEASE, EACHUS, FAWBUSH, GOLD, J. HILL, L. HILL, HOOLEY, HOSTICKA, MASON, McCracken, WHITTY, Senators HENDRIKSEN, McCOY, WYERS, FADELEY (at the request of Oregon Rainbow Organizing Committee; Portlanders Organized for South Africa's Freedom; Black Student Union of the University of Oregon; Student Bar Association, Black and Asian Law Student Association, Associated Students of the University of Oregon; Graduate Teaching Fellows Federation of the University of Oregon (Local 3544 of the AFL-CIO); Oregon Assembly for Black Affairs)

SUMMARY

The following summary is not prepared by the sponsors of the measure and is not a part of the body thereof subject to consideration by the Legislative Assembly. It is an editor's brief statement of the essential features of the measure as introduced.

Defines excluded countries as those practicing apartheid.

Prohibits new investment of Public Employees' Retirement Fund, Industrial Accident Fund and short term funds in firms doing business in excluded countries. Prohibits state deposits in banks making new loans to such countries. Directs prudent divestment of present investments in excluded firms within two years. Prohibits public contract with persons who trade with or invest in excluded countries. Prohibits expenditure of public funds for travel in excluded countries.

Declares emergency, effective on passage.

A BILL FOR AN ACT

1
2 Relating to state investments; and declaring an emergency.

3 Be It Enacted by the People of the State of Oregon:

4 SECTION 1. (1) The Legislative Assembly condemns the apartheid policies of the Republic of South Africa
5 and of Namibia.

6 (2) The Legislative Assembly finds that apartheid is a system of legalized racial segregation and economic
7 and political exploitation of 18 million black South Africans and Namibians that:

8 (a) Denies the right to vote to black citizens.

9 (b) Forces families to separate when a parent obtains work in a white area.

10 (c) Forces all black citizens 16 years of age or older to carry a passport that indicates the district to which the
11 citizen is confined.

12 (d) Allocates 87 percent of the land to whites that make up 16 percent of the population, but only 13 percent
13 to black citizens who make up 72 percent of the population.

14 (e) Forces removal of over two million black citizens to so-called "homelands" where the infant mortality
15 rate stands at 240 per 1,000 in comparison to 12 per 1,000 for the balance of the population.

16 (f) Invests over 10 times per pupil in white children's education as in black children's.

17 (g) Does not allow black workers to strike or engage in collective bargaining.

18 (3) The Legislative Assembly further finds:

19 (a) The law of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and in Namibia enforces a social, political and
20 economic structure which institutionalizes inequality solely based on race.

21 (b) The apartheid system is absolutely abhorrent to the fundamental principles of human rights and
22 standards of justice and individual freedom.

23 SECTION 2. As used in this section:

NOTE: Matter in bold face in an amended section is new; matter *[italic and bracketed]* is existing law to be omitted.

1 (1) "Apartheid" means any of the following acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining
 2 domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing
 3 them:

4 (a) Denial to a member or members of a racial group or groups of the right to life and liberty of person:

5 (A) By murder of members of a racial group or groups;

6 (B) By the infliction upon the members of a racial group or groups of serious bodily or mental harm by the
 7 infringement of their freedom or dignity, or by subjecting them to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading
 8 treatment or punishment; or

9 (C) By arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment of the members of a racial group or groups;

10 (b) Deliberate imposition on a racial group or groups of living conditions calculated to cause its or their
 11 physical destruction in whole or in part;

12 (c) Any legislative measures and other measures calculated to prevent a racial group or groups from
 13 participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country and the deliberate creation of
 14 conditions preventing the full development of such a group or groups, in particular by denying to members of a
 15 racial group or groups basic human rights and freedoms, including the right to work, the right to form recognized
 16 trade unions, the right to education, the right to leave and to return to their country, the right to a nationality, the
 17 right to freedom of movement and residence, the right to freedom of opinion and expression and the right to
 18 freedom of peaceful assembly and association;

19 (d) Any measures, including legislative measures, designed to divide the population along racial lines by the
 20 creation of separate reserves and ghettos for the members of a racial group or groups, the prohibition of mixed
 21 marriages among members of various racial groups, the expropriation of landed property belonging to a racial
 22 group or groups or to members thereof;

23 (e) Exploitation of the labor of the members of a racial group or groups in particular by submitting them to
 24 forced labor; and

25 (f) Persecution of organizations and persons by depriving them of fundamental rights and freedoms because
 26 they oppose apartheid.

27 (2) "Excluded bank" means any depository bank or depository, as defined in ORS 295.005, which makes or
 28 participates in making any loan to a government, governmental agency or quasi-public agency of any excluded
 29 country after the effective date of this 1985 Act, as determined by the procedure described in this 1985 Act.

30 (3) "Excluded country" means any nation or international territory ruled by the system of apartheid.

31 (4) "Excluded firm" means any business organization which conducts business in any excluded country, as
 32 determined by the procedure described in this 1985 Act.

33 (5) "Subject investment funds" means:

34 (a) Public Employees' Retirement Fund described in ORS 237.271;

35 (b) Industrial Accident Fund described in ORS 656.632;

36 (c) The Common School Fund;

37 (d) The Oregon War Veterans' Fund; or

38 (e) Funds in the custody of the State Treasurer that are not required to meet current demands.

39 SECTION 3. (1) The State Treasurer shall prepare and report to the public annually a list of excluded
 40 countries, excluded banks and excluded firms. Banks or firms proposed to be listed as excluded shall be so
 41 notified in writing and shall be given a copy of this 1985 Act. Sixty days after the mailing of such notice, such

1 banks or firms shall become excluded banks or firms unless the State Treasurer has received from the bank or
2 firm an affidavit as follows:

3 (a) In the case of a bank, that the bank has not made or participated in the making of any loan to a
4 government, governmental agency or quasi-public agency of any excluded country after the effective date of this
5 1985 Act.

6 (b) In the case of a firm, that the firm, taken together with its subsidiaries, parents and affiliates, has no
7 employes in any excluded country, produces no earnings from operations in any excluded country and invests no
8 funds in any form in any excluded country.

9 (2) Subject investment funds in the custody of the State Treasurer shall not be deposited in any excluded
10 bank.

11 (3) Subject investment funds shall not be invested in any excluded firm unless the State Treasurer personally
12 or by authorized designee certifies in each instance that failure to make the investment in the excluded firm
13 would cause specifically identified immediate financial loss to the subject investment fund.

14 (4) Any investment of a subject investment fund held in an excluded firm on the effective date of this 1985
15 Act shall be prudently divested within two years unless the State Treasurer personally or by authorized designee
16 certifies in each instance that failure to retain the investment in the excluded firm would cause specifically
17 identified immediate financial loss to the subject investment fund.

18 (5) The State Treasurer shall report all investments in excluded firms to the public annually.

19 **SECTION 4.** Sections 2 and 3 of this Act are added to and made a part of ORS chapter 293.

20 **SECTION 5.** Section 6 of this Act is added to and made a part of ORS 279.011 to 279.061.

21 **SECTION 6.** No public contracting agency shall enter into any public contract, including a personal service
22 contract, with any person who trades with or invests in an excluded country, as defined in section 2 of this 1985
23 Act.

24 **SECTION 7.** No public funds of the state or any political subdivision shall be expended on travel expenses
25 of any public officer or employe to an excluded country, as defined in section 2 of this Act.

26 **SECTION 8.** This Act being necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health and safety,
27 an emergency is declared to exist, and this Act takes effect on its passage.