



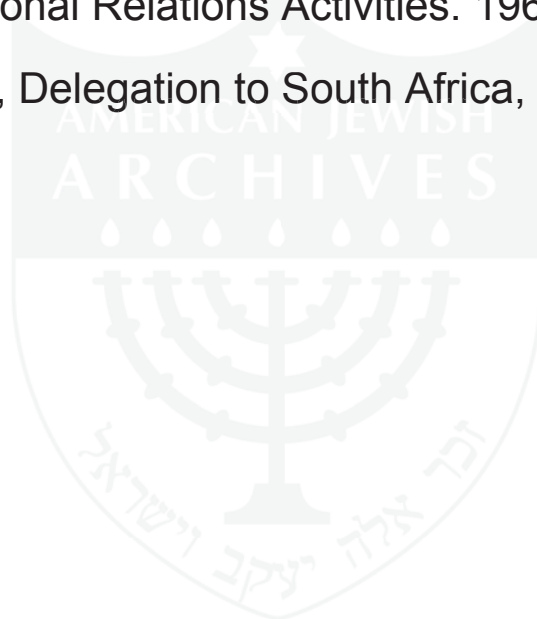
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Jewish Community



The South African Jewish community enjoys a reputation for being well organised and generous with a deep attachment to Jewish traditional values and strong emotional bonds with the State of Israel.

Numbering close to 120 000 this community has contributed much to the development of South Africa, making its mark on every facet of public life, commerce and industry, science and medicine, art and music, philanthropy, sport and entertainment.

THE IMMIGRANTS

Persons of Jewish descent found their way to the Cape from the earliest beginnings of white settlement. However, they could not be professing Jews before the turn of the 19th century, because the Dutch East India Company's rules required that all who were in the service at the Cape must profess the Reformed Christian religion. Only after freedom of religion was introduced at the Cape under the Batavian Republic in 1803 was it possible for anyone who openly professed his adherence to the Jewish faith to live in the country.

From that time onwards a small trickle of individual Jews, for the most part from England and Germany, began to arrive. Some remained permanently, while others later returned to their home countries. There were among them colourful and adventurous personalities.

In 1841 17 Jews organised the first Hebrew Congregation in Cape Town. They named it Tikvat Israel Congregation (The Hope of Israel). By the end of the 1860's several hundred Jews were living in South Africa. They played a significant part in the cultural and civic life and added materially to the country's economic progress. Some had settled in remote places. A number lost their identity as Jews.

The discovery of diamonds and gold in the 1860's which opened up the country, attracted a number of Jews who were among the early pioneers.

Men like Barney Barnato, Isaac Lewis, Alfred Beit, the Joels, and Oppenheimers were among the founders and developers of South Africa's rich diamond and gold mining industries. Their achievements gave them status and influence beyond their numbers. They were friends and confidants of national figures and some became civic leaders.

In the early 20's much larger numbers of Jews began to arrive in South Africa from England and Eastern Europe. It has been estimated that in the thirty year period from 1882 to 1912 some 40 000 Jews entered this country and in the

next forty years another 25 000 arrived from Lithuania, Latvia, and England. A further 6 000 came as refugees from Nazi Germany in the 1930's. Their children and grandchildren constitute the South African Jewish community today.

DISTRIBUTION

Roughly half of South African Jewry lives in Johannesburg (63,620). The East Rand (Benoni, Boksburg, Germiston, Kempton Park) 4,440; (Salfour, Brakpan, Delmas, Heidelberg, Nigel, Springs) 1,660; West Rand (Krugersdorp, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Westonaria) 940; Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging 440, account for a further 10%. Cape Town and Peninsula (28 600) account for another 20%. The remaining 20% is spread over the rest of the country, from substantial Jewish communities in Durban (6 420), Port Elizabeth (2 740), Bloemfontein and district (500) to small communities ranging from a few hundred Jews to a handful of Jewish families in the rural towns. These figures are based on the 1980 census.

COMMUNAL LIFE

In its communal life South African Jewry is well organised with bodies which cater for: religious, cultural, fraternal, educational and philanthropic interests.

THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES

The central representative institution of the community is the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, to which most of the country's Hebrew organisations and Jewish societies are affiliated. Its biennial congresses (which decide the Board's policies and elect its President) constitute a broad cross-section of South African Jewry. The Board was founded on the basis of separate entities in the Transvaal in 1903 and the Cape in 1904, "to watch and take action, with reference to all matters affecting the welfare of Jews as a community"; the two entities merged into one body after Union.

The Board, as it is known, has intervened with the authorities to prevent Jewish immigrants suffering discrimination or disability on account of their race. It has helped Jewish immigrants to become naturalised citizens. It has maintained contact with Jewish organisations abroad and has assisted in universal Jewish causes. During two world wars it assisted the South African war effort by attending to problems specifically affecting Jewish soldiers, as well as participating in the provision of comforts for the troops. Domestically, the Board of Deputies renders a multitude of services to the Jewish community, including a variety of cultural programmes; it also runs a central Jewish museum and library, and it renders invaluable assistance to small country communities through the services of a country communities rabbi. It furthermore maintains a Chaplaincy Department which serves Jewish servicemen in the S.A. armed forces. Its publications Jewish Affairs and Buurman reach a wide readership amongst South African

English and Afrikaans speaking citizens.

ZIONIST FEDERATION

The South African Zionist Federation is the representative body through which Zionist work in the Republic is co-ordinated. To it are affiliated the various Zionist groupings, organisations and societies. Established towards the end of the last century, the Zionist Federation enjoys a status co-equal with that of the Board of Deputies. Its manifold departments deal with organisations and information, fund-raising, youth training, women's work, immigration to Israel, the popularisation of Hebrew, etc.

South African Jewry is predominantly a Zionist minded community and this has given the Zionist Federation its stature and influence. Zionism (the movement for the establishment of the Jewish National Home) has enjoyed the understanding of successive South African leaders and governments.

Affiliated to the Zionist Federation are a number of Zionist youth movements, namely: Habonim, B'nei Akiva, Betar and Maginim, which conduct cultural programmes, organise youth activities and run highly successful summer camps. In addition University youth have their representative organisation, the South African Union of Jewish Students, which is affiliated to the Zionist Federation as well as the Board of Deputies.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the main South African Jews belong to Orthodox congregation with about one-fifth being members of Progressive congregations. These are autonomous bodies, each controlling its own affairs, with religious authority vested in its spiritual leader. Most of them, however, are affiliated to representative organisations which endeavour to strengthen Jewish religious life. The Federation of Synagogues of South Africa, covers the Transvaal, OFS and Natal. The United Council of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations of the Cape and South West Africa serves the Western Province and SWA/Namibia; within the Reform sector, the SA Union for Progressive Judaism is the co-ordinating body for Reform congregations. Rabbis and ministers have similarly established their own representative institutions.

EDUCATION

Traditionally, Jewish education in South Africa was conducted by the Cheder or Talmud Torah (afternoon classes run by Hebrew congregations, which required the attendance of the children of members after their day's studies at Government schools). Jewish educators, however, had long felt that this system was inadequate and a movement developed to create Jewish Day Schools which would combine general and Jewish education.

Side by side with Talmud Torahs which still account for some 4 000 pupils, twenty Jewish Day Schools have been established in the main centres affiliated to the South African Board of Jewish Education, (King David Junior and High Schools Linksfield; King David Primary and High Schools, Victory Park; King David Primary School, Sandton a total of 3 571 pupils. United Hebrew Schools in Cape Town with a total a 2 192 pupils; Carmel College in Durban with a total of 617 pupils; Hillel Primary and High Schools Benoni with a total of 248 pupils; Carmel Primary and High Schools in Pretoria with a total of 471 pupils; and Theodor Herzl Primary and High Schools in Port Elizabeth with a total of 356 pupils). These day schools provide a full education following the Government syllabus from the primary classes to matric and in addition teach Jewish studies (Hebrew language, Jewish religion, history and literature) as normal school subjects.

A more intensive Jewish traditional education is provided by the Yeshiva College (554 pupils), the Torah Academy of the Lubavitch Foundation (280 pupils), the Beis Yakov Girls School, the Sha'arei Torah Primary School (125 pupils), and Yeshivat Torat Emet (25 pupils), all in Johannesburg, as well as the Hebrew Academy in Cape Town.

The Progressive Movement maintains a network of supplementary Hebrew and Religious classes at temples affiliated to it. These schools are all affiliated to the Union for Progressive Jewish Education.

The Jewish community has also built up an excellent network of Hebrew Nursery Schools, conducted according to the standards laid down by the Nursery School Association of South Africa, with an enrolment of nearly 3 000 children. A total of 15 000 Jewish children currently receive Jewish education through the Jewish Nursery Schools, afternoon Hebrew schools and Jewish Day Schools.

Whereas a generation ago, Hebrew teachers had to be imported, South African Jewry is today providing many of its Hebrew teachers from its own ranks. The Rabbi Zlotnick Hebrew Teachers Training College in Johannesburg has graduated many teachers since its inception in 1948.

The Jewish Students University Programme (JSUP) which combines traditional Jewish studies with university studies through UNISA (the University of South Africa) operates in Johannesburg. Through the Department of Hebrew, the Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies at the University of Cape Town, the Department of Hebrew at the University of Witwatersrand, and the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at Natal University in Durban, students are afforded an opportunity to study Hebrew and Jewish Studies at a tertiary level.

An intensive post-school religious programme is offered by the Yeshivah Gedolah of Johannesburg and the Yeshiva Maharsha at Glenhazel, Johannesburg from which graduates, who have been ordained as rabbis, are now serving the South African Jewish community. A Lubavitch Yeshiva has also opened in Johannesburg to meet the needs of the Chabad congregation.

WELFARE BODIES

Apart from caring for its needy through Jewish welfare agencies in all the major centres, the Jewish community has also created a number of institutions for the aged, orphaned and handicapped. In Johannesburg the Witwatersrand Jewish Aged Home, and our Parents Home accommodate aged members of the Jewish Community principally from the Transvaal. Beth Shalom in Durban caters for the Jewish aged of Natal and Highlands House in Cape Town accommodates the Jewish aged of the Cape Province. Arcadia Children's Home in Johannesburg and the Oranjia Home in Cape Town care for the Jewish children from broken homes. The Selwyn Segal Hostel in Johannesburg attends to the needs of some 155 physically or mentally handicapped residents and some 60 day care members. The Kibbutz which the hostel maintains is run by a further 16 residents and Hatkvah House which is also under the hostel's auspices accommodates 11 residents engaged in sheltered employment. Glendale in Cape Town also caters for the mentally handicapped.

COMMUNAL WORK

A major women's organisation is the Union of Jewish Women of Southern Africa which has branches throughout the Republic, Zimbabwe and South West Africa. Its policy is to render service to the Jewish community as a whole; to the South African people, irrespective of race, colour or creed, and to Israel. Goodwill meetings are a regular activity of the UJW, to which Gentile groups, such as the Vroue Federasie, the Women's Agricultural Societies, and the National Council of Women, etc. are enthusiastically drawn. The participation of the UJW branches in welfare work is impressive. They are concerned with problems of the under-privileged and the under-nourished - the aged, the mentally ill, the sick and with children. They express their concern in a variety of ways - by introducing feeding schemes for under-privileged of all races, such as soup kitchens or the supply of essential foods to creches, nursery and primary schools - by the provision of family centres and by work for Red Cross, Blood Transfusion, etc. They provide transport to hospitals and clinics and assist in occupational therapy. They arrange outings and entertainment for orphans and the aged. The Union of Jewish Women also runs a thriving Adult Education Division.

The spectrum of Jewish communal work is broad and includes specialist agencies like the S A Ort. as well as friendly societies and Fraternal Orders like the Hebrew Order of David and B'nai B'rith.

Specific interests are served by such bodies as the S A Jewish Ex-Service League and the Maccabi, the latter being primarily a Jewish sporting body through which teams from South Africa are sent (every four years) to participate in the Maccabiah in Israel.

There is still a considerable, though diminishing, number of Yiddish-speaking Jews in South Africa. The S A Yiddish Cultural Federation strives to cater for their needs and promotes a knowledge of Yiddish among their children. It motivates the running of a Yiddish Nursery and Folk School and publishes a Yiddish bi-monthly "Dorem Afrika".

While Congregations and other bodies raise their own finances among members there are two country-wide Jewish fund campaigns in which all co-operate. The Israel United Appeal raises funds for causes in Israel. The United Communal Fund helps meet the budgets of national Jewish organisations like the Board of Deputies and the Board of Jewish Education.

THE JEWISH PRESS

The community is well served by a vigorous weekly Jewish press consisting of the "S A Jewish Times", an independent newspaper; the "Zionist Record and S A Jewish Chronicle", the organ of the S A Zionist Federation, and "The Jewish Herald" a newspaper published by the Zionist Revisionist organisation.

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Anti-Semitism in South Africa 9/15

Anti-Semitism in South Africa today manifests itself largely within two distinct groupings. The white right wing elements on the one hand, and the Muslim and Black communities on the other. Their motives and purpose in respect of their anti-Semitic stance differs greatly and are, to some extent a consequence of the nature and composition of the South African society. In certain cases such anti-Semitic attitudes are an incidental, or even temporary part of their platform, whilst in other instances it is an element of their underlying philosophy. Nevertheless because of the dominant issue in South Africa is the issue of black/white relations anti-Semitism is not a major plank in any of these groups programmes.

Within the white community and more especially the Afrikaner community the previously unchallenged role of the National Party as the principle spokesman of the Afrikaner population has in the face of the reform process, initiated by the National Party, led to a split in the ranks of the Afrikaners. As early as 1969 the Herstigte Nasionale Party (H.N.P.) was formed to counter any deviation from the apartheid philosophy. This party which is conservative in character and committed to Christian Afrikaner nationalism, has not adopted anti-Semitism as part of its manifesto and anti-Semitism is not a feature of its leaders public speeches and addresses. The party's official organ, Die Afrikaner, however, frequently carries articles that are regarded by the Jewish community as anti-Semitic. The paper regularly seeks to introduce a Jewish angle into many of its reports. In the past it has used the flimsiest pretext to connect Jews and Communists to attack the leaders and the State of Israel, to exaggerate the influence of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, and to challenge South African Jewry's loyalty to South Africa. With considerable regularity Die Afrikaner publishes articles that emanate from Revisionist Historians who seek to deny the truth of the Holocaust and the systematic and deliberate murder of six million Jews.

In an exchange of correspondence between the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and Mr. J.R. Stephens, the manager of Die Afrikaner, Mr Stephens elaborated on his newspaper's attitude towards Jews. He wrote that it was "a newspaper with an undeniable political preference for the Afrikaner nationalism, a cause for which Jews in general have never shown any sympathy. The leaders of the H.N.P. have been at the receiving end of attacks from the same sources. There may be things which Jews do not find agreeable, but that does not mean that such reports or articles emanate from hostility or prejudice towards Jews as a whole and South African Jews in particular." In his acknowledgment of the letter the Board's Executive Director wrote "For the sake of the record we wish to point out that it is inaccurate to express or imply that Jews are hostile or unsympathetic to Afrikaner nationalism."

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (A.W.B.), a radical organisation with extreme racist views, became active in 1981. Its leader Eugene Terre'Blanche told a Sunday newspaper in 1982 that South African Jews would be deprived of political rights under an Afrikaner Christian people's government controlled by the A.W.B. He said that "the Jews must decide between two things in this country - political rights or economic freedom. They cannot have both. They cannot have political rights. It is Israel, not South Africa, which they recognise as their fatherland." The Board of Deputies reacted by issuing a statement condemning Mr Terre'Blanche's views. The then Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, expressed his criticism of the views of the A.W.B. in the course of a speech in Parliament. Mr Terre'Blanche later backed down by stating that he had not intended to indicate that Jews could not vote, merely that they could not join the A.W.B. as they

were not Christians or white Afrikaners. Towards the end of 1982 it was reported that the police had uncovered arms caches throughout the Republic in a nationwide scoop on the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and that nine men, including Mr. Terre'Blanche were detained. Following these arrests and the conviction of several members of the movement, including Mr. Terre'Blanche, who received a suspended sentence, there appeared to be a reduction in the activities of the A.W.B.

Mr Terre'Blanche was among the speakers at a public meeting held in Pretoria in May 1984, (a new cultural organisation) which resulted in the formation of Die Afrikaner Volkswag (A.V.). At that meeting Mr Terre'Blanche concluded his speech with a Nazi type salute that caused considerable consternation to many who saw a television report on the meeting. Prof. Carl Boshoff, Chairman of the Volkswag, has repeatedly stated that his organisation, which has a strong right wing stance and is opposed to the policies of the National Party, is not a party political one but a cultural movement which, in his words, was intended to move back to the routes of the Afrikaner Volk. The Afrikaner Volkswag which attracted some 7000 people to its inaugural meeting, according to one Johannesburg newspaper report "drew together the Conservative Party, Die Herstigte Nasionale Party and Die Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging."

The Conservative Party (C.P.) referred to in that newspaper report was formed in 1982, following a further split by the right wing in the National Party over the issue of political reform. Dr. Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party, indicated at the time of his party's inception that "it believed in liberty of conscience and in religious liberty - and Semitism or anti-Semitism as such was not an issue for his party and the Party has never, in fact, adopted an anti-Semitic stance."

The strict Christian nationalist basis of the Conservative Party was, however, highlighted in an interview with Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg, Deputy leader of the Conservative Party, that was published in Buurman, the Board of Deputies' Afrikaans publication. The essence of Dr. Hartzenberg's remarks were that in a Conservative Party government there would be religious freedom - but no religion other than Christianity would be promoted. Thus Jews aspiring to hold office, such as members of Parliament, would not be able to do so unless they publicly promoted Christianity. He also said that in a Conservative Party government education would be Christian national and there would be no provision in schools for other religions. Commenting on Mr. Hartzenberg's remarks, Mr. A. Goldberg, Executive Director of the Board of Deputies, said that if being a member of the Conservative Party was conditional upon promoting Christianity, it meant that no Jews could really become a member of the Party, and that the Conservative Party was limiting membership to Christians. As far as Jewish children in state schools were concerned, he said that children attending those schools should have the same rights and privileges as other denominations and that in the present system they could be exempted from religious instruction if they so wished.

Within the Muslim and Black communities anti-Semitism takes on a different form and is invariably articulated as anti-Zionism. In light of the political struggle of all the black people of the country (i.e. all those people who are not white) anti-Semitism from that quarter is considered by some as largely a form to surrogate for the real problems that beset them. Whilst anti-Semitic articles were for a long time a feature of many pro-Arab Muslim publications, which hold rabidly anti-Israel and anti-Zionist views, the Peace for Galilee campaign in the Lebanon radicalised Jewish/Muslim relations in South Africa and resulted in a sharp increase in

incidents such as demonstrations on the university campuses and daubings of synagogues. Shortly after these events, several Board leaders met with leading members of the Muslim community in Johannesburg. In the course of a forthright discussion, they were assured that there were no widespread feelings of animosity against the Jewish community amongst Muslim citizens.

Amongst the more pernicious anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic leaflets to be circulated in South Africa was one distributed by the extremist Islamic Propagation Centre of Durban. That leaflet attacked the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Menachem Begin, and described him as a "mass murderer and sadistic torturer." Without any instigation whatsoever from the Jewish community the Publications Control Board (which monitors the distribution of literature and cinematic material) appealed against a decision at one of its own committees in passing the leaflet for circulation. The finding of the appeal was that the leaflet was "harmful to relations between South African Jews and South African Muslims" and was accordingly undesirable.

Whilst the anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic stance of the Muslim section of the South African population can be attributed to a large extent to the bond of Islam that the Muslim community shares with the Arab people of the Middle East, the same does not hold true for some of the Black communities. Nevertheless, they too, share certain of these anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic views.

In part this may derive from the solidarity that the Black population wish to pledge with what they perceive to be their oppressed brethren elsewhere, particularly the Palestinians. The Black communities of this country in their struggle for equal rights and opportunities are supported at the United Nations and elsewhere by the Arab and Black African States and as these countries are anti-Israel, and by extension anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic, it is not difficult to understand why some local Blacks should have adopted a similar attitude. Coupled with the support shown by the Afro/Asian countries for the Black cause in South Africa are exaggerated reports of the co-operation between Israel and South Africa. Such reports unjustly portray Israel as propping up and reinforcing the prevailing political system in the Republic, and Israel and South Africa are inaccurately depicted as sharing a common policy in respect of their Arab and Black citizens. A recent report of the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee highlighted the fact that Israel's interaction with South Africa in both the economic and security fields was negligible when compared to South Africa's relations with other countries. Notwithstanding the availability of such reports the routine condemnation of Israel-South African ties persists, fanned by sections of the Black press, certain Black leaders and by elements of the Muslim community who identify with and participate in the political movements of the Black people.

United in their opposition to the new constitution and to the exclusion of Blacks from the process of political decision making certain organisations have emerged and some such groups have also come to an anti-Zionist plank in their platforms.

Black opposition to apartheid and to the Republic's new constitution has manifested itself through two distinct camps, grouped around the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum in which AZAPO (The Azanian People's Organisation) is a principle element. The former includes elements of all South Africa's population groups within its ranks whilst the latter has a strong black consciousness bias and excludes whites from membership.

Although the United Democratic Front has not adopted a specific stand in respect of Jews and there are Jews within the organisations ranks, the UDF has nevertheless shyed away from formal contact with the organised Jewish community and has demanded a denunciation of Zionism as a pre-condition for such contact. Within the leadership of AZAPO anti-Zionism is accompanied by anti-Semitism which stems from the fact that Jews are perceived as an integral part of the ruling white minority. Furthermore since it rejects co-operation with whites in its efforts to change the status quo, AZAPO also negates the contribution made by individual Jews to the struggle for liberation.



Conflicting views have been expressed in the Jewish community with regard to a standpoint by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies concerning racial discrimination in South Africa. Some have demanded that the Board condemn discriminatory practices on the grounds of race, colour and creed in direct and unambiguous terms, in the light of Jewish history and morality. Others have said that doing so with reference to specific legislation would be tantamount to committing the Jewish community as a whole, to a collective political stand. The Board has always declared that adherence to any party political line is the decision of the individual, and this view was reaffirmed at its 23rd National Congress in 1962, when it was resolved that "Congress deplores any attempts from within or outside of the Jewish community to introduce Jewish issues into the political controversies of South Africa. It affirms that there is no collective Jewish attitude on political issues. Congress emphasises that, in common with other South Africans, Jewish citizens as individuals have the right and duty to hold and express views on such questions and to exercise their civic responsibilities through the political party of their free choice." However, between these differing attitudes, the Board has, over the years, expressed its opposition to racial discrimination.

At the Board's National Congress in 1962 referred to above, it recognised that the fundamental racial problems of South Africa concerned members of the Jewish community as vitally as they did all other sections of the population and urged every Jewish citizen to make his individual contribution in accordance with the teachings and precepts of Judaism, towards the promotion of understanding, goodwill and co-operation between the various races, peoples and groups in South Africa and towards the achievement of a peaceful and secure future for all the inhabitants of the country based on the principles of justice and the dignity of the individual. The contents of this last mentioned resolution were echoed in resolutions adopted at the Board's 24th

Congress in 1965, the 25th Congress in 1967, the 26th Congress in 1970 and the 27th Congress in 1972.

At an Interprovincial meeting of the Board's Executive Council in June 1973, there was a long discussion regarding steps which the Board should itself take in the implementation of its repeated resolutions on race relations. Particular attention was given to the subject of job and wage opportunities for Black people in the employ of Jewish institutions, and recommendations were drawn up for the information of all Jewish organisations. At the same time, the Board took steps to ensure that salaries and working conditions within its own organisation, conformed to the guidelines adopted at the meeting.

The moral responsibilities of the Board of Deputies and the Jewish community in respect of South Africa's political affairs were highlighted in an address by the late Mr A Suzman Q C, to the Public Relations session of the 28th National Congress in 1974. Once more the Congress adopted a resolution which called on the Jewish community "to share in the great challenge and opportunity involved in establishing a just, stable and peaceful relationship between all races and groups in South Africa, which acknowledges the right of all to live in dignity and security, to maintain their group identity and distinctive culture, and to exercise the opportunity to advance in all spheres." Congress again reiterated its call to every Jew, "to make his contribution to the promotion of these ends in accordance with the teachings and precepts of Judaism, in his personal attitudes and dealings and in the particular sphere of life and activity in which he was engaged."

In an historic address at a banquet in May 1976, held to mark the visit to Israel of the Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, Mr D K Mann, President

of the Board of Deputies, gave expression to the Board's increased outspokenness in respect of South African affairs when he said "... I believe that there is a wide concensus today that attitudes and practices, the heritage of the past, bearing upon the relations between our various racial groups are no longer acceptable. I believe that there is a new sense of urgency abroad in our land, a realisation that we must move away as quickly and effectively as is practicable, from discrimination based on race or colour, and that we must accord to every man and woman respect, and human dignity, and the opportunity to develop their fullest potential. Our task is to translate into concrete patterns of living and of relationships between man man, and group and group, the great injunction of the Bible, "Justice, justice shalt thou pursue, that thou may live and inherit the land which the Lord they G-d gave thee ..."

Increasingly sensitive to the aspirations of many South Africans to effect a juster society in the Republic, the Board adopted a more specifically worded resolution at its 29th National Congress in 1976 which stated, "In the belief that the attainment of an equitable society necessitates changes in the existing political, social and economic conditions, Congress urges every member of our community to strive for peaceful change - in particular, for the elimination of unjust discrimination - so that all - regardless of race, creed or colour - be permitted and encouraged to achieve the full potential of their capabilities and live in dignity and harmony.

In the spirit of that resolution, the Board frequently commented on matters of vital concern to South Africa. This was reflected in articles in the Board's journals, Jewish Affairs and Buurman, and in public statements made on various occasions.

At a meeting of Deputies in June 1977, Dr I Abramowitz, Chairman of the Board, addressed himself to the role of South African Jewry in respect of inter-group relations, and said that it was important to continue in word and deed, to put into effect those thoughts and suggestions that had been made as to how a more acceptable and equitable society could be achieved. This was important otherwise all the statements and utterances of the past, on behalf of the Jewish community, would be construed as irrelevant and pious.

In slightly stronger language than that used at its previous Congress, the Board, at its 30th National Congress in 1978, adopted a resolution which urged all Jewish organisations and all individual members of the community, to associate themselves with, and actively support, by peaceful and legitimate means, the elimination of unjust discrimination based on race, creed or colour.

Even more forceful in its wording, was the resolution adopted at the 31st National Congress in 1980, which stated, "While welcoming recent reforms, Congress believes that unless more meaningful and more significant changes in our social, economic and political structure are initiated, the ever-mounting external and internal pressures may well erupt into violence and bloodshed. Congress accordingly urges all concerned, in particular all members of our own community, to co-operate in securing the immediate amelioration and ultimate removal of all unjust discriminatory laws and practices based on race, creed or colour. Only in this way, can we hope to stem the widening gulf and dangerous polarisation between our different population groups and establish that common bond of trust and loyalty essential for a peaceful, united and just society." In an editorial in the Rand Daily Mail entitled 'A unique voice' the newspaper commented on the Board's

statement and said, "Coming from this community at this time, it is a view of special significance which demands special attention."

In his first address at the monthly meeting of Deputies immediately after the 31st National Congress, Mr A Suzman, President of the Board, referred specifically to the South African scene and in his speech, he observed that "when the voice of legitimate protest goes unheeded, bombs would be heard." He continued by saying that the future of the white group in South Africa, and, with it, that of the Jewish community, ultimately depended on the maintenance of harmonious race relations in a multiracial society. It was this problem which overshadowed all else in South Africa. "To confine our attention exclusively to specific Jewish problems, is to lose sight of the far wider issues in which, whether we like it or not, we are immediately and intimately involved."

Commenting on the significant toughening of the language which Jewish leaders had adopted at the Congress and which was reflected in Mr Suzman's address, the Sunday Times newspaper quoted a former President of the Board, Mr D Mann, who explained that, "The change in the language reflects the increasing urgency of the situation The Congress resolution and Mr Suzman's warning did not mean the Jewish community as such was becoming involved in politics, or adopting a political stance. But the Board, speaking for the Jewish community, had a duty to adopt a moral stance."

The moral stance of the Board was evidenced in the statement issued by the Cape Committee of the Board of Deputies in July 1981, in which it joined the Western Province Council of Churches in condemning evictions from the bachelor quarters in Langa township, and the arrest of many on pass law offences. In its statement, the Cape Committee attacked the circumstances of the evictions and said that married people had

a right to a family life and home, no matter how humble. "In the entire exercise, basic human rights had been ignored ... In particular, we are appalled at law being enforced in this way ... We appeal to the authorities to reconsider their actions and call on people of goodwill to support appeals to relieve the homeless."

The Board of Deputies also directed attention to the question of detention without trial, when, in 1982, it became one of intense public debate. A statement was issued to the press which asserted that the Board recognised that in appropriate circumstances, strict measures might be necessary in the interests of State security.

"However, the wider the discretionary powers vested in the authorities, the greater the necessity for adequate safeguards to prevent abuse ...

.... Detention without trial in solitary confinement should never be resorted to as a punitive measure. Recent events have reinforced the view that prolonged solitary confinement is indeed an extreme form of punishment. Punishment should be the sole prerogative of the Courts ..."

When, in 1983, the Government presented legislation to Parliament empowering the Minister of National Education to limit the admission of Blacks to White Universities, according to a quota, the Board joined others in writing to the Minister requesting the withdrawal of the legislation. In a subsequent press statement, the Board said, "Mindful of the fact that during certain periods of its history, the Jewish people have been at a disadvantage as a result of the quota systems in education, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies appeals to the authorities to relinquish the Universities Quota Bill. It holds the view that publicly funded educational institutions should have the right to admit any prospective student irrespective of race,

colour or creed. "This legislation, was subsequently shelved to which there was much opposition, including the English medium universities.

The Board's call for reform was reiterated at the Board's 32nd National Congress in 1983 in a resolution which stated that Congress warmly welcomed all policy changes designed to ameliorate the widespread hardships resulting from racial discrimination. Unless, however, these changes were hastened and intensified, the bitterness and frustration would inevitably escalate and result in ever-increasing and more widespread violence.

Congress accordingly urged all members of the Jewish community to co-operate in achieving peaceful change and to avoid discriminatory practices based on race, creed or colour.

"Only by striving towards this goal could it be hoped to breach the widening gulf between our different population groups and establish a just and peaceful society."

In the spirit of the resolution, particularly regarding its appeal to the Jewish community, the Transvaal Council of the Board issued two leaflets which were widely distributed both in the Transvaal as well as in the other provinces. The first of these leaflets entitled "You and Your Fellow South African" emphasised appropriate Jewish attitudes towards other racial groups. The second leaflet focused largely on suitable conditions of employment and wages with particular reference to domestic workers.

A further resolution submitted by the Cape Committee to the 32nd National Congress, dealt with squatters in the Cape. It read that "The South African Jewish Board of Deputies is distressed, and views with concern the profound and ongoing suffering of those who, from time to time, are removed from place to place as the K T C camp in Cape Town.

The Board reiterates that such actions by the authorities, if indeed they be essential, should be pursued with compassion and consideration for the feelings, dignity and basic human rights of those who, through circumstances beyond their control, find themselves rejected and lacking effective means of rectifying their situation and improving their lot.

The regular recurrence of events such as those at Unibel, Crossroads and K T C indicates that the course presently pursued by the Authorities, is counter-productive, and that a new approach should be adopted."

The concern felt in the Cape over the treatment of squatters prompted the Cape Committee to issue a further statement in September 1983 in which it noted with dismay that despite its previous protests and the protests of other concerned institutions and persons, the destruction of shelters at Crossroads continued The Board urged the authorities to desist from this inhuman practice.

As the practice of demolishing those shelters persisted into the following year, the Board decided to ask for an interview with the Hon Dr P J Koomhof, the then Minister of Co-Operation and Development. The meeting with the Minister and his Deputy Minister took place in July 1984 and the Board's delegation handed a memorandum to the Minister which inter alia state, "The Board considers the destruction

of shelters for human beings, particularly during the Cape winter, to be an action which is abhorrent to South Africans of all faiths ... The Jewish community, on humanitarian grounds, and on the grounds of its own history of suffering, urges the Honorable Minister to use his power and authority to put an end to this practice."

During that period, the severe nation wide drought that gripped South Africa, prompted Prof M Katz, the National Chairman, to issue a call to the Jewish community to support the relief work carried on by 'Operation Hunger', a nation wide relief organisation.

In another statement in July 1983, Prof Katz welcomed the Government's decision to make home ownership available to Blacks by means of 99 year leasehold. Whilst indicating that freehold would have been preferable to leasehold, he, nevertheless, urged every employer to assist Black employees to acquire their own homes under the new system.

During 1983, the House of Assembly, on a motion of the Minister of Internal Affairs, appointed a Select Committee, to enquire into the possibility of amending the controversial Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, which prohibited people of different races from marrying, and Section 16 of the Immorality Act of 1957, in terms of which all sexual relations across the colour line were forbidden. In March 1984, the Board wrote to the Select Committee on the matter. The letter recommended to the Committee that "the racially discriminating provisions in the legislation be repealed."

Unhappily, 1985 has been characterised for South Africa by escalating violence and civil unrest.

At its 33rd National Congress in June 1985, the Board adopted its most strongly worded resolution to date, in respect of South Africa in which it stated inter alia ... "that Congress records its support for an appreciation for steps already taken in the process of peaceful reform and expressed its dismay at current violence and unrest occurring in the country and calls upon all concerned to do everything possible to ensure the establishment of a climate of peace and calm in which dialogue, negotiation and processes of reform can be continued.

Congress further records its support and commitment to justice, equal opportunity and removal of all provisions in the laws of South Africa which discriminate on grounds of colour and race and rejects apartheid.

Congress believes that constitutional economic and social reform are indivisible and records its views that nothing should be done to hinder progress in any such directions...

This resolution was of particular significance in that for the first time the Board specifically condemned apartheid.

After a clash between rioters and police in Langa township near Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape, the Cape Committee issued a statement that .. "expressed its deep concern and apprehension at the recent unfortunate and tragic loss of life at Langa township in Uitenhage.

It further expressed its sympathies with, and condolences to, the bereaved families and calls upon all concerned to exercise restraint and tolerance, and to use their utmost endeavours to find a solution for the problems which lead to these tragic events.

In the latter half of September this year, the Cape Committee of the Board issued a statement reprimanding Police action against a demonstration in Cape Town. It read as follows: "... The Jewish community of Cape Town is appalled at the events of the past few days involving the Police.

The Community condemns the acts of violence by the police on men, women and children assembled in peaceful and orderly gatherings.

The community is aware that this is a time of trial and tension for all in our city but nevertheless believes that the police should uphold law and order in a reasonable manner.

During these solemn days of awe for the Jewish people, we pray for calm to return to Cape Town."

The Board's record with regard to human rights and condemnation of discrimination, goes back to its earliest days. Morris Alexander, one of the founders of the Cape Board of Deputies, and later an executive member of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, was a consistent opponent of racial discrimination. In the Morris Alexander Memorial Lecture in July 1983, Milton Shain, a Post-Graduate student at the University of Cape Town, quoted Alexander as saying, "...Alexander was appalled by legislation that debarred the black man from rising above the level of 'hewer of wood and drawer of water'. 'Are we', he asked, 'going to lay down the doctrine that the millions of natives ... and Asiatics born or domiciled in this country are not, because of the colour of their skin, sons of South Africa. These people are here and you must legislate with due regard to the interests of all of them. South African of all races were, in Alexander's view 'irretrievably

dependent upon each other. What right have you', he asked, 'to segregate people who are decent, law abiding citizens just because the colour of their skins is different to yours? I say you have no right to restrict his freedom of residence and of trade nor the education of his children, unless he has done something to show that he is not entitled to these rights'.



From Immigrants to South Africans

A sketch of South African Jewry

by Gus Saron

The Jews who came from England, Germany and Eastern Europe — notably Lithuania — laid the foundations of Jewish life in South Africa. The story of their immigration and of the community they built is briefly told in the following pages.



Lithuania, land
of my birth,
My heart still
grieves for thee

— Avraham Kariv

FROM IMMIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICANS

A sketch of South African Jewry



by Gus Saron

This series of talks was broadcast on the English Service of the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation — November 22 to November 27, 1976.

1. THE EARLY SETTLERS

ONE way of looking at the history of South Africa is to see it as the story of many individual immigrants, belonging to a great variety of different nationalities — Hollanders, Frenchmen, Britishers, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Jews, and so on — who came here at various periods, settled down, and eventually became integrated as South Africans into the life of their adopted homeland. Older traditions, brought from overseas were modified by the conditions of the new country, and slowly a new nation emerged. Some of the immigrant groups became assimilated with the other elements, others retained their identity.

As studies of immigration into the United States have shown, this way of looking at the development of a country can be illuminating, and can open up new vistas of historical understanding. I hope that the sketch which I offer in these short talks of the growth of the Jewish community in South Africa will not only tell you something about our community, but will also throw some light on the general history of our country.

The Jewish immigrants who came to South Africa during the last century and a half, can be distinguished according to their countries of origin, their cultural backgrounds, and the specific circumstances which impelled them to leave their home countries. In the first four talks, I shall describe these different groups of immigrants, and in

the last two, shall give a brief description of the community as it is today.

Persons of Jewish descent found their way to the Cape from the earliest beginnings of white settlement. However, they did not be- come professing Jews before the turn of the 19th century, because the Dutch East India Company's rules required that all who were in its service at the Cape must profess the Reformed Christian religion. Only after freedom of religion was introduced at the Cape under the Batavian Republic in 1803, was it possible for anyone who openly professed his adherence to the Jewish faith to live there.

Colourful Adventurers

From that time onwards a small trickle of individual Jews, for the most part from England and Germany, began to arrive and usually took to trading. Some remained permanently, while others later returned to their home countries. Not surprisingly, in view of the long sea voyage and the many hazards of the time, there were among them colourful and adventurous personalities. To mention just a few: the 1820 British settlers included four or five Jewish families. Benjamin Norden, in particular, proved to be a man of enterprise and character. He established himself at Grahamstown, journeyed into the interior, traded with the Zulu king, Chaka, and became a friend of the Voortrekker leader, Piet Retief. In 1841 he founded the first Jewish congregation in Cape Town.

The Solomons had emigrated from Britain to the Island of St. Helena, from where several members found their way to the Cape. Saul Solomon became one of the greatest parliamentarians, winning the name of "the Cape Disraeli". Other members of this remarkable family, who became converts to Christianity, included a Chief Justice of the Union, and a High Commissioner in London. Another member was Nathaniel Isaacs, one of the first white men to set foot in 1825 in what later became Durban, so earning recognition as a pioneer of Natal. His experiences were recorded in his book "Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa (with a sketch of Natal)" which was published in 1836.

Another pioneer of Natal was Jonas Bergtheil, who, in 1847, brought from Germany a group of 188 men, women and children, and founded what was later known as New Germany, a settlement about 15 miles from Durban. At the Cape the best known of the early German Jewish immigrants were probably the two brothers, Joseph and Adolph Mosenthal, who arrived during the 1830's, established an extensive network of trading centres and in many ways advanced the colony's economy.

By the end of the 1860's, when not more than a couple of hundred Jews were living in South Africa, they were to be found settled in quite remote places. Some lost their identity as Jews, probably because they were so few in numbers, but they played a significant part in the cultural and civic life and added materially to the country's economic progress.

2. "THE GREAT DIVIDE" — DIAMONDS AND GOLD

Two sets of forces usually impel people to emigrate from their countries of birth and go in search of new homes: on the one hand, the 'push' of adverse circumstances at home, usually economic and political, and, on the other, the 'pull' or attraction of the new country — the greater freedom or economic opportunity which it promises. In the history of our country the 'great divide' occurred with the discovery of diamonds in 1869 in the Kimberley area, and later of gold on the Witwatersrand. These changed the whole tempo of economic life. They brought a tide of new immigrants to the country, among them a relatively small proportion of Jews.

Within a year of the first diamond rush, Kimberley became the most populous settlement in South Africa next only to Cape Town. Among the fortune hunters at the diamond fields was a quota of Jews, who came from Great Britain, Germany, Holland, the British colonies, and also as far afield as the United States and Australia. They had a share in all the multifarious fields of activity — as prospectors, diggers, diamond buyers, shopkeepers, hoteliers and, of course, also humble pedlars or smouses. Popular tradition recalls mainly the mining magnates, the "cosmopolitan Jews", as the Cambridge History calls them, most of whom, incidentally, had very little association with the organised Jewish community.

Many of the lesser newcomers who hoped for quick riches, were doomed to bitter disillusionment, as the contemporary press records. A report from Kimberley in 1881 spoke of large numbers of young Jewish men seeking employment, but not finding it. "The labour market", it said, "is over-stocked, and there are 20 applicants for any vacancy which is advertised." Another report said: "To intending comers our advice is, 'remain where you are!' Despite the numerous warnings, however, the flow did not stop.

Witwatersrand Goldfields

The opening up of the Witwatersrand Goldfields in 1886 heralded a large influx of immigrants from many parts of the world. They became that heterogeneous collection of foreigners whom the Transvaal Boers called the "uitlanders". In 1895, the author James Bryce, after visiting Johannesburg, wrote: "The best society, of course not very numerous, is cultivated and agreeable. It consists of men of English or Anglo-Jewish race — including Cape colonists and Americans, with a few Germans, most of Jewish origin . . . There are hardly any Boers or Hollanders, except Government officials; and one feels oneself all the time in an English, that is to say, Anglo-Semitic town."

What Bryce did not mention was the growing presence of 'Russians' — as they were officially called — the Jewish immigrants from Lithuania, Poland, Rumania and elsewhere in the domains of the Russian Czar. Repeated warnings published in the Hebrew and Yiddish press of their home countries, telling them of the hardships

and struggles which awaited them in the new country, proved un-availing. The need to get out was too overwhelming.

Although no statistics are available, it is clear that the Jewish population was growing steadily, due to immigration. It is estimated that in 1880 there were about 4 000 Jews in the whole of South Africa; ten years later the total had grown to about 10 000, and by 1900, the figure had reached between 20 and 25 000.

Just as in 1841, 17 Jews in Cape Town formed the first Hebrew Congregation, so, as the later Jewish immigrants struck root in various places, they took steps to preserve their Judaism. In Cape Town, the oldest surviving synagogue was built in 1863. This was followed by a synagogue in Kimberley in 1875, and another in Port Elizabeth in 1877, while in Johannesburg three synagogues were built between 1888 and 1892. Close links in religious and philanthropic affairs were maintained with the Jewish community in England, from where the first ministers of religion were brought. It was symptomatic of the prevailing good fellowship which existed between Jews and Christians that prominent Christians often came forward voluntarily with contributions towards the building funds for the synagogues. There were also generous responses by Christians towards the appeals, made from time to time, on behalf of the Jewish communities in Europe, who were the victims of persecution.

3. IMMIGRANTS FROM EASTERN EUROPE

In the early 1880's Jews, differing considerably in cultural and religious outlook and background from the existing Anglo-German community, began to reach our shores in increasing numbers. As I mentioned before, they came mainly from a small region in the Western portion of the domains of Czarist Russia bordering on the Baltic Sea, known as Lithuania. They were destined, within a decade or so, to outnumber the older residents, and to make their presence felt throughout the country.

They were a small rivulet thrown up by that vast emigration flood from the European continent, which during a quarter of a century, brought 30 million persons, of many nationalities and religions, to the United States and South America and also to the countries of the British Empire — persons looking for freedom and new opportunities, away from Europe's political oppression and economic dislocation. One of every ten of these emigrants was a Jew: the Jewish emigration from Europe was five times larger than that of the other Europeans, because the pressures were so much greater to find a refuge from persecutions, discriminatory laws and economic deprivation.

In Lithuania, dire and grinding poverty was the most compelling reason to emigrate. At the turn of the century an official report said that in Vilna, Kovna and Grodno, the areas from which most of the South African immigrants came, a quarter of the population was dependent on Jewish communal charity, and later the position became even worse.

The historian, Professor Keppel Jones, has written of this migratory movement: "Though on a small scale as such things go, this is a romance that can compare in interest with any migration in history. It was as large a movement absolutely, although not relatively, as the Great Trek . . . Poignancy is added by the fact that those who fled from the pogroms of the Czar were unwittingly saving themselves, with little time to spare, from the genocide of Hitler."

Why was the migratory movement to South Africa so largely of Lithuanian origin? Various answers have been given to this intriguing question: The beginnings may have been quite fortuitous: success stories which reached Lithuania from early pioneers, such as "Sammy" Marks, and which encouraged others living in his home town and the neighbouring areas also to try their luck. As they found a footing, they in turn persuaded and helped brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers, or friends, to come out. The *landsmanschaft* ties between people who came from the same village or town survived for a long time in South Africa.

There were at least two additional reasons: first, the reports which reached Lithuania of the friendliness and hospitality shown, especially by the Boer farmers, to the Jewish pedlars and smouses, whom they welcomed as the People of the Book. And second, the fact that South Africa, like Lithuania, was not yet industrialised, and offered opportunities for the kind of trading and peddling to which Lithuanian Jews were accustomed. Nevertheless, many of the newcomers met with disillusionment, and suffered much hardship and deprivation. These were partially mitigated by the strong tradition of charitableness and mutual aid which characterised East European Jewry.

Unattached Young Men

At first, the newcomers were mainly unattached young men, who often came out with the intention of making a little money and then going back. But it soon became clear that the home country offered no prospects: so the emigration movement accelerated, and slowly the womenfolk also began to arrive. The immigration flow grew markedly in the late 1890's, and after the Anglo-Boer War. By 1904, the total Jewish population of South Africa had grown to 38 000 and had almost doubled during the preceding four or five years.

By then the Litvaks, as they were called in Jewish parlance, were to be found in every part of South Africa, with a goodly proportion in the Transvaal. Males outnumbered females by two to one, and it took several decades before the ratio between the sexes was equalised. We can hardly imagine the loneliness and the social and cultural disabilities implied by these statistics. The men felt a tremendous urgency to earn sufficient money, first, to support the womenfolk left behind, and next, to pay for the sea passage to bring them to South Africa. Their problems were intensified by the prolonged economic depression during the first decade of this century.

4. JEWISH IMMIGRATION IN THE FIRST HALF OF THIS CENTURY

The political and economic pressures which impelled millions of people, and especially Jews, to leave Europe, continued well into the first half of this century. Soon, the countries of destination faced the question whether they could absorb unrestricted numbers of aliens; and, in due course, one country after another adopted restrictive measures. Although South Africa attracted only a small stream of "alien" immigrants, that is, foreigners who were not British-born, criticisms were occasionally heard against this influx. But on the whole, a generous open-door policy was pursued. Indeed, in the case of the East European Jews, special provision was made, in the Cape immigration law of 1906, to recognise the Yiddish language as a European language complying with the requirements of the education test. This provision was later embodied also in the immigration law of 1913.

The flow of immigrants fluctuated with the ups and downs of the economic situation in South Africa. There was an upsurge in the late 1920's, when Jews constituted about a third of all alien immigrants, at a time when English speaking peoples were leaving the country in substantial numbers. This led to the enactment in 1930 of a new immigration law — usually known as the Quota Act. By limiting immigration from the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe to specific figures, this Act resulted in a marked diminution in the number of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. The measure was introduced in controversial circumstances, and caused a great deal of heartache in the Jewish community.

The impact of Nazism

Within a few years, a new issue arose in the political arena, when some five or six thousand Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany sought asylum in South Africa. To curb this influx, a new law, the Aliens Act, came into force in 1937. With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, and the holocaust which subsequently overtook European Jewry, the great centres of Jewish life in Europe were destroyed, and the immigration of Jews from Europe dropped to negligible numbers. In 1936, when the Jewish population stood at 91 000, it constituted 4½% of the total white population. By 1970, when the Jewish total was about 118 000, the percentage had dropped to just over three.

A central theme in the story of South African Jewry is the cultural and religious differences — and sometimes even the open friction — which developed between the 'green' Russian Jews, and the older, more established sections of the Jewish community. These groups later grew closer, and in due course South African Jewish life be-

came an amalgam of Jewish pattern, with the traditions and life-style of the German Jewry. It was like pouring Lithuanian spirit into German bottles.

The adaptation or acculturation of the immigrants to South African conditions was often accompanied by much struggle and hardship. It was not made easier when public controversy broke out over the alleged economic competition of the 'foreigner'. In retrospect it is clear that South Africa benefited from the contribution made by immigrants, whatever their country of origin. It is pleasing to recall what the Cape Times wrote as far back as 1896: "The fact is," it said, "that the very poorest . . . Jew who lands in these docks shoots up wonderfully in the South African atmosphere. The Russian exile, who scarcely could call his soul his own in Europe rejoices to draw in the free air . . . he toils, he saves and as soon as he has saved a little, he calculates how many times that sum will enable him to send his son to college. His children will have a better start than he did . . . It is impossible to deny to men who work like this on the lower stratum, any more than to the successful Jews on the higher stratum, a serviceable part in the development of a new country."

The process of acculturation involved not merely physical or economic difficulties, but also spiritual ones: there was the challenge of transplanting a distinctive cultural heritage from one environment to the very different conditions in the new home. If this was accomplished with relative success, it was because, by and large, South Africa was a hospitable land. Although there were occasional displays of intolerance towards the 'foreigner', he was generally treated with fairness and goodwill, as was to be expected in a country in which reverence for the Bible and its teachings was deeply entrenched.

5. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY TODAY

Having traced the streams of immigration which went into the making of South African Jewry, I turn, in the remaining two talks, to a brief description of the community as it exists today. We have been moulded, more and more, by the South African environment. By far the majority of us are now South Africans of the second, third and even fourth generations. In 1970, the year of the latest census, just over three-quarters of the whole Jewish population — which then stood at 118 000 — had been born in South Africa; even more significant is the fact that of all Jews who were then under 30 years of age, 94½% had been born in this country. We regard ourselves, and trust that we are regarded by others, as an integral section of the South African people, sharing the characteristics, the aspirations and the destinies of all other South Africans.

At the same time, the Jewish community seeks to preserve the distinctive features of its Jewish heritage and group life. Like Jews everywhere, we have felt the impact of opposing forces; on the one hand, those which tend to weaken our group identity and, on the

other, those which help to preserve and strengthen it.

Nevertheless, in comparison with other Jewish communities in the free world, South African Jews have thus far succeeded in maintaining a relatively vigorous group existence. The South African political climate of cultural pluralism, which favours the maintenance of the separate identity of the various population groups, has been a contributing influence. Although some Jews have only tenuous links with their community, or have severed them entirely, the great majority readily affirm their Jewishness. They do not feel any conflict of interests, or of loyalties, between their obligations as Jews and as South Africans.

Jewish group life is fostered and strengthened by the many institutions which cater for the Zionist, religious, educational and welfare interests and needs of the community. These are voluntary associations, supported exclusively by funds from Jewish sources. The average Jewish citizen thus pays a double tax, the one compulsorily to the State, and the other voluntarily to his own communal institutions. The synagogue — and religion — which have always played a central role in Jewish life, continue to do so, though perhaps not as prominently as in generations past. There are today considerable differences in the degree of individual adherence to the beliefs and practices of traditional Judaism.

The Zionist Movement

The Zionist movement, and the ties with the State of Israel, are particularly strong. They are manifested in the cultural and spiritual bonds between our community and Israel, in trade relations, in tourism and in the substantial number of South African Jews who have members of their families living in Israel. We have always valued the goodwill and support which have been shown by the South African people and its governments for the national aspirations of the Jewish people in the Holy Land.

Much attention is given to the promotion of Jewish education, religion and the Hebrew language. As many as 30% of our school-going population now attend the Jewish day schools, in which the ordinary secular subjects up to matriculation are combined with Jewish and Hebrew studies. The schools are private institutions, financed exclusively by the Jewish community itself.

South African Jewry has always responded generously to the calls for help from distressed Jewish communities abroad. At home, a network of welfare and charitable institutions looks after the needy, the aged, the orphaned and the handicapped. Public tribute has also often been paid to the support given by Jews to undenominational philanthropic causes in South Africa.

6. THE JEW IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE

In this final talk, I offer a few thoughts on the place of the Jew in the overall South African scene today. Our country, both in its achievements and shortcomings, in its light and shade, is the product of the inter-action of all the elements of the population. The contribution of one group or section cannot therefore be isolated from that made by the rest of the population. Nevertheless, some distinctive features of the Jewish community may be indicated.

They are a heavily urbanised community, living in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, and the other large towns, with only a small minority residing in the platteland. However, some decades back there were substantial numbers in the country towns. The move to the cities followed general population trends, and was also prompted by the social and educational requirements of the younger generation. As a consequence of living mostly in the big towns, Jews have tended towards the cultural life of the English-speaking rather than the Afrikaans-speaking population, despite the fact that the incidence of bilingualism among them is high.

They participate in every phase of our national life. Their contribution to economic life, it is generally agreed, has been considerable. South Africa, as a pioneering and developing country, provided opportunities to all immigrant groups, and gave scope to their European background and experience. Jews played a particularly significant part in the growth of secondary industry after World War I, and they introduced many new industries. Apart from their prominence in industry and commerce, they are distributed over most of the professions. Medicine and law were early preferences; and there have been some distinguished jurists, but they are also well represented in accountancy, architecture, engineering and in other technological fields and in academic life. They have a long record of participation in civic and public affairs, and many have risen to the post of mayor in towns, both large and small. They have increasingly been prominent also in the field of sport.

Cultural contribution

In his book "The Peoples and Policies of South Africa", the late Leo Marquard wrote: "The contribution of Jews to South African life is not confined to economics. In the encouragement of the arts, in helping to establish universities, and in the spread of enlightenment Jews have always been prominent." Roy McNab when evaluating the contribution of "The English-speaking South Africans", referred to writers like Sarah Gertrude Millin, Nadine Gordimer and Dan Jacobson in the English language, and to Sarah Goldblatt and Olga Kirsch in the Afrikaans language. He said: "The portrayal of the Jewish world of South Africa adds a fascinating new dimension to our English tradition here. It helps to make it different from that

of other parts of the English-speaking world, different, and in my view, greatly enriched by the force of its intellectuality and its artistic skills." In the theatre, music and the arts, many individuals have achieved distinction, but no less significant has been the collective Jewish support and patronage of the arts.

In the sphere of politics, they have played their part as individuals, in accordance with their personal outlook, whether as voters or as members of town councils, provincial councils, and parliament. They have belonged to all political parties which welcomed them, usually supporting middle-of-the-road policies, and avoiding extremes either of the left or of the right. There has not been a collective Jewish approach to the political problems of the country, and there has not been "A Jewish vote".

Race Relations

The community has often debated whether there can be a specifically Jewish attitude or policy on race relations. The answer has been that, having regard to the historical experiences of the Jewish people, and the ethical teachings of Judaism, Jews can be expected to show sensitivity to any injustice based on race or colour. But, in the light of the diversity of viewpoint among Jews as among other South Africans, there cannot be a concrete programme or policy put forward in the name of the Jewish community, as such.

Earlier this year, a Congress of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, unanimously passed a resolution in which it urged every member of the community to strive for peaceful change, and in particular for the elimination of unjust discrimination, so that all may be permitted and encouraged to achieve the full potentialities of their capabilities, and to live in dignity and harmony. With such guidelines, one hopes that our community will continue to play its part in the further progress of our country.

A final observation: In entitling these talks "From Immigrants to South Africans", I would like to think that, despite the controversies of the past, there is today greater clarity regarding the concept of "assimilability". South Africa's goal should be not the 'melting pot' — the disappearance or obliteration of the separate identities of the population groups — but rather cultural pluralism, and an overall patriotism and identification with the destinies of a common Fatherland.

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YOU AND YOUR FELLOW SOUTH AFRICANS

THE 32ND NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE S.A. JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES, ADOPTED A RESOLUTION URGING THE JEWISH COMMUNITY TO CO-OPERATE IN ACHIEVING PEACEFUL CHANGE AND TO AVOID DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES BASED ON RACE, CREED OR COLOUR. IT MAINTAINED THAT BY STRIVING TOWARDS THIS GOAL THE WIDENING GULF BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT POPULATION GROUPS COULD BE BREACHED.

IN THE SPIRIT OF THE RESOLUTION THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES HAS COMMITTED ITSELF TO A PROGRAMME OF ENLIGHTENMENT AND INFORMATION INTENDED TO IMPROVE AND STRENGTHEN INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA, THROUGH ENCOURAGING MUTUAL RESPECT FOR THE DIGNITY OF ALL.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Throughout much of their history Jews have been denigrated by being called hurtful and insulting names. Unfortunately, we too sometimes lapse in our choice of language and refer to others in derogatory terms.

Offensive Names

All kinds of names in whatever language which are understood or felt to be offensive should at all times be avoided. Their use whether by children, friends or colleagues should be firmly but politely discouraged. Examples include terms such as kaffir, coolie, shwartse, Yid, chattes or rock.

Boys and Girls

A particularly common misuse of the English language in South Africa is the frequent reference to black men and women as boys and girls. In the context in which they are used they are degrading as well as entirely inaccurate. Alternatives can easily be found to describe people correctly, e.g., maid, gardener, cleaner, milkman, newspaper vendor, tea lady.

Proper Names

Our names are among our most precious possessions. It is therefore, always desirable to learn people's names, thereby recognising their worth and dignity. We should know and use the correct names of our employees, e.g., Harold or Mabel and, learn the names of people we address irrespective of their colour or age, e.g., Mr. Zondi, Miss Smith, etc.

STEREOTYPING

A root cause of prejudice is a tendency to generalise about national or religious groups other than our own, suggesting that all have similar characteristics, habits or shortcomings in common. As Jews we should be aware of the tragic consequences which can result in stereotyping people. Yet there are times when we, no less than others, do precisely what we know to be wrong. We should try to avoid generalisations which, for example, suggest that all blacks are simple, all Indians are schemers and, all Jews are money grabbers.

AS WE ARE TAUGHT IN THE ETHICS OF THE FATHERS, ONE OF THE WAYS BY WHICH A JEW ACQUIRES TORAH IS THROUGH SHOWING LOVE AND RESPECT TO MANKIND. IN THIS SPIRIT THIS LEAFLET IS SENT TO YOU BY THE TRANSVAAL COUNCIL OF THE S.A. JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES, IN THE HOPE THAT IT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE FOSTERING OF BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE REPUBLIC.

DOMESTIC WORKERS AND THEIR JEWISH EMPLOYERS



MOST WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS PROBABLY HAVE MORE CONTACT WITH THEIR DOMESTIC WORKERS THAN WITH ANY OTHER BLACK PEOPLE. SIMILARLY, A LARGE NUMBER OF BLACKS AND THEIR FAMILIES MAY WELL JUDGE WHITE PEOPLE BY THE WAY THEY ARE TREATED WHILE WORKING AS DOMESTIC EMPLOYEES.

THE TRANSVAAL COUNCIL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES, WHICH IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPROVEMENT OF RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA, HAS ISSUED THIS LEAFLET, FOR JEWISH EMPLOYERS OF DOMESTIC WORKERS, AS A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS ACHIEVING THIS GOAL. LAST YEAR IT DISTRIBUTED A LEAFLET ENTITLED "YOU AND YOUR FELLOW SOUTH AFRICAN", DEALING WITH DESIRABLE ATTITUDES OF JEWS TOWARDS OTHER RACIAL GROUPS.

ARCHIVES

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

A domestic worker is an employee and should, therefore, have working conditions and pay laid down after agreement in the same way as anyone else in employment. It may be desirable to have a simple written employment contract, which clearly states the terms of employment.

Terms of employment

Conditions of employment should be discussed when a domestic worker is engaged, to ensure that he or she understands and accepts the following:

- a) The monthly (or weekly) salary to be paid*
- b) The duties expected*
- c) The hours of work, time off, rates for overtime, pay increases, bonus, pension or other old age provision, period of notice, etc.*

It is generally accepted that domestic workers are provided with uniforms and meals. Living-out workers will, of course, need to know which meals will be provided at work and the amount of any travelling allowance.

Living conditions

The quarters of living-in domestic workers should be comfortable and should include electricity as well as bathing and toilet facilities, with hot and cold running water. As this will be where your employee spends most of his/her spare time and leisure hours, it is essential that they should have some facilities for receiving family, visitors and friends.

HUMAN RELATIONS

A domestic worker may, at a personal level be a father, mother, grandparent and often the head of a household. At a community level, he/she may well be a person of some standing, occupying a position of responsibility. Over the period of employment, one should determine one's employee's surname, the names of their next of kin and their addresses.

Traditions and customs

Some understanding of African customs may help to explain any behaviour of African employees, which might otherwise be considered odd, or even objectionable.

Different attitudes and habits need to be understood for better communication to be achieved. Most African people learn at home that:

- a) The aged and older people generally, must be respected. Especially if your domestic worker is middle aged or elderly, remember to make your children aware of this view.*
- b) They should position themselves at a lower level to a superior or older person when speaking to him/her. They might, therefore, as a mark of respect, sit down when called for an interview or discussion.*
- c) They don't greet a superior or older person first - they wait to be addressed, then respond. They might feel it is rude to answer "No" when asked, "Do you understand?" - even if they do not.*
- d) The way to express thanks for a present is to cup both hands to receive it, to bow the knee, or to extend one's hand while supporting it with the other at the forearm. Understand that it is therefore, not considered necessary to express gratitude in words.*
- e) The extended family system means that the husband's mother and uncles and aunts on both sides of the family have special roles in the family system. The sons and daughters are referred to as brothers and sisters, not as cousins.*
- f) Funerals are important family occasions. Ancient tradition holds that it is an insult to the spirit of departed relatives, not to attend their funerals. By granting an employee the time and opportunity to participate in these rites, the employer demonstrates much compassion and good will.*

Due to language differences, it is necessary to communicate in clear and straight forward terms.

AS WE ARE TAUGHT IN THE ETHICS OF THE FATHERS, ONE OF THE WAYS BY WHICH A JEW ACQUIRES TORAH IS THROUGH SHOWING LOVE AND RESPECT TO MANKIND. IN THIS SPIRIT THIS LEAFLET IS SENT TO YOU BY THE TRANSVAAL COUNCIL OF THE S.A. JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES, IN THE HOPE THAT IT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE FOSTERING OF BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE REPUBLIC.

South Africa: Presidential Actions



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Following are the texts of President Reagan's remarks delivered at the White House and the Executive order signed at the conclusion of the remarks, Washington, D.C., September 9, 1985.

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REMARKS

I want to speak this morning about South Africa—about what America can do to help promote peace and justice in that country so troubled and tormented by racial conflict.

The system of apartheid means deliberate, systematic, institutionalized racial discrimination denying the black majority their God-given rights. America's view of apartheid is simple and straightforward: we believe it's wrong. We condemn it. And we're united in hoping for the day when apartheid will be no more.

Our influence over South African society is limited. But we do have some influence, and the question is how to use it. Many people of good will in this country have differing views. In my view, we must work for peaceful evolution and reform. Our aim cannot be to punish South Africa with economic sanctions that would injure the very people we're trying to help.

I believe we must help all those who peacefully oppose apartheid; and we must recognize that the opponents of apartheid using terrorism and violence will bring not freedom and salvation, but greater suffering and more opportunities for expanded Soviet influence

within South Africa and in the entire region.

What we see in South Africa is a beginning of a process of change. The changes in policy so far are inadequate—but, ironically, they've been enough to raise expectations and stimulate demands for more far-reaching, immediate change. It's the growing economic power of the black majority that has put them in a position to insist on political change.

South Africa is not a totalitarian society. There is a vigorous opposition press. And every day we see examples of outspoken protest and access to the international media that would never be possible in many parts of Africa, or in the Soviet Union, for that matter. But it is our active engagement—our willingness to try—that gives us influence.

Yes, we in America—because of what we are and what we stand for—have influence to do good. We also have immense potential to make things worse. Before taking fateful steps, we must ponder the key question: are we helping to change the system? Or are we punishing the blacks whom we seek to help?

American policy through several administrations has been to use our influence and our leverage against apartheid, not against innocent people who are the victims of apartheid.

Being true to our heritage does not mean quitting but reaching out; expanding our help for black education and community development; calling for political dialogue; urging South Africans

of all races to seize the opportunity for peaceful accommodation before it's too late.

I respect and share the goals that have motivated many in Congress to send a message of U.S. concern about apartheid. But in doing so, we must not damage the economic well-being of millions of people in South and southern Africa. If we genuinely wish—as I do—to develop a bipartisan basis of consensus in support of U.S. policies, this is the basis on which to proceed.

Therefore, I am signing today an Executive order that will put in place a set of measures designed and aimed against the machinery of apartheid without indiscriminately punishing the people who are victims of that system—measures that will disassociate the United States from apartheid but associate us positively with peaceful change.

These steps include:

- A ban on all computer exports to agencies involved in the enforcement of apartheid and to the security forces;
- A prohibition on exports of nuclear goods or technology to South Africa, except as is required to implement nuclear proliferation safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) or those necessary for humanitarian reasons to protect health and safety;
- A ban on loans to the South African Government, except certain loans which improve economic opportunities or educational, housing, and health facilities that are open and accessible to South Africans of all races; and
- I'm directing the Secretary of State and the United States Trade Representative to consult with our major trading partners regarding banning the importation of Krugerrands. I'm also instructing the Secretary of Treasury to report to me with 60 days on the feasibility of minting an American gold coin which could provide an alternative to the Krugerrand for our coin collectors.

I want to encourage ongoing actions by our government and by private Americans to improve the living standards of South Africa's black majority. The Sullivan code—devised by a distinguished black minister from Philadelphia, the Reverend Leon Sullivan—has set the highest standards of labor practices for progressive employers throughout South Africa. I urge all American companies to participate in it, and I'm instructing the American Ambassador to South Africa to make every effort to get companies which have not adopted them to do so.

In addition, my Executive order will ban U.S. Government export assistance to any American firm in South Africa employing more than 25 persons which does not adhere to the comprehensive fair employment principles stated in the order by the end of this year.

I'm also directing the Secretary of State to increase substantially the money we provide for scholarships to South Africans disadvantaged by apartheid and the money our Embassy uses to promote human rights programs in South Africa.

Finally, I have directed Secretary Shultz to establish an advisory committee of distinguished Americans to provide recommendations on measures to encourage peaceful change in South Africa. The advisory committee shall provide its first report within 12 months.

I believe the measures I am announcing here today will best advance our goals. If the Congress sends me the present bill as reported by the Conference Committee, I would have to veto it. That need not happen. I want to work with the Congress to advance bipartisan support for America's policy toward South Africa. That's why I have put forward this Executive order today.

Three months ago, I recalled our Ambassador in South Africa for consultations so that he could participate in the intensive review of the southern African situation that we've been engaged in. I've just said good-bye to him. I'm now sending him back with a message to State President Botha underlining our grave view of the current crisis and our assessment of what is needed to restore confidence abroad and move from confrontation to negotiation at home. The problems of South Africa were not created overnight and will not be solved overnight, but there is no time to waste. To withdraw from this drama—or to fan its flames—will serve neither our interests nor those of the South African people.

If all Americans join together behind a common program, we can have so much more influence for good. So let us go forward with a clear vision and an open heart, working for justice and brotherhood and peace. And now I'm going to sign the Executive order.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

Prohibiting Trade and Certain Other Transactions Involving South Africa

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including the

International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), the Foreign Assistance Act (22 U.S.C. 2151 *et seq.*), the United Nations Participation Act (22 U.S.C. 287), the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 *et seq.*), the Export Administration Act (50 U.S.C. App. 2401 *et seq.*), the Atomic Energy Act (42 U.S.C. 2011 *et seq.*), the Foreign Service Act (22 U.S.C. 3901 *et seq.*), the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App. I), Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, and considering the measures which the United Nations Security Council has decided on or recommended in Security Council Resolutions No. 418 of November 4, 1977, No. 558 of December 13, 1984, and No. 569 of July 26, 1985, and considering that the policy and practice of apartheid are repugnant to the moral and political values of democratic and free societies and run counter to United States policies to promote democratic governments throughout the world and respect for human rights, and the policy of the United States to influence peaceful change in South Africa, as well as the threat posed to United States interests by recent events in that country,

I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, find that the policies and actions of the Government of South Africa constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the foreign policy and economy of the United States and hereby declare a national emergency to deal with that threat:

Section 1. Except as otherwise provided in this section, the following transactions are prohibited effective October 11, 1985:

(a) The making or approval of any loans by financial institutions in the United States to the Government of South Africa or to entities owned or controlled by that Government. This prohibition shall enter into force on November 11, 1985. It shall not apply to (i) any loan or extension of credit for any educational, housing, or health facility which is available to all persons on a nondiscriminatory basis and which is located in a geographic area accessible to all population groups without any legal or administrative restriction; or (ii) any loan or extension of credit for which an agreement is entered into before the date of this Order.

The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out this subsection. The initial rules and regulations shall be issued within sixty days. The Secretary

of the Treasury may, in consultation with the Secretary of State, permit exceptions to this prohibition only if the Secretary of the Treasury determines that the loan or extension of credit will improve the welfare or expand the economic opportunities of persons in South Africa disadvantaged by the apartheid system, provided that no exception may be made for any apartheid enforcing entity.

(b) All exports of computers, computer software, or goods or technology intended to service computers to or for use by any of the following entities of the Government of South Africa:

- (1) The military;
- (2) The police;
- (3) The prison system;
- (4) The national security agencies;
- (5) ARMSCOR [Arms Corporation of South Africa] and its subsidiaries or the weapons research activities of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research;
- (6) The administering authorities for the black passbook and similar controls;
- (7) Any apartheid enforcing agency;
- (8) Any local or regional government or "homeland" entity which performs any function of any entity described in paragraphs (1) through (7).

The Secretary of Commerce is hereby authorized to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out this subsection and to implement a system of end use verification to ensure that any computers exported directly or indirectly to South Africa will not be used by any entity set forth in this subsection.

(c) (1) Issuance of any license for the export to South Africa of goods or technology which are to be used in a nuclear production or utilization facility, or which, in the judgment of the Secretary of State, are likely to be diverted for use in such a facility; any authorization to engage, directly or indirectly, in the production of any special nuclear material in South Africa; any license for the export to South Africa of component parts or other items or substances especially relevant from the standpoint of export control because of their significance for nuclear explosive purposes; and any approval of retransfers to South Africa of any goods, technology, special nuclear material, components, items or substances described in this section. The Secretaries of State, Energy, Commerce, and Treasury are hereby authorized to take such actions as may be necessary to carry out this subsection.

(2) Nothing in this section shall preclude assistance for International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards or IAEA programs generally available to its member states, or for technical programs for the purpose of reducing proliferation risks, such as for reducing the use of highly enriched uranium and activities envisaged by Section 223 of the Nuclear Waste Policy Act (42 U.S.C. 10203) or for exports which the Secretary of State determines are necessary for humanitarian reasons to protect the public health and safety.

(d) The import into the United States of any arms, ammunition, or military vehicles produced in South Africa or of any manufacturing data for such articles. The Secretaries of State, Treasury, and Defense are hereby authorized to take such actions as may be necessary to carry out this subsection.

Sec. 2. (a) The majority of United States firms in South Africa have voluntarily adhered to fair labor principles which have benefited those in South Africa who have been disadvantaged by the apartheid system. It is the policy of the United States to encourage strongly all United States firms in South Africa to follow this commendable example.

(b) Accordingly, no department or agency of the United States may intercede after December 31, 1985, with any foreign government regarding the export marketing activity in any country of any national of the United States employing more than 25 individuals in South Africa who does not adhere to the principles stated in subsection (c) with respect to that national's operations in South Africa. The Secretary of State shall promulgate regulations to further define the employers that will be subject to the requirements of this subsection and procedures to ensure that such nationals may register that they have adhered to the principles.

(c) The principles referred to in subsection (b) are as follows:

- (1) Desegregating the races in each employment facility;
- (2) Providing equal employment opportunity for all employees without regard to race or ethnic origin;
- (3) Assuring that the pay system is applied to all employees without regard to race or ethnic origin;
- (4) Establishing a minimum wage and salary structure based on the appropriate local minimum economic level which takes into account the needs of employees and their families;
- (5) Increasing by appropriate means, the number of persons in managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical, and technical jobs who are

disadvantaged by the apartheid system for the purpose of significantly increasing their representation in such jobs;

(6) Taking reasonable steps to improve the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment with respect to housing, transportation, schooling, recreation, and health;

(7) Implementing fair labor practices by recognizing the right of all employees, regardless of racial or other distinctions, to self-organization and to form, join, or assist labor organizations, freely and without penalty or reprisal, and recognizing the right to refrain from any such activity.

(d) United States nationals referred to in subsection (b) are encouraged to take reasonable measures to extend the scope of their influence on activities outside the workplace, by measures such as supporting the right of all businesses, regardless of the racial character of their owners or employees, to locate in urban areas, by influencing other companies in South Africa to follow the standards specified in subsection (c) and by supporting the freedom of mobility of all workers, regardless of race, to seek employment opportunities wherever they exist, and by making provision for adequate housing for families of employees within the proximity of the employee's place of work.

Sec. 3. The Secretary of State and the head of any other department or agency of the United States carrying out activities in South Africa shall promptly take, to the extent permitted by law, the necessary steps to ensure that the labor practices described in section (2) (c) are applied to their South African employees.

Sec. 4. The Secretary of State and the head of any other department or agency of the United States carrying out activities in South Africa shall, to the maximum extent practicable and to the extent permitted by law, in procuring goods or services in South Africa, make affirmative efforts to assist business enterprises having more than 50 percent beneficial ownership by persons in South Africa disadvantaged by the apartheid system.

Sec. 5. (a) The Secretary of State and the United States Trade Representative are directed to consult with other parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with a view toward adopting a prohibition on the import of Krugerrands.

(b) The Secretary of Treasury is directed to conduct a study to be completed within sixty days regarding the feasibility of minting and issuing gold

coins with a view toward expeditiously seeking legislative authority to accomplish the goal of issuing such coins.

Sec. 6. In carrying out their respective functions and responsibilities under this Order, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce shall consult with the Secretary of State. Each such Secretary shall consult, as appropriate, with other government agencies and private persons.

Sec. 7. The Secretary of State shall establish, pursuant to appropriate legal authority, an Advisory Committee on South Africa to provide recommendations on measures to encourage peaceful change in South Africa. The Advisory

Committee shall provide its initial report within twelve months.

Sec. 8. The Secretary of State is directed to take the steps necessary pursuant to the Foreign Assistance Act and related legislation to (a) increase the amount of internal scholarships provided to South Africans disadvantaged by the apartheid system up to \$8 million from funds made available for Fiscal Year 1986, and (b) increase the amount allocated for South Africa from funds made available for Fiscal Year 1986 in the Human Rights Fund up to \$1.5 million. At least one-third of the latter amount shall be used for legal assistance for South Africans. Appropriate increases in the amounts made available for these

purposes will be considered in future fiscal years.

Sec. 9. This order is intended to express and implement the foreign policy of the United States. It is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers, or any person. ■

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Chester Crocker

The U.S. and South Africa: A Framework for Progress



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Following is an address by Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, before the Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, California, August 16, 1985.

It is a great honor and pleasure to appear before this distinguished audience today. We have timing which I can only describe as propitious. The images of Africa—as they have flashed across our television screens night after night—have embedded themselves in the hearts and the minds of our people as never before. The scenes of suffering of the innocent victims of drought and famine have produced an outpouring of active help and sympathy that has always been one of the finest features of our national character. Our response to the wounding drama of South Africa confronts us with far more vexing difficulties; but here, too, our country has an important role to play.

The wave of unrest and repression that has now swept across South Africa for almost a year has touched some of the most sensitive nerves in our body politic. The practice of racism, through apartheid, the denial of the inalienable rights of citizenship, and the disregard for due process of law are affronts to our national conscience.

Events of the past 12 months have produced a quantum leap in our own public awareness of events and debate about what can and should be done. The very intense and emotional content of this debate reflects the frustration and impatience of many Americans in getting a grip on the problem. Our rela-

tions with South Africa have inevitably reflected this strain. In South Africa itself, the government has cracked down hard by proclaiming a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts and by resorting to mass arrests. Yet, at the same time, we have seen some tentative signs of a reappraisal of policy. Only yesterday, State President P.W. Botha delivered a policy speech in the stated hope of drawing black political leaders into negotiation about the sharing of political power. I will have some comments about that pronouncement a little later. But in the time we are together, I would first like to state some fundamental propositions which I believe are widely shared and enable us to shape a common American approach to the South African problem. I will then discuss certain realities in South and southern Africa that all of us must keep in mind as we discuss U.S. policy. And finally, I will comment on yesterday's speech and the implications for U.S. policy.

Central Propositions

First and foremost, let us remember that there is no debate about the evils of apartheid across the spectrum of American politics. For this Administration, apartheid is abhorrent. A primary goal of our policy is to get rid of apartheid. Any status quo that excludes 73% of the population from the central processes of government on the basis of race and imposes on them a legal framework of dehumanizing restrictions on where they can live and work not

only affronts our fundamental values but it also endangers our very real interest in the stability of this strategic part of the world. In our national debate, we must proceed from this common assumption and common conviction. I would like today to salute those leaders and people across our land and our political system who are speaking, writing, and acting to express American convictions against racism and for the search for alternatives to violence in South Africa. As I do so, I would ask also that we all recognize what our public debate is about: it is about how to help end apartheid; what works and what doesn't work.

The second proposition—with which few in the mainstream of American politics would disagree—is our opposition to a scenario of violence (including, of course, the violence of repression). The curse of violence, however it may be rationalized, is that it unleashes forces that quickly threaten to destroy the very values in whose name it is used. We know what has happened in the name of armed struggle or violent "liberation" in Indochina and Iran. In the South African context, where black, brown, and white South Africans will have to continue to live side by side, the human, economic, and political costs of such scenarios would simply be horrendous. South Africa and its neighbors have a long way to go before they achieve stability and justice. They also have a lot to lose if peaceful change fails. For us carelessly to throw matches into an already explosive and volatile situation would be a betrayal of such men of peace as Bishop Desmond Tutu and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who are working for negotiated solutions. To turn our backs on such efforts would be a counsel of despair.

Third, we cannot insulate our approach to South Africa from our concerns for the stability and security in all the countries in the region. We have important regional goals in South Africa: independence for Namibia; a reduction in cross-border violence in the region, the removal of foreign forces from Angola, and expanded economic development there. Peaceful change in South Africa away from apartheid is crucial to improved relations between South Africa and its neighbors. By the same token, an escalation of cross-border violence reduces the odds for peaceful change in South Africa itself. In order to have positive influence in regional diplomacy, we must be able to speak to all the parties in the region. As in the Middle East, we would rapidly become irrelevant if we maneuvered ourselves into a position where we could talk only to one side.

Fourth, there simply is no way of insulating our approach to southern Africa or any other important region from the realities of our competitive relationship with our global adversary. The Soviet interest is advanced by regional insecurity and instability. Our interest is in peacemaking, pushing change in South Africa, and in using our resources to help create the economic underpinnings of regional prosperity.

This brings me to my fifth and final proposition, which relates directly to the current sanctions debate. We Americans are builders and not destroyers. Clearly, our goal must be a more hopeful, just, and prosperous South Africa, with expanded opportunities for all its people. This is unlikely to happen if the economic pie is shrinking. Irrespective of how South Africa will be run—and by whom—damaging its economy now will not only stunt economic growth but will also ultimately stunt the lives of this and coming generations of young South Africans.

Disinvestment would be doubly sad because U.S. industrialists and businessmen bring to South Africa a unique experience and state-of-the-art policies in race relations and equal opportunity programs. I am pleased to note that our closest allies share with us a firm belief that a growing economy will help the reform process there. Our experience in the United States buttresses the point. As builders, we must stay engaged; that is what we in government are doing—helping young black South Africans with their education, assisting black trade unionists, training black entrepreneurs. Our self-help grants have assisted hundreds of communities to help themselves and our human rights fund is assisting the victims of the apartheid system. Our government programs—initiated in recent years—are paralleled by the involvement of many nongovernment institutions: churches, businessmen, unions, foundations, and universities. The principle at stake, that I am drawing, is a simple but powerful one of being involved through our presence and our programs. This means having tools of influence, rolling up our sleeves, and pushing our goals. It does not mean being seduced by a status quo that is overwhelmingly repellent to Americans.

Current Realities in South and Southern Africa

Turning from these fundamental propositions, let me now address briefly some realities that we see in the current situation that none of us can afford to ignore.

First, the process of change away from apartheid has begun. That odious system—rooted in racism and fear—was built in the 1940s and 1950s; it flourished in the 1960s and 1970s. Today it is eroding, it is being challenged, and it is being dismantled. We do not endorse the limited changes that have been made. They are not enough; they have not yet touched the core political issues; they do not have black support and have in some respects fueled black anger. But knowledgeable observers are widely agreed that significant change has started—in the economic and urban rights of blacks, in the grant of certain political rights to coloreds and Asians, and in the official recognition that power must be more broadly shared and that such fundamental change must be negotiated with blacks.

Second, the vicious downward spiral of unrest and repression of the past 12 months in South Africa has added to the urgency of such negotiation and basic change. It has also added to the difficulties of bringing them about. The violence flows from the anger of blacks, especially those with no stake in the current setup. The explicit exclusion of blacks from recent constitutional moves and a severe economic downturn have had explosive consequences. With almost no legitimate outlets, discredited systems of rural and urban self-government, and a 50% unemployment rate among urban black youth, a volatile situation developed. Ironically, but perhaps not surprisingly, if we recall de Tocqueville's words, the explosion came at the very time when government was talking about change and white attitudes were clearly shifting.

Third, the main impetus for change is internal. It is the demands of a modernizing economy for a stable, skilled workforce and the demands of apartheid's victims for full political and economic opportunity that constitute the major pressures on the system. Black Africans have no formal political rights at the national level in South Africa, and the physical power of the state remains awesome. But as we are witnessing daily, the black communities of South Africa have growing influence through their numbers, their role as workers and as consumers, and their ability to discredit and disrupt an outdated and unacceptable system. South Africa's economy and its social fabric cannot be maintained at gunpoint. These facts speak for themselves about the urgent necessity of further change.

Fourth, the current climate in South Africa inhibits as well as demands such change. There is tinder in the town-

ships. Emotions are easily polarized at a time of violence that has taken over 600 lives—mainly black—in the past 12 months. Black unrest and government repression have created a larger than usual gulf of suspicion and distrust. Brutal killings, arrests, trials, and detentions make it hard for political leaders to reach each other, to make gestures, and to take risks. A time of tense polarization is also a time of posturing for the record. Keeping the faith with your own constituency can overwhelm the imperative of dialogue. For outsiders looking in on all this, it becomes difficult to discern the real positions of various parties and even harder to recognize the competition for power and position that is taking place within all South African communities.

Let me conclude this brief rundown of relevant facts by stating something that may sound unduly optimistic: compromise and reconciliation in this strife-torn area remain within reach. The states and peoples of southern Africa need each other. No single state can impose its will unilaterally, however unequal the power relations seem to be. Similarly, inside South Africa there is growing interdependence among ethnic and racial communities. No responsible South African wishes to turn his country into an economic basket case. No responsible leader who has looked deeply into the current abyss of violence can take comfort from it.

In practice, a form of preliminary bargaining is going on, but both the government and the governed continue to indulge in the search for position. Whatever may be said, we are still at the stage of argument over ground rules—the shape of the table, who will sit there, and what is on the agenda. To get the next stage will mean that South Africa's leaders and the leaders of the opposition will have to take responsibility for concrete stands and compromises. There is a long list of black grievances to be addressed. Power must be fully shared on some mutually acceptable basis. That is what ending apartheid means. Equally, agreement on these central issues is unlikely unless the rights of South Africa's minorities—however defined—are also addressed. The task before South Africans is to end injustice and racial domination. That means building a genuinely democratic system. The fact that such values are not widely and genuinely practiced in Africa or elsewhere in the world does not make the process any easier in South Africa. But there is no African country more influenced by or any more

committed, at least in theory, to Western norms. We should not write it off.

Recent Developments and the Botha Speech

Let me now turn to recent developments in South Africa that have been costly in human lives and destructive to its political climate, economic confidence, and its relationships with the outside world. For our part, we have repeatedly made clear that official repression, including the recently imposed state of emergency, cannot address the root causes of unrest. We have deplored all violence; constructive change has nothing to do with random destructive acts in which angry people take the law into their own hands nor with police shootings of unarmed mourners or demonstrators. Many, perhaps most, South Africans as well as Americans share these views. We have also made clear that the Government of South Africa bears a special responsibility for restoring a climate of trust and reducing polarization by taking the steps necessary to address grievances and get negotiations going.

Despite the grotesque distortions we sometimes see, no serious observer can claim that we have pulled our punches or accommodated ourselves to day-by-day apartheid injustice and mounting official repression. No major Western government has been more actively engaged on the whole range of human rights and reform issues than ours or brought its influence more fully to bear on the issue of regional diplomacy.

Recent events have triggered a period of review inside the South African leadership. One week ago, at its request, the President's National Security Adviser, Bud McFarlane, several colleagues, and I met in Vienna for talks with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha. The South Africans appeared to recognize that the underlying issues of political change had to be addressed and a process of negotiation launched. We were informed in general terms of the intention of President Botha to speak on these matters this week. We, in turn, made plain that bold steps were needed and mounting official and public concern in the United States and elsewhere over continued violence and racism was severely jeopardizing South Africa's external relations.

The Botha speech has now been given, and it has received widespread comment. Let me offer a few comments of my own.

The State President called it—and other recent declarations—his manifesto;

he made clear that, in the context of Afrikaner and National Party politics, it represents—and I quote—the “crossing of the Rubicon” from which “there can be no turning back.” In practical terms, the content of the speech includes:

- Recognition that key features of apartheid, such as influx control, are on the agenda for change;
- A renewed commitment to reform, including certain ideas on citizenship for black South Africans;
- Acceptance of the principle of participation and joint responsibility by all South Africans in an undefined constitution; and
- An explicit call for negotiation on these issues.

We consider yesterday's speech to be an important statement in that it discussed some issues that are at the core of the problem of apartheid. At the same time, the speech—written in the code language of a foreign culture within a polarized society—is not easily interpreted and raises many questions. We have repeatedly called for negotiations among South Africans and can only reaffirm our appeal that every avenue to possible reconciliation and dialogue be explored.

What must be emphasized is that a speech such as this is but an element of an ongoing process. It does not, in itself, constitute change. That can only come from concrete implementing actions that follow up in tangible ways on the principles that have been outlined. We will look for clarifications and implementation of those principles through negotiation between that government and leaders of South Africa's other communities.

Clearly, it is too soon to predict whether this statement or others that we expect will follow will get dialogue started and break the destructive pattern of recent months. President Botha's invitation to negotiate on the basis of broad abstract principles can be reinforced by practical steps such as the abolition of influx control, perhaps the most degrading aspect of apartheid in the daily lives of blacks. It is clear that blacks, who are otherwise prepared to talk, will raise the release of Nelson Mandela and other detained leaders. The U.S. Government is also on record in support of these goals. I do not mean to suggest an agenda here but rather to suggest that the government bears a special responsibility for creating confidence. In present-day South Africa, the crossing of Rubicons in white politics simply cannot be stated; it must be demonstrated. What we define as a Rubicon is when negotiation is no longer

about whether apartheid is to be dismantled but is about how and when. We must also recognize that fear and suspicion are a two-way street. Just as there are some in white politics who do not want to see negotiated power-sharing with blacks, there are, no doubt, blacks who oppose a negotiated compromise. Statesmanship is needed on both sides.

At this time of turmoil, we Americans can only hope that South Africans will get on with it and not get hung up on questions of face and procedure. Official government statements increasingly emphasize that reforms are rejected as inadequate or cosmetic when they are initiated by government; accordingly, specific reform commitments are delayed until they flow, or are seen to flow, from negotiation. On the opposition side, negotiation has often been turned down until specific pledges of change are made. Yet official reforms are frequently dismissed on the grounds that no credit should be given to political decisions from which blacks have been excluded. While perhaps understandable, this escalation of pro-

cedural and substantive preconditions has become destructive. Imagination and leadership are needed.

Conclusion: How Do We Proceed?

I have shared with you our basic principles and deep concerns and hopes, and I want to think that you share them. The question of how we can best be helpful in this drama is one on which people of integrity and conviction can differ. But let us remember our common goal and discuss our role with the seriousness it deserves.

I will conclude with my sense of the implications for policy:

- The United States should continue to avoid prescribing blueprints for South Africa's future. That is for South Africans.
- We should remain builders and not destroyers in that land and in that region, using the influence that derives from being present, having programs and people there, and from having contact and communication with all parties.

• We should voice clearly, in private and in public, our strong convictions about racism and violence with the strength derived from our own diverse and complex society.

• We should develop, rather than withdraw, our influence and be prepared to use it, while taking into account the strength and self-sufficiency of a state halfway round the world that cannot be coerced by outsiders on whom it is only marginally dependent.

• Finally, we should recall that our strongest tools in this situation are moral and political. That being the case, it won't be effective to walk away and sever our contact. We don't intend to do so. □

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

U.S. Aid Program for Human Rights Projects in South Africa August 1985

Background: Established in FY 1984 under Section 116(E) of the Foreign Assistance Act, the South African Human Rights Program was designed to promote "political, economic, and social, juridical and humanitarian efforts to foster a just society and to help victims of apartheid." Administered by the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria and the U.S. Agency for International Development, the program attempts to achieve these broad philosophical goals by encouraging the work of community-based non-government sponsored organizations working for the improvement of the human rights situation in South Africa. Since most of these organizations are very small, the grant money made available to them--in amounts generally not to exceed \$10,000.00 per application--can play a major role in making them financially viable and in attracting the attention of other funding sources. During the course of the first two years of the program's operation, grants were made to scores of projects in numerous geographical and occupational areas within South Africa.

U.S. Interests: The primary U.S. foreign policy goal with respect to South Africa is to encourage the peaceful evolution of that country toward a free, open and democratic society in which the basic rights of all individuals will be recognized and protected. The funds provided by the South African Human Rights Project make a significant contribution toward this objective.

Program Goals: The goals of the program are long term in nature. Within South Africa, many people aspire to the ideals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Human Rights Program funds can encourage evolutionary steps toward the achievement of these aspirations, which are themselves fully consistent with U.S. objectives. Specific goals of the program include not only the support of victims of racial discrimination but also the fostering of legal and social frameworks for change, including those which encourage research, discussion and awareness of human rights, those which encourage democratic principles and the free enterprise system, and, finally, those which increase the openness of the judicial and legal systems for all workers.

Funding Criteria: Funding decisions are based upon the evaluation of the proposed projects' probable short, medium and long term impacts on the communities which they will serve. In the short term, projects should increase the awareness of human rights and the capabilities of organizations working for their advancement. Proposed projects should, in the medium term, show the potential for affecting government policy in the areas of due process, freedom of speech, equal treatment under the law and general tolerance of diversity. Finally, and in the long run, projects might lead to the recognition of full citizenship for all, the improvement of human rights legislation and the development of mechanisms for black participation at all levels of government.

Projects: Successful proposals have served the goals of the program in numerous ways. The following four categories of projects are representative of the different routes taken to these goals.

- Many of the grants are made to organizations concerned with legal assistance to members of the non-white community in South Africa. Among these was a \$10,000.00 grant in April of 1985 to the Legal Education Center of the Black Lawyers' Association (BLA) for the funding of a law library. The BLA Education Center was launched in January of 1985 with grants from the Ford and Carnegie Corporations for the purposes of 1) undertaking programs to facilitate

placement of black law graduates as articled clerks, 2) formulating continuing education courses and seminars for black lawyers, 3) undertaking research into areas of the law most affecting black people, and 4) establishing law clinics to render advice to black communities. Although the goals and programs of the BLA Education Center overlap with those of other institutions, this program is the only one of its kind undertaken by an entirely black organization and its work will be greatly facilitated by the creation of this library of basic legal materials. Grants have also been made to other law-related projects including the Lawyers for Human Rights, to allow that group to set up a new office in Pretoria, and the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, to fund a two-day seminar on the problem of black participation in the legal profession.

- A second category of projects has included those concerned with the effects on non-white people of the South African government's educational policies. In October of 1985 a \$10,000.00 grant was made to the Careers Research & Information Centre (CRIC) for the purchase of data processing equipment. CRIC, founded in 1977 after the uprisings in Soweto and elsewhere, sought generally to develop an appropriate model of guidance for affected scholars and their peers aimed at backing up their attempts to work through their futures. From its inception, the project was conceived and run non-racially, though its prime audience is among black pupils and their teachers. The new data processing equipment will enable CRIC to expand its services in testing and career counseling for black and colored students in the Western Cape Region. Such assistance will help individuals overcome barriers erected by the South African social system in choosing educational patterns and subsequent careers. Other funded projects concerned with education include the South African Council of Higher Education Distance Learning Project, designed to counter obstacles to the upgrading of black education, and the Industrial Aid Centre Adult Literacy Program, established to enable workers, especially the unemployed, to become cognizant of their legal rights.

- A third category of grants has been made to organizations promoting development and organizational skills in black communities. The Youth Program of the Foundation For Social Development, given an \$8,500.00 grant in October of 1985, promotes self-reliance and organizational skills within educational and recreational programs. The National Build A Better Society Association, granted \$7,000.00, is establishing an advice project for people and disadvantaged communities which will include personal management, home management and financial education in order to broaden personal perspectives, educate people to make informed decisions, promote and develop leadership qualities and create a spirit of community awareness and confidence. Other grants, also focussed on organization and development, have funded a women's sewing circle and a program to provide assistance to the black urban aged.

- Finally, grants have been made to projects attempting to address, head on, the problem of resolving the social tensions in South African society. As an example of these, the Workshop on Negotiation Techniques sponsored by the Center For Intergroup Studies and funded by a U.S. grant of \$10,000.00, is concerned with research and education in conflict resolution and race and ethnic relations.

SOUTH AFRICA'S "INDEPENDENT" HOMELANDS

The United States has consistently refused to recognize the "independence" of the so-called independent homelands of Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, and Venda. The homelands, now referred to by the South African Government as "national states" and previously known as bantustans, are widely regarded as the culmination of South Africa's policy of "grand apartheid" and are not recognized by any country other than South Africa. South African Government policy is to assign each of the some 20 million black South Africans, who comprise about 72% of South Africa's population, to one of the ten homelands on the basis of his ethnic background, even if the individual is a resident of an urban township within "white" South Africa and has never been to the homeland. (The areas designated as homelands comprise 13% of South Africa's land area.) When a homeland receives "independence" all blacks assigned to it lose their South African citizenship and retain only homeland citizenship, making them effectively foreigners in South Africa. The homelands are for the most part small, often fragmented bits of land, located in impoverished rural areas, and are not economically viable. They depend heavily on South Africa for financial support. Their "governments" are likewise heavily dependent on white South African civil servants on loan who provide administrative services and who remain answerable to the South African Government. The South African Government has forcibly resettled hundreds of thousands of black South Africans into the homelands.

US policy toward the "independent" homelands is to treat them as integral parts of the Republic of South Africa. and to regard homeland "citizens" as citizens of the Republic of South Africa. In brief, we do not regard the homelands as a just or viable solution to South Africa's racial problem. However, we have no desire to punish homeland blacks for a situation for which they are not responsible and do not wish to impede genuine economic development of these impoverished areas. Thus, there are no special restrictions on US private sector investment or relationships with the homelands. US citizens are as free to engage in the homelands as they are to maintain economic, social, and cultural relationships in other parts of South Africa.

S. African Policy



Sept 30. 1985

THIS CONGRESS IS THE 70TH OF THE NATIONAL PARTY OF THE CAPE PROVINCE. IT HAS BEEN MY PRIVILEGE TO ATTEND 49 OF THE 70. IT IS ALSO THE 19TH YEAR THAT IT IS MY PRIVILEGE TO ATTEND AS LEADER OF THE NATIONAL PARTY OF THE CAPE PROVINCE.

I DO NOT SAY THIS TO PRAISE MYSELF. I SAY IT IN GRATITUDE. GRATITUDE TOWARDS EACH OFFICE-BEARER AND EACH MEMBER FOR THEIR UNFAILING AND FAITHFUL CO-OPERATION, AND GRATITUDE TOWARDS EACH ONE WHO THROUGH THE YEARS LOYALLY SUPPORTED AND SUSTAINED ME. I WISH TO EXPRESS MY SINCERE THANKS TO THE LARGE NUMBER OF BRANCHES, DISTRICT COUNCILS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO ASSURE US OF THEIR LOYALTY AND SUPPORT.

FUNDAMENTALLY, IT IS A MUTUAL AND UNITED LOYALTY AND DEDICATION TO THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE INTERESTS OF ITS PEOPLE.

THIS IS ALSO THE LAST OF THE NATIONAL PARTY'S PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES FOR 1985. I WANT TO TELL YOU TONIGHT THAT I AM ENCOURAGED BY THIS SERIES OF CONGRESSES BECAUSE THEY WERE CHARACTERISED TO A GREAT EXTENT BY THE PULSE OF REFORM. I WAS PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGED BY THE FACT THAT THE REFORM PROCESSES IN THE NATIONAL PARTY HAVE BECOME THE CENTRE OF POLITICAL THOUGHT, NOT ONLY WITHIN THE RANKS OF OUR OWN PARTY, BUT ALSO AS THE MAIN SUBJECT OF GENERAL CONVERSATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THIS IS WHY TONIGHT, I WISH TO FRANKLY DISCUSS THE ROAD AHEAD FOR SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL PARTY THEREIN.

WHEN I ASSUMED THE OFFICE OF PRIME MINISTER, I STATED CLEARLY AT UPINGTON THAT WE MUST SERVE THE CHRISTIAN DEMANDS OF JUSTICE.

SEEMINGLY, THE ATTACK LAUNCHED ON OUR COUNTRY IS AIMED AT A POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT PATTERN WHICH USES AS BASIS THE EXISTENCE OF DIVERSE GROUPS AND NATIONS IN THE COMMUNITIES AND ORDERING PROCESS OF OUR FATHERLAND. IN THIS CONDEMNATION IT IS IN REALITY NOT A MATTER OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF A DEVELOPMENT ACTION WHICH AIMS TO INCORPORATE GROUP RECOGNITION, BUT IT MERELY SERVES AS A CONVENIENT STRATAGEM. THE CONCEPTS OF 'MORALITY' AND A 'JUST SOCIETY' ARE EMBROILED IN THE SLOGAN OF 'APARTHEID'.

THE QUESTION OF APARTHEID

SOUTH AFRICA TODAY FACES A CRITICAL STAGE IN ITS HISTORY. AN INTENSE DEBATE IS RAGING HERE AND ABROAD ABOUT WHAT IS LABELLED 'APARTHEID', AND MORE SPECIFICALLY THE 'ABOLISHMENT OF APARTHEID'. UNDOUBTEDLY, THIS AFRIKAANS WORD WAS CHANGED INTO A SWEAR WORD IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WHETHER OR NOT PEOPLE UNDERSTAND ANYTHING ABOUT IT. MISREPRESENTATION FROM WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THIS SITUATION AND UNWISE ACTIONS BY OURSELVES HAVE IN SOME CASES PLAYED INTO THE HANDS OF OUR ENEMIES.

DOUBLE STANDARDS AND AN ORGANISED INTERNATIONAL LIE ARE RAMPANT, NOT BECAUSE THERE IS SO MUCH CONCERN FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE BLACK POPULATION, BUT FOR PURELY OPPORTUNISTIC REASONS.

DISCRIMINATION

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I HAVE FURTHER REPEATEDLY STATED - THE GOVERNMENT REJECTS DISCRIMINATION AND DOMINATION OF ONE GROUP OVER THE OTHER.

.BUT DOES IT NOT STRIKE YOU THAT THE ONSLAUGHT IS DIRECTED AT THE VERY PEACE-LOVING COMMUNITIES THAT WANT TO ASSIST IN ESTABLISHING PROGRESS IN THIS COUNTRY AND IMPROVING OUR NATIONAL SOCIETY IN AN EVOLUTIONARY WAY?

2. AND DOES IT NOT STRIKE YOU THAT THESE CONCEPTS OF 'MORALITY' AND 'A JUST SOCIETY' ARE HURLED AT US DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE WHITES WHO SETTLED IN SOUTH AFRICA, DID NOT EXTERMINATE THE NON-WHITES TO A MINORITY IN NUMBERS AS IN THE USA AND AUSTRALIA. WE DID NOT SOLVE OUR PROBLEM TO A DEGREE OF MANAGEABLENESS BY MEANS OF THE GUN. ON THE CONTRARY, THE WHITES HELPED TO SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF CHRISTIANITY AND THROUGH CIVILISED PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT, ATTEMPTED TO RAISE PEOPLE AND TO LET THEM PARTICIPATE IN THE PROSPERITY.

THE PAST

~~7-t-n-4-v-7-~~

3. NOWADAYS WE ARE TOLD JUST AS OFTEN TO FREE OURSELVES FROM THE PAST. THIS I CANNOT DO. THE PRESENT AND FUTURE FORM INEXTRICABLY PART OF THE PAST. THE ORIGIN OF OUR PROBLEMS AS WELL AS INDICATIONS FOR THE POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO OUR PROBLEMS CAN BE FOUND THERE. IT IS TRUE THAT THE FARMER WHO LOOKS BACK TOO OFTEN, MAKES CROOKED FURROWS. BUT IF YOU KNOW WHERE YOU COME FROM, YOU WILL NOT MOVE IN CIRCLES.

I CAN UNDERSTAND THAT IT COULD BE AN EMBARRASSMENT FOR SOME PEOPLE, TO THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT, IF THE FACTS OF THE PAST ARE INTRODUCED IN THE DEBATE. IT IS AN EMBARRASSMENT WHEN THE ACTUAL HISTORY OF WHAT TODAY IS SUPERFICIALLY LABELLED 'APARTHEID' IS DISCLOSED. WE HAVE TO OPEN UP THE DISCUSSION, BECAUSE IT IS THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH WE CAN GET CLARITY ON THE MATTERS WE ARE DISCUSSING.

LET US START BY ADMITTING FORTHRIGHTLY: FOR MOST OF OUR CRITICS, 'APARTHEID' MEANS THE ALLEGED OPPRESSION OF NON-WHITES BY WHITES. THE WORD 'APARTHEID' THUS HAS THE SAME EMOTIONAL MEANING IN THE WORLD AS THAT WHICH 'IMPERIALISM' AND 'COLONIALISM' HAD EARLIER.

SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS TODAY RATHER LIE IN WHAT OUR CRITICS THINK THIS SO-CALLED 'APARTHEID' IS, THAN IN WHAT IS REFLECTED BY THE ACTUAL DEVELOPMENT IN OUR COUNTRY.

A THIRD EXTREME VIEW INVOLVES WHITE DOMINATION OVER ALL THE OTHER MINORITY GROUPS. SEEN FROM ANY ANGLE, IT MEANS DISASTER FOR ALL AND CONTINUOUS CONFRONTATION.

NO RESPONSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN CAN CONSIDER ANY OF THESE ALTERNATIVES.

BESIDES THESE EXTREMES, THERE IS A WIDE SPECTRUM OF VIEWS THAT RECOGNISE THE EXISTENCE OF A DIVERSITY OF NATIONS AND POPULATION GROUPS.

IT RECOGNISES AND RESPECTS THE EXISTENCE OF MINORITIES WITH THEIR OWN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE, AS WELL AS AN OWN WAY OF LIFE.

IT RECOGNISES THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF OWN COMMUNITY LIFE SUCH AS EDUCATION, RESIDENTIAL AREAS AND SOCIAL WELFARE, LOCAL MANAGEMENT AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, IN OTHER WORDS, IN CULTURE IN THE GENERAL MEANING OF THE WORD.

IT IS HOWEVER IMPORTANT THAT FROM TIME TO TIME IN THIS COUNTRY OF MINORITIES, WE MEET EACH OTHER IN POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN ORDER TO DISCUSS MATTERS OF MUTUAL CONCERN WITHOUT THE ONE GROUP HAVING THE RIGHT TO DOMINATE THE OTHERS.

THE SO CALLED SEGREGATION OF BLACK GROUPS

ON THIS MATTER WE MUST LOOK INTO THE DEFINING ROLE PLAYED BY HISTORY IN THIS REGARD.

UNTIL THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY, TWO APPROACHES WERE APPLIED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

IN THE BRITISH COLONY OF NATAL AND IN THE BOER REPUBLICS, WHITE DOMINATION WAS THE APPROACH APPLIED.

IN THE CAPE COLONY THE APPROACH WAS ONE OF THE GRADUAL QUALIFIED INCLUSION OF NON-WHITES.

AFTER THE SECOND BOER WAR, LORD MILNER APPOINTED A NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMISSION THAT PUBLISHED ITS REPORT IN 1905. THE POLICY PROPOSED WAS THAT OF AREA SEPARATION BETWEEN BLACK AND NON-BLACK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1908/1909 THAT WAS TO DECIDE OUR FATE. IT IS NECESSARY TO PAUSE AT THIS MATTER FOR A MOMENT.

AFTER THE SECOND BOER WAR FOLLOWED A FAIRLY GENERAL ASPIRATION TOWARDS UNIFICATION OF SOUTH AFRICA. ONE OF THE MAJOR CONTROVERSIES WAS THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF THE BLACK POPULATION GROUPS.

GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA, GENERAL HERTZOG AND GENERAL JAN SMUTS, SUPPORTED BY A MAJORITY AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, WERE OF THE OPINION THAT FRANCHISE FOR BLACK POPULATION GROUPS SHOULD NOT BE ADDRESSED BECAUSE IT COULD IMPAIR THE POSSIBILITY OF UNIFICATION.

GENERAL SMUTS WAS AGAINST THE EXPANSION OF BLACK POLITICAL RIGHTS. HE WAS IN FAVOUR THAT THE QUESTION OF FRANCHISE FOR THE BLACK POPULATION GROUPS SHOULD ONLY BE ADDRESSED IN THE LONG TERM. HE AND THE LATE GENERAL HERTZOG INDEED DID THIS BETWEEN 1933 AND 1936.

AS FAR BACK AS 1910, THE SEGREGATION OF THE BLACK POPULATION GROUPS HAS ALREADY BEEN LAID DOWN IN PRINCIPLE AND IN PRACTICE. THIS FACT WAS REINFORCED IN 1913 WITH THE ADOPTION OF A LAW TO RESERVE SPECIFIC TERRITORIES FOR BLACK POPULATION GROUPS. THIS LAW CAUSED A GEOGRAPHICAL SEPARATION BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK, AS WELL AS BETWEEN THE RIGHTS OF WHITES AND THOSE OF BLACKS. BUT IN THESE AREAS, THE WHITES WERE PREVENTED FROM OBTAINING PROPERTY AND OTHER RIGHTS.

THIS ALSO FORMED THE BASIS OF THE INDEPENDENT AND SELF-GOVERNING NATIONAL STATES WITH THE ALLOCATION OF TRADITIONAL TERRITORY, WHICH WAS EXTENDED BY 7 1/4 MILLION MORGEN IN 1936 AND IS STILL BEING CONTINUED. NO INDEPENDENT NATIONAL OR SELF-GOVERNING STATE IS PREPARED TO SACRIFICE ITS AUTONOMY.

'APARTHEID' IN THE SENSE OF REGIONAL SEPARATION AND THE DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH TO BLACK RIGHTS, WAS THUS ESTABLISHED EVEN BEFORE THE FOUNDING OF THE NATIONAL PARTY IN 1914.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOR BLACKS IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT HAVE THUS BEEN A POINT OF DISPUTE IN SOUTH AFRICA RIGHT FROM THE START.

IF THE BASIS FOR WHAT IS LABELLED 'APARTHEID' WAS LAID DOWN LONG BEFORE 1948, WHY THEN SINGLE OUT THE NATIONAL PARTY AFTER 1948? OR WERE WE PERHAPS JUST MORE HONEST ABOUT IT THAN OTHERS?

THE NATIONAL PARTY

7-1-11 - - - v-7-0-1- -v-2- -c-v-~7-~

THE NATIONAL PARTY IS A UNIQUE PARTY IN THE WESTERN WORLD.

THE 37 YEARS OF UNINTERRUPTED NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE AMONGST THE LONGEST IN MODERN HISTORY OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY. THERE IS A GOOD REASON FOR THIS PHENOMENON. THE MAJORITY OF WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA REGARD THE NATIONAL PARTY AS THEIR POLITICAL HAVEN OF SAFETY. BUT THEY ALSO REGARD THE NATIONAL PARTY AS THE MEANS THROUGH WHICH REASONABLE AND CO-OPERATIVE CO-EXISTENCE WITH OTHER POPULATION GROUPS CAN BE MADE POSSIBLE. I KNOW OF NO CASE

OF HATRED WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY TOWARDS FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN. I ONLY KNOW OF THE WILL TO PROTECT OUR OWN WITH LOVE. THE NATIONAL PARTY ALSO OPPOSES ANY SELFISH MOTIVES IN RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS.

IT WAS AND IS A JOY AND PRIDE TO US. IT WAS AND IS ALSO A HUGE RESPONSIBILITY. THE RESPONSIBILITY IS INCREASING.

BUT THE NATIONAL PARTY IS EXPERIENCING A SPECIFIC DILEMMA.

IN OTHER DEMOCRACIES, THE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES SUCCEED EACH OTHER REGULARLY AS GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY. WHILE ONE PARTY IS IN GOVERNMENT, IT GOVERNS ACCORDING TO ITS LATEST ELECTION MANIFEST. IF THE PARTY IS IN THE OPPOSITION, THE MISTAKES OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT ARE CORRECTED. THEN THE SLATE IS CLEANED. NEW CIRCUMSTANCES DURING A NEXT ELECTION DEMAND A NEW MANIFEST. THE PROGRAM OF PRINCIPLES REMAINS CONSTANT. BUT THE PROGRAM OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ADJUSTS TO THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE NATIONAL PARTY'S PRIVILEGE TO BE IN GOVERNMENT CONTINUOUSLY SINCE 1948, THUS CONFRONTS IT WITH A UNIQUE DILEMMA. THE PRESENT OFFICE-BEARERS, MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY ARE PEOPLE WITH SOUND REASONING. THEY REALISE THAT NEW TIMES DEMAND NEW APPROACHES. THEY REALISE THAT LIFE ITSELF IS A PROCESS OF REFORM AND CHANGE. BUT THERE ARE THOSE IN OUR COUNTRY WHO LACK A REALISTIC FUTURE VISION FOR SOUTH AFRICA, WHO WANT THE NATIONAL PARTY IN 1985 TO STOP DEAD ON THE MANIFEST OF 1948. THERE ARE ALSO THOSE WHO ARE BLIND-FOLDED, OR WHO MISCHIEVOUSLY BELIEVE THAT IT IS INDEED THE CASE.

AT THE SAME TIME THERE ARE THOSE ABROAD WHO, FROM IGNORANCE, OR FOR THE SAKE OF OWN OPPORTUNISTIC INTERESTS, ARE ATTEMPTING TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE NATIONAL PARTY IS STILL AT THE MANIFEST OF 1948.

AS FAR BACK AS 1948 DR MALAN SAID THE FOLLOWING:

4 JUNE 1948 - RADIO INTERVIEW

'APARTHEID IS NOT THE CARICATURE SO OFTEN MADE THERE-OF. IN FACT TO THE NON-WHITES IT MEANS THE BUILDING OF GREATER INDEPENDENCE AND THEIR FEELING OF SELF-RESPECT, AS WELL AS THE INCREASED OPPORTUNITY FOR FREE DEVELOPMENT CONFIRMING TO THEIR OWN NATURE AND SUSCEPTIBILITY.'

THIS IS WHY WE ARE TODAY STRUGGLING TO BRING HOME TO EVERYONE THE REALITIES OF THE NATIONAL PARTY OF 1985. THIS IS WHY THE OPPONENTS TO THE LEFT OF THE GOVERNMENT, HERE AND ABROAD, CAN CONTINUALLY DEMAND: 'ABOLISH APARTHEID'. THE FACTS ARE THAT WE ARE BUSY TO OUTGROW 'APARTHEID' IN THE DISCRIMINATORY AND NEGATIVE SENSE AND HAS DONE SO IN MANY RESPECTS. CO-OPERATIVE CO-EXISTENCE IS A LIVING PROCESS

WHICH STILL DEMANDS REFORM AND ADJUSTMENTS. BUT IT IS ALSO A PROCESS OF CONSULTATION IN AN EVOLUTIONARY WAY WITH RECOGNITION OF EACH OTHER'S RIGHTS. THIS IS AN APPROACH THAT ACCEPTS THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS. IT IS AN APPROACH WHICH PURSUES CHRISTIAN JUSTICE, BUT IT IS NOT A POLICY FOR SUICIDE.

I HAVE ALREADY REPEATEDLY STATED THAT IF 'APARTHEID' MEANS

- POLITICAL DOMINATION OF ONE GROUP OVER ANOTHER,
- THE EXCLUSION OF ANY COMMUNITY FROM THE POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESS,
- INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY IN THE OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE TO ANY COMMUNITY,
- RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND ENCROACHMENT UPON HUMAN DIGNITY,

THEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHARES IN THE REJECTION OF THE CONCEPT.

REASONS FOR REFORM

MY GOVERNMENT AND I HAVE MADE A CHOICE AND THEREBY I MUST STAND OR FALL. IT IS A CHOICE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM. I HAVE NOT MADE THIS CHOICE TO OBLIGE FOREIGN COUNTRIES, BESIDES, THE PRICE TO PERMANENTLY OBLIGE FOREIGN COUNTRIES IS TOO HIGH TO PAY. I CANNOT SUBJECT MY COUNTRY TO THE DEMANDS AND INSTRUCTIONS FROM ABROAD, BECAUSE WE, AND NOT THEM, HAVE TO EXPERIENCE THE CONSEQUENCES THEREOF. AND WHEN REASONABLE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE FOUND EACH OTHER, FOREIGN COUNTRIES WILL HAVE TO ACCEPT THE RESULTS, NO MATTER WHAT.

THE REASON WHY I ADVOCATE REFORM IS ALSO NOT BECAUSE OPPRESSORS ARE BLACKMAILING ME. BECAUSE WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO PEACE, SOUTH AFRICA WILL NOT BE SURRENDERED TO CONTROL BY FIRE-RAISING, STONE-THROWING MOBS. FREEDOM IS NOT TO BE FOUND ALONG THIS ROAD. SOUTH AFRICA WILL THUS NOT ALLOW OPPRESSORS TO BLOCK THE PROCESS OF REFORM AND OF LIBERATION. THAT MUST BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD BY ALL.

ACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER AND TO ENSURE THE SAFETY OF ALL MEMBERS OF OUR SOCIETY, MUST THEREFORE BE JUDGED IN TERMS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S IRREVOCABLE COMMITMENT TO REFORM.

I WISH TO EMPHASISE THAT SECURITY ACTION DOES NOT OPPOSE REFORM. IN OUR SITUATION IT IS A SUPPLEMENTARY MEANS. SECURITY ACTION DOES THUS NOT OCCUR FOR PURPOSES OF OPPRESSION AND MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO. WE RECOGNISE THE RIGHT TO PROTEST, BUT THE RIGHT TO PROTEST MAY NOT LEAD TO VIOLATION OF THE LAW.

ACTIONS BY OUR SECURITY FORCES SUCH AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE ARE ESSENTIAL EXPRESSLY TO PROTECT THE PROCESS OF PEACEFUL REFORM AND TO ENSURE THE NECESSARY STABILITY WITHOUT WHICH REFORM WILL BE UNDERMINED BY VIOLENCE AND REVOLUTION.

I ADVOCATE REFORM BECAUSE IT IS THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE NATIONAL PARTY SINCE ITS FOUNDING - A PHILOSOPHY OF JUSTICE AND FREEDOM WHICH REJECTS DOMINATION.

THE HISTORY OF THE AFRIKANER AND THE OTHER LANGUAGE GROUPS IS CHARACTERISED BY A STRUGGLE AGAINST DOMINATION AND TODAY WE ARE CONTINUING THIS STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM BY MEANS OF STEPS OF REFORM - FREEDOM FOR OURSELVES AND FOR EVERYONE WHO SHARES THIS COUNTRY WITH US.

RESULTS OF REFORM

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DESPITE CRITICISM FROM MANY SIDES, NO-ONE CAN DISPUTE THAT WHICH SOUTH AFRICA HAS ALREADY ATTAINED ON THE ROAD OF REFORM UNDER MY GOVERNMENT.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1983 WAS AN HISTORICAL BREAKTHROUGH IN THE BROADENING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER GROUPS IN THE PARLIAMENTARY PROCESS, HAS ALREADY RESULTED IN THE REPEAL OF VARIOUS PARTS OF LEGISLATION THAT SOME COMMUNITIES EXPERIENCED AS DISCRIMINATORY, SUCH AS THE MIXED MARRIAGES ACT AND SECTION 16 OF THE IMMORALITY ACT. IN ADDITION TO THIS, THE POLITICAL INTERFERENCE ACT WAS REPEALED. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS, AND THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM IS UNDERWAY.

REFORM MEASURES CONCERNING BLACK COMMUNITIES INCLUDE AMONG OTHERS RECOGNITION OF THEIR PERMANENCE WITHIN THE RSA, CONCEDING OF THE RIGHT OF OWNERSHIP AND RECOVERY OF SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP.

OTHER IMPORTANT REFORM STEPS INCLUDE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, AS WELL AS THE SUPPORT GIVEN TO THE SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION.

I ALSO WISH TO REITERATE ONCE AGAIN, THE DRASTIC REFORM THAT TOOK PLACE IN CONNECTION WITH OUR LABOUR LAWS.

AGENDA FOR REFORM

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I AM THE FIRST TO CONCEDE THAT THE PROCESS OF ADJUSTMENT AND CHANGE IS STILL FAR FROM COMPLETION. AND, INDEED, NOWHERE IN THE WORLD CAN SUCH A PROCESS EVER BE CONSIDERED 'COMPLETE'. FOR THIS REASON, I AM OFTEN ASKED 'AND NOW WHAT?' WHAT IS THE AGENDA MY GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE? I HAVE OFTEN EXPRESSED MYSELF ON THIS MATTER, BUT IT REMAINS A REASONABLE QUESTION THAT SHOULD REPEATEDLY BE ANSWERED CLEARLY.

THE GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH EACH SOUTH AFRICAN WHO IS INTERESTED IN PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS AND INDEED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING POINTS

INDEED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING POINTS.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

IN THE FIELD OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM I STATE THE FOLLOWING:

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA FORMS ONE STATE. IT IS AN EXPLICIT IMPLICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THAT INDEPENDENCE WILL NOT BE FORCED ON THE SELF-GOVERNING AREAS AND THAT THEY FORM PART OF THE REPUBLIC UNTIL THEY SHOULD DECIDE TO BECOME INDEPENDENT. IN THIS REGARD HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT ALSO RESPECTS THE DECISION OF THE FOUR STATES THAT PREVIOUSLY FORMED PART OF THE REPUBLIC, TO TAKE INDEPENDENCE. AS A RESULT OF THE LARGE DEGREE OF INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT STATES AND THE REPUBLIC, THE GOVERNMENT NEVERTHELESS ACKNOWLEDGES THE POSSIBILITY OF CO-OPERATION WITH THESE STATES IN AN OVERALL FRAMEWORK.

IT FOLLOWS FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW THAT THERE SHOULD BE ONE COLLECTIVE SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL WHO FORM PART OF THE REPUBLIC. FOR THIS REASON I ANNOUNCED ON 11 SEPTEMBER THIS YEAR AMONG OTHER THINGS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP OF THOSE BLACK PERSONS WHO PERMANENTLY RESIDE IN THE REPUBLIC, BUT WHO LOST THEIR CITIZENSHIP AS A RESULT OF INDEPENDENCE, WILL BE RESTORED.

THIRDLY, MY GOVERNMENT STATED CLEARLY THAT ALL GROUPS AND COMMUNITIES WITHIN THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OF THIS STATE MUST OBTAIN REPRESENTATION TO THE HIGHEST LEVEL WITHOUT DOMINATION OF THE ONE OVER THE OTHER. THEREFORE I DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE GOVERNMENT IS TIME AND AGAIN STILL EXPECTED TO SAY THAT IT IS PREPARED TO SHARE ITS POWER OF DECISION-MAKING WITH OTHER COMMUNITIES. IT IS ACCEPTED NATIONAL PARTY POLICY AND SURELY IT IS EVIDENT IN VIEWS REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

IT IS THE CONVICTION OF THE GOVERNMENT THAT ANY EVENTUAL CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION WILL HAVE TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE MULTI-CULTURAL NATURE OF THE COMPOSITION OF OUR POPULATION IN THIS COUNTRY, AND THAT ANY DISPENSATION WILL HAVE TO ENSURE THAT ONE GROUP IS NOT PLACED IN A POSITION WHERE IT CAN DOMINATE OTHER GROUPS. THE PROTECTION OF MINORITY GROUPS WILL THUS HAVE TO BE ENSURED. I WISH TO EMPHASISE THAT IT IS NOT ONLY THE WHITES WHO ARE A MINORITY GROUP.

- IN ORDER TO MEET THESE REALITIES AND VIEWS, IT IS EVIDENT THAT UNITS WILL HAVE TO BE RECOGNISED ON A GEOGRAPHICAL AND GROUP BASIS. THIS OBVIOUSLY ALSO INCLUDE THE BLACK URBAN COMMUNITIES WHO, FOR CONSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES, ARE RECOGNISED AS POLITICAL ENTITIES. EACH SUCH UNIT SHOULD HAVE AUTONOMY ON MATTERS THAT ONLY AFFECT THAT UNIT, WHILE THE UNITS ON THE CENTRAL LEVEL SHOULD JOINTLY MANAGE MATTERS OF MUTUAL CONCERN.

- IT IS THE CONVICTION OF THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE STRUCTURES IN WHICH THIS CO-OPERATION WILL TAKE PLACE, MUST BE THE RESULT OF NEGOTIATION WITH THE LEADERS OF ALL THE COMMUNITIES. HERE I INCLUDE TRADITIONAL LEADERS, CHOSEN LEADERS, POLITICAL LEADERS, CHURCH LEADERS AS WELL AS LEADERS OF SPECIFIC INTEREST GROUPS SUCH AS BUSINESS PEOPLE, ETC.

AMERICAN JEWISH

HOWEVER, I WANT TO PUT IT CLEARLY TO THOSE LEADERS WHO INDICATE THAT THEY WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN NEGOTIATION ON THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY, THAT THEY WILL BE EXPECTED TO MAKE A CHOICE. LEADERS CANNOT PAY LIP SERVICE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NEGOTIATION WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ATTEMPTING TO COVER THEIR REARS AGAINST RADICAL ELEMENTS WHICH DO NOT WANT TO NEGOTIATE. IT IS AN ATTITUDE OF NEITHER FISH NOR FLESH AND ONE CANNOT SERVE TWO MASTERS AT THE SAME TIME.

WORLD HISTORY HAS ALSO SHOWN THAT CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES IN ITSELF ARE NO GUARANTEE TO SUCCESS. ALTHOUGH THE DETAILS OF STRUCTURES ARE IMPORTANT, SUCCESS DEPENDS IN THE LAST INSTANCE ON THE WILL OF ALL PARTICIPANTS TO MAKE THE MODEL SUCCEED.

- SOLUTIONS MUST BE DEMOCRATIC, BUT IN THIS REGARD I WISH TO JOIN THE RANKS OF OTHER LEADERS WHO AGREE THAT SOLUTIONS ARE NOT TO BE FOUND IN CLICHED MODELS, ALTHOUGH THEY COULD INCLUDE ELEMENTS OF KNOWN MODELS.

TO SUMMARISE, I THUS FINALLY CONFIRM THAT MY PARTY AND I ARE COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA, ONE CITIZENSHIP AND A UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE, BUT WITHIN THE STRUCTURES CHOSEN BY SOUTH AFRICANS, NOT WITHIN STRUCTURES PRESCRIBED FROM ABROAD OR THAT ARE PERHAPS SUCCESSFUL ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD. NATURALLY THE PRINCIPLE OF A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA INCLUDES THE REALITY AND THE DESIRABILITY OF TERRITORIAL AND BORDER DIVISIONS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA, SUCH AS FOR EXAMPLE PROVINCIAL BORDERS FOR PURPOSES OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT, AN OWN TERRITORY FOR EACH OF THE SELF-GOVERNING STATES AND JURISDICTION AREAS FOR SYSTEMS OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL AUTHORITY. FOR THIS REASON WE ARE INVOLVED IN THE MUTUAL PURSUANCE OF BOTH EQUAL RIGHTS FOR INDIVIDUALS AND SECURITY FOR EACH GROUP. THE WAYS IN WHICH THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS,

SUCH AS LIFE AND PROPERTY, CAN BE PROTECTED, ARE THEREFORE AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S AGENDA FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

I BELIEVE THAT THE VIEWS I HAVE JUST EXPRESSED, CONSTITUTE A CLEAR AGENDA OF WHAT THE GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL FIELD. I FURTHER BELIEVE THAT THE RIGHTFUL POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF EVERYONE IN SOUTH AFRICA CAN BE ACCOMMODATED WITHIN THESE GUIDELINES.

Socio-Economic Reform

BESIDES THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS, IT IS EVIDENT THAT FURTHER SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORM, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE, ETHNIC CHARACTER AND ORIGIN ARE REJECTED, IS ALSO PUT ON THE AGENDA BY THE GOVERNMENT.

IN THIS REGARD, I WISH TO REFER BRIEFLY TO THE IMPORTANT REPORT AN URBANISATION STRATEGY FOR SOUTH AFRICA RECENTLY SUBMITTED TO THE GOVERNMENT BY THE COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL.

THE GOVERNMENT HIGHLY APPRECIATES THE IMPORTANT AND COMPLICATED TASK COMPLETED WITHIN A SHORT SPACE OF TIME BY THE COMMITTEE AND ITS CO-WORKERS. THE REPORT IS NATURALLY BEING STUDIED IN DEPTH BY THE GOVERNMENT. THE MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING, WAS INSTRUCTED TO SUBMIT PROPOSALS TO THE CABINET WITHIN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS.

ROLE OF THE PRESIDENTS COUNCIL

IN ORDER TO FURTHER THE PROCESS OF REFORM, I ANNOUNCED ON 25 JANUARY THIS YEAR THAT LEADERS OF BLACK COMMUNITIES MUST BE INVOLVED IN ENQUIRIES THAT CONCERN THE POSITION OF THOSE COMMUNITIES. IN THIS REGARD THE ROLE PLAYED AND TO BE PLAYED BY THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL, SHOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED.

THEREFORE, IF THE NEED EXISTS AMONG THE LEADERS OF BLACK COMMUNITIES TO PARTICIPATE WITHIN THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL IN ENQUIRIES AND THE SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS TO ME AS HEAD OF STATE AND THE GOVERNMENT ON MATTERS THAT CONCERN THOSE COMMUNITIES, I AM WILLING TO RECONSIDER THE STRUCTURING AND THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION.

THERE ARE MANY INSTITUTIONS WHICH DID NOT FORM PART OF THE REFORM IDEAL OF THE NATIONAL PARTY, BUT WHICH NOW WANT TO HIJACK THE PLAN. THE REFORM ACTION OF THE NATIONAL PARTY WAS BORN IN SPITE OF IT AND IS BEING CONTINUED FROM THE CONVICTION OF THE MERITS OF REFORM AND NOT THE URGENCY THEREOF.

AJC Statements



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 IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, July 30... The American Jewish Committee today called upon the South African government to lift the state of emergency imposed last week, and to move "without delay" toward abolition of apartheid.

In a statement by Howard I. Friedman, President, and Leo Nevas, Chairman of the International Relations Commission, the human relations agency termed the imposition of the state of emergency "a defeat for the rule of law" and "a cruel repudiation of South Africans who are working for non-violent change."

The AJC predicted in its statement that "the violation of the basic rights of South Africans" would result only in more bloodshed and would cripple "peaceful efforts to eliminate apartheid," which it described as "the root cause of the tragic killings in South Africa in recent months and years."

Reiterating its "abhorrence of apartheid," which its governing bodies have denounced on previous occasions and which it now called "South Africa's scheme of legalized racism that is devoid of elementary humanity," the AJC also urged South African President P.W. Botha to meet with Bishop Desmond M. Tutu "in the interest of ending the current cycle of violence."

The full AJC statement follows:

"The South African government's imposition of a state of emergency on July 21 is a defeat for the rule of law in that country, and a cruel repudiation of South Africans who are working for non-violent change.

"Under the state of emergency, which confers broad powers of arrest on the military and police and imposes censorship on the media, more than 1,000 persons have been detained, and a number of deaths have occurred. This violation of the basic rights of South Africans will only beget more bloodshed, and will cripple peaceful efforts to eliminate apartheid, the root cause of the tragic killings in South Africa in recent months and years.

"The American Jewish Committee reiterates its abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's scheme of legalized racism that is devoid of elementary humanity. We urge South African President P.W. Botha to enter into discourse with Bishop Desmond M. Tutu in the interest of ending the current cycle of violence. We call upon the South African government to lift the state of emergency and to move without delay toward the abolition of apartheid."

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.



STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

In its November 1984 Statement on South Africa, the American Jewish Committee reaffirmed its abhorrence of apartheid and called for its elimination. Since November, violence bred by apartheid has led to numerous deaths and to further violation of civil liberties. On March 21, 1985 -- twenty-five years after the Sharpeville massacre -- police gunfire at Uitenhage felled nineteen Blacks. Two days later, the South African Government banned meetings by twenty-nine, largely Black anti-apartheid groups, underscoring the exclusion of Blacks from participation in public life. All of these events, including those of recent months, have prompted us to reexamine our position.

Americans, including American Jews, have condemned the escalation of violence in South Africa and have continued to express their outrage at the South African treatment of Blacks and other non-whites as separate from and inferior to whites in fact and in law. Jewish tradition reveres law as an instrument of justice. Twisting law to make it an agent of racial discrimination is odious and offensive.

South Africa's scheme of legalized racism is devoid of elementary humanity. The abolition of the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Acts is a positive but inadequate step. If freedom's bell is ever to ring in South Africa, measures such as the influx control laws and the Group Areas Act must be revoked; brutal practices such as forced removals to the so-called "homelands" must be abandoned; detention without trial must cease; and the country's Black majority must be enfranchised within the political system.

As outsiders, we recognize that our role in effecting change in South Africa is limited -- that basic changes must come from South Africans themselves. But Jewish history teaches us that, in the face of a brazen abrogation of fundamental human rights, silence is inconceivable.

We must strengthen and encourage those forces in South Africa seeking nonviolent change, including trade unions, church groups, human rights and other voluntary agencies, educational and professional associations and U.S. companies that practice non-discrimination, provide training and other benefits for Black workers, and work for the elimination of apartheid.

We support:

1. Appropriate proposed Federal legislation that would
 - (a) ban U.S. bank loans to entities owned and controlled by the South African Government, unless and until that Government makes substantial progress toward the elimination of discriminatory practices; and
 - (b) restrict exports earmarked for use by the South African military and police.

2. Federal legislation that would require U.S. companies operating in South Africa with ten or more employees to face appropriate U.S. Government sanctions if within two years they fail to comply with the following principles:
 - (a) non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and work facilities;
 - (b) equal and fair employment practices for all employees;
 - (c) equal pay for all employees doing equal work;
 - (d) initiation and development of training programs that will prepare, in substantial numbers, Blacks and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs;
 - (e) to increase the number of Blacks and other non-whites in management and supervisory positions; and
 - (f) to make good faith efforts to improve the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.

3. Those Congressional resolutions that condemn South Africa's "homelands" policy, and call for a study by the Secretary of State, or by other competent and impartial agencies, of the recent violence in that country.

We would also support:

1. The introduction of Congressional resolutions that condemn the Group Areas Act and the influx control laws; and
2. investigation by human rights groups and other nongovernmental organizations of recent violence in South Africa.

We recommend the following new and continuing activities for AJC nationally and at the chapter level, and for individual members:

- (a) encouraging officials of the U.S. Government and other of democratic governments to exert strong diplomatic pressure on the South African Government to end apartheid;
- (b) speaking out against apartheid in international fora;
- (c) working with like-minded groups, including those in South Africa, dedicated to the promotion and protection of human rights to free unjustly jailed, detained or "banned" persons;
- (d) giving support to educational, vocational, and other programs, sponsored by the U.S. Government and by private groups, to promote the full participation of Black and other non-white South Africans in the economic and public life of their country;

- (e) encouraging U.S. companies operating in South Africa to: comply with the code of fair employment practices outlined above; use their influence within the public and private sectors in that country to secure the elimination of all apartheid laws; support the freedom of mobility of Black workers to seek employment opportunities wherever they exist, and make possible the provision of adequate housing for families of employees within the proximity of workers' employment; and
- (f) working in coalition with other groups for the advancement of the principles and activities described above.

The situation in South Africa is dynamic. We will therefore periodically review the measures outlined here.

Adopted at the 79th Annual Meeting, May 1, 1985.

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The American Jewish Committee

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

August 2, 1985

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The American Jewish Committee urges you to support the House-Senate Conference bill on South Africa which, we believe, represents the consensus of the Congress and of the country on this issue.

The bill gives concrete expression to America's tradition of promoting human rights around the globe. Without severing U. S. links with South Africa, economic or diplomatic, the measure signals American opposition to the South African government's failure to move toward the elimination of apartheid, illustrated by that government's recent imposition of a state of emergency. The bill will also strengthen the hand of those South Africans seeking nonviolent change.

Consistent with American Jewish Committee policy, which, as explained more fully in the attached statements, is designed to encourage the peaceful dismantling of apartheid, the House-Senate bill calls for: a ban on bank loans to the South African government, a ban on the export of goods earmarked for the South African military or police, and the mandating of fair employment practices for U. S. companies operating in South Africa.

We recognize that America's role in effecting change in South Africa is limited--that basic changes must come from South Africans themselves. But, as Jewish history teaches, in the face of the violation of fundamental human rights, inaction is inconceivable.

Sincerely,

Leo Nevas, Chairman
International Relations
Commission

Howard I. Friedman,
President

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, President
DAVID M. JACOBSON, Vice President
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JOHN E. RYAN, Chairman, Religious Affairs Committee
ROBERT M. HAYES, Chairman, Special Projects Committee

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

The American Jewish Committee, this country's pioneer human relations organization, has been devoted since its founding to combatting violations of human rights wherever they occur. In this tradition, we reaffirm our abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination, and we call for its speedy elimination.

We applaud the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, a courageous and eloquent leader of the anti-apartheid struggle. The award symbolizes universal recognition of the justice of this cause.

Unhappily, in South Africa, voices of protest against apartheid are often silenced harshly. Lack of due process and detention without trial are prominent features of life, with attendant abuse of political power.

Recently enacted constitutional reforms, belatedly offering partial representation to Indians and "coloreds," have left the system of racial segregation intact; unfortunately, they fail to enfranchise South Africa's overwhelming black majority. The policy of "resettling" blacks in poverty-stricken "homelands" has disrupted the lives of hundreds of thousands -- perhaps millions. The influx control laws and the Group Areas Act aggravate the suffering of the black population.

The role that those outside the country can play in combatting apartheid is limited. But they can help to enhance the prospects for peaceful change, which would benefit South Africans of all races and religions.

Thus, we endorse programs by private groups and government agencies, in the United States and abroad, for educating black and other non-white South Africans to assume a prominent role in the economic and public life of their country. Education can be a powerful force for social change, a key element in dismantling apartheid.

Furthermore, all American companies operating in South Africa should be urged to apply fair employment practices toward blacks. These include desegregating the workplace, permitting workers to join trade unions providing equal pay for comparable work, initiating job training programs, creating opportunities for career advancement, and improving health, housing, and school facilities. Additionally, all European firms doing business in South Africa should be urged to adhere to the fair employment principles enunciated in the 1977 EEC Code of Conduct. Such practices by Western firms can contribute significantly to the long-term goal of building a society based on equality and justice.

Finally, we urge the United States Government, and all other Western governments, to work vigorously through appropriate bilateral and multilateral channels, for the democratization of South African society.

Adopted by the National Executive Council
Chicago, Illinois, November 2, 1984

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