



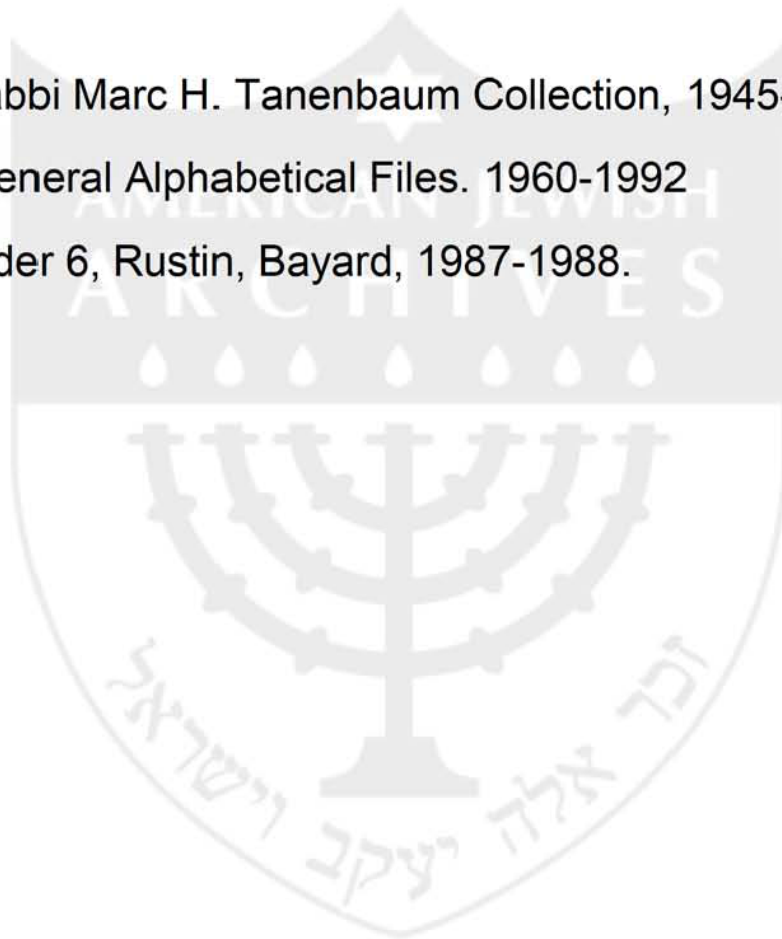
THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE  
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series E: General Alphabetical Files. 1960-1992

Box 90, Folder 6, Rustin, Bayard, 1987-1988.





AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

🕯️ **BAYARD RUSTIN**

In Memoriam

March 17, 1912 – August 24, 1987

Community Church  
40 East 35th Street  
New York City

Thursday, October 1, 1987

2:00 P.M.

from Bayard Rustin...

*"Through our arduous struggle for civil, political and economic rights in America, we have learned a fundamental lesson: the battle against human misery is indivisible. Our continuing struggle for economic and political freedom is inextricably linked to the struggle of Indochinese refugees who also seek freedom. If our government lacks compassion for these dispossessed human beings, it is difficult to believe that the same government can have much compassion for America's black minority, or for America's poor."*

*The New York Times, March 19, 1978*

*"Continuing black economic progress and equal opportunity are not contingent on the government providing 'special treatment' to blacks. Any preferential approach postulated along racial, ethnic, religious, or sexual lines will only disrupt a multicultural society and lead to a backlash. However, special treatment can be provided to those who have been exploited or denied opportunities if solutions are predicated along class lines, precisely because all religious, ethnic, and racial groups have a depressed class who would benefit."*

*"The King To Come"*

*The New Republic, March 9, 1987*

*"... coalitions are inescapable, however tentative they may be... The issue is which coalition to join and how to make it responsive to your program. Necessarily there will be compromise. But the difference between expediency and morality in politics is the difference between selling out a principle and making smaller concessions to win larger ones. The leader who shrinks from this task reveals not his purity but his lack of political sense."*

*"From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement"*  
*Commentary, February 1965*

*"We need to protest the notion that our integration into American life, so long delayed, must now proceed in an atmosphere of competitive scarcity instead of in the security of abundance which technology makes possible."*

*"From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement"*  
*Commentary, February 1965*

*"Non-violence as a method has within it the demand for terrible sacrifice and long suffering, but, as Gandhi has said, 'freedom does not drop from the sky.' One has to struggle and be willing to die for it."*

*"The Negro and Non-Violence"*  
*Fellowship, October 1942*

*"Americans must understand that if our interest is simply to abolish apartheid, then virtually any tactic and strategy will do, including the infamous 'necklace.' But if our goal is democracy and free association for all, then a strategy must be developed that is consistent with democratic ideals and practices. And it must be anchored on the supposition that, while the United States can help, the final outcome of the struggle is in the hands of South Africans of all races."*

*"My Turn," Newsweek, October 20, 1986*

## PROGRAM

Prelude	<b>Alberto Bird</b> <i>Musical Director</i> <i>The Community Church of New York</i>
Invocation	<b>Rev. Donald S. Harrington</b> <i>Minister Emeritus</i> <i>The Community Church of New York</i>
Introduction	<b>Norman Hill</b> <i>President</i> <i>A. Philip Randolph Institute</i>
Remarks	<b>Vernon Jordan</b> <i>Former President</i> <i>National Urban League</i>
Remarks	<b>Lane Kirkland</b> <i>President</i> <i>AFL-CIO</i>
Musical Selection	<b>Carr-Hill Singers</b> <i>Dr. S. Carroll Buchanan, Director</i>
Remarks	<b>Phiroshaw Camay</b> <i>Secretary-Treasurer</i> <i>National Council of Trade Unions of</i> <i>South Africa</i>
Remarks	<b>Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum</b> <i>Director of International Relations</i> <i>American Jewish Committee</i>
Remarks	<b>Charles Bloomstein</b> <i>Secretary</i> <i>A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund</i>
Musical Selection	<b>SPIRITUAL RECORDED IN 1972</b> <b>BY BAYARD RUSTIN</b>
Remarks	<b>Liv Ullmann</b> <i>Vice President</i> <i>International Rescue Committee</i>
Remarks	<b>Hon. John Lewis</b> <i>Member, U.S. House of Representatives</i>
Remarks	<b>DeWitt Luff</b> <i>Member of the Rustin family</i>
Musical Selection	<b>Carr-Hill Singers</b>
Benediction	<b>Rev. Thomas Kilgore</b> <i>Pastor Emeritus</i> <i>Second Baptist Church</i> <i>Los Angeles, California</i>
Musical Selection	<b>SPIRITUAL RECORDED IN 1972</b> <b>BY BAYARD RUSTIN</b>
Recessional	<b>Alberto Bird</b>

THE  
MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
FOR  
JOBS AND FREEDOM

## LINCOLN MEMORIAL PLEDGE

"Standing before the Lincoln Memorial on the 28th of August, in the centennial year of emancipation, I affirm my complete personal commitment for the struggle for jobs and freedom for all Americans.

"To fulfill this commitment, I pledge that I will not relax until victory is won.

"I pledge that I will join and support all actions undertaken in good faith and in accord with time-honored democratic traditions of nonviolent protest or peaceful assembly and petition, and of redress through the courts and the legislative process.

"I pledge to carry back the message of the march to my friends and neighbors back home and to arouse them to an equal commitment and an equal effort. I will march and I will write letters. I will demonstrate and I will vote. I will work and make sure that my voice and those of my brothers ring clear and determined from every corner of our land.

"I will pledge my heart and my mind and my body, unequivocally and without regard to personal sacrifice to the achievement of social peace through social justice."

August 28, 1963

**Officers**

Bayard Rustin  
President

Norman Hill  
Executive Director

Mrs. Arthur C. Logan  
Treasurer

Charles Bloomstein  
Secretary

# A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

October 5, 1987

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
48 E. 89th Street - 18F  
New York, N.Y. 10028

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

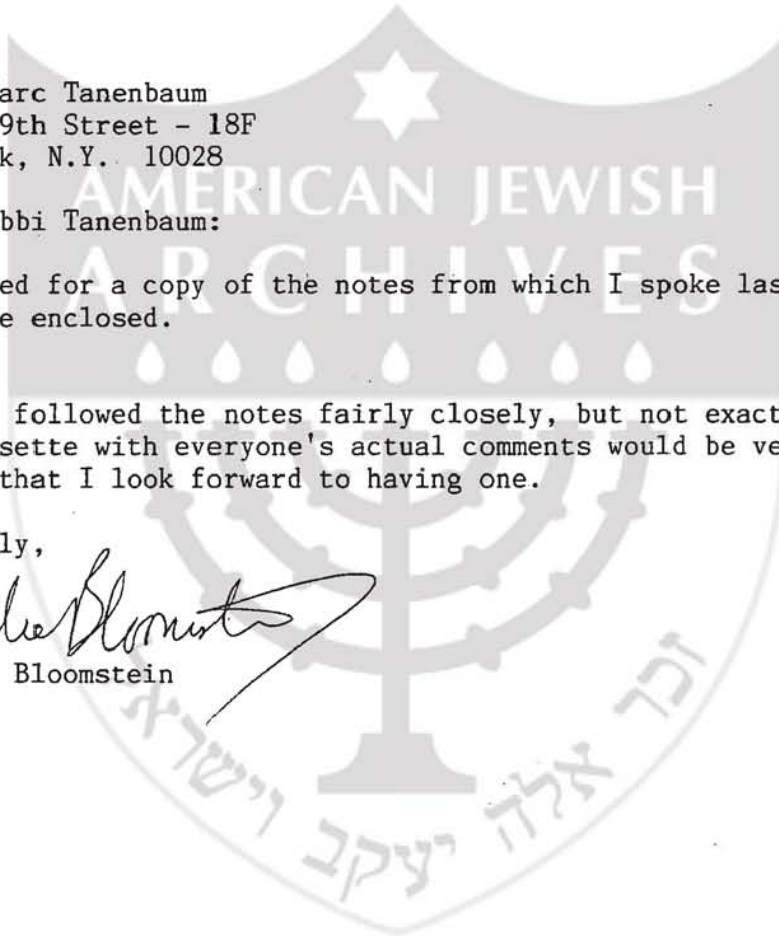
You asked for a copy of the notes from which I spoke last Thursday.  
They are enclosed.

While I followed the notes fairly closely, but not exactly, I think  
the cassette with everyone's actual comments would be very useful.  
I know that I look forward to having one.

Sincerely,



Charles Bloomstein



Privileged to have been his friend for over 45 years, a close coworker for the past 23, ever since helping found APRI and APREF.

I remember Bayard as a young man, a most impressive young man - articulate, ~~clear~~ lucid, and with passionate conviction and enormous enthusiasm. His wide ranging interest went beyond pacifism to many subjects, especially literature and Shakespeare.

He had begun working with MR Randolph, but decided he was an absolute pacifist, refused to register for the draft and went to jail. After the war, he worked for the FOR and the WRL, both pacifist organizations. He was lucky in that both permitted him leaves of absence or seconded him to other valuable work. He was able to keep his relationship and work with Mr. Randolph, spent months in India for the Free India movement, later much time in African countries working with the anti-colonialists there. He met and worked with Nehru, Kaunda, Nkrumah, and Nyerere, among others. Men who became the leaders of their newly independent countries. I believe his stay in India had the most lasting impact on Bayard. Although Bayard remained anti-war, he <sup>later</sup> no longer considered himself an absolute pacifist. Yet Gandhian nonviolence remained a central theme of his life and he never wavered in his commitment to it as the most viable method of achieving social change. No did he ever give up his belief that each person must have the right to be a CO.

His work for civil rights led to his lasting stress on human rights everywhere and on the need for democracy and democratic values. So, he worked for refugees in Southeast Asia, <sup>and</sup> in Africa, for nonwhites in South Africa, for Solidarity in Poland, and so on.

When Bayard died he was a respected world figure. But he was both black and illegitimate, in modest circumstances, never had a college degree, confessed to membership in the Young Communist League, was a homosexual, and was willing to take principled stands on issues ~~knowing~~ knowing that ~~these~~ those stands would be unpopular. He "made it" in the very best sense of those words.

Bayard was a lover of music and of history. His knowledge of the latter, especially of American and black history often stood him in goodstead in discussions. He also had impeccable aesthetic taste - and became an insatiable collector.

What was the essence of his personality? Each person who knew him might chose a different attribute. His joy in life, his wisdom, his unerring sense for political strategy and tactics, his public speaking, his extraordinary talent as an organizer, his ability to develop and work in coalitions, his unflagging energy (which he used to keep my nose to the gringstone). All are candidates, including his fine singing voice - we shall hear a recording he made next on the program.

My own choice of his essence, indeed what I now believe kept him going, was his limitless empathy for the suffering of individual human beings. Every homeless person he passed ~~was~~ aroused Bayard's rage at a society which could permit that. Every beggar received a coin. Even political opponents fallen on hard times could expect, and did receive, help from Bayard without recrimination.

He could express love and affection. Through years, through many projects and many many people, left behind hundreds of lasting friendships. Evident today, this audience, many of whom had not seen Bayard in years, who often disgreed with him, but who never wavered in their affection. Indeed, Bayard was lucky in that he could love and did, and could accept love, and did. He enjoyed life and the challenges it presented.

I have sathought thousands of meetings and discussions with him, over the many years. In evitably, he always come up with the strategic insight, the creative response. the proposal that was seen as the most promising answer. His intuition was superb, so much so that I, at least, began to view it as the expected, the normal, the unremarkable. ~~The talent that~~ The outpouring from the media after his death made me realize that what I had accepted as Bayard's normal <sup>was</sup> indeed ~~was~~ spectacularly unusual, what I had looked upon as almost routine, was what we will be missing from now on. To our great personal and social cost. I, all of us, have yet to feel the full impact of his death.

MAR 28 1988 INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

RUSTIN, BAYARD

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016 • (212) 679-0010

Leo, Jim Sherwin, Liv, Marc Tanenbaum,  
To: Carel, Al, Roy

Date: March 24, 1988

From: Bob DeVecchi

Subject: Bayard

Knowing how close you all were to Bayard, I'm taking the liberty of sending you a copy of this beautiful tribute to him by Carl Gershman.

B. DeV.

encl.





A TRIBUTE TO BAYARD RUSTIN  
by Carl Gershman

A Speech delivered at the  
National Convention of Social Democrats, U.S.A.  
December 4, 1987

It is now more than three months since Bayard Rustin died. I am tempted to say that it seems like only yesterday that he passed from us, but it doesn't feel that way. It feels like a very long time ago. Who here, who knew and worked with Bayard, has not been acutely conscious over these past few months of his absence? It's not simply that we miss his political presence, which we do. He was, after all, a unique political figure: an activist, an organizer, a tactician, a theoretician, a coalition builder, a powerful voice -- in word and in song -- a moral leader whose unique combination of courage, conviction, experience, and honesty was without parallel in our society.

But we also miss his personal presence. Bayard touched everyone he knew, even people he encountered only superficially, with a certain grace. The flair with which he spoke and dressed, his avid appreciation of people and different cultures, his humor -- at times his outrageous humor -- were all signs of a person comfortable with himself and happy to be alive. His enthusiasm could cut through the racial tensions in South Africa, and his compassion -- without any trace of sentimentality -- could give hope even to the most desperate refugees. As for us, his comrades and friends, his passing leaves a void that cannot be filled.

From the standpoint of conventional definitions, Bayard was a complex figure politically and ideologically. He could move within and among the major institutions of society to build broad coalitions of support for the causes he advocated. Yet he was always something of an outsider, an activist, a catalyst. He abandoned the absolute pacifism of his early years, but he always remained committed to the method of nonviolence to achieve social change. After a brief flirtation with Communism in his youth, he became a socialist and, increasingly in his later years, an anti-Communist. He devoted his life to the uplifting of blacks, yet he opposed proposals to assist them at the expense of others or to hold them to a separate standard.

Somehow, Bayard never lost his bearings, as did so many others in the world of radical politics in which he moved. To the degree that his views changed over time, and they did, he progressed to a more mature understanding of democracy and a deeper loyalty to the United States.

At the core of Bayard's political philosophy was the view that the movement for racial equality must be rooted in universal democratic principles. He once told a meeting of the A. Philip Randolph Institute that "blacks will have nothing to offer mankind if they are concerned only with themselves." At times, especially in the heat of political struggle when he was trying to coalesce diverse groups around common objectives, Bayard would call upon blacks to develop a strategy and program that would appeal also to whites. But the political and tactical considerations that led him to look beyond issues addressed exclusively to blacks were themselves based on a belief in democracy and the principles of human equality, individual liberty, and just treatment for all which make up the American civic creed. He believed in the democratic process and wanted to see it work for all people.

Bayard's belief in these principles infused his political activism at home and abroad. For him the separation between domestic and international issues was artificial -- the issue was democracy itself, everywhere. To further that cause, he placed himself at the cutting edge of democratic change in this century's two great movements of nonwhite peoples for racial equality: the civil rights movement in the United States and the struggles for decolonization in Africa and Asia.

He moved in and out of both movements as if they were a single cause guided by the philosophy of nonviolent civil disobedience which he, as much as anyone, helped to forge. He was youth organizer for A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington Movement in 1941 which pressured President Roosevelt to sign the executive order integrating the defense industries. Seven years later, he was executive secretary of Randolph's League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation which succeeded in getting President Truman to sign another executive order ending military discrimination. He helped found the Congress of Racial Equality in 1942 and was CORE's first field secretary. He was arrested on CORE's first Freedom Ride in 1947 and spent twenty-two days on a North Carolina chaingang as a result. (It is worth noting here that during the course of his career, Bayard was arrested twenty-four times for his civil rights and political activities, including a sentence of twenty-eight months as a conscientious objector during World War II.)

When the civil rights movement erupted in the mid-1950s, Bayard quickly became one of its foremost leaders, providing it with the tactics and philosophy of nonviolent civil disobedience and, as a socialist, introducing the view that racial equality required basic economic reforms as well as guaranteed legal rights. He helped Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. organize the Montgomery bus boycott, drew up the blueprint for establishing the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, helped organize the Prayer Pilgrimage and the Youth Marches for Integrated Schools, and in 1963, with Mr. Randolph, organized the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which led to the passage of the historic civil rights bills outlawing Jim Crow.

Through all this, he was chairman of the Free India Committee, making several visits to India (one as long as six months); in 1951 he founded the Committee to Support South African Resistance, and worked with Nkrumah in Ghana, Azikewe in Nigeria, Nyerere in Tanganyika and with others elsewhere in Africa in support of national independence movements. Those of us who were at times distressed at Bayard's frequent absences and far-flung travels might take some comfort in the fact that his international work did not let up even during the height of the civil rights movement. In David J. Garrow's recent biography of Dr. King, one finds the civil rights leader distressed over Bayard's absence in Ghana and writing to an aide: "Please keep me informed about Bayard's possible return. We really need his services as soon as possible."

Bayard's most severe test came not before but after the triumph of the civil rights movement in 1964-65. Before then, the challenges were vast but the issues were relatively simple. The civil rights and anti-colonial movement with which he was associated had a clear democratic character and it was enough simply to organize, to pressure, to go to jail if need be, and to participate in and accelerate the movement of history. Thereafter, things fell apart.

No one knew better than Bayard how much more difficult and complex it would be to achieve social and economic equality for blacks than it had been to gain civil and political rights. He saw the problem of the ghetto poor before anyone else, understood that automation and the movement of jobs threatened to cut them off even further from the mainstream of the economy, and tried to rally the civil rights forces, the labor movement and the entire liberal community for a massive assault on the problem. He urged the protest movement to become a political movement, to appeal to all of the people of America on a nonracial basis, and to adopt Mr. Randolph's Freedom Budget as its program to fulfill the promise of equality.

It was not to be. The late 1960s, as we recall, was a period of racial polarization, political radicalization, and rising violence. Black Power was in the ascendency, the liberal left was becoming increasingly preoccupied with Vietnam and hostile to the Johnson Administration, and the politics of the country as a whole were moving to the right. What began for Bayard as an effort to redirect the country's attention to the appalling plight of the black poor in the urban ghettos of the North soon became a debate within the black movement against tendencies he believed would cripple any meaningful effort to alleviate the conditions of the most disadvantaged blacks.

He opposed separatism; he opposed reparations; he opposed quotas. He opposed the whole notion that racial equality could be achieved by society paying a debt owed to blacks for past injustices. He wanted equality based upon training, work and achievement, not handouts based upon recrimination and guilt. He feared that a philosophy of racial victimization would produce no more than token concessions to the most organized and advantaged blacks, while eroding black self-esteem and the ethic of individual responsibility. He believed that a racially-based politics not only would undermine the chances for building a broad national movement for change, but would also sever the vital link between the black movement and the American civic creed of justice for all.

As the Sixties moved into the Seventies, Bayard became aware that the debate was larger than a disagreement over tactics and philosophy within the black movement. He saw the betrayal of the democratic promise of the anti-colonial movement as well, and the emergence in the newly-dubbed Third World of a radical nationalism that was at once anti-Western and authoritarian and also based upon the notion that inequality derived from exploitation and could only be rectified by payment of reparations.

His response to the disintegration of the two democratic movements with which he had been associated was not to retreat into despair or to rationalize the indefensible on the grounds that one must not criticize the former victims of persecution. Bayard never despaired or rationalized. He spoke out clearly and consistently against the new violations of democratic principles, even if in so doing he sacrificed his standing in some circles of fashionable opinion. And he turned his attention to new causes, remaining as always at the cutting edge of the democratic struggle.

He defended the rights of Soviet dissidents and refuseniks. He worked for the care and resettlement of refugees from Indochina, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Haiti and other benighted countries. He supported Israel against its enemies and the Polish Solidarity movement against its enemies. He visited democrats in Chile and Paraguay and established an organization to support those working peacefully against apartheid and for the establishment of an interracial democracy in South Africa. His last visit was to Haiti, and we know that were Bayard alive today, he would have just returned from that country, having witnessed the carnage that took place during last Sunday's abortive election, and would be doing everything he could to defend the rights of the Haitian people.

Bayard lived long enough to see the world democratic revival - the democratic revolution, for which he was the foremost proponent in the United States. Like the earlier civil rights struggle in the American South which looked to the North for support, Bayard understood that the new democratic revolution had to rely upon support from the center of freedom in the world, which was, of course, the United States.

In standing for democracy, Bayard opposed the notion that blacks are "a Third World people in the first world," as Jesse Jackson once put it. He would not refrain from denouncing Amin's crimes in the interest of maintaining the facade of racial solidarity. He resisted any attempt to ally American blacks with the PLO and repudiated unequivocally the anti-Semitism of Louis Farrakhan. He believed in democracy and in America and in the democratic promise of this country. "I have lived through many struggles in the U.S.," Bayard once said. "I have seen much suffering in this country. Yet despite all this, I can confidently assert that I would prefer to be a black in America than a Jew in Moscow, a Chinese in Peking, or a black in Uganda, yesterday or today. For the democratic principles which are an integral part of America's tradition are the greatest legacy and the greatest gift of all." In 1980, this was a heretical thought for an American black to utter, but Bayard was always the dissident and always ready to follow his democratic convictions wherever they would take him.

What is Bayard's legacy to us? He embraced and embodied social democracy according to Sidney Hook's definition of the term -- democracy as a way of life. He not only lived and breathed democracy and put his life on the line for it, but was prepared to defend the democratic idea within mass movements for social change against those who would corrupt such movements and divert them from their democratic course. Bayard never left the movement and never compromised his principles. He showed that one could live an honest and an honorable political life in this century, in this culture, as a black, without succumbing to the utopianism of radical politics or the tyranny of political fashion and without ever insisting upon a psychological or political crutch on which to lean. To have had him as a cherished friend and leader should help us remember who we are, where we come from, and why the democratic mission which he chose and which we, too, have chosen, is vital to the future of mankind.

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D) Informing local constituencies, e.g., an American group could

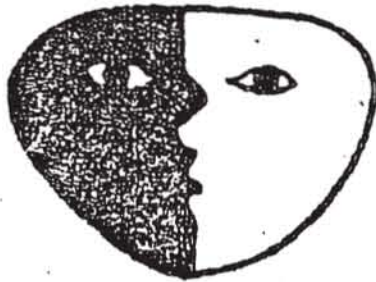
- pass a resolution endorsing Project South Africa and send out a mailing to its members, or to other lists it might have, asking recipients to aid a designated group;

- display information about the Project or a South African group on an office or church bulletin board or circulate it at a routine membership meeting.

E) Policies in the United States can be influenced, e.g. an American group could

- ask its local government to express some form of solidarity with a South African group such as declaring an "Oudsthoorn Advice Centre Day;"

- educate local legislators and congressmen about the activities of a group in South Africa and provide data on the need for more U.S. assistance to such groups.



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#### IV. DEVELOPING A SOUTH AFRICA PROGRAM

An American organization's South African program should be tailored to its own interests and resources. Some may want to combine adoption of a South African group with a program on South Africa already in place, e.g.

- One college, having decided to divest its pension plan, also sponsored a program to encourage better race relations at the school and in the community, and adopted a South African group.

- One organization is encouraging each of its local chapters around the country to adopt one of many self-help projects sponsored by a South African agency.

- Another American group adopted a South African organization and presented it with its annual human rights award.

- An American agency sponsored a U.S. tour for a leader of a South African organization. As a result of this month-long activity, both the American and the South African group were able to raise additional funds.

An American organization can assist a South African group in a host of other ways. Once they have been put in contact with each other, each group will show its own creativity and reflect its own interests, needs, and style.

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#### V. PROJECT SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE

Project South Africa exists to facilitate contact and provide resources and ideas to help. Our staff in South Africa identifies groups which need help and our thirty South African advisors evaluate and decide whether to request U.S. support for these groups. Our staff in the United States identifies agencies and individuals wishing to help and develops the connections. Assistance in maintaining contact and solving special problems is available from PSA when requested.

Although the odds seem long, South Africa may yet solve its problems in a peaceful way. It will be South Africans themselves who will determine whether this will be the case, but Americans can play a role by standing behind the thousands of courageous democrats in South Africa who are daily at great personal risk and who have asked for help. Despite the difficulties, the rewards are potentially tremendous, both for Americans and for South Africans.

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#### PROJECT SOUTH AFRICA

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010  
Tel: (212) 533-8000

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DRAFT

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# PROJECT SOUTH AFRICA

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## HOW AMERICANS CAN HELP SOUTH AFRICAN ORGANIZATIONS WORKING FOR NONVIOLENT, DEMOCRATIC CHANGE

Project South Africa (PSA) seeks to build working relationships between the many courageous individuals and organizations working nonviolently for democratic change in South Africa and Americans who wish to support them. The concept is simple, but implementation requires careful planning.

Support can be moral and/or material. Some American organizations will be able to make financial grants to South African groups. Some American organizations may raise special funds to contribute to a South African partner. Some organizations, unable to send money, will be able to provide support in other important ways.

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DRAFT

## I. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE-DIRECT

A) Direct grants are the simplest, most obvious method of providing assistance, although certain precautions are in order. Such grants may not always be tax-exempt; however, if tax exemption is essential, PSA can advise about several qualifying methods of direct assistance, such as joint ventures, donor expenditure responsibility, and determination of tax-exempt equivalency.

B) An American group could purchase and market craft items such as clothes, baskets, candles, artwork, or silk-screening, produced by some of the self-help projects of South African groups.

## II. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE-INDIRECT

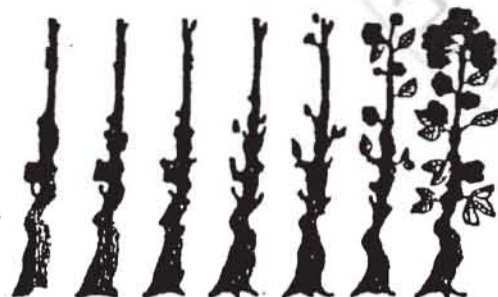
A) Tax-exempt agencies can accept funds destined for organizations they already support. PSA can consult with your organization to determine whether any of these would be appropriate.

B) You can make a tax-deductible donation to Project South Africa (checks should be made payable to the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, Inc., earmarked for PSA), specifying which of the approved groups you would like to help. You can also make a donation to PSA for distribution at the Project's discretion, or for PSA's overhead.

## III. NON-FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

A) Informational contacts between organizations can be established by

- exchanges of newsletters and other publications;
- publicity about the activity of the South African organization in the American group's newsletter, with copies relayed to the South Africans;
- educational meetings or workshops run by American groups using materials provided by the South Africans;
- guest speakers, including South Africans or a representative of Project South Africa, to speak to members about community organizations in South Africa; and
- video tapes from a few South African groups. Some South African groups have access to VCRs, in which case Americans can send a videotape of their work and ideas.



B) Protesting unjust detentions. When South African groups have a member unjustly imprisoned, pressure from the U.S. can make a difference. On many occasions detainees have eventually been freed and have acknowledged the importance of the support they have received from Americans.

Americans can help by:

- sending letters of protest to the South African authorities;
- circulating articles or letters to the editor to the American and South African press;
- placing ads in the South African opposition press protesting the detention;
- sending letters of support to the detainee's family, organization, and to the detainee;
- organizing meetings to educate members and others about the situation, or demonstrating outside the South African embassy or consulates to protest the detention.

C) Expressions of solidarity for particular activities, e.g.

- South Africans may engage in boycotts, strikes or demonstrations. Americans could publicize these and help by sending to the authorities and the organization letters of support for the activity.
- Greetings could be sent to anti-apartheid conferences held by South Africans.
- An American group could stage a South African play, sponsor an exhibition of photographs, or buy and distribute copies of an opposition South African magazine.
- Religious groups could hold prayer vigils, or a South African group could be highlighted in a sermon or liturgy.



## ACTIVITY REPORT

### TO AMERICAN SPONSORS

JANUARY 1 TO JUNE 30, 1987

### PROJECT SOUTH AFRICA

The first six months of 1987 saw continued steady progress in South Africa and in the U.S. in both program and organization.

#### South African Activity

We have taken care to consult frequently with our advisors in South Africa, and this has helped gain their active participation. The Project is also seen as a creative, independent, and sensible American effort to support community-based organizations striving for peaceful change.

#### Assistance to Groups

As of June 30, 1987, more than 60 groups had been approved by our advisors for assistance. Many have received some form of assistance through the Project, ranging from small financial grants from our discretionary fund, to linkages with American groups, to various forms of technical assistance or publicity.

#### Organizer in South Africa

There is now a full-time organizer for the Project. Seth Mazibuko was selected from more than 30 applicants, was interviewed by several of our advisors, and unanimously recommended by them. Mr. Mazibuko will greatly improve the Project's capacity to identify groups desiring assistance. He will also be responsible for obtaining reports of their activities and finances.

#### Activity in the U.S.

In the U.S., Bayard Rustin and David Peterson have made trips to Cleveland, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Chicago to generate support for Project South Africa and the groups the Project is trying to help.

#### San Francisco

Bayard Rustin and Peterson represented the Project at the A. Philip Randolph Institute's National Conference in San Francisco, attended by more than 600 black church, community, and trade union leaders. Peterson also spoke before meetings of the Bay area Black Agenda Council, the Jewish Community Relations Council, the First Baptist Church of Richmond, the Northern California Consultative Group, and the World Affairs Council, and he was interviewed on a radio program, "World at Bay." He also met with local organizations, e.g., Humanitas, the Overseas Development Network, and the International Development Exchange.



### Chicago

In late June, both Bayard Rustin and Peterson spoke about the Project at a meeting of the Illinois Ethnic Consultation in Chicago, attended by about 40 representatives of Chicago-area organizations, including the American Jewish Committee, Zonta International, the University of Illinois office of International Programs, the Chicago Bar Association and the NAACP. The Consultation has officially endorsed the Project.

### Washington

Peterson has made several trips to Washington to build support for the Project. Among the organizations there that have provided support for the Project and/or have adopted projects are the American Association of University Women, the Institute on Religion and Democracy, the National Association of Evangelicals, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, the League of Women Voters, the National Congress for Community Economic Development, the Center for Community Change, and the National Conference of Catholic Colleges and Universities.

### New York

In New York, Rustin spoke about the Project at the national conference of the American Jewish Committee in New York in May, before groups of teachers, and before the B'nai B'rith. Peterson represented the Project at the NAACP national convention in New York during the first week of July. He has also spoken before five different high school groups, an assembly of Bank Street College, and at a meeting of the New York Social Democrats. Peterson is assisting the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in arranging a tour for Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash, and has met with the National Council of Jewish Women and the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods concerning their South Africa programs. The National Jewish Community Relations Council has officially endorsed Project South Africa.

### Public Meetings

Project South Africa sponsored two meetings in New York. Rev. Johan Heyns, Moderator of the Dutch Reform Church, which recently turned its back on apartheid, and Leon Luow and Frances Kendall, who have written a book, South Africa: the Solution, about a federalist alternative to apartheid based on the Swiss canton system, spoke to small audiences composed of specially selected activists in meeting rooms provided by the New York Friends Group.

SEP 28 1987

**A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund**

Bayard Rustin  
CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Arthur C. Logan  
TREASURER

Charles Bloomstein  
SECRETARY

# 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

**Project South Africa Staff**

Walter Naegle  
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SOUTH AFRICA OFFICE

David Peterson  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

September 21, 1987

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
Director, International Relations  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,


Project South Africa must now cope with the sudden death of Bayard. It is the consensus of the small committee that has been administering the project that PSA is an extremely important program, a truly constructive approach to the struggle against apartheid and for democracy, and that every effort should be made to find a senior person to take over. Such a person should not only possess the various competencies needed to provide leadership and access to funding, but must also believe in the values on which PSA is founded. Such a person may prove difficult to find, but it is imperative that the search be made.

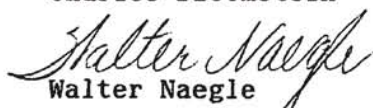
The most important reason for this letter is to ask if you have any suggestions of people who might fill that bill. Please think about this and please contact the office by phone or mail with any recommendations you might have.

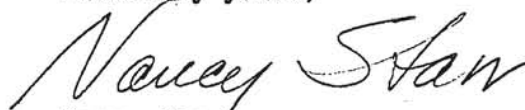
A two page summary of Project activities is enclosed. It was written before Seth Mazibuko was detained. He has still not been released. We thank those of you who have sent telegrams or letters on his behalf and urge those who have not to please consider doing so.


We have also enclosed a draft brochure of guidelines for American groups interested in "adopting" a South African organization. Please make any suggestions you might have for additions or changes.

Sincerely yours,

  
Charles Bloomstein

  
Walter Naegle

  
Nancy Starr

  
David Peterson

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Youth Co-Ordinator  
South African Council of Churches



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

October 14, 1987

Dear Marc,

Your remarks at Bayard's memorial service were extraordinary and, obviously, deeply felt.

I'm very grateful for your presence, and your friendship with Bayard over the years. Really, you moved everyone at the service - and I know it was a difficult thing for you, for all of us, to do. Now we will miss him! But, I think the service did him justice. I heard that you were on HANS recently - is it possible



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

*to get a tape or transcript of your remarks?  
Be well and give my love to Georgette.*

*Sincerely,  
Halter Kagle*

*Pont Neuf, Paris*  
Auguste Renoir  
National Gallery of Art, Washington  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection  
Date: 1872; Size: 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 36 $\frac{1}{8}$ "