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Series A: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1961-1996.

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Apartheid, 1985-1990.

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July 14, 1988

29 Tammuz 5748

Mr. and Mrs. David M. Levitt  
15 East 64th Street  
New York, NY 10021

Dear Norma and David:

Thanks for a delightful evening. The food and ambience  
were superb but your company even more *scintillating*.  
Rhea and I wish we could do it all the time.

Lots of love.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



*Openhand*

August 26, 1987  
1 Elul 5747

Mr. Richard L. Fisher  
Presiding Bishop  
11th District, AME Zion Church  
Council on Southern Africa  
1025 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Suite 1114  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Bishop Fisher:

I am writing in response to your letter of August 19. Much to my regret, I now find that I simply cannot accept another Board of Directors position. When I spoke with Dr. Armstrong I said I might possibly become a Board member of the Council on Southern Africa. In re-thinking the matter, it certainly would not be fair for me to accept a responsibility which I am simply unable to fulfill.

My meeting and travel schedule, in addition to my day to day responsibilities, are exceedingly heavy. Thus, I hope you will understand the reason that I must decline your most gracious invitation.

My warm good wishes to everyone involved in the Council on Southern Africa. May your efforts be crowned with success. With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

AMS

Council on Southern Africa  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Check with AE  
for advice

Since we're in

disinvestment &  
sanctions, this is  
not for you

it's a  
resource for  
corporations

19 August 1987

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York, 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am writing this letter to follow-up on Dr. James Armstrong's invitation for you to become a member of the Board of Directors of the Council on Southern Africa. We are very pleased that you have agreed to serve on the Board.

On Wednesday, 20 May 1987, Pagan International hosted a planning meeting in Washington, D.C. at which the concept of the Council was first formally proposed to a group of denominational and business leaders. The primary purpose of the Council will be to serve as an umbrella organization to authenticate and endorse programs aimed at ending apartheid and preparing the black population in South Africa for their post-apartheid responsibilities.

Pagan International has been involved in the formulation of strategies for multinational corporations concerning South Africa for several years. Some time ago, in their consideration of the Sullivan Principles program, they observed that one of the program weaknesses was that it had no discernable base of black grassroots support beyond the endorsement of Reverend Sullivan. When Reverend Sullivan decided to end his endorsement of his own principles, he spoke somewhat wistfully of his years as a loner. This served to emphasize anew the lack of a badly needed base of support. Since Pagan International had been developing programs for companies who want to remain in South Africa and lending support to Bishop John Walker's initiative for South Africa, it seemed prudent to pay attention to the very flaw that had been observed in Reverend Sullivan's otherwise laudable effort. There was also sensitivity to the fact that Bishop Walker did not have a grassroots support base either. The Council on Southern Africa is being developed with a broad base of support in the U.S. black community and especially among black churchmen.



An underlying assumption of the Council is that there is an important and vital role for U.S. corporations to play in the undoing of the structures of apartheid and in creating an able, well-educated and trained black middle class in South Africa. The Council's leadership, which will be made up mostly eminent black leaders, believes that the Council will offer an alternative to the messages being transmitted by TransAfrica, the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), and others, as well as constructive alternatives to punitive action such as disinvestment and divestment.

At a second planning meeting for the Council in Washington, D.C., a decision was made to move forward rapidly. At that meeting, interim officers and a steering committee were appointed. I was selected to serve as president. Because of his experience with the Consultation on Church Union and his proven leadership as president of an historically black college, Dr. W. Clyde Williams was selected by the steering committee to serve as Acting General Secretary of the Council to organize and begin the work of the group. Since then, a charter has been drafted and the necessary papers have been filed to legally establish the Council and qualify it for 501(c)(3) status. I have enclosed copies of a confidential report of that meeting and a list of present and prospective members, for your information. I would appreciate your keeping this material on a very close-hold basis for the present time.

We anticipate that the Council will have a board of fifteen to twenty members, broadly representative of the U.S. community, church leadership, private voluntary organization leadership and South African grassroots leaders. There will be industry representation on the board of trustees of the Council through one or two of the CEO's of participating companies.

Sal Marzullo of Mobil Oil and some other members of the Industry Support Unit have been briefed on the development of the Council. They attended the two planning meetings and were very interested in the development of such an entity. Consequently, a third meeting has been scheduled for Tuesday, 15 September 1987 at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Washington, D. C. with approximately thirty chief executive officers. We hope that it will be convenient for you to join us at that meeting.

There is great potential for the Council to make a powerful impact on the lives of many black South Africans. However, it will require persons of your stature and experience to assemble the best possible group to undertake this important endeavor. Your membership on the board would be invaluable.

I have been very encouraged by the enthusiasm expressed over the Council and look forward to your participation. Please send the enclosed reply form to Dr. W. Clyde Williams, Council on Southern Africa, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 1114, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Sincerely yours,

*Richard L. Fisher*

Richard L. Fisher  
Presiding Bishop  
11th District, AME Zion Church

Enclosures



*Council on Southern Africa*  
Washington, D.C. 20036

I accept the nomination to serve as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Council on Southern Africa (COSA).

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Name)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Date)



I have enclosed a resume/curriculum vitae:

yes

no

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

I have enclosed a photograph:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

I will forward a photograph to COSA as soon as one is available:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

I will attend the meeting on Tuesday, September 15, 1987:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_





PAGAN INTERNATIONAL

1025 CONNECTICUT AVE.  
SUITE 707  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036  
202-775-0180

CONFIDENTIAL

PLANNING MEETING FOR COUNCIL ON SOUTHERN AFRICA  
(An Interim Report)

On Tuesday (7 July) Pagan International hosted a planning meeting for the Council on Southern Africa at the University Club in Washington, D.C. The all-day meeting was a follow up to the meetings of May 20, at which the Council concept was first formally proposed to key denominational and business leaders.

The following individuals attended Tuesday's meeting:

The Right Reverend Richard Fisher (AME Zion)  
The Right Reverend F. C. James (AME)  
The Right Reverend Donald George Kenneth Ming (AME)  
The Reverend Moses Phetlhu (AME, South Africa)  
The Right Reverend Harold Senatle (AME, South Africa)  
The Reverend Dr. David Shannon (ITC)  
The Right Reverend Rembert E. Stokes (AME)  
The Reverend Dr. W. Clyde Williams (CME)

Mr. Jackson (with Reverend James)  
Mr. Eric Katz  
Mr. Willie Leftwich (NAACP Legal Defense Fund)  
Dr. Barbara K. Phillips (Forsyth City Schools, N.C.)

Dr. Carol Adelman (VP, CGD)  
Dr. Al Biscoe (Senior VP, PI)  
Mr. Robert Brown  
Reverend Gilbert Caldwell  
Reverend Phillip Cato  
Mr. John O. Mongoven  
Dr. Jeff Merritt  
Mr. Jeremiah Norris  
Mr. Rafael D. Pagan, Jr.  
Dr. Kim Singleton  
Mr. Armstrong Williams

Joining the above for lunch and the afternoon session were the following business representatives:

Mr. Clyde Greenert (Union Carbide)  
Mr. Sal Marzullo (Mobil)  
Mr. Robert Stewart (Caltex)

After a formal presentation of the Council concept by Pagan International, the non-corporate attendees took a series of decisions to bring such a Council into existence. It was decided that:

- o The organization would be constituted as "The Council on Southern Africa."
- o The Council would be constituted as a not-for-profit 501C(3) organization, and that legal counsel (a consortia arrangement between Mr. Katz and Mr. Leftwich) would be retained to work out the necessary details of incorporation.
- o The Council's interim Secretariat would be organized as a consortia arrangement among the Consultative Group for Development (CGD), B & C Associates, and the Rev. Dr. W. Clyde Williams.
- o The Rev. Dr. W. Clyde Williams would be Acting General Secretary of the Council.
- o A Steering Committee composed of Rt. Rev. Fisher, Rt. Rev. Stokes, Rev. Williams, Rt. Rev. Senatle, and Dr. Phillips would meet to move the Council forward.

This Steering Committee met briefly after lunch, recommending the following temporary officers: Rt. Rev. Fisher (President); Rt. Rev. Senatle (Vice President); Dr. Phillips (Treasurer); Rev. Williams (Secretary). They were approved in the afternoon session.

The attendees agreed that the Steering Committee should work toward constituting a permanent Board of Directors for the Council as well as the larger "policy" Council. After some discussion and amendment, a Statement of Purpose was adopted. The purpose of the organization is "to promote philanthropic and educational activities relating to better conditions for non-whites in southern Africa" and "to foster effective dialogue and cooperation between the people of the United States and the people and governments of southern Africa. . . ."

Mr. Sal Marzullo (Mobil) pledged his support of the new Council effort and said he would work to arrange a meeting in the next three weeks between Council representatives and 10-12 CEOs of corporations involved in South Africa. Mr. Robert Stewart (Caltex) pledged the support of his CEO and his corporation for the Council. Mr. Pagan will be working with Mr. Marzullo to prepare for the meeting with industry.

Because of the sensitive nature of the new endeavor, the group agreed that great discretion should be used in any discussion of Council activities at the present time until they can "go public."



Partial List of Original Participants

The Reverend Gilbert Caldwell  
Pastor  
St. Daniel's United Methodist Church

Dr. James Costen  
President  
Interdenominational Theological Center

Bishop R. L. Fisher  
Presiding Bishop  
11th Episcopal District, AME Zion Church

Dr. Yvonne Kennedy  
President  
Bishop State College  
Alabama State Legislative Representative

Bishop Donald G. Ming  
Presiding Bishop  
8th Episcopal District, AME Church

Dr. Barbara K. Phillips  
Assistant to the Superintendent  
Winston-Salem Forsyth County Schools

Bishop Harold B. Senatle  
Presiding Bishop  
AME Church  
Republic of South Africa

Bishop Rembert E. Stokes  
Presiding Bishop  
10th Episcopal District, AME Church

The Right Reverend John T. Walker  
Bishop  
Episcopal Diocese of Washington

Dr. W. Clyde Williams  
Executive Secretary  
CME Church

Partial List of Persons Invited or To Be Invited to Participate

Dr. Paul A. Crow, Jr.  
President  
Council on Christian Unity

Dr. David Mathews  
President  
Kettering Foundation

Dr. William May  
Director  
Trinity Center on Ethics and Corporate Policy

The Right Reverend David Preus  
Presiding Bishop  
American Lutheran Church

Mr. William Raspberry  
Columnist  
The Washington Post

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Mr. Cyrus R. Vance  
Former Secretary of State









# Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS—CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS  
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

September 22, 1986

TO: RABBIS, COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION,  
SOCIAL ACTION CHAIRPERSONS

FROM: HARRIS GILBERT; CHAIRPERSON  
ALBERT VORSPAN; DIRECTOR

RE: NEW UAHC NEWSLETTER  
BRIEFINGS: SOUTH AFRICA #1

BRIEFINGS: SOUTH AFRICA #1 is a new, occasional newsletter from the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism which will be edited by Dr. Rita Kaunitz. It will report on the deteriorating situation in South Africa and the U.S. response and describe what the UAHC and other arms of the Reform Movement have been doing to combat apartheid. Coming issues will indicate what we can do, as congregations and as individuals, to participate in this key moral issue of the 1980's.

The first issue highlights U.S. anti-apartheid actions, 1985-1986, particularly the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, and the increasing economic pressures on South African-related corporations, and describes UAHC's implementation of the far-reaching resolution adopted at our 1985 General Assembly in Los Angeles.

Future BRIEFINGS ON SOUTH AFRICA will indicate specific actions congregations and individuals can take to participate in the anti-apartheid movement. UAHC is available as a resource: to provide information on speakers, publications, films, organizations, etc. We want to know what you have been doing, what you plan to do and how we can assist you. Call or write to Dr. Rita Kaunitz, c/o UAHC, 838 Fifth Avenue, New York, 10021, 212-249-0100, ext. 231.

For legislative and Washington information call or write to the Religious Action Center, 2027 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C., 20036, 202-387-2800.

Chairman  
Harris Gilbert  
Director  
Albert Vorspan  
Associate Director  
Rabbi David Saperstein

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF  
TEMPLE SISTERHOODS  
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF  
TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS  
NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION  
OF TEMPLE YOUTH  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF  
TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF  
TEMPLE EDUCATORS  
AMERICAN CONFERENCE  
OF CANTORS  
ASSOCIATION OF REFORM  
ZIONISTS OF AMERICA

SEPTEMBER 1986

# SPECIAL BRIEFING #1: SOUTH AFRICA

## U.S. ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIONS, 1985-1986

### Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986

Both Houses of Congress have overwhelmingly rejected President Reagan's advice and voted significant sanctions against South Africa, the Senate by 84-14 in August and the House by 308-77 in September. The passage of this landmark legislation caps two years of debate on Capitol Hill and puts an end to the Administration's failed policy of "constructive engagement" and his sidetracking of the 1985 anti-apartheid legislation with the issuance of a weak Executive Order.

The 1986 measure bans new investments in South Africa and the export to South Africa of petroleum products, weapons and computers used by agencies that enforce apartheid; prohibits the importation of such African exports as uranium, coal, textiles, steel and agricultural products; and cuts off landing rights for South African airlines.

The 1986 Congressional anti-apartheid legislation is a political milestone which represents strong bi-partisan support. The measure was passed by the Republican-controlled Senate and approved by 90 Republicans in the House, a sign that the Administration is out of step with both public and Congressional opinion. A two-thirds vote is needed in each chamber to override a Presidential veto. Public pressure to override such a veto, should it occur, is essential so that the U.S. is no longer perceived as the ally and supporter of the racist Botha regime. Action against apartheid has become both a central foreign policy and a domestic civil rights issue for both parties, an issue that will not go away.

We have included the remarks of Senator John Kerry (D-MA), an eloquent advocate of this legislation in Appendix B.

The growing anti-apartheid movement, directed at persuading American corporation to shed their South African operations, has gained strength and credibility, and has moved from university campuses, religious institutions and state and municipal legislatures to corporate boardrooms.



### Economic Pressures on South African-Related Corporations

Divestment is the act of selling shares of stocks in South African-related companies. Disinvestment is the pulling out from South Africa of companies which have closed or sold their South African operations. During 1986 anti-apartheid activism increased and became more effective resulting in far more divestment and disinvestment action. Divestiture measures have been approved by 19 states and 65 municipalities.

The political momentum for divestment at the state level is best reflected by California's passage this August of legislation requiring the divestment over the next four years of more than \$8.3 billion of investments in state pension funds. In its scope and amount, this measure dwarfs previous efforts to exert economic pressure on the multi-national corporations to improve conditions in South Africa. The bill was supported by conservative Republican Governor George Deukmejian, who in July still opposed the bill.

Selective purchasing laws, already passed by thirty cities, represent a new strategy which curtails awards of contracts to corporations operating in South Africa. Los Angeles, which passed its ordinance in July, estimated that this act would affect more than \$100 million in contracts yearly. The Fluor Corporation, for instance, has lost a \$2.5 million contract with the city because of its South African involvement.

The latest concern is that the rising number of pension funds selling off shares in South Africa-related companies will drive down stock prices. A top analyst at the United States Trust Company in Boston feels "you can make a case for staying away from South African-related stock issues. The fact that we are in the midst of a rising tide of divestment has got to be a negative for the price of those stocks."

Escalating violence and a declining South African economy continue to make business in that country less profitable and less desirable. Since 1984, some 55 American companies have disinvested or sold their South African operations. At least 18 American companies have pulled out of South Africa during 1986, and many of the remaining 250 are re-examining their options.

The Coca-Cola company, one of the largest American employers in South Africa, is the most recent company to pull out, forthrightly, stating that its disinvestment expresses its opposition to apartheid. Its departure is planned to create significant multi-racial equity participation, improving the prospects of black South Africans. Other South African-linked companies are closely monitoring Coca-Cola's approach which may set a precedent for socially responsible corporate behavior.

### WHAT UAHG HAS BEEN DOING

#### Resolution on South Africa

At its 1985 Biennial in Los Angeles, the Union adopted a landmark resolution on South Africa (see Appendix A). Provisions include the banning of new business investments and bank loans in South Africa and of all sales of U.S. and Canadian equipment usable for military and police purposes to the South African government. It calls upon the U.S. and Canadian governments to reduce diplomatic recognition of South Africa and, if substantial progress toward the abolition of apartheid does not occur within a year (by November 1986), further calls on the United States Congress and the Canadian Parliament to mandate disinvestment on the U.S. and



Canadian firms from South African and to institute a total trade embargo between the U.S. and Canada and South Africa. Finally, it urges UAHC congregations and the CCAR and HUC-JIR to disinvest from corporations doing business in South Africa.

With the passage of this resolution, the UAHC took the strongest position against apartheid of any of the major Jewish organizations. It has since been using its influence within umbrella organizations (NJCRAC, The Synagogue Council, etc.) to enlist the larger Jewish community to join it in playing an effective, visible role in the struggle against apartheid.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, addressing UAHC's 1985 Biennial, declared: "Apartheid is a first cousin to the Nuremberg laws...Racism cannot be countenanced in this world of ours, for any reason whatsoever, and never by Jews."

#### UAHC President

This August, Rabbi Schindler joined with major religious, civil rights, union and other organizations in a public statement addressed to the U.S. Senate, asking its adoption of comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa. This message, sponsored by the American Committee on Africa and The Africa Fund, appeared in The Washington Post. Rabbi Schindler has also joined with 26 church leaders in a call to U.S. corporations targeted by the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility to leave South Africa by the end of 1986.

#### Commission on Social Action

Through the Religious Action Center in Washington, the UAHC and the CCAR have supported strong legislation in the Congress, testifying on the Hill, helping to mobilize coalitions and publishing Chai/Impact materials on the growing crisis in South Africa.

The Religious Action Center is sponsoring The Prisoner of Apartheid Project modeled on The Prisoner of Conscience campaign for Soviet Jewry. The Project will provide moral and material support for South African political prisoners and their families. This project, adopted by the entire "Free South Africa Movement" calls on congregations, organizations and individuals to adopt a prisoner and lobby for his/her release. Supporters will write regularly to their adopted political prisoners and families and widely publicize their efforts to bring national and international pressure on their behalf.

The Commission on Social Action is preparing ENDING APARTHEID: A MANUAL FOR INDIVIDUAL AND CONGREGATIONAL ACTION, co-authored by Dr. Rita Kaunitz and Rabbi David Saperstein. This comprehensive guide for organizing and programming social action against apartheid in the synagogue will be issued this Fall.

#### Interreligious Affairs

Interreligious Affairs maintains close liaison with religious organizations which seek to enlist their congregations in the fight against apartheid, in particular, the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility (ICCR) and Clergy and Laity Concerned (CCAR).

The ICCR has developed a number of anti-apartheid strategies which place economic pressure on corporate America to withdraw from South Africa stating that apartheid is offensive to a major tenet of religious faith: the innate indignity of human beings. These strategies include "No Buy" campaigns to boycott stores which sell South African merchandise, selected purchasing legislation, and targeting of 12 corporations and banks with substantial involvement in South Africa. Corporations and banks targeted by ICCR have received letters from key religious leaders, followed by a massive postcard mailing.



UAHC's Department of Interreligious Affairs co-sponsored an Interreligious Consultation on South Africa with the IOCR which convened the meeting, "Economic Pressure Strategies to End Apartheid." Co-sponsors were the Episcopal Church, United Church of Christ Board for World Ministers, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church and the Progressive National Baptist Convention. The U.S. Catholic Conference was represented on the Planning Committee.

This August, the Roman Catholic bishops in the U.S. for the first time endorsed economic sanctions against South Africa emphasizing that this issue is primarily a moral issue and only secondarily an economic issue. The Archdiocese of Baltimore, also disclosed it would divest its holdings in companies that do business in South Africa, the first such step by an American Roman Catholic Diocese.

CALC has invited UAHC congregations to join a new program to mobilize congregations across the U.S. to combat apartheid. As COVENANT CONGREGATIONS, they become part of a religious network which will receive packets containing materials for worship, education, action and service. Rabbi Gunter Hirshberg has prepared "a Jewish Perspective on Apartheid" for CALC's organizing packet.





ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

of the

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

October 31-November 5, 1985 - Los Angeles

SOUTH AFRICA

BACKGROUND:

In Jewish religious tradition, as well as in Jewish historical experience, racism is an ultimate evil. Our prophets and rabbis taught that all human beings are created in the image of God and have an equal claim to equity and justice. Throughout its history, the UAHC has spoken with vigor and clarity against racial segregation and discrimination in the United States and everywhere else in the world.

South Africa is the only country in the modern world which constitutionally establishes white supremacy and racial oppression. Accordingly, the apartheid regime poses a moral challenge to all who cherish liberty and decency. Apartheid is a system which affronts the most profound values of humanity and democracy and violates the teachings of our religion.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:

1. Reaffirms its condemnation of apartheid.
2. Calls upon the government of South Africa to:
  - A. Release immediately Nelson Mandela and all other prisoners because of their opposition to apartheid.
  - B. Enter into negotiations aimed at eliminating apartheid with the bona fide representatives of the victims of apartheid.
3. Calls on the Canadian Parliament and (recognizing the need to strengthen the President's Executive Order implementing South African sanctions) the United States Congress to enact legislation which will do the following:
  - A. Ban new business investment and bank loans in South Africa.
  - B. Ban the importation into the United States and Canada of all krugerrands and other gold South African coins.
  - C. Ban all sales of United States and Canadian equipment usable for military and police purposes, including sales of computers and computerized equipment to the South African Government.
  - D. Ban all sales of nuclear material, equipment and technology and the transfer of nuclear know-how to South Africa; and
  - E. Ban United States and Canadian contributions to South Africa through the International Monetary Fund.



## APPENDIX A

### SOUTH AFRICA

4. Calls upon the governments of the United States and Canada to reduce the level of diplomatic recognition of South Africa.
5. Further calls on the United States Congress and the Canadian Parliament to enact the following legislation if substantial progress toward the abolition of apartheid does not occur within one year.
  - A. Mandate disinvestment of United States and Canadian firms from South Africa, and
  - B. Institute a total trade embargo between the United States, Canada and South Africa.
6. Directs the Board of Trustees in a manner it deems appropriate and responsible to boycott firms which engage in business in South Africa and which have not accepted the Sullivan Principles.
7. Directs the Board of Trustees to divest the UAHC of all investments in corporations doing business in South Africa, in accordance with the spirit of the 1971 resolution on corporate responsibility.
8. Urges organizations affiliated with the UAHC, as well as the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, the Central Conference of American Rabbis and congregations and their members to initiate a process of divestment in corporations doing business in South Africa in accordance with the spirit of the 1971 resolution on corporate responsibility.
9. Further recommends that UAHC congregations and their individual members cease the purchase of krugerrands and other South African gold coins as an immediate, direct, personal and symbolic protest against South Africa's racist and repressive regime.
10. Strongly affirms its fraternal support for the Southern African Union for Progressive Judaism, the Southern African Association of Progressive Rabbis, and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies in:
  - A. Their support for fundamental reform of South African life and institutions.
  - B. Their condemnation of violence, and
  - C. Their complete rejection of apartheid.





United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 99<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 132

WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1986

No. 114

## Senate

### COMPREHENSIVE ANTI- APARTHEID ACT OF 1986

Mr. KERRY.

Mr. President, we should not even be having a debate here today on whether or not to impose sanctions on South Africa. We should not even be debating which side we are on, or whom we choose to support in that country. It should be a given that our values are such in this country, that whether or not to support the struggle of the people of South Africa against the apartheid regime should not even be a debatable proposition. Unfortunately, because of the unwillingness of the South African Government, and of the President of the United States, to face reality, we are forced to have this debate today.

Mr. President, if we do not impose sanctions on the South African Government, we ignore who we are, and what we stand for in this country. Sanctions against South Africa are simply a matter of form, which give substance to who we are, and what this Nation represents. I want to see this Nation once again represent the struggle for freedom, democracy, and equality in the world. I want to see us represent the best in the American tradition, not the worst. I want the struggling black population of South Africa to know that we stand with them, not against them. That is why I hope that we will impose sanctions today.

Some of us here in this Chamber came of age in the civil rights movement in this country. We remember Selma, AL. We remember the march on Washington. We remember when Martin Luther King said "I have a dream \* \* \* that my children will live in a country where they are judged by the content of their character, and not by the color of their skin." Some of us shared that dream with Martin Luther King. Some of us fought for that, and marched for it, and struggled for it. And I'm proud to say that we've coming a long way toward achieving that goal in this country.

But today, that same dream is being trampled in South Africa. Today, because of the color of their skin, people are suffering in South Africa. They cannot live where they choose. They cannot work where live with their own families. Husbands are separated from wives and from their children for 11 months out of the year, because of the apartheid system. Blacks cannot own land in their own country. They are denied citizenship and are not allowed to vote in the land of their birth. They cannot live with dignity as human beings because of the greed and racism of a small minority, and a system called apartheid. My colleague Senator CHRIS DODD expressed it very well the other day, in his response to President Reagan's radio address. Apart-



heid is a modern form of slavery, pure and simple.

All of us oppose apartheid. Even President Reagan says he opposes apartheid. But while he has pursued a policy of "constructive engagement," what he has really brought us is a policy of "destructive enagement"—enagement of the black majority in South Africa, and destruction of America's image in Africa and around the world. No longer are we seen as the champions of freedom and democracy. Instead, we are seen, as Senator KENNEDY has said, as the last best friend of the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The South Africans claim that they are doing away with apartheid. President Reagan claims that they are doing away with apartheid. At one point, incredibly, President Reagan even said, and I quote, "They have eliminated the segregation which we once had in our own country." Nothing could be further from the truth. The fact that he could even make such a statement only indicates that the President is so determined to support the white regime in South Africa, that he is totally out of touch with the reality of that country.

Let's examine some of the "reforms" which the South Africans have supposedly made in the apartheid system.

They claim that they have "abolished" the pass laws—the hated system whereby each black person in South Africa had to carry a "pass" at all times, to show who he was and that he had a right to be where he was. Yes, they have eliminated the passes. But they have replaced them with a new ID card called a "uniform identity document." This document still lists the race of the person carrying it. It still upholds the basic pillar of the apartheid system, the classification of all individuals in South Africa, from time of birth onward, by race. And one other technicality—the South African Government recently admitted that the "reform" of the pass laws does not apply to several million blacks living in the so-called homelands.

Let me say a word about the homelands. These so-called homelands are not recognized by any state in the world except for the Government of South Africa. They have not been abolished in any of the so-called reforms. They are, in fact, another of the pillars of the apartheid system. And in reality, the homelands are nothing more than a modern form of concentration camps.

What kind of a system forces 87 percent of the population to live on 13 percent of the land—the most barren, infertile, useless land? What kind of a system forces millions of people to leave their homes and move hundreds of miles away to live in shacks in the desert, with no viable economic means to support themselves, and tells them "This is your homeland"? What kind of a system forces men to get up at 2 in the morning to get on buses, to ride

for hours in the dark, so that they can get to work on time, because there is no work available in their homelands? What kind of a system creates conditions where babies suffer from malnutrition, and children starve, while white families live in affluence and European-style luxury? The answer is simple—the apartheid system does those things, and much more.

The South Africans claim that they have "reformed" the system, because they have repealed the "Immorality Act," and the "Mixed Marriage Act," which banned interracial sex and interracial marriage. But let's look at the facts.

Only about 100 people per year are affected by these so-called reforms, out of a population of 28 million. And couples who do intermarry are still affected by the "Group Areas Act," which means that they must live in the area designated for the partner with the "lowest" racial classification, which of course means the darkest skin. If a white woman, living in a white area, marries a black man, she must immediately move out of her home, even if she has lived there all of her life. She can only live in a "black" area from then on. This is the South African idea of "reform."

And the children of the marriage are also classified according to the "lowest" racial classification of the two parents. If a white man marries a "colored" woman, their children are automatically classified as "colored." And they too can only live in a "colored" area. That doesn't sound like "reform"—it sounds more like Nazi Germany.

The South African claim great progress because they have repealed the "Influx Control Act," which governs movement into cities. But again, the people living in the so-called homelands are not covered by these reforms. The homelands are an essential part of the apartheid system, because they are the embodiment of the apartheid dream of a "White South Africa."

When all of the blacks of South Africa are living in their respective homelands; then the white tribe of Afrikaners will be able to lay claim to sole possession of South Africa, of that 87 percent of the land which they claim is theirs and theirs alone. That is the great theory behind the apartheid system. And the homelands are part of the final solution in South Africa.

The South Africans also claim to be one of the great democracies of the world. As proof of that, they point to the establishment of the "colored" and "Indian" parliaments in South Africa. However, they forgot something. There is still no black parliament in South Africa. Blacks still do not have the right to vote in South Africa. Even Bishop Tutu, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, has no right to vote in his own country. Perhaps President Reagan forgot that when he

said that South Africa has "eliminated the segregation which once existed in our country." But the blacks of South Africa have not forgotten it.

The true situation in South Africa has been well stated in the Report of the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth, which recently returned from an extensive mission to South Africa. The Eminent Persons Group consisted of a truly distinguished group of world statesmen, co-chaired by former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser of Australia, and former Nigerian head of State Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo. The Eminent Persons Group hoped to be able to convince the South African Government to enter into negotiations with representatives of the black leadership, for a transition to true democracy. In that effort, they were totally rebuffed by State President P.W. Botha. Instead, he declared a state of emergency, suspended the laws of the country, and placed restrictions on the press.

The Eminent Persons Group, in their report, stated:

We draw the Conclusion that while the (South African) government claims to be ready to negotiate, it is in truth not yet prepared to negotiate fundamental change, nor to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future. Its program of reform does not end apartheid, but seeks to give it a less inhuman face.

The Eminent Persons Group also had the opportunity to meet with Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, while in South Africa. Since it has been alleged by the South Africans, and by their friends in this country, that the ANC is really nothing more than a Communist front, and that Nelson Mandela is just a convicted terrorist, it is worth examining the findings of the Eminent Persons Group from their meetings with Mr. Mandela.

They stated the following:

During the preliminary visit, General Obasanjo was permitted to see Mr. Mandela. Thereafter, the full group met with him on two occasions. . . . We were first struck by his physical authority—by his immaculate appearance, his apparent good health, and his commanding presence. In his manner, he exuded authority, and received the respect of all around him, including his jailers. . . . His authority clearly extends throughout the nationalist movement. . . .

Second, we found his attitude to others outside the ANC reasonable and conciliatory. . . . In our discussion, Nelson Mandela also took care to emphasize his desire for reconciliation across the divide of color. . . . He pledged himself anew to work to a multiracial society to which all would have a secure place. . . .

Third, we were impressed by the consistency of his beliefs. He emphasized that he was a nationalist, not a Communist, and that his principles were unchanged from those to which he subscribed when the Freedom Charter was drawn up in 1955. Those principles included the necessity for the unity and political emancipation of all Africans in the land of their birth; the need



for a multiracial society, from any kind of racial religious, or political discrimination; the paramountcy of democratic principles, and of political and human rights, and equality of opportunity.

The Eminent Persons Group concluded their observations of Nelson Mandela with the following statement:

Provided the negotiating process was agreed, Mr. Mandela's own voice would appeal for calm. We believe his authority would secure it. Our judgment of Nelson Mandela has been formed as the result of lengthy discussions with him, spanning three meetings. He impressed us as an outstandingly able and sincere person whose qualities of leadership were self-evident. We found him unmarked by any trace of bitterness despite his long imprisonment.

This is the man who the South Africans have kept locked in Pollsmoor Prison for the past 25 years, and who is still there to this day. This is the man who is accepted as the single unifying leader of all blacks in South Africa, and who represents the only alternative to continued and increasing violence and bloodshed in South Africa.

What then is the future for South Africa? What will be the outcome if we do not impose sanctions now, and the South African Government continues on its present course. Let me again cite the conclusions of the Eminent Persons Group:

After more than 18 months of persistent unrest, upheaval and killings unprecedented in the country's history, the Government believes that it can contain the situation indefinitely by the use of force. We were told repeatedly by Ministers (of the Government) that the Government had deployed only a fraction of the power at its disposal. Although the Government's confidence may be valid in the short term, but at great human cost, it is plainly misplaced in the longer term. South Africa is predominantly a country of black people. To believe that they can be indefinitely suppressed is an act of self-delusion.

But in the most simple way, the blacks have had enough of apartheid. They are no longer prepared to submit to its oppression, discrimination, and exploitation. They can no longer stomach being treated as aliens in their own country. They have confidence not merely in the justice of their cause, but in the inevitability of their victory . . . The strength of black convictions is now matched by a readiness to die for those convictions. They will, therefore, sustain their struggle, whatever the cost.

Mr. President, there is no course of action left to us other than sanctions, if we wish to influence the South African Government. That was the conclusion of the Eminent Persons Group. That was the conclusion of the House of Representatives last month. That was the conclusion of a bipartisan majority on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. And that is the conclusion of the American people.

Let me cite, one last time, the conclusions of the Eminent Persons Group, in calling for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. They said:

We point to the fact that the Government of South Africa has itself used economic measures against its neighbors and that

such measures are patently instruments of its own national policy. We are convinced that the South African government is concerned about the adoption of effective economic measures against it. \* \* \*

If it comes to the conclusion that it would always remain protected from such measures, the process of change in South Africa is unlikely to increase in momentum and the descent into violence would be accelerated. In these circumstances, the cost in lives may have to be counted in the millions.

The question in front of heads of governments is in our view clear. It is not whether such measures will compel change; it is already the case that their absence and Pretoria's belief that they need not be feared, defers change. Is the Commonwealth to stand by and allow the cycle of violence to spiral? Or will it take concerted action of an effective kind? Such actions may offer the last opportunity to avert what could be the worst blood bath since the Second World War.

Mr. President, the Commonwealth nations have now acted. They have joined together to impose sanctions on South Africa. They have unfortunately not been joined in any meaningful way by Prime Minister Thatcher, but they have nevertheless decided to go ahead without her and impose meaningful sanctions on South Africa. And we have a moral obligation to join them in that effort.

There are those who claim that we should not impose sanctions because it will hurt the blacks in South Africa, and will harm the frontline states in South Africa. But the blacks of South Africa, and the leaders of the frontline states, are the very people who are calling upon us and urging us to impose sanctions.

President Reagan said in his recent speech that we should not impose sanctions, because "they would hurt the very people we are trying to help." As Bishop Tutu said in response to this speech, "He sits there like the great, big white chief of old, who can tell us black people that we don't know what is good for us. The white man knows." And as Prime Minister Mugabe of Zimbabwe stated last week, the frontline states are prepared for "economic war" with South Africa. If they suffer, South Africa will also suffer. And they have told us that they are prepared to suffer.

The opponents of sanctions in this country have advanced contradictory arguments to support their cause. First they have told us that we should not impose sanctions because they will destroy the South African economy and hurt the blacks. Then they have told us that sanctions will not work, and will have no effect on the economy. Secretary of State Shultz came before the Foreign Relations Committee and told us that we should not impose sanctions because U.S. companies are already imposing "sanctions of the marketplace" by pulling out of South Africa. He told us that that sends a more powerful message to the South Africans than sanctions would. Then he told us that U.S. companies should not pull out of South Africa—

in fact, he would encourage them to invest more money in South Africa. He didn't explain what kind of a message that would send them.

But he missed one point altogether. And that is that sanctions would send a powerful psychological message, and a moral message, to the blacks of South Africa, about which side we are on in South Africa. And they would send an equally powerful message to the white Government of South Africa. And sanctions would send a powerful message to the world about where the United States stands on the issue of apartheid in South Africa.

But sanctions would also have a real impact on South Africa's economy. An article in the Washington Post of July 25, 1986, entitled "Limited Sanctions Take Their Toll on South African Economy," points out that even the limited sanctions which have already been imposed by France and Denmark have had a serious impact on South Africa's economy. The embargoes on South African coal invoked by those two nations, and a growing reluctance by other countries to buy South African coal, have already cut projected exports for 1986 by 7.5 million metric tons, or 17 percent. Coal is South Africa's second biggest source of income, after gold. And according to the Post article:

Now, partial sanctions by just two countries, one of them tiny, have thrown this key industry into what one company official described today as "a slough of despond."

That is the effect of sanctions.

And if we add to that further sanctions to be imposed by the Commonwealth countries, and potentially by the European Community and by the United States, we will see a far greater effect on the South African economy, and an even greater "slough of despond" among the South African leadership.

There are those who say that the South African blacks will be the first to lose their jobs, and to suffer economically. But Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, which is one of the largest black labor unions in South Africa, has said that his union strongly supports international sanctions against South Africa. And he has said of those who oppose sanctions:

They should be looking instead at the reasons why many people are calling for sanctions, including the payment of starvation wages to miners.

Mr. President, that is the heart of the matter. It is not sanctions which will cause suffering among blacks in South Africa. It is the apartheid system which is causing suffering. And it is sanctions which will bring an end to the apartheid system.

It has been said that not all blacks in South Africa support sanctions. As evidence, sympathizers with the South African regime point to Chief Buthelezi, who supposedly enjoys a following among blacks in South Africa, par-



ticularly Zulus, and who has opposed sanctions.

Senator KENNEDY put this very question to Malcolm Fraser, cochairman of the Eminent Persons Group, when he testified before the Kennedy Forum on South Africa here last month. He asked why he was calling for sanctions, when Chief Buthelezi opposed them. Let me quote his answer:

I think that, Senator, is probably one of the most false arguments of all. Let me just say one word about Chief Buthelezi. He is a political figure in South Africa. He can't be ignored, but he is not as significant as many people say, because if you want to have a job, you have to be a card-carrying member of (his political organization) Inkatha or even if you want to go to school. That reinforces his numbers very, very greatly. So he can't be ignored, but everyone else says "We want sanctions imposed." The black leaders say, the blacks generally say, "We know that sanctions will affect us and will hurt us but we are hurting already." Sixty or seventy percent are unemployed in Crossroads and many other townships. High levels of unemployment in that and the "homelands" where there is no economic activity possible, and with the towns and the general state of the country being one that really denies blacks access to the normal dignity that should be associated with the participation in a reasonable and civilized society. . . .

But it also needs to be judged against the alternative. And if one can accept the general view of our report, that a descent into greater and greater violence is likely—and in our view if there's no change there will be a total guerrilla war which will obviously hurt many, many, maybe tens or hundreds of thousands of people, black and white—that's the alternative, the sanctions.

That alternative will result in infinitely more people, black and white, being hurt than would the imposition of sanctions. So you are not comparing a sanction situation with another situation which is a clean slate. The alternative to sanctions is one that would lead to much, much greater loss of life, and greater killings.

That was the judgment of Malcolm Fraser, the former Prime Minister of Australia. And I might add that Mr. Fraser is deeply conservative. He supports many American policies, including some which I do not support, such as aid to the Contras in Nicaragua. And one of the reasons why he has called for sanctions to be imposed as soon as possible, is that he does not want to see South Africa fall into the hands of the Communist bloc. Nor do I. But that is likely to be the result, if we continue with the shortsighted policy of support for the Botha regime.

Even Chief Buthelezi has now recognized that his position as a collaborator with the South African regime is causing him to lose all credibility with the blacks of South Africa. He said last week, and I quote, there must come a time when the South African Government's actions and attitudes demand that I revise my position before I become an outdated, has-been politician. And he went on to say that, instead of acting as a statesman, President Botha has behaved like a Third World amateur employing Boer War-style Afrikaner diplomacy.

Mr. President, the opponents of sanctions, including President Reagan, have said that sanctions are wrong, and that they do not work. If they do not work, why have we employed sanctions against Nicaragua? If they do not work, why have we invoked sanctions against Libya? If they do not work, why do we continue to employ sanctions against Cuba? Why did we impose sanctions against Poland after the imposition of martial law? Why did we place sanctions on Iran after the seizure of the American Embassy? Why did we place sanctions on the Soviet Union in connection with the Soviet oil pipeline? And what will it take before we impose sanctions on the racist regime in South Africa?

The opponents of sanctions also argue that sanctions will not be effective if imposed by the United States alone. But we did not hesitate to act alone to impose sanctions against Libya, or against Nicaragua, or in the case of the Soviet oil pipeline. In none of those cases were we joined by any of our allies, or indeed, by any other nations. In truth, of course, there is far more international support for sanctions against South Africa than there was in any of those cases. The commonwealth nations have already acted to impose sanctions. The European community will do so next month. And it is clear to all that, if the United States imposes sanctions, that Britain, Japan, West Germany, and our other allies have no choice but to follow immediately.

So that is another patently false argument. But then the opponents of sanctions make another argument. They say that "If we impose sanctions now, then we will have no leverage left with the Government of South Africa." I would ask them first of all—what leverage do we have now with the Government of South Africa? What has the policy of constructive engagement achieved as far as results in changing the behavior of the Botha regime? Let's look at the record of the past 5 years.

First of all, for most of the Reagan years, Pretoria has distracted this administration with fruitless negotiations over Namibia. It is no secret that those talks have been a total failure. South Africa is still illegally occupying Namibia, in violation of U.N. Resolution 435, in violation of international law, and in violation of world opinion. Those negotiations have produced only a stalemate, and have diverted this administration from focusing on the growing crisis in South Africa itself.

Second, South Africa has embarked on a policy of destabilizing its neighbors. It has used every measure at its disposal—from economic sanctions, to covert aid to antigovernment forces in neighboring countries, to cross-border raids, to outright invasions—to impose its will on the region. Most recently, South Africa has launched brazen attacks against Zimbabwe, Zambia, and

Botswana, for no reason other than sheer intimidation, against targets which represented no military threat.

Third, the South African Government has responded to black unrest over the last 2 years with mounting repression. The state of emergency declared in June is harsher than the martial law imposed on Poland in 1981, to which we responded with economic sanctions and great condemnation. Not only have we failed to influence the Botha regime to exercise restraint, but President Reagan's personal appeal for restraint was rejected outright.

Fourth, the South African Government has refused to enter into negotiations with authentic, recognized black leaders in South Africa. Instead, they have arrested the entire leadership of the black trade union movement and other elements of black leadership in South Africa, in a decapitation strategy.

And fifth, the Botha regime has brushed off the United States and other Western nations in a series of actions that indicate an unprecedented disregard of world opinion. The Botha regime has thumbed its nose at President Reagan, scuttled efforts of the commonwealth delegation to start negotiations, cold-shouldered British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, and has virtually dared the world to impose sanctions. This is a display of arrogance rarely seen among supposed U.S. allies. Foreign Minister Pik Botha has dared the West to get tough with South Africa, declaring that it really doesn't matter if we impose sanctions—in fact, he said, "the sooner the better."

So the policy of constructive engagement clearly has been a total failure. It has only exposed the basic weakness of the Reagan administration, behind all of its tough talk. As Pauline Baker of the Carnegie Endowment stated in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "As a result of the administration's staunch opposition to sanctions, Pretoria has concluded that it is virtually immune from outside pressure of any significance and that, in matters concerning the region, it can act with impunity."

So the truth is that, at present, we have no leverage with the South African Government. Sanctions will give us that leverage. But the argument is made that, if we impose sanctions now, we will have no leverage left in the future. Again, this argument is totally false.

First of all, the bill reported out by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a margin of 15 to 2, provides for one set of sanctions now, and an additional set to be imposed in 12 months, if the South African Government does not release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and take several other significant steps such as lifting the state of emergency. So we would



continue to have additional leverage by the threat of further sanctions.

I supported the committee bill on sanctions. But I also said that it was only a first step, and that I hoped that it could be strengthened on the Senate floor. I support the effort of Senator KENNEDY by adding the sanctions recommended by the Eminent Persons Group in their report, including prohibiting all loans to the South African private sector, expanding the import ban to include textiles, crude oil, and refined petroleum products, food, and agricultural products, expanding the ban on computers, prohibiting United States-South African military cooperation, expanding the arms embargo, and severing all air links to South Africa. I support all of those steps, and the others which have been suggested. I also would support a total ban on trade with South Africa, and mandatory disinvestment, as was passed by the House of Representatives.

But even if we were to go that far, which no one expects, we would still have additional steps which we could take. We could break diplomatic relations with Pretoria, as some have suggested. We could provide humanitarian assistance to the ANC, as we do to the resistance in Afghanistan, and the Contras in Nicaragua. And we could take what might be the strongest step of all—a step which was suggested by the conservative Economist magazine—to sell off some of our gold reserve, and thereby depress the price of gold. That might be the most significant sanction of all, in terms of its effect on the South African economy.

So there are still more steps that we can take. We are a powerful country. There is no question that we can exert influence over the South Africans, if we choose to do so. The question is, will we choose to do so? And will we do so before it is too late?

We are at a critical turning point in our relationship with the people of South Africa. If we do not act now, clearly and forcefully, to do whatever we can to end the apartheid system, then in all likelihood the United States will simply become irrelevant to the situation in South Africa. We will no longer be able to influence the situation there. The blacks of South Africa will become totally alienated from the United States, as they already have from their own Government. And the situation there will begin an irreversible slide toward violence, revolutionary upheaval, and the bloodbath foreseen by the Eminent Persons Group. They have warned us that if we do not act now, by the end of August, that it will be too late. If we do not send a clear signal now to the people of South Africa that we are with them, that we are on their side, and if we are not joined in that effort by Britain, by the European Community, and by the Commonwealth nations, then the West will lose its influence in South Africa, and that country

will simply degenerate into an all-out civil war.

And I think we all know what the outcome of that struggle will be. There is no question that, whether it takes 5 years, or 10 years, or 20, eventually the blacks of South Africa will triumph, and will take control of that country, and of its government. The only question is what kind of government it will be. And, if we continue with the present policy, the likelihood is that a future black government will simply see the United States as their enemy, and we will have no influence left in South Africa. And if that happens, then we will lose all of our economic interests. We will lose all of our strategic interests. We will lose everything that we are trying to protect in South Africa. And where we lose, the Soviet Union will gain.

Mr. President, the world is watching what we do here today. History will judge us by what we do on the issue of South Africa. This is not an ordinary political issue. This is one of the great moral issues of our time. And future generations, our children and grandchildren, will judge us by how we respond today to the moral challenge of apartheid.

In the 1930's, much of the world stood by and watched as the Nazi regime took power in Germany. The Western nations failed to act as Hitler passed racist laws, proclaimed Jews to be second-class citizens, and declared his intention to carry out the final solution to the Jewish problem. We failed to act in time. And as a result, 6 million Jewish lives were lost. Many millions more were killed in combat. And this Nation spent 4 years at war, fighting the evil of Nazi Germany.

Today, we are faced with the evil of apartheid. Today, we are faced with the prospect of another bloodbath, this time in South Africa. As the Eminent Persons Group has warned us, we are faced with the prospect of "the worst bloodbath since the Second World War."

So the choice before us is clear. Do we take action now, to use all of our power and influence to bring about the end of the apartheid system, or do we stand by and do nothing? Do we sit and watch as a bloodbath takes place in South Africa, or do we use our influence to bring about a negotiating process, and a peaceful resolution of that conflict? Do we allow ourselves to be silent partners with racism, or do we take a stand against a racist system? Do we show the South Africa people that we stand with them, or do we show the world that we no longer care about principles of freedom and democracy which this country has stood for in the world?

Those are the choices confronting us today. Mr. President, for my part, the choice is clear. I support sanctions against South Africa. I support them strongly, because I support the people of South Africa, in their struggle

against a racist system, and a racist regime.

Mr. President, I am ashamed of the position of the U.S. Government on this issue. I hope that we will send a message today, to South Africa and to the world, that the President of the United States does not speak for the American people on the issue of apartheid. I hope that we will send a message to the world that we still believe in the words which this Nation has long stood for—that "All men are created equal." And I hope that all of my colleagues will join with me in sending that message.



*Asperhead*

October 2, 1986  
28 Elul 5746

Dr. Rita Kaunitz  
9 Marine Avenue  
Westport, CT 06880

Dear Rita:

Mazal tov on Special Briefing #1: South Africa! This is a wonderful newsletter and will be most helpful to our congregations. I admire the work you have undertaken in our behalf and am most grateful to you.

I tried to say thanks personally the other day but our paths didn't cross, so I use this means of expressing my profound appreciation.

Rhea and I join in wishing you and Paul a sweet, happy and healthy New Year.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



Thank

Rita

✓ why not  
thinner



איחוד  
ליהדות  
מתקדמת  
באמריקה

For Rabbi Alex

FROM Rita

with admiration.

# Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS—CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS  
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

September 22, 1986

TO: RABBIS, COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION,  
SOCIAL ACTION CHAIRPERSONS

FROM: HARRIS GILBERT; CHAIRPERSON  
ALBERT VORSPAN; DIRECTOR

RE: NEW UAHC NEWSLETTER  
BRIEFINGS: SOUTH AFRICA #1

BRIEFINGS: SOUTH AFRICA #1 is a new, occasional newsletter from the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism which will be edited by Dr. Rita Kaunitz. It will report on the deteriorating situation in South Africa and the U.S. response and describe what the UAHC and other arms of the Reform Movement have been doing to combat apartheid. Coming issues will indicate what we can do, as congregations and as individuals, to participate in this key moral issue of the 1980's.

The first issue highlights U.S. anti-apartheid actions, 1985-1986, particularly the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, and the increasing economic pressures on South African-related corporations, and describes UAHC's implementation of the far-reaching resolution adopted at our 1985 General Assembly in Los Angeles.

Future BRIEFINGS ON SOUTH AFRICA will indicate specific actions congregations and individuals can take to participate in the anti-apartheid movement. UAHC is available as a resource: to provide information on speakers, publications, films, organizations, etc. We want to know what you have been doing, what you plan to do and how we can assist you. Call or write to Dr. Rita Kaunitz, c/o UAHC, 838 Fifth Avenue, New York, 10021, 212-249-0100, ext. 231.

For legislative and Washington information call or write to the Religious Action Center, 2027 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C., 20036, 202-387-2800.

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ASSOCIATION OF REFORM  
ZIONISTS OF AMERICA

*Marble*

August 20, 1986  
15 Av 5746

Mr. Cyrus A. Krohn  
6108 Eagle Landing Road  
Burke, VA 22015

Dear Mr. Krohn:

I would appreciate a copy of the newspaper article in which I "connected myself with the ANC." I really have never done that.

I have spoken freely and frequently on the issue of Apartheid expressing my revulsion of it. In doing so I expressed the majority view of the delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations at our last Biennial which passed a resolution on the subject a copy of which I am attaching for your perusal.

My views are shared by the leadership of Israel as well as by virtually every leader of our own Government here in the United States as witnessed by the recent Senate resolution on the subject. I am proud to be associated with such leaders and with their views.

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler



August 12, 1986

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
838 Fifth Ave.  
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

My letter is addressing your feelings toward the Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa. I feel it is necessary to write you after seeing your name in the newspaper, connecting yourself with the ANC.

My question is, why are you supporting such a campaign as this which was started by the Reverend Jesse Jackson and Randall Robinson shortly after President Reagan took office in 1980? The headquarters of the ANC, which is in Angola, is supported by Moscow and has supporters like Jesse Jackson who associates himself with Arafat and Shadafi.

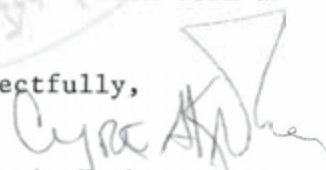
If the ANC's sanctions are approved:

1. South Africa would become a Communist state.
2. The blacks would have no jobs because the factories and mines would be shut down.
3. The US would not be able to get the natural resources we need from South Africa.

A topic which you fail to address in your sanctions toward Anti-Apartheid is conflict between the tribes. This topic is probably more serious than apartheid anyway.

My question to you, Sir, is why are you dragging the Reform Congregations into this matter. I am a member of Temple Rodef Shalom in Alexandria, Virginia, a member of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. I am appalled to be associated with such a dispute.

Respectfully,

  
Cyrus A. Krohn  
6108 Eagle Landing Rd.  
Burke, VA 22015

# TRANSAFRICA

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Rabbi Alex Schindler  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Please add your name to the enclosed sign-on letter urging our congressional representatives to rectify the failed policies of the Reagan Administration in southern Africa.

President Reagan's Executive Order has been operative for over six months. However, these mild sanctions have done little to move the South African government any closer to dismantling apartheid or disengaging from Namibia. Furthermore, the civil war in Angola will inevitably be protracted as a result of the Administration's covert shipments of sophisticated weaponry to UNITA--the South African supported rebel group.

The escalating level of violence in southern Africa necessitates a reinvigorated effort on our part to move Congress to alter U.S. policy toward the region. Therefore, I urge you, once again, to add your name to this important letter.

Please call Cecelie Counts or Glenn McKeown at TransAfrica as soon as possible to inform them whether you will sign on to the letter.

Sincerely,

*Randall Robinson*

Randall Robinson  
Co-Chair, Free South Africa Movement

*Adel*  
*This is consistent with the Commission Asst*  
*positions...*  
*David if we have a problem with Randall*

*Regis*  
*Called*  
*5/6/86*  
*RGR*



SIGN-ON LETTER DRAFT

Dear Representative/Senator:

We wish to express our alarm over the deteriorating situation in southern Africa and the need for an appropriate Congressional response to help curtail the violence in this troubled region.

The few weeks following the lifting of the State of Emergency by the South African Government has been one of the bloodiest periods in South Africa since the civil unrest began nearly two years ago. Despite claims of reform by the Botha regime, forced detentions still occur with regularity, the banning of anti-apartheid activists have not ceased, and black children continue to be shot down in the streets by South African security forces.

Bishop Desmond Tutu has risked imprisonment and possibly the death penalty by calling for stringent international sanctions against South Africa. Bishop Tutu's declaration, which under South African law is a treasonous offense, is indicative of the sense of urgency and desperation felt among advocates of peaceful change in South Africa. Moreover, the Bishop's call for strong international sanctions affirms the failure of President Reagan's executive order which we see as being merely a slap on Botha's wrist, rather than a serious effort on the part of the United States to move the regime to dismantle apartheid.

We must also oppose the Reagan Administration's recent decision to send fifteen million dollars in sophisticated weaponry to UNITA. United States covert assistance to the South African-backed guerilla group will exacerbate the level of violence in Angola, and will increase the MPLA's dependence on the Soviet Union and Cuba. Furthermore, aid to UNITA will facilitate the South African strategy of destabilizing Angola in order to protect the system of apartheid and perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia.

The Reagan Administration's myopic policy of assisting a political opportunist like Jonas Savimbi has tarnished this country's image among our friends and allies on the African continent. The Organization of African Unity has strongly condemned United States aid to UNITA declaring that it reinforces "...the aggressive military machine of the racist South African regime..." and that such aid "...poses a serious threat to world peace and security."

The United States is at a critical juncture in its relations with southern Africa. The policies we implement in the near future will determine whether we are to be the cause or the cure of the many ills plaguing this strife torn region.

over...

We can no longer be an accomplice to the criminal activities of South Africa in Namibia nor apologists for the intransigence of the Botha regime regarding black political and economic enfranchisement.

If the United States is to be a force for stability and justice in southern Africa, then Stinger anti-aircraft weapons to UNITA must be replaced by increased economic assistance to the front-line states. If the cycle of violence is to abate in the black townships and homelands, President Reagan's executive order must be supplanted by Congressional legislation authorizing total disinvestment of United States interests in South Africa.

The urgency of the situation in southern Africa necessitates a strong response from Congress. It is our hope that you view peace and prosperity in southern Africa and the national interests of the United States as one in the same.

Sincerely,





DRAFT

Although we recognize there are strong good-faith arguments against divestment, we are providing a background memo detailing the reasoning behind the UAHC's decision to favor it.

It should be noted that at the outset, every one of Mr. Conyer's arguments were raised on the floor of the Biennial. However, after lengthy deliberations, the Biennial decided that these considerations were decidedly outweighed by other factors which point to divestment as a step towards granting blacks full political rights in South Africa in addition to economic equality.

Divestment ends investor complicity in the financial support which these corporations provide the South African government and its apartheid system.

The increased violence of the South African government and its continued repression have further eroded the moral defensibility of continued investment in the apartheid regime. The net-effect of American investment has been to strengthen the economic and military self-sufficiency of South Africa's government. U.S. investment is concentrated in the most crucial sectors of the South African economy -- automobiles, oil and energy. By strengthening the economy of South Africa, U.S. involvement increases the ability of the white minority government to preserve its power.

Divestment, by encouraging American companies to halt new investments immediately and to withdraw existing investments if significant progress is not made in the near future, would pressure the South African government to make reforms in the apartheid system. It was pointed out in our discussions that this could cause the Afrikaners to take a more hard line position. However, the general view of the plenum was that time was running out and if reforms were not made in the near future it would likely be too late.

President Ronald Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" is based on the reasoning that economic growth is producing reform and that corporations are playing a vital role in this process. Yet, over the past twenty five years, as the number of U.S. corporations in South Africa has increased, and the value of their direct investment has grown from \$256 million to over \$2.5 billion, conditions for black South Africans have not improved on balance.

Despite the supposedly "progressive influence" of the U.S. corporations, they have been unable to influence the government to ~~curb South Africa's mounting violence~~ *make significant changes in apartheid violence.*

Mr. Conyer made the argument that divestment would cause grave hardship to all inhabitants of South Africa and the surrounding countries, especially among the unskilled black workers. However, a recent poll of urban, black South Africans (who would, as he says, be most affected by worsening economic conditions) conducted by a subsidiary of the Gallup Corporation for the London *Sunday Times*, found that 77% favored disinvestment (Washington Notes on Africa, Fall 1985, p. 6, published by the Washington Office on Africa). As Steve Biko said shortly before his death:

The argument is often made that the loss of foreign investment would hurt Blacks the most. It would undoubtedly hurt Blacks in the short run, because many of them would stand to lose their jobs. But it should be understood in Europe and North America that foreign investment supports the present economic system of political injustice...If Washington is really interested in contributing to the development of a just society in South Africa, it would discourage investment in South Africa. We Blacks are perfectly willing to suffer the consequences! We are quite accustomed to suffering.



Divestment can lead to genuine change in South Africa by eroding the confidence of the ruling minority government in the availability of U.S. investment regardless of their policies and by sending the message that the people of the U.S. will no longer allow their money to prop up the system of apartheid. It is true that some U.S. corporations have enabled a small percentage of black workers to improve their economic standing (U.S. companies employ only 1% of black workers), but we cannot forget that blacks are not just fighting for economic equality but for basic political and human rights. Divestment exerts direct pressure on U.S. corporations to utilize their utmost ability to pressure the government for reform. For these reasons, the UAHC feels strongly that divestment is a necessary step in working for justice and equality in South Africa.



*Exhibit*

February 20, 1986  
11 Adar 1 5746

Rabbi Norman T. Mendel  
Temple Emanuel  
38 Oxford Road, Parktown  
Johannesburg, S. Africa

Dear Norman:

It was good hearing from you and I thank you for sharing the articles which appeared in the Johannesburg "Star." I am most admiring of your efforts/ It's easy to be social-action oriented here in the States. It certainly takes guts for you to be so in your part of the world!

I am taking the liberty of sharing your letter and the clippings with others of our leadership. They should be apprised of all that you and the members of Emanuel are doing.

With every good wish and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

bcc: Al Vorspan -- with letter & Clippings....For possible inclusion in  
Reform Round-up



A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Ed Koch', is located in the upper left corner of the document.

October 23, 1985

His Honor the Mayor Edward I. Koch  
The City of New York  
New York, New York 10007

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your letter of thanks in regard to the "National Day of Mourning." Believe it or not, the guy on our staff who helped the most nationally with regard to this day was David Saperstein. I will relay your thanks to him if I may. It was good seeing you last night.

With warm regards and all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



THE CITY OF NEW YORK  
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007

October 18, 1985

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
President  
Union of America Hebrew  
Congregations (reformed)  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The "National Day of Mourning" for the victims of violence in South Africa, October 5, 1985, was a truly memorable occasion due in part to the efforts of you and the members of your staff.

Our "National Day of Mourning" made it clear that we in New York will not sit idly by as long as this oppressive regime exists.

Please convey to the members of your staff who so graciously volunteered their time on Saturday, my appreciation for their participation.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Edward I. Koch  
MAYOR



april  
October 1, 1985  
no further

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your response to my letter although you avoided answering the questions, so I will enclose a copy of the original letter. Maybe you didn't read it.

Your remarks about Genesis meaning everybody was created equal is your interpretation. I would advise you to further study Genesis. If man is equal to God, then we are all equal; but, I don't think any man is equal to God. Your reference to the quotation in the Bible that man was created in God's image is grasping at straws to prove a point and is most ridiculous. It seems that it is your desire to stamp out the existing civilization in South Africa, the only country in the whole continent that goes by the laws of western civilization as we interpret it. Anybody that is not blind can see that the riots are promoted from the outside and not by the government of South Africa. Your avoidance of the question in my first letter referring to the Israelis is the height of hypocrisy.

What is your interpretation of Genesis 1:26, "And God said, let us make man in OUR image, after OUR likeness?" And there is another verse, Genesis 1:25, "And God made the beast of the earth after his kind." God said, "after his kind." And does it mean that all the beasts were created equal? One-beast, one-vote.

If you are really interested in interpreting the Bible, I can quote a few other verses to see what your point of view is. Please give this your most deliberate consideration.

In closing I will use the quote from the first paragraph of your letter. That phrase at the very least means "that no human being on earth whatever his color or creed (even though he be white) should be subjected to the indignities and the degradation and the daily threat to life and limb to which the whites of South Africa are subjected." You will notice that this is your quote with me substituting whites in the place of blacks. I don't know whether your interpretation is arrogance or a closed mind. Evidently you think whites who created a civilization should be discriminated against on account of their color.

Yours very truly,

*Sol H. Tepper*  
Sol H. Tepper  
P. O. Box 474  
Selma, Alabama 36702

SHT:jr  
Enclosure

August 30, 1985

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 5th Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I stand amazed at your remarks on the news media the other day when you commented about the South African situation. You stated that God created everybody equal, or some words meaning that. Any high school student knows that no two people are equal or alike. Even identical twins have differences. Two peas in a pod are not alike. You have billions of cells in your body, some of them are sluggish and some energetic. I don't remember reading a Biblical quote about God's making everybody equal, but I do remember that the Jewish people were the chosen ones which hardly means that everybody is equal.

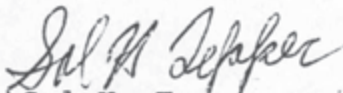
Your one-man, one-vote is for the birds. How would you like to have one-man, one-vote on the west bank of Israel, and how long do you think it would take the one-man, one-vote Arabs to run the Israelis out of the west bank as they did prior to Israeli conquest? I remind you that there are 125 million Arabs in the middle East. Maybe you think the Israelis could exist with a one-man, one-vote with 3½ million Israelis facing 125 million Arabs.

Is it your desire to make South Africa into a starving country that is so plainly evident without white leadership? Do you wish to destroy civilization in South Africa where all races have a higher standard of living than the solid black African leadership?

There should be a law where common sense prevails, which did prevail until people of your philosophy started promoting riots and destruction of property. One-man, one-vote may sound good but it simply doesn't work in certain countries.

Please Mr. Rabbi, the next time you make a statement have your feet on the ground and not in your mouth.

Yours very truly,



Sol H. Tepper  
P. O. Box 474  
Selma, Alabama 36702

SHT:jr



*aparcher*

September 10, 1985

Mr. Sol H. Tepper  
P.O. Box 474  
Selma, AL 36702

Dear Mr. Tepper:

To begin with, I did not appear on the news media on the South African situation but if I had I might well have stated that "God created every-one equal, or some words meaning that." These words do not seem to please you but it happens that they come from the Bible which, hopefully, you will deem sacred still. Reread Geneisis Chapter 1 if you will, it holds equal every human being "created in the image of God." That phrase at the very least means that no human being on earth whatever his ~~color~~ color or creed should be subjected to the indignities and the degradation and the daily threat to life and limb to which the blacks of South Africa are subjected.

The leadership of Israel has said so, the President of the United States has said so, the Bible has said so. Any philosophy which you assert is responsible for the "promotion of riots" is in perfect agreement with this and I am happier to be in the company of those who feel as I do than to be in your company.

Sincerely,

± Alexander M. Schindler

August 30, 1985

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 5th Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I stand amazed at your remarks on the news media the other day when you commented about the South African situation. You stated that God created everybody equal, or some words meaning that. Any high school student knows that no two people are equal or alike. Even identical twins have differences. Two peas in a pod are not alike. You have billions of cells in your body, some of them are sluggish and some energetic. I don't remember reading a Biblical quote about God's making everybody equal, but I do remember that the Jewish people were the chosen ones which hardly means that everybody is equal.

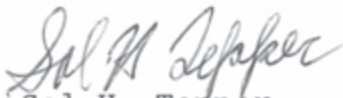
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Please Mr. Rabbi, the next time you make a statement have your feet on the ground and not in your mouth.

Yours very truly,



Sol H. Tepper  
P. O. Box 474  
Selma, Alabama 36702

SHT:jr



SIMON JOCUM

P.O. BOX 24  
OBSERVATORY, CAPE 7935  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
PHONE BUS.: (021) 477125

SJ/nw  
8 July 1985

Rabbi Alexander M Schindler - President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
NEW YORK NY 10021  
U S A

Dear Rabbi Schindler

Thanks for your letter of June 25th.

I look forward to seeing you, as arranged, on Tuesday  
October 8th at 9h30.

I am enclosing further news from the SA Jewish Times  
for your information.

Warmest regards

Sincerely



Simon Jocum



*apartheid*

*Hold for  
Gale  
10/8*

10/8

June 25, 1985

Mr. Simon Jocum  
P.O. Box 24  
Observatory, Cape 7935  
Republic of South Africa

Dear Simon:

The news of the unanimous resolution of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies National Executive is indeed heartening. I thank you for sharing a copy of the document with me, as well as the details of the debate as they appeared in the SA Jewish Times. Your thoughtfulness is much appreciated.

It was also good to learn that you will be coming to New York in early October. I've checked my schedule and find that I will be able to meet with you on Tuesday, October 8 but I would ask that we set the time for 9:30 a.m. I travel into the city from suburbia and the half-hour does make a difference in my travel schedule so I do hope the later time will be convenient for you. I certainly look forward to seeing you again and to having an opportunity to chat face to face.

With warm regards and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



SIMON JOCUM

P.O. BOX 24  
OBSERVATORY, CAPE 7935  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
PHONE BUS.: (021) 477125

SJ/nw  
14 June 1985

Rabbi Alexander M Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
NEW YORK NY 10021  
U S A

Dear Rabbi Schindler

Thanks for your letter of May 29th. We have just concluded the National Congress of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies in Johannesburg over the weekend of 30th May to 2nd June 1985 and I am happy to enclose a unanimous resolution passed by the National Executive.

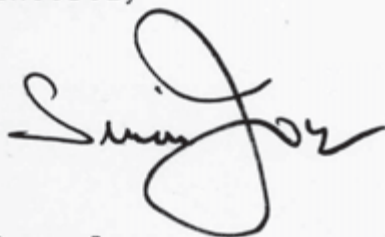
I am also enclosing the latest issue of the SA Jewish Times which gives further details of the debates that took place.

Many thanks for your very useful letter and sound advice which is much appreciated.

I expect to be in New York from Monday 7th October to Thursday 10th October and I would appreciate it if I could see you at 9 a.m. on any of these days.

Warmest regards

Sincerely



Simon Jocum

*apartheid*



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

33RD NATIONAL CONGRESS 30 MAY - 2 JUNE, 1985

CARLTON HOTEL, JOHANNESBURG

R E S O L U T I O N

PASSED UNANIMOUSLY ON SUNDAY 2nd JUNE 1985

That this Congress of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies confirms and supports the action of the National Executive in seeking to have dialogue with other sections of the South African population and in making public its views on issues which are based on Jewish ethical and moral values and which relate to events, laws and developments in South Africa and

calls upon National Executive to do so on what are in the Executive's view appropriate occasions in the future.

Congress also records its support for and appreciation for steps already taken in the process of peaceful reform and expresses 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.

National Executive Council



# Jewish Times

AFRICA'S NATIONAL JEWISH NEWSPAPER

VOL 46 No 36 FRIDAY JUNE 7 1985

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*"Constitutional, economic and social reform are indivisible"*

## Board of Deputies rejects apartheid



Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC ... "Jews have looked in vain for support"

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies has publicly rejected apartheid.

During last Friday's session of the 33rd National Congress of the Board, hours of debate followed a resolution put forward by the Cape Council. On the suggestion of Mr Harry Schwarz, MP, a member of the Board's Transvaal Council, a decision on the resolution was postponed till Sunday when the National Executive Council proposed an amended resolution, which was unanimously passed.

The following is the text of the resolution:

That this Congress of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies confirms and supports the action of the National Executive in seeking to have dialogue with other sections of the South African population and in making public its views on issues which are based on Jewish ethical and moral values and which relate to events, laws and developments in South Africa and calls upon the National Executive to do so on what are in the Executive's view appropriate occasions in the future.

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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.

National Executive Council

Mr Solly Kessler, immediate past chairman of the Board's Cape Council, who proposed the original resolution, told the Congress during the session entitled "The Jewish community in a changing South African scene": "If we don't have an attitude as a group, we are looking at failed Judaism."

Mr Kessler said that the complaint of youth and students was "You teach us one thing and you don't fulfil it in the public eye for the community."

"I think we must not just simply dismiss what American Jews, Israeli Jews and what Jews in other communities think—not just about apartheid, but the attitude of the Jewish community in South Africa to apartheid."

"We need to review the stance we've been taking up to now on these matters in the light of the attitude of youth, students and world Jewry."

Mr Kessler said it would be a mistake to think that such resolutions indicated any opposition to the Government.

"(The State President) Mr Botha has publicly gone on record — on international and local television, in Parliament and elsewhere — in a withdrawal of previous policies which were followed by his party in this country ...

"I don't think that by our expression of being in favour of such a political justice or against racial discrimination and even apartheid, we are creating a confrontation situation with the Government. I



Mr Mervyn Smith (left), a national vice-chairman and chairman of the Board's Cape Council, who chaired a session on "The Jewish community in a changing South African scene", and Mr Harry Schwarz, MP.

think our view is legitimate and would be well understood by the Government.

"To make this change now and to express ourselves publicly is necessary, and perhaps too late to signal to the black communities of this country the attitude of the Jewish community."

"I'm asking you to turn on its head the past policy of the Board in going public on these issues."

"The blacks, too, must not merely learn what the Jewish community's attitude is from those outstanding Jewish individuals in Parliament, on the President's Council and elsewhere who speak and who can be seen to be expressing a Jewish point of view."

"If we have a view and it's a view held by all Jews then we're entitled as a community to express it. As to the issue of entering the political arena, I submit to you that the issues in these resolutions are moral issues — the fact that in this country they are regarded as political issues doesn't affect the position."

Mr Kessler said that in Germany the laws against Jews were passed by political parties through Parliament by legal process according to the Constitution of Germany at that time. The fact that it was the platform of a political party to be anti-Jewish did not

of party politics. There was a fundamental difference between party politics and politics.

"The word apartheid has a particular meaning in South Africa, in the world, for the black community, the white community."

"I cannot understand why we shy away from that word. The reality is that if you go to people, the question they ask you is — 'Are you for or are you against apartheid?' That is the issue."

Mr A Chaskalson, SC, director the Legal Resources Centre, said that opposition to the principle of the resolution was on the grounds of expediency and unanimity.

"In the long run it is expedient to do what is right."

"When the Jews have been the subject of similar

laws, they have looked, sometimes in vain, for moral support from within and from outside their community to support them against oppression.

"If the position were reversed and a group of

other people were sitting down to discuss whether they should vote to indicate their opposition to the persecution of the Jews, I wonder how you would hope that they would vote."

### Margo addresses Congress opening

With South Africa in the throes of trying times and the Jewish community caught up in the complexities of the situation, last weekend's SA Jewish Board of Deputies 33rd National Congress could well prove to be the most important.

Setting the scene for the Congress, Mr Justice Cecil Margo said at the opening session that in spite of its problems South Africa was still a country of great prospects and the Jewish community could continue to contribute to it as it had done in the past.

"A great role is being played by Jews in the building of this community, not least in the case of human rights," he said.

Referring to the immigration to South Africa of Jews from Eastern Europe in the early part of this century and German Jewish immigration in the 1930s Justice Margo said: "The result of these two waves of immigration was



Mr Justice Cecil Margo

the development in South Africa of one of the great Jewish communities of the diaspora."

He said that although there was still discrimination here, including the ugly form of anti-Semitism of certain extreme black sects, Jews on the whole enjoyed a good life.

TO PAGE 2

For further reports on the Congress, see pages 2,4,5 — also "No Jewish solution", says Schwarz, on page 6





FROM PAGE 1

## Margo addresses Congress opening

Certain aspects of Jewish life caused distress, including the financial crisis in Jewish education, the emigration of youth and whole families and a decline in Jewish population figures — but not all was discouraging. Much depended on a fair deal for all people of this country.

During his address Justice Margo also outlined the history of Jewry.

In 58 centuries, 240 generations so many tragic events had overtaken our people, he said.

But, the two most momentous periods in our history — the Holocaust and the birth of the State of Israel — took place in the last two generations.

Referring to the tragic loss of one third of the Jewish people he said: "No one individual can comprehend the Holocaust. The loss was to all mankind and it can never be undone."

But, he said: "Also in our time a great miracle has come to pass." The establishment of the State of Israel has had a profound effect on all Jews in the Free World and in South Africa.

### FRIEDMAN

According to Mr M Friedman, SC, chairman SA Zionist Federation, now more than ever individual Jews had a role to play in finding a solution for all people in South Africa.

He emphasised that all Jews were still stirred by the emergence of the State of Israel.

"The purpose of Israel

and Jews is to live, serve and teach as becomes bearers of a great name and a glorious tradition."

Today, he said, there was an added obligation on individual Jews to continue this heritage by establishing and firmly maintaining a strong Jewish identity.

### FABEL

In congratulating Jews on their part in building the city of Johannesburg, the Mayor of Johannesburg Cllr E Fabel said: "The Jewish community has helped to shape and polish this golden city of ours."

He said that Jews and the growth and progress of Johannesburg were linked and that it was unthinkable that the one could exist without the other.

South Africa, he said, was a country of complex problems and the challenges of the times would have to be taken up by the youth. It was therefore most pleasing to see so many young people at the opening of the Congress.

"We have become accustomed to Jews as being a fearless people," he said, expressing the hope that the deliberations at the Congress would help to remove the fears that many express for the future towards which South Africa is moving.

### KATZ

In these times "the Jewish community has a role to play which should not be underestimated", said Prof M Katz, national chairman, SA Jewish

reversed, is a coming together of the forces of moderate reform and contributions from all communities in order to evolve by negotiation an acceptable political structure to solve the country's problems and which can successfully deal with the dangers from extremists' methods and objectives.

"This task is not an easy one, but I believe it is still possible, and at this stage I regard its evolution as a real probability."

Mr Schwarz said that while he recognised the difficulties and accepted that the years ahead would be "pretty tough", he believed that there was a future for South Africa and that the whites had a place in that future.

Outlining options available to the Jews, aside from emigration or Aliyah, "the assumption I make, and I believe it to be a correct one, is that there will be a Jewish community in South Africa in the future."

Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC, reviewed some of the laws which affect the day-to-day life of black people in this country.

Many of these laws had the effect of denationalising blacks within South Africa, restricting mobility, restricting the right to



National president, Dr I Abramowitz (left) with the Mayor of Johannesburg, Cllr E Fabel



Professor Michael Katz, national chairman

### Board of Deputies.

Great wisdom was called for from Jewish leadership which would have to determine its attitude to race relations and the special role the Board would take on issues like disinvestment.

In these times strict communal discipline, provision of cultural amenities to the Jewish community and greater contact with communities abroad had to be ensured.

Prof Katz also discussed some of the Board's more salient activities during the period under review including its condemnation of the Temple Israel bomb blast, the Board of Deputies Cape Council statement on the



Dr Henry Fabian, a national vice-chairman, and Transvaal Council chairman

Crossroads removals and the aversion of the day schools' crisis.

### LANKIN

The Israeli Ambassador, Mr E Lankin emphasised that no Jewish community in the world could exist without ties, physically or at least spiritually, with Israel. This applied even more to the South African Jewish community "renowned for its warmth and devotion to Israel".

He said that Israel, too, was tied to Jews in the diaspora.

"We must concentrate our efforts on strengthening this mutual interdependence between Israel and the diaspora."

## Kaplan reports on world Jewry

The agenda of the Jewish people today was the same as that given to Abraham — to choose to be Jewish and to go up to Israel, Mr Mendel Kaplan, treasurer of the World Jewish Congress said in a report on world Jewry to the 33rd Congress of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies.

At the time of the mass emigration from Eastern Europe 100 years ago Jews made a choice.

A minority felt they could not live in a foreign society and felt the need for a Jewish home, the State of Israel. Others felt they should move out into a free society, while many turned inward, back to their roots, to a fenced off existence. The last group was lost in the Holocaust.

When the Jews left Eastern Europe they took their method of government with them. In the Eastern European Kehillot Jews had never governed themselves

democratically, but used semi-representative forms, subject to factionalism and a tendency to coalitions and splits. These shaped the Jewish environment today.

Likening the Jewish world to a wheel, Mr Kaplan said internationally the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organisation connected the hub to the rim and the World Jewish Congress connected the rim.

In a wide-ranging review of Jewry in many countries, he said that Jews identified Jewishly in three ways. The fringe Jew had little Jewish commitment. Affiliated Jews, those belonging to one or other Jewish organisation, particularly in the USA, regarded their affiliation as their means of Jewish identification. The third group was committed to living as Jews in every sense.

"It is our job to move the fringe Jew to becoming an affiliated Jew, and the

affiliated Jew to a committed Jew," Mr Kaplan said.

The second element was Israel. The most serious issue was the polarisation between those who favoured a territorial view of the State, with biblical boundaries, and those who held a sociological view, that it should be predominantly Jewish, and the economic situation and development of the country.

On the relationship between Israel and the diaspora, Mr Kaplan stated that Israel felt let down by the lack of western Aliyah.

"We are a living example of our own history. We have a continuity, and that is what the struggle for identity is about, the struggle to continue to live as Jews, from the time of Abraham into the future."

## PANEL DISCUSSION ON "THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN A CHANGING S AFRICAN SCENE"

### "There will be a Jewish community in SA in the future"

"There will be a Jewish community in South Africa in the future," said Mr Harry Schwarz MP, discussing the options open to the individual Jew and the community in his address on "The Jewish community in a changing South African scene", during a panel discussion at the Board of Deputies 33rd National Congress.

There was a reluctance to change, a fear of what change would bring and of the knowledge that mistakes would probably be irreversible.

Pressure for political power would continue and the choices before South Africa would increasingly crystallise and polarise — "it's reform, revolution and reaction, three choices which are before South Africa."

"While the requirements of a political solution as well as the means of achieving it are debated, the often-ignored factor of group and individual searches for political power, using objections to an existing system and the plight of the masses or of special interest groups as a mechanism will play a major role."

"What is therefore needed before instability becomes too serious a factor to be controlled or

own property, the right to work and the right to family life. Blacks also had a separate inferior education."

Frequently the laws "vest in the government discretionary powers exercised through ministers and officials, whose actions are either not subject to scrutiny by the courts or are subject to review only on the grounds of mala fides — a proposition in practice which is impossible to prove."

"In effect they (these laws) enable the State to regulate or control the day-to-day lives of black persons, to control the flow of information, proscriber political opposition, break up organisations which may be seen to be gaining popular support within the black community, to cut off an organisation's source of funds, pick off leaders of particular organisations and render them impotent by detention, banning and other restrictions, to extract information from detainees which enables the Security Police to bring to trial persons charged with having committed offences under the security legislation and, above all, to instil fear in the hearts of ordinary people who might otherwise feel constrained to force to voice their opposi-

tion to such measures."

Members of the Jewish community had an obligation to involve themselves as individuals in the affairs of this country. "The Board can and should help individuals make their choices," Mr Chaskalson said.

The Board "can and should make clear at all times that it opposes discrimination, not only against Jews, but against everybody."

Mr Issy Pinshaw, a member of the President's Council, said that South African Jewry, with all other race groups, had a long-term stake in the development of this country and the advancement of all its peoples, and should be strongly committed to furthering an on-going process of economic and political reform.

"Change must be effectively worked for and the Jewish community has the opportunity and an obligation of taking an active part in being a catalyst for such change."

He said that if his perception of Jewish ethics was correct, it was not in contradiction "to what we are trying to achieve in this country by an evolutionary process."

In the past, Jewish solidarity and concern with our own internal com-

munity development had led Jews, with a few exceptions, to a virtual withdrawal from South African politics.

Although the Board of Deputies was a non-political organisation, representing a membership which comprised diverse political views, Mr Pinshaw expressed the wish to see "a greater interest and involvement by members of the Jewish community in the political developments of this country" and "more active participation in party politics."

Jews were "all the more sensitive to the injustice and discrimination" and in the light of their suffering should fight racism and bigotry and "express abhorrence of discrimination and discriminatory practices."

It was a misconception to believe that there was a "collective Jewish opinion" or "Jewish lobby" in South African politics.

"Whilst the Jewish community here is highly organised in the religious, cultural and welfare fields, there is no interference or coercion with the individual's conscience in any other matters, including politics, which are not in essence Jewish."

The Board of Deputies had a dual role of co-

ordinating and communicating and its communication role towards authorities had been contentious and under debate for many years.

"The South African Jewish Board of Deputies, as a recognised and responsible organisation, should involve itself far more closely and openly with the political developments of the country but in doing so, stay completely clear of party politics, which is an entirely different matter."

"The dividing line between moral and political issues in South Africa is today as thin as a thread. Whilst the Board, in all sincerity, may believe that it is voicing its opinion on contentious matters, publicly or with the authorities, purely on moral grounds the issues are of such a nature as to fall squarely in the domain of politics ... I view an open expression of its views on contentious political matters as an important step forward in its own evolutionary development in the country."

Both Mr Schwarz and Mr Pinshaw emphasised that they were speaking in their personal capacities, as Jews, and not as members of any political party.

Mr I Pinshaw, a member of the President's Council ... "the dividing line between moral and political issues in South Africa is as thin as a thread"

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## Around the world



## Hussein promises direct negotiations with Israel

TEL AVIV, (UPI) — King Hussein of Jordan has promised the United States he would open direct negotiations with Israel by the end of the 1985, Israel Radio said on Sunday.

The radio said Prime Minister Shimon Peres has received a message from US Secretary of State George Shultz informing him of the development.

Peres briefed the weekly Cabinet meeting on

Shultz's message, the radio said.

In the message Shultz said that Hussein's statements "go far beyond what any Arab leader has said publicly in the past."

Hussein last week held talks in Washington with President Reagan and other US officials.

"King Hussein of Jordan has committed himself to hold direct negotiations with Israel this year on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338," the radio report said.

In his message to Peres, Shultz also said that Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and the PLO executive have endorsed Hussein's commitments, according to the report.

The Secretary said further that it was "desirable" to hold a meeting between US officials and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, the radio said. Such a meeting would be characterised as informal contacts, and not formal negotiations.

## Foreign currency reserves fall

TEL AVIV (UPI) — Israel's foreign currency reserves fell by \$61 million in May but government deficit funding was halted, officials said.

They said the reserves now stand at \$2.25 billion, well below the \$3 billion regarded as a minimum working level.

The government however did not pump any money into the economy,

the officials said, and managed to collect five percent more taxes over the previous months and sell new savings plans to the public.

In all the government raised some \$44 million in May, they said.

Israeli commercial banks reduced the interest on deposits by one percent a month because the inflow of government money has wiped out their liqui-

ty deficits.

In another development, the price of gasoline went up for the second time in a week following a two percent increase in value added tax that took effect on Saturday night affecting all products and services.

In all the price of gasoline has risen by a total of 43 percent since last week. A gallon of 96 octane gas now sells for \$3.03.

## Exchange soldiers behaved "deplorably"

JERUSALEM (UPI) — Israel's Chief of Staff Moshe Levy said that eight of the nine Israeli soldiers for whom the country has submitted to lop-sided prisoner exchanges behaved "deplorably" by letting themselves be captured without a fight.

"Throughout the entire process (of their capture) not one — not a single one or some of them — made any effort to resist in order to prevent the surrender and imprisonment," Levy said. "I utterly deplore this behaviour."

## "Peace Now" protests clemency

JERUSALEM (UPI) — Thousands of "Peace Now" supporters shouting "there is no pardon for terrorists" paraded through Jerusalem on Saturday to protest possible clemency for members of a Jewish underground that killed and maimed Arabs on the West Bank.

## Jewish conspirator convicted

JERUSALEM (UPI) — The son-in-law of a Knesset member was sentenced in the Jewish underground trial on Thursday of last week to 40 months in prison for conspiring to attack Arab leaders and blow up the Dome of the Rock. He will be eligible for parole in two months.

Menachem Neuberger, 28, married to the daughter of right-wing Knesset member Rabbi Eliezer Waldman, was the 10th defendant convicted in the trial. Fifteen others are awaiting a verdict in the nine-month-old proceeding.

## Shamir in London

LONDON (UPI) — Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir arrived on Sunday for a three-day official visit and talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and British counterpart Sir Geoffrey Howe about Middle East peace moves and the Lebanon. His arrival coincided with the presence in London of King Hussein of Jordan.

## Anger over release of Arab prisoners

DEIR EL HATAB, WEST BANK (UPI) — More than one dozen Jewish settlement leaders, bitter over the release of Arab prisoners by Israel last week, demanded that the Arab Muktah of this village expel a returning Arab prisoner.

In a related incident, Jewish settlers of the town of Kiryat Arba swept through the city of Hebron posting warnings on all the homes of released prisoners. "If the terrorists do not leave, we will not be responsible for what follows," one settler said.

## Palestinian terrorist ring captured

TEL AVIV (UPI) — Israel authorities, ending a five-month news blackout on Sunday disclosed the capture of a Palestinian terrorist ring that carried out two political assassinations in the Gaza Strip.

Israel Radio said that nine members of the alleged ring, including its leader, have been in custody since January, and that the other suspects included Israeli soldiers who stole weapons from their units and sold them to the gang.

The ring leader whose name was not released is a resident of the small town of Khan Yunes in the Gaza district, the radio said.

The terrorist network, organised in isolated cells of two, was responsible for the assassinations of Rafah Mayor Abdul Hamid Gishta for making statements in favour of coexistence with Israel.

A deacon of the Azhar Islamic College was mur-

dered because he attempted to deter students from anti-Israeli activity and an Arab policeman was stabbed to death when he stopped a ring member

for a routine identification check, the radio said.

The ring was involved in other, unsuccessful, assassination attempts, according to the report.

## Relations with Egypt warming

TEL AVIV (UPI) — The Israeli Cabinet this week is discussing a package of diplomatic steps for improving relations with Egypt, Israel Radio reported.

The radio said discussion of the plan by the 10-member Inner Cabinet was planned.

The package was worked out last week by Egyptian and Israeli officials.

Under the plan Israel would agree to submit the status of the border resort of Taba to arbitration and Egypt would

return its Ambassador to Tel Aviv and normalise trade and tourism relations with Israel.

Once both Egypt and Israel endorse the package, a summit meeting would be held between their leaders President Hosni Mubarak and Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

There have been indications that the right-wing Likud bloc has eased its opposition to arbitration consistently favoured by the Labour Party as a viable means of thawing relations with Egypt.

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- The Protea Surgical and Dental Services Prize.
- The publication of a paper by the "Physical Review", the world's top technical journal.
- The Herbert Le May Prize for the best student in Applied Mathematics.
- The Frank Gordon McIntosh Prize in Architecture for the best thesis.
- The Unico Chemical Company Gold Medal for the most distinguished Honours Graduate in the Faculty Science.
- The I.B.M. Gold Medal and the Diamond Research Laboratory Gold Medal for outstanding performance in the Honours Year of Study in the Mathematical Sciences.
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## ISRAELIS OUT BY JUNE 6

PARIS (UPI) — Israeli Premier Shimon Peres said that Israel's war in Lebanon would be terminated in coming days with the withdrawal of the last Israeli army units from the most embattled nation in the Middle East.

Speaking in a pre-recorded interview with the French Europe-1 radio station he qualified his remarks by saying an unspecified number of Israeli soldiers would remain behind to help the army of South Lebanon.

"The Lebanese war will be completely terminated during the week of the third anniversary of the Israeli intervention which started on June 6, 1982, he said.

## Grenade injures four

TEL AVIV (UPI) — A grenade thrown at an army patrol car in the heart of Gaza city exploded short of its target, injuring at least four local residents, the army said.

## Lebanon inquiry rejected

JERUSALEM (UPI) — The Israeli parliament has rejected requests for an official inquiry into the invasion of Lebanon.

The Knesset, overwhelmingly defeated a motion by small left-wing parties calling for an investigation into the circumstances surrounding the June 5, 1982, invasion.

The Labour Party of Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who had supported an inquiry before becoming the leader of Israel's coalition government, abstained in the vote. The rightist Likud bloc, Labour's major coalition partner that held power at the time of invasion, voted no.

## Hunger strike called off

JERUSALEM (UPI) — The wives of accused and convicted Jewish terrorists called off a 13-day hunger strike on Sunday at the request of the nation's two Chief Rabbis.

## Gemayel escapes death

BEIRUT (UPI) — President Amin Gemayel "miraculously" escaped death as rockets smashed into his office in his suburban palace on Wednesday of last week setting it ablaze while he lunched in an adjacent room.

Security sources said two rockets smashed into the private wing of the Christian President's palace in the east Beirut suburb of Baabda, wrecking his office and a reception room as he was having lunch two rooms down the corridor.

## Nazi hunter's search hampered

ASUNCION (UPI) — Nazi hunter Beate Klarsfeld on Saturday left Paraguay, where she said she achieved only some of her goals in her search for "Angel of Death" Josef Mengele.

Klarsfeld said she was not allowed to meet with Interior Minister Sabino Montanaro or to have broadcast a video cassette on the Auschwitz concentration camp. Mengele is accused of having sent 400 000 Jews to their deaths at the camp.

The only goal Klarsfeld did achieve came when the newspaper *Hoy* printed a full-page advertisement in which 1 million guaranies were offered to whoever could tell where Mengele is.



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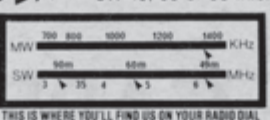


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## Jewish press should be critical, says Cohen

"We are fortunately privileged to have three weekly Jewish newspapers plus a host of others that come up less frequently", said Mr Charles Cohen, chairman, SA Yad Vashem Memorial Council, who spoke on the role of the Jewish press at the SA Jewish Board of Deputies 33rd National Congress.

"I take great pride in having as active a Jewish press as we

have, but it has not exercised a particular function. It has in the past tended to be too docile and has steered away from so-called controversy. There is a distinct change in editorial policy of one of them, but somehow the Jewish leadership is never subjected to constructive criticism."

Mr Cohen also said that the press could exercise an investigative function in this

community. There were many organisations which have become fossilised and he gave the example of a Polish-Jewish relief fund which still existed. It was strange that in 1985 this was discovered.

Had an investigative press constructively investigated, the fund could have been put to more effective use at an earlier stage.

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FRIDAY JUNE 7, 1985

### JOHANNESBURG

Shabbat starts 5.05 ends 5.57

### CAPE TOWN

Shabbat starts 5.26 ends 6.17

## A JEWISH ROLE CALL

IN the raging storm of South Africa's political sea, the boat of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies is at last beginning to rock.

At the 33rd National Congress of the Board a resolution was passed, inter alia, rejecting apartheid — a word which the Deputies previously shunned in public expression or condemnation of discriminatory practices on moral grounds.

Whether the Board cares to admit it or not, whether it wishes to apply euphemisms or in the words of Rabbi Norman Bernhard "pussyfoot" with the dictionary — it has entered the political arena by virtue of the fact that Jewish ethics provided the passport across the imaginary moral/political border.

There are some who, while agreeing with the sentiments expressed in the resolution, are opposed to taking a public stand but in spite of protestations, the resolution was passed unanimously.

There is change in South Africa which can no longer be covertly ignored by Jewish leadership and the Board is to be commended on recognising the need for its own change in attitude parallel to outside reform.

But while the Board, its affiliated bodies and invited guests deliberated on the future of South African Jews, sadly the majority of those Jews remained unaware of the debates and discussions which will serve to play a part in shaping their own future.

While a minority of Jews were opting for heavier responsibility, others were opting out to Sun City or were beating weekend retreats elsewhere.

Granted, the attendance at Congresses is limited to invitees. But there were too many empty places at last weekend's Congress and too few seats occupied by youth and students.

On casual approach, the average member of our community would probably ask: "What Congress?"

Is this a sign of apathy or lack of faith in leadership? Or have our leaders embarked on this new course of leadership after exercising undue caution for too long?

Let us hope it is not too late to reach the masses. The Board has been called upon to communicate with the authorities and with other population groups in South Africa.

It must not neglect internal communication and its duty to inform the uninformed in our community.

The Board of Deputies is the spokesman for South African Jewry and all Jews should be aware that they have a voice. Especially as this voice is really beginning to speak.

Disinvestment is a South African problem. It is not essentially a Jewish problem," Mr Mendel Kaplan, treasurer of the World Jewish Congress, told the 33rd Congress of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies.

Jewish organisations abroad were, however, "being relentlessly drawn into the fray. We cannot prevail upon other Jewish organisations to take a specific point of view."

The black lobby in the USA was being pressured by the Arabs to vote in Congress against Israel and by the Jewish lobby in favour of Israel. "South Africa could be the sacrificial lamb in the tensions that do exist. Up to the moment this has not occurred, because the leaders of American Jewry, especially those that have been to South Africa, understand the Jewish situation and they will not be used at this moment in time in terms of a sacrifice one against the other," Mr Kaplan said.

"The pressures do exist. We are dealing with them at the present moment, but they are going to get worse."

Dr I Abramowitz, president of the Board, said that in recent times there had been a lack of liaison and co-ordination with world Jewish bodies.

"Unfortunately at the moment criticism and condemnation of South Africa has become an important issue. Many Jewish organisations, for reasons best known to themselves, have also joined the tidal wave of criticism against South Africa. It is the fashionable thing to do."

He felt this was undesirable, when the State of Israel restrained itself from certain utterances, as did the International Council of B'nai B'rith.

Mr Harry Schwarz, MP, said there was not enough liaison between the local Jewish community and the rest of the world. He proposed a resolution that the Board constitute an overseas liaison committee to liaise with Jewish organisations abroad, communicate with them and exchange information and visits. The resolution was passed unanimously.





Rabbi Norman Bernhard ... "We're probably the most qualified ..."

# Call for council of elders and increased rabbinic role

An appeal for a council of elders and an increased role by rabbis in Jewish leadership were made by Mr Aaron Mendelow QC and Rabbi Norman Bernhard respectively at the National Congress of the Board of Deputies.

Mr Mendelow said that "when we strive to keep Judaism and Judaistic interests

alive and protected, we have to have people who can do so."

Officers of Jewish bodies had voluntarily shouldered that burden, "but they are not the only people who should shoulder that burden — and are they the only ones who can shoulder that burden?"

Following the example of history, Mr Mendelow advocated

a council of elders in South Africa who by their experience and knowledge could assist organised committees in the same way as in America there was a Council of Past Presidents.

Rabbi Bernhard called for an increased rabbinic role in Jewish organisations, as rabbis:

● Represented "a

very substantial constituency";

● Drew the largest crowds in the Jewish community on a regular basis; and

● Were probably the most qualified to articulate the Jewish point of view.

"I feel that there has been — consciously or unconsciously — an unfortunate trend to excluding the rabbis

from the councils of deliberation.

"If we don't have any input, then we will be forced to go it alone and the Board gets very uptight when we do this. It is important that rabbis, or some representative members of the rabbinate, should be reincorporated in the councils at which these things are deliberated."



Mr Aaron Mendelow, QC, ... "are they the only ones who can shoulder the burden?"

Mr J Moshal, chairman of the session "Responding to Challenges to Jewish Identity" pointed out that the 33rd National Congress of the Board of Deputies had so few young people present which did not reflect well on the attitude of young people toward being involved in their own affairs.

Rabbi J Krupnik, who has a masters degree in psychology from the Bar Ilan University in Israel, began the session on the topic of cults.

"Many cults have arisen and approached our Jewish youth and people

learned to live with and accept."

He said that Jews had the ability to live in a world, absorb from it and turn it into something specifically Jewish. The Jewish people today lived in a special kind of circumstance, in a modern society which was defined as being an open society, a democratic society and a pluralistic society.

For the Jews in South Africa the question of physical mobility was a determining factor in how they related to the world around them. The Jews were a metropolitan people living in a post-

religion raised the problem of the nature of Jewish identity. Being a Jew became primarily a matter of religion, however the erosion of religion in the modern world called the traditional meaning of Jewishness into question.

Jewish educators should consider one of their first tasks, that of providing a kind of information, experience and competence that allowed for development in responding to the challenges of Jewish identity.

Ms Lorraine Bernstein, former chairperson of SAUJS, spoke on the university campus scene.

Jewishness and politically aware — who intended to leave SA due to the political climate.

Ms Bernstein appealed to Congress to involve itself in the concern of Jewish students who were not sufficiently represented on the agenda of community priorities. She said that this was the reason for the lack of students present.

Rabbi I Rubenstein Liaison Jewish Chaplain, SADF, said that the army was also a microcosm of the Jewish community where Jews came from different backgrounds, were suddenly isolated and

## Response to challenges to Jewish identity

of all ages offering them all sorts of foreign ideas which try to claim as complementary to the Jewish idea but it is an absolute and total destruction of any of the Jewish ideals we have."

Rabbi Krupnik said that there was an urge to search for meaning in life. The problem was that unless Jews could give their brethren the answers there were others who were willing to fill this position.

He said there were 29 separate cult groups active in Johannesburg including Jews for Jesus, Rhema Church, Witnesses, Mormons and the Hare Krishna Society.

The answer was that a much greater depth of education had to be given, — specific education dealing with what these groups actually represented and how far they were from Judaism.

Mr S Solly, director of Education and Culture, Western Province Zionist Council, spoke on the theme of cultural assimilation.

"We are all assimilated", he said. "None of us has a Jewish appearance, we are not behaving or forming our life-cycle in a Jewish way, however this feature is something the Jewish people have

industrial world where communication and information flooded them. They lived in a period of affluence which gave time and material possibilities and in a post-Holocaust period. If not for this terrible feature, perhaps the Jewish world, its leadership and quality would be different.

Mr Solly gave an example of the Holocaust exhibition held recently in Cape Town, where some 10 000 people visited out of a Jewish population of 22 000. He said this was an outstanding piece of evidence that the Jews of this country had a strong commitment to their past and the challenges of the future.

We had to establish a learning community because assimilation only occurred when one thought the world around had something to offer.

Mr M Zimmerman, spoke on the role of Jewish education.

"Today, in the western world specifically we talk of a new threat to Jewish survival, a spiritual threat, the dangers confronting Jews in an open society, the influence of majority culture on minority groups."

The future of Jewish identity and the decline of

She said that the university scene was a microcosm of the larger society and emphasised the importance of Jewish youth in the South African Jewish community.

The student voice often went unheard and many young people move away from the community with feelings of disillusionment and hopelessness. She also mapped out the Jewish students on campus into five categories:

● The majority of students where Jewishness was simply a fact of life, characterised almost entirely by social emphasis and governed primarily by the materialistic principle.

● The Jewish leftists who were active in student government rejecting their Jewish identity and becoming openly anti-Zionist.

● Strong committed Zionists who were biding their time in South Africa until the circumstances are appropriate for them to make Aliyah.

● Those Jews genuinely committed to SA politics and in support of the National Party.

● The last group constituted the greatest potential lost to the SA Jewish community — people generally aware of their

became painfully aware of their Jewishness.

The Jews were stereotyped due to ignorance and distinct anti-Semitism was created. Many Jews were questioned and challenged in connection with Jewish concerns. The average boy did not have the answers to these questions and not only did this cause tension between Jew and non-Jew but it created a vast feeling of insecurity in terms of the Jewish boy's identity.

Besides these problems as a Jew, there were other problems experienced in the Defence Force. There was a distinct psychological pressure, far greater than the physical pressure. There was a deliberate policy to crack a national serviceman psychologically in order to mould him into a soldier. Even more profound was the pressure of the sudden violation of one's personal space.

There were cultural, psychological, physical and Jewish challenges but Rabbi Rubenstein said that on the positive side the Jewish chaplaincy was trying to meet those challenges. Efforts included a more comprehensive Jewish education, counselling, and helping to find the answers to questions of Jewish identity.

## SEEN AT CONGRESS ...



Above: Mr Mendel Kaplan, treasurer of the World Jewish Congress and guest speaker at the SA Jewish Board of Deputies National Congress, was accompanied by his mother, Mrs Jessie Kaplan (centre) and wife, Jill.

Below: Mr Lionel Conyer, chairman of the SA Union for Progressive Judaism (left) seated with Rabbi Scott Saulson, executive director of the Union, who said the closing prayer.

Behind them, speaking from the floor, is Rabbi Mendel Lipskar, director of the Lubavitch Foundation.

The opening prayer was said by Chief Rabbi BM Casper.



## S African connection

I read your Shma Koleinu Shavuoth edition of May 24 and the article on that wonderful and inspiring Hannah Senesh.

There is a South African connection which may be of interest.

Your story refers to her landing in a village near Bari from which she would be parachuted into Yugoslavia.

The squadron operating from that village, San Spirito, engaged in that type of exercise which must have included her journey, was 44 squadron, South African Airforce. I was with that squadron at that time and recall often wondering at the fate of the unknown people we took over the Adriatic.

Bill Rosin  
Johannesburg

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Disgusted at prefect's behaviour

At a recent dinner hosted by the Chief Rabbi for all Jewish prefects of the Transvaal, I was disgusted to hear that whilst their guest speaker (Prof Yehuda Blum — who represented Israel at the United Nations, for many years and is classified as one of the most prominent speakers in the world) was taking questions, he was rudely asked by a "prominent" prefect of one of the Jewish day schools to terminate

questions and continue with the meal.

I am deeply distressed and horrified to learn of this event, which was conducted by one who should represent what his school stands for, and who should definitely know better, and I sincerely hope that this matter will be seriously dealt with, by the head-master of the appropriate school. An incident of this nature cannot be left unnoticed.

Anonymous

## NEW NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

The following executive was elected at the SA Jewish Board of Deputies 33rd National Congress:-

Dr I Abramowitz — president; Professor Michael Katz — chairman; Mr Gerald Leissner, Mr Mervyn Smith, Dr Henry Fabian — vice-chairmen and Mr Jock Hurwitz — treasurer. These comprise the Management Committee with Mr D K Mann and Mr Harry Schwarz, MP.



## ON THE LOCAL FRONT

## No "Jewish solution" says Schwarz

CAPE TOWN — The traditional attitude of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies not to be involved in party political activity unless a particular party threatens the community should be followed, said Mr Harry Schwarz, MP, at the installation of the Cape B'nai B'rith regional executive held recently at the Albion Centre.

Discussing community involvement in seeking a solution to South Africa's problems, he said however that in respect of "issues" as opposed to political parties the Board had been involved and that the community and its representa-

tive bodies would become increasingly involved whether they wished to or not.

"With a potential white backlash in the Republic, ultra right wing organisations will both grow and become more activist. In the face of this the Board cannot be inactive."

The activities of prominent Jewish figures and names in the diaspora community as well as some Jewish organisations which are or may be of an anti-apartheid or even anti-South African nature had not and would not go unnoticed and would be exploited against Jews in South Africa.

The Israel-South African connection in the

minds of certain black activists would be exploited, together with the linkage of Zionism and apartheid by Arab propagandists and the actions of other religions and community leadership would be contrasted with our own.

"These factors will, if they are activated and not carefully and tactfully handled, escalate into situations fraught with problems and will require high quality leadership decisions and actions for the community's interests."

Mr Schwarz emphasised that there was no separate 'Jewish solution' for South Africa. "Either there is no solution for all, a solution which includes

whites — or there is no solution for Jews. The future of Jews is inextricably involved with that of whites in South Africa.

"In the years ahead the Jewish community should eliminate unnecessary squabbling and internal differences and become more closely knit."

"We should rationalise our communal services and not waste resources by unnecessary duplication and individual empire building."

Mr Schwarz added that we should ensure our institutions are maintained, plan scientifically for the future and seek closer links

with our sister organisations elsewhere in the diaspora as well as with Israel.

The incoming President of the Cape B'nai B'rith, Mr Ronnie Levinson, said that during his term of office the Cape B'nai B'rith would be involved in all aspects of community endeavours and would build closer relations with other service organisations.

The B'nai B'rith International vice-president Mr Charles Glick installed the following office bearers: Albert Glass (monitor), Peter Caspari (secretary), Norman Klein (treasurer), Aubrey Silver and Ivan Zuckerman (vice-presidents) and Ronnie Levinson (president).



Newly-elected B'nai B'rith Cape regional president, Mr Ronnie Levinson (right) with past president Albert Glass.

Photo Bernard Sacks.

## The stresses of career women in combined roles



Mrs Una Brak, chairman of the United Sisterhood of Johannesburg addressing the annual meeting. Seated (from left) Rabbi Ady Assabi of Temple Shalom, Mrs Rita Marx, honorary life president, and the Deputy Mayoress of Sandton, Mrs Denise Forster.

There are tremendous stresses imposed on women who combine the roles of housewife and mother with a career, said Mrs Carmella Yom Tov, psychologist and stress management counsellor.

Speaking at the recent 51st annual meeting of the United Sisterhood of Johannesburg at Temple Emanuel Centre, Mrs Yom Tov said that although women provided the safe, secure nest to which their men could return, their own dependency needs were not met.

"He comes home to a tidy house and hot dinner. She comes home to carry on working."

Older women tended to accept their traditional role, enjoy their husband's status and had no conflicts in this respect, she said. But, "many middle aged women are trapped in a role they do not find satisfactory and bitterly resent while younger women are engaged in a fight for dual careers and multiple roles which involves enormous problems and stress."

"When entering the work market they are prone to the same tensions as men but lack the supportive back-up at home. They have to suppress their feelings and adopt the male's stiff upper lip attitude to avoid being disparaged as the weaker sex."

The meeting was opened with a prayer by Rabbi Dr Norman Mendel, chairman of the ecumenical council. Messages were read by Mrs Reeva Rudolph, deputy mayoress of Johannesburg; Mrs Rose Norwich of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies; and Mrs Eve Mankiewicz-Dermeik, vice-president of the United Progressive Jewish Congregation.

Greetings from the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods of America were brought by Mrs Teela Lelyveld representing the Cleveland, Ohio, congregation, one of the largest in the world; and Mrs Rhona Sochett, national president of the SA Union of Temple Sisterhoods, also brought greetings.

The Shalom Senior Citizen Club has started, with the aim that it will become a permanent community centre, and will meet every Wednesday at

10am in the community hall. Everyone living in the area is more than welcome to join and can phone Temple Shalom for more details at 640-3182.

## Ben-Gurion professor in SA

The SA Associates of Ben-Gurion University are currently hosting an eminent member of the University's academic staff, Professor J Wisniak, vice president and dean of the Research and Development Authority at Ben-Gurion University.

Professor Wisniak, who was born in Santiago, Chile, is fluent in four languages and has distinguished himself in many fields including chemical engineering, technology and applied research.

His general fields of interest are thermodynamics, kinetics and development of chemical process — particularly in the areas of utilization of vegetable and fish oils, jojoba oil, vapour-liquid equilibrium and heats of mixing. He has appointments as special consultant to several universities, research and development institutions, manufacturers and industrial organisations worldwide and has a long, noteworthy list of publications to his credit.

Professor Wisniak will be visiting centres throughout South Africa, to conduct consultations with the academic staff of various SA universities, leading educators as well as top ranking professional and business people.



Professor J Wisniak

## Blum at campaign launch

Prof Yehuda Blum, former Israeli representative to the United Nations, urged awareness of the dangers confronting the Jewish people at the recent campaign launch of the Israel United Appeal's Glenhazel district.

"Our right to a state of our own is still being

challenged, not only by Arabs, but by other states as well," he said.

Prof Blum warned that it was misguided to pretend Arab animosity was tied to the Judea, Samaria and Golan problems. The root cause of Arab conflict was the unwillingness of the Arab world to come to terms with Israel's very

existence. "To put it simply," he said, "it is a challenge to Israel's legitimacy, irrespective of boundaries and territories."

The Palestinian question and "self-determination", he stated, were devices created with the objective of liquidating Israel.

The launch of the IUA campaign in the Glenhazel District, heralds the start of intensive canvassing in this area over the next few months. This district comprises 38 suburbs, including major ones, such as Fairmount, Highlands North, Houghton, Norwood, Killamey, Orange Grove, Sandringham and Saxonwold.

## TRAINING CENTRES GET TOGETHER

A picture of togetherness, with music, talking, TV discos, communal meals and family gatherings — the imaginative idea of a get-together of children from the two training centres, Glendale in Cape Town and the Hamlet in Johannesburg came to fruition in Cape Town recently.

Children were selected on the basis of need, independence and parent sponsorship, some Afrikaans, some English-speaking, aged from 9 to

18 years, girls and boys.

Glendale Training Centre, a day centre for the mentally handicapped was turned into a residential unit for the 30 children and staff for a week.

Train and boat rides, picnics, lunches and swimming were provided. A caring, loving relationship developed even among the most handicapped of the guests. Children from both centres learnt to share and participate together in activities. It was a stimulating experience.

## Bean bags for Oranjia



CAPE TOWN — Mrs S Rozowsky, vice-president of Oranjia Jewish Children's Home, receives a gift of bean bags from Rabbi E N Kaye of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation.

Rabbi Kaye and Mrs Kaye were attending a tea at the Home.

## SISTERHOOD EXECUTIVE

The following were elected to the executive at the Sisterhood of Temple David's recent 34th annual meeting: Mrs R Cohen: chairman; Mrs I Angora: vice-chairman; Mrs B Bass: treasurer.

## Panel discussion on sex

A champagne breakfast will take place at Temple David, Middle Road, Morningside, Sandton, on Sunday June 9 at 10 am.

There will be a panel discussion entitled "When your child asks about sexuality — keeping the communication channels open within the family". The panel of speakers will comprise Rabbi Robert Scott, of Temple David, Mrs Irene Bacher an educational counsellor at the Family Life Centre, Mrs Helen Metz a social worker at King David Primary School, Linksfield will be chairing the discussion.

For more information phone 783-7117.

## "TWINS" ON MOTHER'S DAY

The Temple Shalom Sisterhood held a lunch to celebrate Mother's Day simultaneously with the United Sisterhood in Cleveland, Ohio, to which it is twinned. Mrs Teela Lelyveld, wife of Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld is presently in Johannesburg and attended the lunch

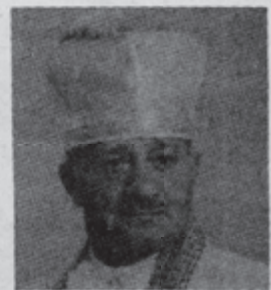
which she normally would attend in Cleveland.

Mothers and daughters of all ages attended the lunch and were presented with corsages. Ms Anita Milne gave a talk on her personal experiences during a trip to Hong Kong.

## A gift for father



Cantor Ivor Lichterman



Cantor Jacob Lichterman

CAPE TOWN — "From generation to generation", an album recorded by Cantor Ivor Lichterman, tells the story of a father's life, almost destroyed by the Holocaust.

"It is a theme of man's decency towards his fellow man — of live and let live. Of freedom ..." says Cantor Lichterman.

A surprise for his father Jacob who had been a renowned cantor in Warsaw and who retired as cantor last year in Cape Town, the album took two years to make.

Ivor Lichterman a third generation cantor grew up in Cape Town. He went to Manhattan eight years ago to the Yeshiva University. He took part-time jobs as a cantor on Long Island before accepting a full-time cantorial position in Stamford, USA.

He relates the story of how his father escaped death at Auschwitz because his identity papers listed him as a singer, instead of a cantor. When a Nazi officer asked him to perform a selection from a German opera, the song saved his life.



✓  
*apartheid*

June 3, 1985

Mrs. Eudyce Tucker, Secretary to  
Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld  
Fairmount Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio 44122

Dear Mrs. Tucker:

Many thanks for sending to me Rabbi Lelyveld's address to the Progressive Jewish Congregation of Johannesburg. I am sure it will make for interesting and important reading and I am grateful for his thoughtfulness in having a copy sent to me. When you are in touch with him, please express my appreciation and my warm regards.

With thanks, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



RABBI ARTHUR J. LELYVELD  
FAIRMOUNT TEMPLE  
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44122

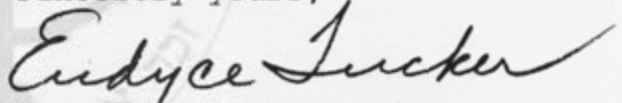
May 29, 1985

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

As you know, Rabbi Lelyveld is on sabbatical in Johannesburg, South Africa. He delivered an address there in March and thought it would be of interest to you. Therefore, per his instructions, I am enclosing a copy for you.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Eudyce Tucker". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name of the signatory.

Mrs. Eudyce Tucker, Secretary to  
Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld

Enclosure

P.S. I might add that Rabbi Lelyveld will return by mid-July.



ADDRESS TO ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING  
of the  
PROGRESSIVE JEWISH CONGREGATION OF JOHANNESBURG  
March 18, 1985 by Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld

"REFLECTIONS OF A NEWCOMER - Contrasts and Similarities"

We learn most about ourselves when we see ourselves against the contrasting screen of that which is significantly different. This truth -- the meaningfulness and helpfulness of achieving perspective -- is what lies behind academic studies in comparative language, comparative literature, comparative religion, even comparative history, as I learned recently reading an eye-opening work by George Frederickson called "White Supremacy" and subtitled, "A Comparative Study in America and South Africa History".

I confess that the fact of difference and the possibility it afforded for enlargement of my own horizons was one of the major motivations toward my acceptance of your invitation to a five-month sojourn in South Africa. At the same time, those who travel are always amazed to discover how basically similar we all are. Even after a period of less than two months among you, I have become aware of our oneness in our shared problems and our shared hopes, rooted in our basic human condition and in our common Jewish concerns. Let me specify seven:

1. We want our people to survive -- and not only to survive, but to survive creatively.
2. We want the State of Israel to be strong and secure in order that it may become a powerhouse of Jewish ideals -- an or la-goyim.
3. We want our children to become better and more literate Jews than we are.
4. We worry about our relationship to our fellow Jews and to the general society in which we live.
5. We have our antennae out, keenly alert to any sign of hostility toward us even as we rejoice when the media -- as is so often the case here in South Africa -- present us positively.
6. We are, in all, anxious about the future, especially what it portends or augurs about the security of the next generation and of generations to come; an anxiety made more intense by the threat of nuclear destruction.
7. We want to hold on to what we have legitimately earned; but in a sharpened dilemma, we want to act justly toward our fellow humans, recognizing that ts'daka means the obligation to grant to others that which is rightfully theirs .....their just portion, since "The



earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof...."

We may not be able to cite the Biblical injunctions, "What mean you that you crush My people and grind the face of the poor, saith the Lord" or "The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the home born among you, and you shall love him as yourself for you were strangers in the land of Egypt", but we have inherited through generations of conditioning, the attitudinal stance that underlies those Scriptural tags.

Indeed, there is much at the core that unites American Jewry and South African Jewry; and this does not surprise us, since we have long known that kol yisrael areivin zeh baze, that all Jews are interwoven, one with the other. In some facets of our two situations, the similarities are prosaic, in others, they are heartening and supportive. One prosaic similarity is in the problem of FINANCING our institutions, and how much more prosaic can you get?

Many American synagogues have been hard hit by inflation, recession, and high interest rates, a condition experienced in perhaps even greater measure by you. As a result, there has been a proliferation of mergers of American synagogues in recent years, congregations seeking to combine their resources and facilities in order to make ends meet, a reversal of the tendency of two or three decades ago to spawn new congregations in every suburban area. The problem is compounded by the uniquely American phenomenon of "flight to the sun belt" meaning attrition of population in the northern centers and the phenomenal growth of Houston, Dallas and San Diego which I remember as overgrown cow-towns forty years ago and which today have become leading metropolitan centers.

There is a factor of difference in governmental encouragement of private support of religious, academic and eleemosynary institutions through tax deductions for the gifts made to them. There is always some fear that these American tax laws may be changed and there even are some pressure groups agitating for the removal of such tax advantages.

However, most students of the subject believe that even if this should happen, there will be no substantial change in the measure of giving. People give to those causes that are closest to their individual concerns -- or to use the words of last Saturday's Torah portion (Vayakheil Ex. 35:29) asher nadav libam -- as their hearts prompt them to give. And mind you, there were no tax deductions for the teruma of the Israelites in the wilderness or at any point in the long history of Jewish ts'daka before modern times.

This being the case, we may well ask why the synagogue does not have greater priority in contemporary Jewish philanthropy. Our experience in the United States is that wonderful people, leaders in our congregations, who give \$100,000 a year to our Jewish Welfare Fund feel that they have fulfilled their obligation if



they give a disproportionately small \$1000 a year to their Synagogue.

Is it that they, and we, do not esteem Jewish religious life and the preservation of our Jewish heritage highly enough? Or is it that they see their own security as being primarily dependent upon the security of the State of Israel? (I understand that the Lubavitcher Chassidim here have successfully introduced tithing -- ten per cent of each member's income to their central coffers -- and that they have also found the key to unlock the strong-boxes of many wealthy supporters. Can we possibly learn something from them?)

In another important area, we share with you a concern for the inadequacy of Jewish education today. Our Reform Union of American Hebrew Congregations has produced outstanding textbooks and educational materials and has provided expert guidance to the schools of the 800 or so congregations which comprise our Union. But we are still plagued with the problem of bar/bat mitzvah dropouts and our failure to attract larger numbers to post bar/bat mitzvah Hebrew learning.

We are, equally with you, devoted to the preservation of the State of Israel. Indeed, some wag has said that there is only one sin for which an American Jew can be "excommunicated" and that is for his failure to contribute to our equivalent of the Magbit -- our American United Jewish Appeal -- proving that Israel has become the core religion of American Jewry. Even as I recognize the great devotion of South Africa Jewry to Zionism and its great contributions in money and in elite aliyah to Eretz Yisrael, I nonetheless have the impression that our synagogues and synagogue schools are more Israel-oriented than yours. Indeed, synagogue life in the United States is far more active than synagogue life here and American rabbis, especially in the Reform movement, are more actively committed to prophetic Judaism -- the fight against poverty, discrimination, inequality of opportunity, violence and war. And not only rabbis, our Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism which maintains a Religious Action Center in Washington is composed of lay people and rabbis and represents not only the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union but also the Union's affiliates, the Sisterhoods, Brotherhoods and Youth. Of course, it must be said that this activity in behalf of social justice can be carried on without fear of banning or detention.

In one respect, I can say "Olam Hafuch ani roeh", "I have seen an upside-down world here". In the United States, Reform is the dominant branch of Judaism -- in numbers, in influence, in affluence and in the elegance and size of its edifices. (Indeed, the late Maurice Samuel accused us of having an Edifice Complex). But here in South Africa as in Israel, England and Latin America, Progressive Judaism must struggle to achieve at the least, equality of status with the Orthodox who constitute the establishment "Jewish church".



One unique aspect of American Jewish life (and I use the word "unique" in its exact meaning) is in sharp contrast to what I have found here and that is the fact of American Jewish pluralism. It is a pluralism that exists in local community federations and nationally in the Council of Jewish Federations, also in the Synagogue Council of America, the latter speaking for Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism, and it has been made possible by reason of the strength of Reform Judaism.

I must add that I know nothing as yet of Johannesburg Jewish life outside the orbit of the United Progressive Jewish Congregation which fact gives me the impression that this community is beset by the opposite of pluralism, and that is parochialism. I cannot help but think that a representative South African Jew visiting Cleveland would have been snapped up and even pressed into service by our Jewish Community Federation and its many agencies and activities. The Federation, it should be said is a quasi-Kehillah embracing every facet of organized Jewish life and constituting the hub of Jewish communal enterprise.

Ein sh'miyah k'r'iyah --our sages said -- Hearing is not like seeing. I was neither dilatory nor delinquent in my reading about South Africa before I came here. I have read and digested almost a score of books plus pamphlets and periodical materials. But they did not provide the sharp and fascinating learning opportunities that we have had by being here and participating in the life of this community. But even seeing is not enough. One must experience the life of the community from within in order to absorb its meanings.

How, then, can an American less than two months in this beautiful, complex, polyglot country, much less the two-week tourist or visitor, penetrate to their deepest soundings the feelings of South Africans, white, black, English, Afrikaaners, Jews, Christians, Muslims? I have learned thus far that one must not oversimplify. Read the shattering dialogue in Nadine Gordimer's novel, "Burger's Daughter", between Rosa Burger and the black man called "Baasie" who had lived in their household as one of the family. The depth of resentment, the bottled-up anger on his part, and the frustration and disappointment felt by Rosa typify an emotional inheritance from generations of tragic confrontation not relationship but confrontation.

The thrust of our tradition, both Biblical and rabbinic, is to build relationship, to lead us to a recognition of the personhood of every human being and toward the capacity to respond to him or her as a person, not as a thing to be used for our own purposes. The inherited emotional factor is and was no different in our American South. I recall a statue in a town square in an Alabama small town in tribute to "The Good Darkie" hat in hand smilingly bowing his head before the white master. The desire to portray blacks as "happy children" was part of the rationalization process to mask the anguish of rigid segregation in the United States recurrent brutality, the lynchings both within and without the legal process. The civil rights revolution in the United States



did not result in instantaneous love and harmony. I am not loved because my head was bashed in Mississippi in 1964, and I did not expect to be. But the legal enactments of 1963 did improve the human rights situation even if they did not produce the ideal human relationships that we held and still hold as our goal. As Martin Luther King, Jr. once said, "The law cannot make you love me, but the law can prevent you from killing me" (injuring, or exploiting me). What is at stake in the process is the possibility of a society that will make possible full development of the potentialities in each human being, undoubtedly, too late for this generation (the freed Hebrew slaves had to spend forty years in the wilderness) but possibly on the American scene for "children's children".

I reject the mood of American self-righteousness. There is still so much that is reprehensible in the United States -- as in the Soviet Union -- indeed, throughout the world, that we can say in words present in both the Talmud and the Christian testament, "Remove first the mote from your own eye." This is why I rejoice in every change that advances the cause of democracy. The forum held here at Temple Emanuel a week ago last night was both useful and significant. It served to remind us as religious persons inheriting a rich religious tradition that we have specific Jewish social obligations and goals. That Jewish emphasis of the forum was deepened by a non-Jewish participant, Nico Smith, who reminded us of the concept that Ben Azzai said was the K'lal Gadol she-ba-Torah, the all-inclusive generic Man with a capital "M", created in the image of God, and therefore we are not to use other human beings, or as Dr. Smith said to see them as functional objects.

Every Jewish worship service ends with the "Alenu" in which we take upon ourselves the obligation, renewed daily, "l-takayn olam b'malchut shaddai". Our central Jewish responsibility is "tikkun olam" -- the improvement or correction of God's world. And we are to act as "m'shutafim laKadosh Baruch Hu" -- co-workers with God in behalf of the world's improvement even if the perfection we seek eludes us and seems at times to be a will o' the wisp -- a Utopian dream. We have never believed the Messianic hope would be fulfilled tomorrow.

A STORY: A rabbi asked the legendary Eliyahu Hanavi, "When will the Messiah come?" Go and ask him said Elijah, he is sitting in the gate among the beggars, wrapping and unwrapping his bandages. And the rabbi finds him and puts the question, "When will you come?" And the Messiah answers "Ha-yom!" Today! And when nothing happens, the rabbi returns, "You lied to me". And the Messiah answers, "You didn't wait for the remainder of the verse from Psalms that I was quoting, "Ha-yom im b'koli tishma-u", today, if you will hearken to my voice".

Persistence, not sufferance, is the badge of all our tribe. Our self-image is that we are both an am k'shey oref a stubborn people, and rachmanim b'ne rachmanim, the compassionate children of compassionate parents. We need to hold on to that self-image, to



persist with emunah sh'lemah, complete firmness, in our task of  
the building of a better world.





*apartheid* ✓

May 29, 1985

Mr. Simon Jocum  
P.O. Box 24  
Observatory, Cape 7935  
Republic of South Africa

Dear Mr. Jocum:

I am genuinely sorry that I missed you when you were in New York. It would have been interesting for me to converse with you. I certainly find your letters to be of great interest. They bring me the kind of insights which can scarcely be gleaned from reading the press or listening to the news.

You are absolutely right. Our respective communities should communicate more with one another. That is essential for our well being. We should not be responding to each other's needs just in moments of crisis. An ongoing dialogue is the sine qua non of our continuity as one people.

You ask for advice. That is so difficult to offer, mainly because the situation of our respective communities is so fundamentally different and the analogies are therefore flawed.

Insofar as the American Jewish community is concerned, there has, of course, been a change in the manner in which we respond to that community in which we live. We have become more assertive over the years, assertive in our Jewishness, assertive in publicly opposing views that are inimical to our safety and in conflict with our values.

To be sure now, this inner transformation was accompanied (if not preceded) by a dramatic improvement in our status. We certainly have arrived on the American scene; we are the arbiters of much of thought and fashion. IN consequence, therefore, it is much easier to be fearless.

The situation of South African Jewry is much different, alas. Its state is precarious, at least so it seems from a distance. To put the matter slightly differently, two ethical principles appear in conflict: the law to survive, and the law which insists that we speak the truth as we perceive it.

But having recognized these conflicts and constraints, I do believe that were I to live in your community, I would find myself among those who urge the Board of Deputies to take and publicly articulate a collective stance on the apartheid issue, for the failure to do so is, in effect, to take the opposite stance by default. (Indeed, many of the South African black leaders with whom I conversed over the years are under the impression that the Jewish community is opposed to their aspirations.)



Mr. Simon Jorum  
May 29, 1985  
Page =2=

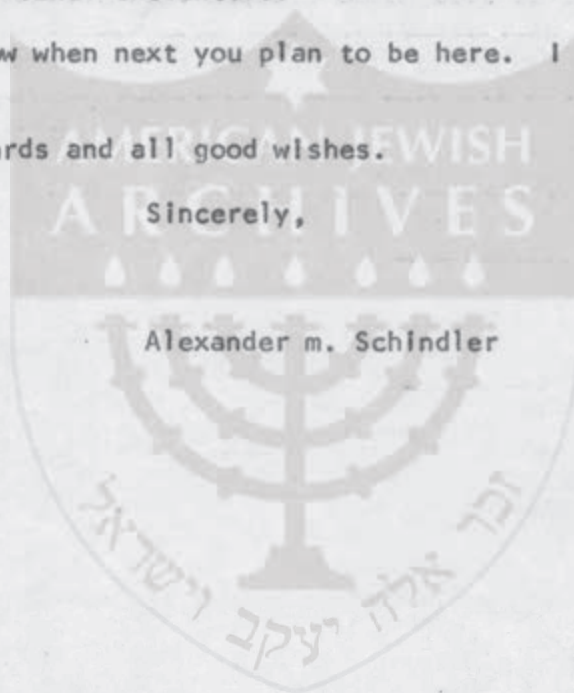
The manner in which all this is expressed should be chosen with care and wherever possible the moral justification should be underscored. Extremist solutions on either end of the political spectrum should be eschewed, indeed, they could scarcely carry the vote anyway. Alliances with counterpart groups, especially in the religious community, should also be achieved. There are some tactical matters which I would just as soon not commit to paper. Let us leave those for our more personal encounters.

Be sure to let me know when next you plan to be here. I am most eager to meet with you.

Be strong. Warm regards and all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Alexander m. Schindler





Dear Mr. Jocum,

I am genuinely sorry that I missed you when you were in NY. It would have been interesting for me to converse with you. I certainly find your letters to be of great interest. It brings me the kind of insights which can scarcely be gleaned from reading the press or ~~xxxxxx~~ listening to the news.

You are absolutely right. Our respective communities should communicate more with one another. That is essential for our well being. We should not be responding to each other's need just in moments of crisis. An ongoing dialogue is the sine qua non of our continuity as a people.

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To be sure now, ~~the transformation~~ this inner transformation was accompanied (if not preceded) by a dramatic improvement in our status. We certainly have arrived on the American scene; we are the arbiters of much of thought and fashion. In consequence, therefore, it is much easier to be fearless.

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But having recognized these conflicts and constraints, I do believe that were I to live in your community, I would find myself among those who urge the Board of Deputies to take ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and publicly articulate a collective stance on the ~~xxxx~~ apartheid issue, for the failure to do so is in effect to take the opposite stance by default. (Indeed, many of the black leaders with whom I conversed over the years are under the impression <sup>that the joint community response is a capitulation.</sup> The manner in which all this is expressed should be chosen with care and wherever possible the moral justification should be underscored.

Extremist solutions on either end of the political spectrum should be eschewed, indeed, they could scarcely carry the vote anyway.

*Alliances with counterpart groups, especially in the religious community, should also be advised.*

~~On a purely tactical level --- and this is entrez-nous --- individual Jews -- who share these extreme views should be encouraged to be in contact with their counterpart grouping in the larger society. -- There are some tactical matters which I would just as soon not commit to paper. -- Suffice it to say for the moment that when I was Chairman of the Presidents Conference -- I made certain that individual Jews -- Let us leave those for our more personal encounters.~~

Be sure to let me know when next you plan to be here. I am most eager to meet with you.

Be strong

*acknowledged*



SIMON JOCUM

P.O. BOX 24  
OBSERVATORY, CAPE 7935  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
PHONE BUS: (021) 477125

SJ/nw  
10 May 1985

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
Corner Fifth Avenue and 64th Street  
NEW YORK NY10020  
U S A

Dear Rabbi

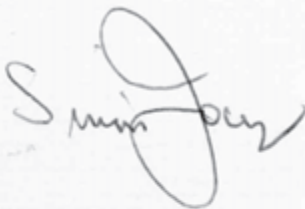
Further to my letter of 6th May, I am enclosing copy of an article from one of the Jewish national newspapers i.e. The Jewish Times. This is a leading article of April 5th where you will see the SA Zionish Federation also figures in on the scene vis-à-vis relations in the Jewish community.

In view of my public connections I do hope in future I will have the opportunity of meeting you at regular intervals to update you on the SA Jewish scene. Naturally, I will make an appointment well in advance but I feel the time has come that there is a better liaison with Jewish leadership in the United States so that you are aware of the activities of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies and the activities of the community.

Looking forward to receiving your reply to my first letter and any other views you may wish to give me from time to time.

Warmest regards

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Simon Jocum', with a large, stylized flourish at the end.

Simon Jocum



# **Jewish Times**

AFRICA'S NATIONAL JEWISH NEWSPAPER

2nd Floor, Van Der Stel Place, Corner  
Melle and De Korte Street, Braamfontein

Telephone 339-1781, P.O. Box 31015, Braamfontein 2017

CAPE TOWN: 806 Pier House, Foreshore, 8001

Telephone 21-7965, P.O. Box 3573, Cape Town 8000.

**FRIDAY APRIL 5, 1985**

## **JOHANNESBURG**

Shabbat and Passover start 5.45  
Yomtov ends Sunday 6.32

## **CAPE TOWN**

Shabbat and Passover start 6.19  
Yomtov ends Sunday 7.04

# **MERELY A VOICE?**

THERE was a shift in attitude on the part of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies at the first conference of the Board's Transvaal Council.

According to its national chairman, Prof Michael Katz, the Board acknowledges that Jews have a role to play and have to determine a response to current problems which the South African community faces.

Prof Katz advocates adopting "a constructive role in a solution seeking process which commits itself to peaceful change, identifying particular problems which need to and can be solved, suggesting roles for individual Jews, acting as catalysts for better social relationships, identifying and assisting in the removal of discriminatory practices and directing attention to the needs of finding plausible means to protect minority groups."

This is the voice of Jewish leadership. The question is – will it remain merely a voice or will it be transformed into action?

Politically the emphasis still seems to be on individual, as opposed to a collective, response. This is illustrated by the remarks of Mr Mockie Friedman, SC, chairman of the South African Zionist Federation, who says that a collective view in this regard would be "Jewish communal suicide."

Mr Friedman's statement is open to dispute. For the very lack of a collective voice is tantamount to taking a stand by default.

It seems also that reticence still reigns in spite of several strong statements at the conference. And even when tentative moves are made, reporters are coerced from their typewriters with arguments "for the good of the community" and retractions of viewpoints.

The media have a responsibility toward the general Jewish community, for consensus cannot be gleaned from a handful of representatives. If the public at large is not informed, its obvious conclusion is that nothing is happening. Often the Jewish press is the only vehicle for reaching the uninvolved and newspaper columns provide the only outlet for these people to express their views.

Fear of appearing in print must be overcome. The Board of Deputies is taking a step in the direction of speaking out and should not place obstacles in its own course before reaching the finishing line.



SIMON JOCUM

P.O. BOX 24  
OBSERVATORY, CAPE 7935  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
PHONE BUS.: (021) 477125

SJ/nw  
6 May 1985

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
Corner Fifth Avenue and 64th Street  
NEW YORK NY 10020  
U S A

Dear Rabbi

I was in New York recently during the week of 22nd April and phoned your office on a number of occasions but, unfortunately, you were out of town. I am sorry to have missed you as I had quite a number of important items I wanted to discuss with you.

I am writing to you as a Past Chairman of the Temple Israel, Cape Town and a Past Vice President of the SA Union of Progressive Judaism. At present I am a member of the SA Board of Deputies, Cape Council, which, as you know, looks after Jewish interests vis-à-vis the community and government and endeavours to keep communal unity at all times.

I also travel frequently, particularly to America, and I am aware of the troubled image South Africa has in the world community. Naturally I belong to the school opposed to disinvestment, for obvious reasons, as I believe it would certainly cause unemployment and, in turn, this could lead to an unhealthy political climate, etc.

I notice that you have been in the forefront of protests in Washington and so have many other Jews in leading positions.

Please understand I am not questioning any of these actions but the reason I am writing to you is that the SA Board of Deputies is holding a national conference at the end of this month and the Board has always steered clear of politics but has always spoken out on moral issues. Often it is difficult to differentiate between politics and moral issues and I am beginning to feel that all political issues are moral as well and, naturally, practising the Jewish ethic in South Africa draws one to a lot of conflicting conclusions.

USA, for your own info. - not that I necessarily agree with it. I am enclosing an article from the Jewish Press/and another article of interest taken from the Minutes of one of our Board of Deputies Meetings in the Transvaal, which gives you an idea of the ongoing debate which we have.



SIMON JOCUM

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PHONE BUS: (021) 477125

-2-

To enable me to prepare my brief for the conference, I would like some information from you as well as to hear your views which I always respect. You are considered the leading spokesman for American Jewry and Reform and I would like some comments from you on how the Board of Deputies should re-act to events in South Africa. As you know, reform is taking place at varying speeds but it appears that the removal of discrimination is not all the world wants but a complete change to one man one vote.

It is very difficult for me to have this discussion with you in a letter but I know you will appreciate that a little bit of input and ideas from you would also clear my thoughts on the position and perhaps put some new ideas on the agenda for the forthcoming National Conference of the SA Board of Deputies in Johannesburg at the end of this month.

Looking forward to hearing from you on how you and your colleagues view the situation and what suggestions you might have from your view point.

With best wishes from my wife, Pola, and myself.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Simon Jocum".

Simon Jocum





## Rabbi Meir Kahane Speaks

Member of Knesset  
P.O. Box 425, Midwood Station,  
Borough Park, N.Y. 11213

### Ethical Suicide

One of the gravest existential problems facing Jewish leftists and liberals is their deep and embarrassing need to find a reason for their specifically Jewish existence. Reform and Conservative rabbis who do not really believe in G-d and certainly not in the one who gave a specific and real Divine Law at Sinai, spend many an agonizing night searching their souls and consciences for their *raison d'être*. Countless lay Jews agonize over their Jewish identity which goes counter to the universalist call for the breaking down of barriers between all peoples. There is a real problem here of a Jewish intellectual and mental illness involving a desperate need of these people who must either rise every Sabbath and give "Jewish" sermons to their congregants or support the usual Jewish causes with all their parochialism and specific narrow "Jewishness," when they simply do not believe in what they are doing.

And so, theirs is an anguished need - for the sake of their mental stability - to find causes for which to work, and, of course, the parallel need is to make these causes "Jewish." Irrevocably, and almost with historic determinism, the agonized Jewish liberals and leftists will gravitate to causes that are not only not "Jewish" but which are clearly *anti Jewish*. And the reason, of course, is a terrible subconscious need to destroy the Jewishness that is the very root of their problem, and which is only a substitution on the way to their real pathological trip - to destroy themselves.

And so, we are witness, today, to an almost hysterical drive on the part of Jew-agonizers (Jewish agonizers) calling on all good Jews to come to the aid of the oppressed Blacks of South Africa. It has been a desperately contrived "Jewish" cause with "Jewish" ethics and morality brought down from the heavens by ignoramuses whose ignorance of Judaism is exceeded only by their pitiful need to find an anchor to keep themselves from being swept over the falls of lack of reason for being.

Jewish "leaders" from the American Jewish Congress, the Reform and Conservative rabbinate, Hillels, have erupted in an ecstasy of action for South American blacks that astound any one who knows their raging apathy con-

cerning Soviet Jewry, Syrian Jewry or the Jewish poor. Those who never knew the meaning of police handcuff for Scharansky now blissfully enter police paddy wagons for the African National Congress. And, of course, they bludgeon us - we who march and are jailed and give of our entirety for Jewish causes - with the hammer of "Jewishness." Where is our Jewish consciousness and ethics and morality in the face of the oppression of Blacks in South Africa? What has happened to our "Jewish" heart?

And, of course, I do not even need to speak of the South African Jews who are in the forefront of the white support for the Blacks in that country. Men like Dennis Goldberg who was the only white found guilty in what became known as the trial of the Rivonia seven. These seven people were leaders of the Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC). Goldberg was not only the only white. He was, of course, Jewish. And the very name "Rivonia" came from the fact that the police who broke the group in 1963, arrested the 16 leaders of the Black underground group at the Rivonia farm of one Arthur Goldreich. He is white and Jewish. And all the white defendants at the trial were Jewish. And Jews such as Eli Weinberg and Helen Salzman and Hymie and Esther Barzel and Norma Levy and David Ernst and a former Rabbi Andre Ungar are only some of the leading Jewish names in the battle to put the ANC into power in South Africa.

And it is exceedingly clear. It is not only not "Jewish" to attempt to place the ANC and blacks in power in South Africa; it is exceedingly anti-

Jewish. And most of all, it is insane.

That the white regime in South Africa is one that no Jew can ever support with any good conscience is clear. That racism, based on color, is intolerable, is also self evident. That South Africa oppresses blacks and denies them basic equal rights is beyond dispute. That a majority should be given freedom and self determination if the country is theirs, is a basic corollary with us.

And having said all that, I repeat: It is anti-Jewish, it is madness, it is suicide to march for a cause of a black government in South Africa. Let me explain by posing a question to one and all, including the mentally troubled Jewgonizers of our times.

In the late fifties, a great struggle was taking place in North Africa. It was a classic case of an African population living in its own country under the fist and thumb of a European, white, imperialist, colonialist power which not only refused to grant the people their freedom and inde-

pendence, but which also brought in many of its own white settlers, who took the best land and who blatantly discriminated against the majority natives.

Question: Should Jews, then, have marched for and supported the clearly oppressed majority Africans?

Before one answers, let him consider carefully, exactly what we are talking about.

The country in which this classic struggle against imperialism was taking place was Algeria. The oppressed people were Arabs. The leading group, the one that led the revolt for human rights and self determination and freedom was openly aligned with the forces that were hostile to the State of Israel and the Jewish presence in the area. Their victory would have added one more country in the United Nations gang of seventy odd wolves which would vote against the Jewish state on every issue. But, they were fighting a colonialist, white, European

(Continued on Page 49)





undertaken many pastoral tours and had organised a number of shabbatonim. As in past years incumbents had continued to be found to serve in smaller communities over the High Holy Day period. For some two years the department's secretary, Mrs Swaine, ran a social club for young people from the country areas, but this had closed owing to a lack of support.

Club 44 - under the chairmanship of Mr N Mendelow, Club 44 had continued to arrange a number of highly successful meetings and details of the five functions held during the period under review were provided.

Visitors from abroad - leading world Jewish communal figures had continued to visit South Africa, a number of whom were hosted at luncheons organised by the Board. Details of these visitors and the luncheons were provided by the chairman.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE NATIONAL PRESIDENT

DR I ABRAMOWITZ in his message on behalf of the National body of the Board, noted that the conference was the first Transvaal Conference called in terms of the recommendations of the Melamet Commission. He referred to the constitutional, sociological and political upheavals within the Republic and asked whether the Board's responses to such events in the past had been adequate or whether a more definitive response was required. Turning to communal matters, he referred to the problems in respect of communal funding and to what he regarded as an imbalance in respect of the funds raised for local needs and for beneficiaries abroad. He concluded his message by extending good wishes for successful deliberations.

vaal Council for all their support and co-operation and thanked all present for their attendance.

#### THE JEW IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

PROF KATZ, in the course of his address, said that it was necessary to determine the response of the South African Jewish community to the current turbulent situation and to the problems which confronted it. He spoke of the declining and aging Jewish community, as well as the new Constitution, the economic recession, the political frustration of the Blacks and the opposing rightwing movement amongst certain whites.

In discussing the complexity of the South African situation he acknowledged that the Board had a role to play and cited, by way of example, the Board of Deputies' deputation to the Minister of Co-operation and Development over the Crossroads demolition. He said that the Board should also adopt a constructive role in a solution seeking process which committed itself to peaceful change, identified particular problems which needed to and could be solved, suggested roles for the individual Jews to enable them to act as catalysts for better social relationships, identified and assisted in the removal of discriminatory practices and directed attention to the need of finding plausible means to protect minority groups. He suggested that the Board adopt employment and social codes and sponsor research projects that would benefit both the Jewish and the wider community.

PROF KATZ spoke of the increased world attention on South Africa. Referring to the anti-South African demonstrations by various American Jewish organisations he posed the question whether their stance was not possibly motivated by a desire to improve relations with the Black American community. He asked whether the American Jewish leadership should not consult with the local leadership on that issue. At the same time he asked whether the community wanted to be involved in the decisions taken in respect/...



respect of South Africa by the American Jewish organisations. On the other hand he acknowledged, that international Jewish bodies expected South African Jewry to take a stand on certain aspects of the Republic's policies. He recognised that taking a stand on certain issues could possibly divide the community. Nevertheless he felt, that to remain aloof would retard the prospect of achieving meaningful change and affront Jewish values. He explained that he was not offering solutions but merely pointing out the difficulties confronting communal decisions. In his view, the communal leadership would have to strive for communal unity, even if there was a deeply felt division of opinion.

PROF KATZ said that more than ever before the Board of Deputies would have to exercise its role in communal co-ordination. It had to be ensured that funds were available for those institutions that needed them and that such funds could not be allowed to be dissipated to the detriment of the needs of the community. In that regard he spoke of the vital needs of Jewish education, the question of Jewish day schools and the necessity of providing education for Jewish pupils.

X  
33RD NATIONAL CONGRESS - S A JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES

MR A GOLDBERG (Executive Director) said that issues touched on by Prof Katz during his report would be fully debated at the National Congress which would open on Thursday, 30th May at 8 pm and would end on Sunday, 2nd June at 1 pm. No election would take place at Congress. The proposed agenda was detailed, which included reports on World Jewry, Israel and matters affecting South African Jewry both within and outside of the community.

OPEN FORUM

THE CHAIRMAN then invited questions and participation from delegates present.

Mrs E Mankiewz (United Progressive Jewish Congregation) read a statement issued by her congregation concerning the participation of the Progressive Congregation in the 1985 Day of Remembrance Ceremony. Her statement expressed regret that further discussions concerning her Congregation's equal participation in the ceremony had not been held. Accordingly, as was the case last year, the Progressive Congregation would not participate officially or be officially represented at the 1985 ceremony, but congregants would be encouraged in their private capacity, to attend the ceremony.

Mrs L Leibowitz (Shearith Haplethah) expressed displeasure in the name of her organisation and the S A Yad Vashem National Memorial Foundation, over the inability of the leaders of the Reform and Orthodox communities to put aside their differences for the duration of the Day of Remembrance ceremony. She asked that the memory of the Six Million Martyrs be honoured in dignity and unity and urged all present to attend the Day of Remembrance ceremony on Thursday, 18th April at 3.30 pm.

Mr M Friedman (SAZF) discussed the Jewish community's response to issues currently confronting the Republic. He outlined the Zionist movement's approach to a diaspora Jewish community in a situation of turbulence, which was for it always to be anchored in regard to the centrality of Israel. He said that as important as what was taking place in South Africa was Israel's attitude vis-a-vis the Republic. He gave an assurance that Israel's view was that there would be no change in its relations with South Africa, primarily because of the Jewish community that existed in South Africa. He contrasted efforts abroad to persuade Israel to alter its attitude to South Africa, and the lobbying by Jewish organisations and individuals overseas against the Republic, with the unswerving commitment of Israel and the World Zionist Organisation to uphold and strengthen its bonds with the local Jewish community. As evidence of this commitment he asked the continued participation of South/...



South Africa in the Maccabi Games, notwithstanding pressures to bar South Africa.

MR FRIEDMAN emphasised the importance of the Jewish community in South Africa and said that it was vital for it to be anchored in its Jewish identity in the broadest sense, in order to ensure its continued survival. He said that South African Jewry could have no collective view on political matters, but at the same time distinguished between political and moral matters. He said that whilst the S A Zionist Federation would not speak out on political issues, it would support the Board when it spoke out on ethical and moral matters.

PROF M KATZ (National Chairman, S A Jewish Board of Deputies), in answer to Mrs Mankiewz and Mrs Leibowitz, said that the Board also felt that the Six Million Martyrs must not become the subject of dispute within the community. He expressed regret that the United Progressive Jewish Congregation found it necessary to issue the statement that it had and had taken the policy decision that it had. He appealed to the UPJC to join the community and support the Day of Remembrance ceremony. He said that the Board would generally not frustrate the Orthodox or Progressive streams articulating their different standpoints, but at the same time it was unhappy for the Day of Remembrance to be used for that purpose.

MR B BERGMAN (Transvaal Council) said that an important event in recent times was the opening in 1984 of the Temple Emanuel Religious Cultural Centre, which had rapidly become a dynamic hive of Jewish activity as evidenced by the large numbers present during the week and at Sabbath services. He appealed to the entire community to recognise the significance of this development and the work being carried out by the Progressive community.

MR D MANN (Transvaal Council), in reference to the Chairman's report, asked that attention be given to solicitations by unauthorised bodies from abroad for funds. He explained that the Allocations Committee and the Meshullochim Board of Control were the only bodies legally capable of transferring funds to organisations abroad. He appealed for the enforcement of discipline in that regard.

Insofar as local political events were concerned, he expressed support for the long standing position adopted by the Board. He urged that the Board be represented at as many meetings as possible of international Jewish bodies so as to be able to articulate the feelings and views of the local Jewish community.

RABBI Y GOLDMAN (Lubavitch Foundation) referred to Mr Friedman's statement that Israel had resisted pressures to alter its attitude to South Africa because of the Republic's Jewish community. He suggested that this should be the model for all major Jewish organisations, communities and individuals. He asked if the Board was doing anything to inform such parties of the situation and what it regarded as responsible behaviour.

MR D SELIGMAN (United Hebrew Schools), spoke of the importance of the chedorim and of the financial problems being experienced by the United Hebrew Schools. He gave the assurance that notwithstanding the problems that were being encountered the chedorim would continue to function and would take the necessary steps to ensure their survival.

MR H SCHWARZ (Executive Council), asked whether or not in the light of current developments in South Africa the Jewish community should not be engaged in two types of debates: i) a public debate and ii) a private debate.

He said that plans had to be made to help the community to get through this time of change and said that it had to be asked where the Jewish community would be when changes had been achieved in South Africa. He said that the community had to look at/...



## 2nd Transvaal Council Conference

### Minutes

24th March, 1985

-6-

at how issues affected it as a Jewish community and what their implications were for the community. He went on to cite examples of such issues.

He asked what were the motives of US groups who had adopted a stand against South Africa and expressed himself in favour of peaceful change in South Africa. He then discussed the Jewish community's stand on discrimination and prejudice.

MR D FOX (Transvaal Council), asked Mr Friedman about the extent of South Africa's participation in the Maccabi Games. Insofar as the Day of Remembrance was concerned he said that whilst the Board could not influence the rabbis in respect of the stand which they adopted, delegates could press their rabbis to adopt a similar attitude to that articulated at the meeting. He expressed support for a stand by the community vis-a-vis racial discrimination.

DR BERELOWITZ (MDA), referred to the fostering of better inter-race relations. He said that MDA had sought to contribute towards this objective and had arranged first aid classes which were opened to Black people.

He thanked the speakers for their contributions and asked all present to take back the message of the meeting to their respective organisations.

MR M FRIEDMAN (SAZF) responded to Mr Fox's query regarding the South African participation in the Maccabi Games.

MRS D BENDER (Federation of Synagogues Women's Guilds) said that it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between political and moral issues and she called for a meeting of the community to define these terms.

DR H SEREBRO (Transvaal Council), commented on the South African participation in the Maccabi Games. He appealed for communal unity in respect of the Day of Remembrance.

MR M FRIEDMAN (SAZF) replied to Dr Serebro.

DR FABIAN in answer to Rabbi Goldman's question said that the Board had given the matter considerable attention and was responding, but that it could not publicise the steps it had taken.

RABBI GOLDMAN (Lubavitch Foundation) suggested that Board should communicate privately with Jewish individuals and organisations asking them to communicate with the spokesmen of the South African Jewish community before reacting in respect of South Africa.

### ANNOUNCEMENT OF ELECTION RESULTS

THE CHAIRMAN announced that the following had gained election to the Transvaal Council: Dr H Fabian, Dr J Hellig, Mr J Hurwitz, Prof M Katz, Mr G Leissner, Mr D K Mann, Mr N Mendelow, Mrs R Norwich, Prof H Rudolph, Mr H Saenger, Mr H Schwarz, Dr H Serebro.

### GENERAL

THE CHAIRMAN thanked all present for their attendance.

The meeting closed at 12.39 pm with a vote of thanks to the Chair.





# American Committee On Africa

198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038 / (212) 962-1210 / Cable AMCOMMAF

July 25, 1986

*Approved*

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregation  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I know you agree with me that the President's response to the crisis in South Africa is totally inadequate. What is needed now is strong, effective action, such as the comprehensive economic sanctions already approved in the House of Representatives. This legislation is before the Senate, in the bill being offered by Senators Kennedy, Weicker and Cranston, as S. 2570. But, with debate on this set in the Foreign Relations Committee by the 29th July, and a floor vote likely soon after, the Republican leadership is still committed to much less and is proposing various compromises.

There is thus an urgent need to emphasize the extensive nationwide support for much stronger action. As part of this process we are approaching the heads of 15 major union, religious and civil rights institutions to sign a public letter, urging the Senate to take swift action in support of the comprehensive sanctions being called for by leaders of the freedom struggle in South Africa.

The cycle of arrests, torture and killings in South Africa must be broken. The demand of the majority for a nonracial, democratic South Africa must be supported. The horrendous results of "constructive engagement" must be reversed. Strong sanctions can help achieve these ends.

I hope you will add your name to the public letter to underscore your support for urgent effective action.

As speed is essential I would appreciate it if you could call me, or my associate, Paul Irish, to signify your endorsement of this effort.

Sincerely,

*Jennifer Davis*

Jennifer Davis  
Executive Director



## Public Statement on Sanctions

The crisis of mass protest, arrests, police killings and censorship continues to escalate in South Africa today. The government of P.W. Botha blatantly defies the demand of the majority for a nonracial, democratic state based on one-person, one vote. Leaders of the freedom movement have called on the international community to apply comprehensive economic sanctions in support of their demands to eradicate apartheid.

The United States House of Representatives has responded to this call and passed the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 which would end all trade and investment in South Africa. This legislation has been introduced in the Senate by Senators Kennedy, Weicker and Cranston as S. 2570.

The time for quiet diplomacy and symbolic gestures has passed. We urge the Senate to place Congress squarely on the side of freedom in South Africa by adopting these comprehensive economic sanctions now.