

Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.

Series II: Subject Files, 1956-1993, undated.

Reel Box Folder 30 10 406

South Africa trip, correspondence and itinerary, 1986.

SUITE 620 ■ 1225 19TH STREET, N.W. ■ WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

TELEPHONE (202) 223-5486

March 10, 1986

Rabbi Daniel J. Silver The Temple 2600 Shaker Blvd. Beachwood, Ohio 44122

Dear Rabbi Silver,

It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the private sectors of both South Africa and Zimbabwe, and in conjunction with the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, to invite you to visit South Africa, Zimbabwe and Mozambique as our guest.

The organizations responsible for the invitation are the South Africa Foundation, the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Federated Chamber of Industries, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Chamber of Mines and the Zimbabwean Chamber of Industries.

The Foundation will be coordinating the arrangements. It has the explicit aim of acting as a catalyst for change in South Africa, and we have among our trustees such stalwarts of the cause of racial justice in South Africa as the Roman Catholic Cardinal of Cape Town, the Chief Rabbi of Johannesburg, and the Black General Secretary of the Clothing Workers. We believe that our influence has been important. Indeed, the London Daily Telegraph recently noted that:

"Business is the only real and effective opposition in South Africa, the one of which the Nationalists are most afraid and to which they are gradually paying heed."

I am pleased to know that you will add to the number of the distinguished guests the Foundation has invited over the years, including Sir Alec Douglas Home and Sir Geoffrey Howe from Britain, Dr. Walter Scheel, the former President, and Dr. Manfred

President: Dr. F. J. du Plessis

Depaty Presidents: P. Grobbelaar J. A. Stegmann

The Council: L. G. Abrahamse* R. J. N. Abrahamsen C. J. W. Ball J. L. J. Bezuidenhout Mrs. E. Bradley N. Cullinan Prof. J. P. de Lange Adv. D. P. de Villiers* G. W. Dunningham Dr. P. G. Eggstein* R. J. Goss F. M. Hirsch* Dr. C. J. F. Human* Dr. H. E. Joosub* P. J. Liebenberg* A. Louw* B. Lubner R. Lurie B. C. McCarthy* I. G. MacPherson* D. N. Marvin Dr. P. R. Morkel R. A. Plumbridge* J. C. Robbertze C. J. Saunders* A. J. van den Berg

*Vice-Presidents

Woerner, the Minister of Defense of West Germany, and Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Ambassador Anne Armstrong and Mr. David Packard from this country. I think that you will find our efforts to give you an opportunity to gain further insight into the situation scrupulously even-handed, as did the President and four members of the board of the NAACP who visited South Africa several years ago, and asked the Foundation to arrange their entire program.

The purpose of the invitation is to afford you an opportunity to see the impact of U.S. policy, and developments in the area. We hope to be able to arrange visits not only to Zimbabwe and South Africa, but also to Mozambique.

The group will leave New York on Wednesday, 19 March at 19:30 (Flight SA204) and it will leave South Africa at 20:30 on Sunday, 30 March (Flight SA201) arriving at JFK airport at 06:50 on Monday, 31 March. Naturally, we will also be responsible for your connections with these flights.

We enclose copies of the itineraries we arranged as host to various congressional visits to South Africa in order to give some idea as to the type of itinerary you might find useful, and we would appreciate your comments in order to make the visit as worthwhile as possible.

With kind regards,

John H. Chettle

Director

North and South America

JHC/ler enclosures (Dictated by J. Chettle and signed in his absence by John N. Montgomery, Deputy Director.)

COMMUNITY LEADERS EX USA

	, 19TH MARCH, 1986
1930	Departure from New York (SA. 204)
THURSDAY,	20TH MARCH
1830	Arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg
	Miss Toni Olivier (Visitors Programme Coordinator, SA Foundation), will meet you and accompany you to the Carlton Hotel
	Check in
Evening	Free
FRIDAY, 21	IST MARCH "OTTO WE WAR TO less up less the To
Breakfast 0700	With Mr M.R.Christie (General Manager of the Foundation), and Miss Olivier, in order to have a programme discussion
a 40	Venue: International Suite, 4th floor, Carlton Hotel
0830	Leave for Soweto, a black town situated approximately 20-km south-west of Johannesburg, for a brief visit
	Return to Johannesburg
1030	Appointment with Mr J. Budlender (Regional Director, Legal Resources Centre), and members of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, and the Black Sash, in his office, 4th floor, Elizabeth House, 18 Pritchard Street (cnr Sauer Street)
1200	Leave
<u>Lunoh</u> 1245	With the following guests at the Linger Longer Restaurant, 94 Juta Street, Braamfontein:
	- Mr L.Massala, Programme Director, US/SA Leader- ship Programme (USSALEP) - Mr G.Negota, Business Consultant, Small Business Development Corporation - Mr P.Qoboza, Editor-in-Chief, City Press
1400	Leave
1430	Appointment with Mr J.de L. Scrour (Director General of the Foundation), in the Foundation's boardroom, Pilrig Place, 5 Eton Road, Parktown

yo carees it

..../2

FRIDAY, 21	ST MARCH - CONT'D
<u>1530</u>	Mr A.B.Dickman (Senior Economic Consultant, Anglo American Corporation of SA Limited), will give a short address on the economy to be followed by a question and answer session
<u>1615</u>	Mr C.Williamson (security analyst and former Head of Security, SA Police), will give a short address on the ANC and the security situation, and this will be followed by a question and answer session
	N.B. Rabbis Miller and Novak will be called for between 1630 and 1745 by their hosts. Remember to take an overnight bag with you when you leave your hotel in the morning, as you will not have time to return for it in the late afternoon
	Whole group: Please see attached list for arrangements for the evening. For those who do not want to attend synagogue services, please let your hosts know. Telephone numbers are provided
1700	Return to your hotel
	Mr Peretz and other interested persons in the party are involved in the following meeting:
1730	Appointment with Mr S.Cooper (President, Azanian Peoples Organisation - AZAPO), in your hotel
	(He will meet you in the reception area of the Carlton Court)
Evening	With host families
	(see paragraph 4 above)
SATURDAY,	EEND MARCH
0900	Miss Olivier will call for you
	Leave
0930	Appointment with Mr S.Mulholland (Editor-in-Chief, Financial Mail and Business Day, in his home, 5 Eastwold Way, Saxonwold
	Return to your hotel
	Messrs Peretz and Farnsworth, the following:
1200	Mr Lesley Frankel will call for you
	Leave
Lunch	With Mr and Frankel
	Rest of group will be free for lunch
Afternoon	Confirmation is being awaited for an appointment with Dr A. Treurnicht (Leader, Conservative Party), in Pretoria

SATURDAY, 22ND MARCH - CONT'D

DINNER 1930 for 2000

With the following guests in the Admiralty Suite, Three Ships, 1st floor, Carlton Hotel:

Mrs B. Spiro, Political Officer, US Consulate

Mr and Mrs F. Lattanzi, Assistant Public Relations Officer, United States Information Service (USIS), Pretoria

- Mr B. Rustin, Chairman, Project South Africa (visiting from the USA)

SUNDAY, 23RD MARCH

Please leave your hotel by taxi 0800

> (Arrange this through reception, Carlton Court, and they must please see to the payment of the

bill)

With executives of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies Breakfast

0815 at the Connoisseur Hotel, 58 Leyds Street

> This will be followed by a meeting with the chairmen of all the communal organisation

Miss Olivier will call for you 1200

With Mr B. Lubner (Council Member of the Foundation Lunch and Chairman, Plate Glass & Shatterprufe Industries 1230

Limited), and Mrs Lubner, in their home, 76 Tyrwhitt

Avenue, Melrose

(Please see attached guest list)

Return to your hotel

Leave for the airport 1645

1830 Departure from Johannesburg (RH. 166)

Arrival at Harare 2000

> You will be met by officials of the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI), who have arranged your programme, and accompanied to the Sheraton Hotel

Check in

Evening Free

MONDAY, 24TH MARCH

The following is an outline of your programme, you will be handed a more detailed one by CZI:

Meeting with Mr J. Landau, MP (former Minister of 0800

Trade and Commerce), and Mr A.Read, MP

MONDAY, 241	TH MARCH - CONT'D			
0900	Meeting with Mr J.Mkushi and Mr D.Long (President and Deputy President, respectively, CZI)			
	Mr Mkushi is General Manager of Olivene, and Mr Long is Managing Director of Lewis Brooke Bond			
	Some members of the group will be visiting the University of Zimbabwe to have discussions with academics, and the rest of the group will be advised of their arrangements, if it comes to fruition			
Lunch	With Mr G.Rosen (General Secretary, Central African Jewish Board of Deputies), and selected guests			
1500	Departure from Harare (RH.165)			
1635	Arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg			
	Transfer to the domestic departure area			
1715 approx	Miss Olivier will join you at this point in order to accompany you on the rest of your trip to Durban and Cape Town			
1830	Departure from Johannesburg (SA.521)			
1930	Arrival at Louis Botha Airport, Durban			
	Transport will be provided to transfer you to the Maharani Hotel			
	Check in			
	Professor Glazer:			
2030	Appointment with Professor B.G.Ranchod (University of Durban/Westville), in your hotel			
	Rest of group:			
Evening	Free			
TUESDAY, 28	STH MARCH			
Breakfast	In the Crystal Room, Maharani Hotel			
0745	(Please see attached guest list)			
0915	All baggage to be packed and placed in the care of the Head Porter			
0930	Leave your hotel with hotel transport for Virginia Airport			
1015	Departure from Durban by private charter			
1100	Arrival at Ulundi, kwaZulu			
	Transport will be provided to take you to the Legislative Assembly			

TUESDAY, 2	STH MARCH - CONT D				
1200	Interview with His Excellency Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu				
Lunch	With Dr O.D.Dhlomo (Minister of Education and Culture, and Secretary General of Inkatha - the national cultural liberation movement), and other senior members of the cabinet				
	If time permits, a short sightseeing tour of historical sites				
	Return to the airport				
1615	Departure from Ulundi				
1700	Arrival at Louis Botha Airport, Durban				
	(Your baggage will be at the airport awaiting collection)				
1815	Departure from Durban (SA.617)				
2155	Arrival at D.F. Malan Airport, Cape Town				
	Mr J.J.N.Sadie (the Foundation's local representa- tive), will meet you and accompany you to the Cape Sun Hotel				
	Check in				
WEDNESDAY,	26TH MARCH				
0840	Mr Sadie will call for you				
	Leave				
0900	Interview with The Rev. H.J. Hendrickse (Leader of the Labour Party and Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives), in his office, Marks Building, Parliament Street				
1015	Interview with members of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Marks Building, Parliament Street				
	(Details to be provided nearer the time)				
	A walk through the historical area known as the "Gardens"				
	Visit the South African Museum				
	Return to Parliament				
Lunch 1230	Mr H. Schwarz (PFP MP for Yeoville), in the VIP Room Houses of Parliament				
	(Guest list to be provided nearer the time)				
	Leave for the University of Cape Town				

WEDNESDAY	, 26TH MARCH - CONT'D				
<u>1500</u>	Discussion with Professor Israel Ben Yosef (Head, Department of Hebrew), and Mrs Sally Frankental (Director, Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies), in the Leslie Social "Sciences Building, Theatre 3 E				
<u>1630</u>	Discussion with Professor H.W. van der Merwe (Director, Centre for International Intergroup Studies), in the abovementioned venue				
	Return to your hotel				
1920	Mr Sadie will call for you				
	Leave (on foot)				
Dinner 1930	With members of the academic staff, University of Cape Town, in a private room (El Patio), Heerengracht Hotel, hosted by Mr J.R.Wilson (trustee of the Foundation and Chairman, Shell SA (Pty) Limited				
	(Guest list and additional details to be provided nearer the time)				
	Return to your hotel				
1101100111	Mr Peretz:				
<u>0810</u>	Mr Sadie will call for you				
0830	Meeting with Bishop Patrick Matolengue, at Bishop's House, 79 Kildare Road, Newlands				
	Return to Cape Town to join the rest of the group				
0910	Mr Sadie will call for you				
	Leave				
0930	Courtesy call on His Worship the Mayor of Cape Tow Alderman L. Markovitz, in his office, Civic Centre				
	The following will be present:				
	- Clr. J.Muir, Chairman of the Executive Committee - Alderman R.M.Friedlander, Senior Councillor - Mr G.R.Hofmeyer, Acting Town Clerk - Clr. P.Muller, Deputy Mayor				
1045	Miss R.Emanuel and Mr T.Mtokwana (Communications Officer and Project Controller, respectively, The Urban Foundation), will join you				

THURSDAY.	PATH MARCH - CONT'D
	Leave on a visit to the Crossroads Squatter Camp and to Khayelitsha, a new development where most of the squatters have been settled
	Return to Cape Town
Lunch 1230	With members of the academic staff of the University of Stellenbosch in a private room (El Patio), Heerengracht Hotel, hosted by Dr F.J.du Plessis (President of the Foundation and an Afrikaner businessman)
	(Please see attached guest list)
	Leave
<u>1500</u>	Meeting with Mr L.G.Abrahamse (Vice President of the Foundation and Chairman, Syfrets Trust Limited), in his office, 245 Wale Street
	Mr Peretz
1545	Leave the meeting with Mr Abrahamse
1600	Appointment with Mr J. Dobrin (Consul, US Embassy), in his office
1630	Join the rest of the group
1. 1	Rest of the group
1630	Interview with H.E. Ambassador Herman Nickel, Messrs J.Burroughs (Consul General), and J.Dobrin
	Return to your hotel
Evening	At leisure
FRIDAY, 28	TH MARCH (PUBLIC HOLIDAY)
1000	Meeting with the SA Jewish Eoard of Deputies and local leadership, in the Stellenbosch/Constantia Room of your hotel
1230	Termination of the meeting
	Rest of the day at leisure
1730	Members of the Jewish Board of Deputies will call for you
	Leave
1800	Attend service at the Sez Point Synagogue
	After the service (about 1900), walk to the home of Mr G. Kleinman, where you will have dinner
	Return to your hotel

SATURDAY, 29TH MARCH

Day at leisure, sightseeing, shopping, etc

Evening Theatre: "Born in the RSA", the latest Barney Simon

play which transferred from the Market Theatre

recently, in the Baxter Theatre

(Details to be discussed nearer the time)

SUNDAY, 30TH MARCH

0830	Leave on a sightseeing tour of the Cape Peninsula
	(Baggage to be taken along)
Lunch	En route (kosher packs will be provided)
1500	Tea with H.E. Ambassador D.Ariel, at his residence, 6 Salisbury Avenue, Bishopscourt
	Leave
1705	Departure from Cape Town (SA. 332)

1705	Departure f	rom	Cape !	Town	(SA.332)
1855	Arrival at	Jan	Smute	Ainn	ort. Johannesh

Transfer to the international departure area

2030 Departure from Johannesburg

MONDAY, 31ST MARCH

0650 Arrival in New York

PROFESSOR GLAZER FLIGHT DETAILS

FRIDAY, 28TH MARCH

1600	Departure from Cape Town (SA.320)
1755	Arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg
	Transfer to international departure area

2030 Departure from Johannesburg (SA. 203)

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

18 March 1986

Ms Toni Olivier SA Foundation Pilrig Place Eton Rd PARKTOWN

Dear Toni,

Herewith the names and particulars of the hosts for Friday evening dinner:

PROF MICHAEL KATZ - National Chairman SA Jewish Board of Deputies, Lawyer, Honorary Professor Graduate School of Business, University of the Witwatersrand. 84 Dennis Rd. Athol. Telephone 884-1447 (home) 337-2100 (office). Guests - Mr M Green and Mr Josh Muravchik. — \$945-600-1.

DR ISRAEL "BOOMIE" ABRAMOWITZ - President SA Jewish Board of Deputies, President SA Chapter B'Nai Brith, Surgeon.

6 Silwood Rd. Bramley. Telephone, 440-6788 (home) 29-8371, 337-7772 (office)
Guest - Mr M Friedman. 1913/1930 - Collect

MR MENDEL KAPLAN - National Chairman, Israel United Appeal, Chairman of the World Board of Trustees Keren Hayesod, Treasurer and member of the Executive of the World Jewish Congress, Member of the Board of Governors and Executive Member of the Jewish Agency. Vice- President SA Jewish Board of Deputies, Director of Companies.

35 1 Ave Lower Houghton. Telephone 728-4042 (home), 339-6091 (office) Guests - Mr D Farnsworth, Mr M Himmelfarb, Mr M Peretz

RABBI A H "BOOMIE" TANZER - Rosh Yeshiva, Yeshiva College of South Africa, Rabbi Glenhazel Area Hebrew Congregation.

Nicholson Ave. Glenhazel. Telephone 640-2782(home), 640-3111(office)

Guest - Dr I Miller

MR ALECK GOLDBERG - Executive Director, SA Jewish Board of Deputies.

18 Athlone Ave. Sandringham. Telephone 640-6878 (home) 331-0331 (office)

Guest - Rabbi David Novak

DR JOCELYN HELLIG - Lecturer in Comparative Religion, Department of Religious Studies, University of the Witwatersrand. Member of the National Executive Council of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies.

25 Chilton Ave. Glenhazel Telephone 4405687 (home) 716-3383 (office) 337-8275 (husband's surgery).

Guests - Mr N Glazer and Mr A Meyerson

RABBI DR NORMAN MENDEL - Rabbi Temple Emmanuel.

38 Oxford Rd Parktown Telephone 44C-2299(home) 646-6170 (office)

Guest - Rabbi D Silver.

I have arranged with all the hosts to fetch their guests at the Carlton Hotel between 5.30 and 5.45 pm, in order that they can attend synagogue services with them before dinner. If these arrangements do not suit the guests they should contact their hosts at the telephone numbers provided.

NB: Dr Miller and Rabbi Novak will be fetched from your offices in Parktown at 4.30 to 4.45pm so that they can be at their hosts before Shabbath. Please remind them to take overnight bags with them to the Friday afternoon meeting.

On Sunday morning the breakfast meeting at the Connoisseur Hotel will commence at 8.15 am and the guests should make their own way there. The breakfast will be followed by a meeting with the chairmen of all the communal organizations and should end at approximately 12.00pm.

I hope this is all in order, if not please let me know.

Sincerely,

MRS SHIRLEY BRICKER

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER

LUNCHEON TO BE HELD ON SUNDAY, 23RD MARCH, AT 1230, AT 76 TYRWHITT AVENUE, MELROSE

GUEST LIST

MR AND MRS BERTIE LUBNER - HOSTS

Council Member of the Foundation Chairman, Plate Glass & Shatterprufe Industries Limited

MR AND MRS R. DONNER

Managing Director, Mondi Paper Company Limited

MR E.ELLERINE

Chairman, Ellerine Holdings Limited

MR AND MRS H.SCHWARZ

Progessive Federal Party (PFP) Member of Parliament for Yeoville and their spokesman on Finance and Consumer Affairs

MR AND MRS B. SLOME

Businessman

MR AND MRS G.S.MULLER

Trustee of the Foundation Chief Executive and Deputy Chairman, Nedbank Limited

MRS H. SOCHET-EGDES

Mayoress of Sandton

BREAKAST TO BE HELD IN THE CRYSTAL ROOM, MAHARANI HOTEL, ON TUESDAY, 25TH MARCH, AT 0745

GUEST LIST

THE HON. MR JUSTICE D.B. FRIEDMAN

Judge of the Supreme Court

MR A. ROGOFF

Chairman, Beares Limited Chairman of the Executive Council, Association of Chambers of Commerce of SA

MR A.N. ZULMAN

Chairman and Managing Director, Beacon Sweets and Chocolates

MR B.LAZARUS

Joint Managing Director, Non-Ferrous Metal Works SA (Pty) Limited

MR P.DITZ

Senior Partner, Ditz Incorporated (attorneys)

LUNCHEON TO BE HELD ON THURSDAY, 27TH MARCH, AT 1230, IN A PRIVATE ROOM, HEERENGRACHT HOTEL

GUEST LIST

DR F.J.DU PLESSIS - HOST

President of the Foundation Chairman, Sanlam Limited

PROFESSOR S.P.CILLIERS

Head, Department of Sociology, University of Stellenbosch

PROFESSOR H. ERASMUS

Dean, Faculty of Law, University of Stellenbosch

PROFESSOR J. GROSSKOPF

Head, Department of Journalism, University of Stellenbosch

PROFESSOR W. BREYTENBACH

Department of Africa Studies, University of Stellenbosch

PROFESSOR J. JEPPE

Head, Department of Development Administration, University of Stellenbosch

PROFESSOR W. RAUTENBACH

Department of Applied Physics, University of Stellenbosch

BARRY GOLDWATTER, ARIZONA, CHAIRMAN

STROM THURMOND, SOUTH CAROLINA
JOHN W. WARNER, VIRGINIA
GORDON J. HUMPHREY, NEW HAMPSHIRE
WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE
DAN QUAYLE, INDIANA
JOHN P. EAST, NORTH CAROLINA
PETE WILSON, CALIFORNIA
JEREMIAH DENTON, ALABAMA
PHIL GRAMM, TEXAS

SAM NUNN, GEORGIA
JOHN C. STENNIS, MISSISSIPPI
GARY HART, COLORADO
J. JAMES EXON, NEBRASKA
CARL LEVIN, MICHIGAN
EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASSACHUSETTS
JEFF BINGAMAN, NEW MEXICO
ALAN J. DIXON, ILLINOIS
JOHN GLENN, OHIO

JAMES F. McGOVERN, STAFF DIRECTOR AND CHIEF COUNSEL.
ARNOLD L. PUNARO, STAIF DIRECTOR FOR THE MINORITY

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES WASHINGTON, DC 20510

March 10, 1986

Rabbi Daniel Silver 2841 Weybridge Road Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I spoke with Jonathan today and he told me that you would be taking a trip to South Africa, leaving March 19th. I have quickly pulled together some information per his request. He indicated that you would be interested in the legislation passed last year imposing sanctions on South Africa, hence I have included a copy of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings and report on this bill. I have also included some basic material from the Congressional Research Service, you may find the bibliography of particular interest. Undoutedly you will have little time to peruse the library prior to your departure but I wanted to point out one item in the bibliography. Item \$23 is a very good and comprehensive look at the issues involved in our relationship with South Africa. Although it was published in 1981 much of the background material remains relevant.

I hope your trip will prove interesting and informative. Please let me know if this office can be of any further assistance.

Sincerely, Buckleit

Patricia J. Buckheit Legislative Assistant

March 17, 1986 Mr. Tony Kay South Africa Foundation Suite 620 1225 19th St., NW Washington, D.C. 20036 Dear Tony: Confirming our telephone conversation of this date, I am enclosing the invoice for the one way ticket Rabbi Silver purchased for his trip to New York City on the 18th of March. Thanks for taking care of this. Sincerely, Marie Pluth Secretary to Babbi Silver mp Encl.

Provisional Itinerary

for

Group of Jewish Leaders

Wednesday, March 19th:

7:30pm Depart New York, SA Flight #204

Thursday, March 20th:

6:30pm Arrive Johannesburg and transfer to Carlton Hotel. To be met by Toni Olivier, Travel Manager, South Africa Foundation. Miss Olivier will be in the Arrivals Area.

Accomodations: Carlton Hotel Main Street, PO Box 7709 Johannesburg 2000 Tel: (011) 331-8911, Telex: 4-86130 SA

Evening Free

Friday, March 21st:

8:30am Brief introductory visit to Soweto. 10:30am Meeting at Legal Resources Centre with Black Sash and the Centre of Applied Legal Studies, University of Witswatersrand. Lunch Luncheon hosted by prominent Black personalities. 2:30pm Briefing with Mr. J. de L (Peter) Sorour, Director General, South Africa Foundation. Briefing with Mr. Aubrey Dickman, Group 3:30pm Economist, Anglo American Corporation. 4:15 pm Briefing with Mr. Craig Williamson, Former Head of Security, South African Police, regarding the African National Congress.

Rabbis Miller and Novak will return to the hotel before the end of this session in order that their host families can call for them before sundown. They will overnight with them.

Dinner Home hospitality with prominent Jewish families.

Saturday, March 22nd:

Morning Free for Sightseeing.

(Lunch Mr. Peretz and Mr. Farnsworth will lunch with Mr. Frankel.)

Afternoon Free.

Dinner Hosted by Mrs. Betsy Spiro, U.S. Embassy, Pretoria.

Sunday, March 23rd:

8: 15am Breakfast with Executive Members, South African Jewish Board of Deputies, Senior Officials of the South African Zionist Federation and the Board of Jewish Education.

9:30am- Meeting with the Chairmen, Jewish Communal 12:00noon Organisations.

Lunch With Mr. Bertie Lubner, Prominent South African businessman and member of the South Africa Foundation's Council, and guests in his home.

4:45pm Leave for airport.

6:30pm Depart Johannesburg RH Flight #166.

8:00pm Arrive Harare and transfer to Meikles Hotel.
Programme is arranged by the Confederation of
Zimbabwe Industries.

Accomodations: Meikles Hotel Stanley Avenue, PO Box 594 Harare, Zimbabwe Tel: 707-721

Monday, March 24th:

In Harare.

Depart Harare RH Flight #165. 3:00pm

Arrive Johannesburg. 4:35pm

Depart Johannesburg SA Flight #521. 6:30pm

Arrive Durban and transfer to Maharani Hotel. 7:30pm (Professor Glazer will be having a late meeting with Professor Ranchod.)

> Accomodations: Maharani Hotel 83-91 Snell Parade

Durban 4056

Buthelezi.

Tel: (031) 32-7361, Telex: 6-22485 SA

Evening Free.

Tuesday, March 25th:

Breakfast With prominent local businessmen. 10:15am Depart Durban by chartered flight Arrive Ulundi, KwaZulu. 11:00am 12:00noon Interview with the Chief Minister, Gatsha

With Dr. O. Dhlomo, Secretary General, Inkatha, Lunch and other ministers. To be followed by a short sightseeing tour of historical sites.

4:15pm Depart Ulundi

5:00pm Arrive Durban

Depart Durban SA Flight #617 6:15pm

9:55pm Arrive Cape Town and transfer to the Mount Nelson Hotel

> Accomodations: Mount Nelson Hotel Orange Street Gardens, PO Box 2608 Cape Town 8000

Tel: (021) 23-1000, Telex: 5-27804 SA

Wednesday, March 26th:

Morning Visit to the Mendel Kaplan Centre, University of

Cape Town, to have discussions with Professor Israel Benyosef, Head, Department of Hebrew, followed by attendance at the T.P. Davey

Memorial Lecture on Academic Freedom.

Afternoon Meetings with members of all political parties.

Dinner With selected academics(as per group's request).

Thursday, March 27th:

Morning Visit to Crossroads, a squatters camp, and

Khayalitsha, a development project.

Ministerial interviews during the course of the day, including, possibly, the State President

and the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Lunch With Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal

Party and Harry Schwarz. (This lunch will be on

either Wednesday or Thursday.)

Afternoon Meeting with Trustees of the Foundation and

other businessmen, including possibly Mr. J.R. Wilson, Chief Executive, Shell Oil Company and Judge Jan Steyn, President, Urban Foundation.

Friday, March 28th:

Morning Meeting, followed by lunch, with the Jewish

Board of Deputies.

Afternoon Meeting to continue followed by evening home

hospitality as per Johannesburg.

Saturday, March 29th:

Whole of Saturday will be devoted to sightseeing in Cape Town and no arrangements made with anyone. Attention given to the fact that Rabbis Miller and Novak will not be able to participate.

Sunday, March 30th:

Morning Free.

Lunch With Mr. R.B. Sonnenburg, prominent businessman,

at his home.

5:05pm Depart Cape Town SA Flight #332.

6:55pm Arrive Jchannesburg.

8:30pm Depart Jchannesburg SA Flight #201.

Monday, March 31st:

6:50am Arrive New York, JFK

Different arrangements have been made for each guest to return home at this point.



April 2, 1986 Rabbi David Sherman Cape Town Jewish Reform Congregation Upper Portswood Rd. Green Point, 8001 Cape Town, South Africa Dear David: I am back at my desk and almost back on schedule. As I hoped, spring had come to Cleveland and so I didn't have that awful sense of leaving bright Africa to the dismal gray of my city. I want to thank you and Berthe for your hospitality and kindness which went far above and beyond. I enjoyed being part of your service. Dinner was tasty and I enjoyed being challenged by your friends. The day in the country was a blessing. They drove us down on Sunday to Cape Point and I must say, I was taken by the sheer physical beauty of your home. I am sending under separate cover a copy of my latest book, but I did want to get this letter off to you so you would know how grateful I am. I hope some day I will have the privilege and pleasure of reciprocating in Cleveland. With all good wishes from house to house, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp

April 2, 1986 Rabbi and Mrs. Norman T. Mendel Temple Emanuel 38 Oxford Rd. Parktown, Johannesburg 2193 Republic of South Africa Dear Heather and Norman: I hope your visit to Toronto and to the States proved to be a satisfying one. The trip was exciting, stimulating and sobering. I am still trying to put it altogether in my mind. Fairbanks used to say about those who came to China for two weeks that they went home and wrote a book; those who stayed for six months wrote an article; and those who spent ten years never published. 200 I loved the warmth of your service and of your home. The evening which you were kind enough to arrange proved everything I hoped it would be. I gained the kird of insights I coveted into the life of your community. I want to thank Heather for her quidance. I found a stool at the Totem Shop which had an interesting figurehead and will remain a pleasant momento of the visit. I hope it will not be too long before I have the change to extend hospitality to you here in Cleveland. The next time you come to the States drop me a line, perhaps we can arrange a lecture. My best to both of you. As always, 2 Th 24 ... Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp

April 2, 1986 Mr. J. de L Sorour Director General South Africa Foundation Pilrig Place 5 Eton Road Parktown, Johannesburg South Africa Dear Mr. de L Sorour: I am writing to express my thanks for the many courtesies extended to me during my recent visit under the auspices of the South Africa Foundation. only did the Foundation arrange a fascinating and extremely informative visit, but the staff could not have been more helpful and thoughtful as to our personal needs. I left South Africa convinced that I was beginning to be aware of its complexities and I s suspect that in that awareness lies at least the beginning of judgement. Yours is a beautiful land and all of us must pray that the vast problems you face will be appropriately resolved. Will you please give my thanks to John Montgomery and Tony Kay of your American office here and to Tony Olivier, our coordinator in South Africa. They could not have done their job more efficiently or gracefully. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp

April 3, 1986 Ms. Patricia J. Buckheit Legislative Assistant United States Senate Committee on Armed Services Washington, D.C. 20510 Dear Ms. Buckheit: I want to thank you for sending on the material about South Africa. It was immensely helpful and I am deeply appreciative. The trip itself was a fascianting experience and the background you helped provide made it more valuable than it would have been otherwise. Many thanks. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 7, 1986

Dear Darkel:

I have enclosed the names and addresses of our delegation to South Africa. Expect to hear from me again soon with regards to our trip.

Best,

m.

Max Green Associate Director Office of Public Liaison

Rabbi Daniel J. Silver The Temple 2600 Shaker Boulevard Beachwood, Ohio 44122

JEWISH LEADERS

Mr. Max Green (K)
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
Old Executive Office Bldg.
196 The White House
Washington, DC 20500
202-456-6270

Rabbi David Novak (K) Congregation Darchay Noam 2355 Healy Avenue Far Rockaway, New York 11691 718-471-7771

Rabbi Israel Miller (K) Senior Vice President Yeshiva University 500 West 185th Street New York, New York 10033 212-960-5366

Mr. Murray Friedman
Regional Director
American Jewish Committee
1616 Walnut Street
Suite 2106
Philadelphia, PA 19103
215-732-4000

Mr. Milton Himmelfarb (K)
Contributing Editor: Commentary
Past Director of Research for
American Jewish Committee
294 Fisher Avenue
White Plains, New York 10606
914-WH6-1621 (home)

Mr. Martin Peretz and David Farnsworth (son)
President and
Editor-in-Chief
The New Republic
1220 19th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-331-7494 (sec. Laura)

Assistant: Zev Lewis

Assistant: Ann Doren

Assistant: Vivian Owgang

Assistant: Mrs. Grossman

Prof. Mathan Glazer Harvard Graduate School of Education #6 Appian Way Room 425 Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-3575

Mr. Adam Meyerson Editor Policy Review 214 Massachusetts Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002 202-546-4400

Rabbi Daniel J. Silver The Temple 26000 Shaker Blvd. Beachwood, Ohio 44122 212-831-3233

Mr. Josh Muravchik
Author and Columnist
Fellow of the Washington
Institute for Near East Policy
500 N Capitol Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
202-783-0226
11504 Orebaugh Avenue (home)
Wheaton, MD 20902

Assistant: Martha Metzler



PILRIG PLACE • 5 ETON ROAD • PARKTOWN 2193 • P.O. BOX 7006 • JOHANNESBURG 2000
Telephone 726-6105 • Telegrams 'Stigting' • Telex 4-28456 SA

15 April 1986

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver
The Temple
University Circle at Silver Park
Cleveland
OHIO 44106
United States of America

Dear Rabbi Silver,

Thank you for your letter of April 2 and for your kind remarks about our staff and the programme that we were privileged to arrange for you.

Unfortunately your itinerary did not allow for a final discussion in Johannesburg before your departure back home, but I was able to have a telephone conversation with Mr Max Green, from which I gathered that none of you had experienced any serious omissions in your programme.

Thank you for having found time to visit us and I hope that we will be able to keep in touch with each other into the future.

Yours sincerely,

J de L SOROUR DIRECTOR GENERAL

President: Dr. F. J. du Pleses

Deputy Presidents: P. Grobbelaar J. A. Stegmann

The Council: L. G. Abrahamse* R. J. N. Abrahamsen C. J. W. Ball J. L. J. Bezuidenhout Mrs. E. Bradley W. A. M. Clewlow N. Cullinan Prof. J. P. de Lange Adv. D. P. de Villiers* G. W. Dunningham Dr. P. G. Eggstein* R. J. Goss F. M. Hirsch* Dr. C. J. F. Human* Dr. H. E. Joosub* P. J. Liebenberg* A. Louw* B. Lubner R. Lurie B. C. McCarthy* I. G. MacPherson* J. B. Maree D. N. Marvin Dr. P. R. Moikel R. A. Plumbridge* J. C. Robbertze C. J. Saunders* A. J. van den Berg Frof. T. van der Walt



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 18, 1986

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Max Green recently told me of your visit to South Africa. You probably returned with many mixed emotions about that troubled land.

I would like to invite you to the Department of State to both discuss your findings as well as to better understand U.S. policy toward South Africa. I have asked Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, to join us for part of the session.

I propose that we meet Tuesday, May 13, from 10:00-12:00. Please confirm your attendance with Ms. Maureen McEwen of my office at (202)647-6545.

Come to the 2201 C Street entrance of the Department of State at 9:45 a.m. where a member of my staff will meet and escort you to room 3519. You will need to bring photo identification.

Sincerely

J. Douglas Holladay

Director

South Africa Working Group

Rabbi Daniel J. Silver The Temple 26000 Shaker Blvd. Beachwood, Ohio 44122

April 23, 1986 Mr. Josh Muravchik 300 N. Capitol St., NW Washington, D.C. 20001 Dear Josh: I thought it might be interesting were we to exchange any public comments on our visit to South Africa. Enclosed you will find the first of two sermons I gave to my congregation. I would be pleased to receive any of your writings or speeches on our trip. With all good wishes, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

April 23, 1986 Mr. Adam Meyerson 214 Massachusetts Ave., NE Washington, D.C. 20002 Dear Adam: I thought it might be interesting were we to exchange any public comments on our visit to South Africa. Enclosed you will find the first of two sermons I gave to my congregation. I would be pleased to receive any of your writings or speeches on our trip. With all good wishes, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jereny Silver DJS:mp Encl.

April 23, 1986 Dr. Nathan Glazer Harvard Graduate School of Education #6 Appian Way, Rm. 425 Cambridge, MA 02138 Dear Nathan: I thought it might be interesting were we to exchange any public comments on our visit to South Africa. inclosed you will find the first of two sermons I gave to my congregation. I would be pleased to receive any of your writings or speeches on our trip. With all good wishes, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

April 23, 1986 Mr. Martin Peretz The New Republic 1220 19th St., NW Washington, D.C. 20036 Doar Martin: I thought it might be interesting were we to exchange any public comments on our visit to South Africa. Enclosed you will find the first of two sermons I gave to my congregation. I would be pleased to receive any of your writings or speeches on our trip. With all good wishes, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

April 23, 1986 Mr. Milton Himmelfarb 294 Fisher Avenue White Plains, N.Y. 10606 Dear Milton: I thought it might be interesting were we to exchange any public comments on our visit to South Africa. Enclosed you will find the first of two sermons I gave to my congregation. I would be pleased to receive any of your writings or speeches on our trip. With all good wishes, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Incl.

April 23, 1986 Mr. Murray Friedman American Jewish Committee 1616 Walnut St., Suite 2106 Philadelppia, Pa. 19103 Dear Murray: I thought it might be interesting were we to exchange any public comments on our visit to South Africa. Enclosed you will find the first of two sermons I gave to my congregation. I would be pleased to raceive any of your writings or speeches on our trip. With all good wishes, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

April 23, 1986 Rabbi David Novak Congregation Darchay Noam 2355 Healy Avenue Far Rockaway, N.Y. 11691 Dear David: I thought it might be interesting were we to exchange any public comments on our visit to South Africa. Enclosed you will find the first of two sermons I gave to my congregation. I would be pleased to receive any of your writings or speeches on our trip. With all good wishes, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

April 23, 1986 Mr. Max Green Old Executive Office Bldg. 196 The White House Washington, D.C. 20500 Dear Max = I thought it might be interesting were we to exchange any public comments on our visit to South Africa. Enclosed you will find the first of two sermons I gave to my congregation. I would be pleased to receive any of your writings or speeches on our trip. With all good wishes, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

April 26, 1986 Rabbi Israel Miller Yeshiva University 500 West 185th St. New York, N.Y. 10033 Dear Israel: I thought it might be interesting were we to exchange any public comments on our visit to South Africa. Enclosed you will find the first of two sermons I gave to my congregation. I would be pleased to receive any of your writings or speeches on our trip. With all good wishes, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY P O BOX 15 CAPE TOWN 8000-TELEX 57 20869 TELEPHONE (021) 45 8311



PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

28 April, 1986

Rabbi D.J. Silver
The Temple
University Circle and
Silver Park
CLEVELAND, Ohio.44106
U.S.A.

Dear Rabbi Silver

I welcomed the opportunity of meeting you while you were in South Africa and I hope that we will be able to keep contact.

If there is at any time anything you would like to know as to what is happening, either in our community or in our country, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,

HARRY SCHWARZ, MP

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1986

Dear Dan:

I read part one of your sermon with great interest. While I do not agree with all your views, I think is top notch. It is both lucid and moving. Please do send me part two. Assuming that it is as good as part one, I encourage you to have both of them published.

Sincerely,

Max Green Associate Director Office of Public Liaison

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver The Temple University Circle at Silver Park Cleveland, Ohio 44106

May 12, 1986 Mr.J. Douglas Holladay, Director South Africa Working Group United States Department of State 186 F 38 38 38 5 18 Washington, D.C. 20520 Dear Mr. Holladay: I had hoped to be present at the meeting with Chester Crocker, scheduled for tomorrow. Unfortunately, my responsibilities here now preclude attendance. I appreciate the invitation. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp

Mr. Adams Meyerson
214 Massachusetts Ave., NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Adam:
Here is the second part of my report on my trip to

Here is the second part of my report on my trip to this congregation. We seem to have been in South Africa during the calm before the storm.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

Encl.

May 27, 1986 Mr. Martin Peretz The New Republic 1220 19th St., NW Washington, D.C. 20036 Dear Martin: Here is the second part of my report on my trip to this congregation. We seem to have been in South Africa during the calm before the storm. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

May 27, 1986 Mr. Milton Himmelfarb 294 Fisher Avenue White Plains, N.Y. 10606 Dear Milton: Here is the seound part of my report on my trip to this congregation. We seem to have been in South Africa during the calm before the storm. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

May 27, 1986 Mr. Murray Friedman American Jewish Committee 1616 Walnut St., Suite 2106 Philadelphia, Pa. 19103 Dear Murray: Here is the second part of my report on my trip to this congregation. We seem to have been in South Africa during the calm before the storm. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

Encl.

May 27, 1986 Rabbi David Novak Congregation Darchay Noam 2355 Healy Avenue Far Rockaway, N.Y. 11691 Dear David: Here is the second part of my report on my trip to this congregation. We seem to have been in South Africa during the calm before the storm. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

May 27, 1986 Dr. Nathan Glazer Harvard Graduate School of Education 36 Appian Way, Rm. 425 Cambridge, MA 02138 Dear Nathan: Here is the second part of my report on my trip to this congregation. We seem to have been in South Africa during the calm before the storm. I wonder if you could do me a favor. I think I mentioned that I will be on sabbatical beginning the first of September and my wife and I intend to spend some time in southern India, probably in January. You mentioned that you had driven through a good bit of the area and I wonder if you could give me some pointers as far as itinerary, sights, etc. are concerned. Many thanks. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

May 27, 1986 Mr. Max Green Old Executive Office Bldg. 196 The White House Washington, D.C. 20500 Dear Max: Here is the second part of my report on my trip to this congregation. We seem to have been in South Africa during the calm before the storm. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

May 27, 1986 Rabbi Israel Miller Yeshiva University 500 West 185th St. New York, N.Y. 10033 Dear Israel: Here is the second part of my report on my trip to this congregation. We seem to have been in South Africa during the calm before the storm. Philip Hernstein mentioned that you had told him a bit about our trip. I think the enclosed piece I wrote recently on the rabbinate may also be of interest to you. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

May 28, 1986 Mr. Josh Muravchik 500 N. Capitol St., NW Washington, D.C. 20001 Dear Josh: Here is the second part of my report on my trip to this congregation. We seem to have been in South Africa during the calm before the storm. Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl. 5.19.

THE*WASHINGTON INSTITUTE* FOR NEAR EAST POLICY

8 July Dear Dan, Thanks for you kind not of last week, and for sending your servors which of found quite interesting. I was interested in the differences in the way we organized on perception, as well as by lack of difference, on granel returtistading, in the overall conclusion we dent I'd of course be very heppy to see you when you get to OC. Also, of there's anothery "I can do to help your daughter get acclimated to this area, places feet ful to let me know on have her contact mo As of west week, I'll be back to working at home.

you can reach me at: 11504 OREBAUGH AVE.

WHEATON, MD. 20902

(301) 649 4686.



THE NEW REPUBLIC

July 10, 1986

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver The Temple University Circle at Silver Park Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Dan:

Thanks for sending me your provocative and, as we used to say, "right on" commentaries on South Africa. I've found it very hard to write about but am planning to produce a long article in August.

Your share of the gift to Tcni Cliver is \$10.

Warm and good wishes,

As ever,

Martin Peretz

July 16, 1986 Mr. Martin Peretz The New Republic 1220 19th St., NW Washington, D.C. 20036 Dear Marty: Enclosed please find my check for \$10 as my share of the Olivier gift. Thanks for thinking of it. I look forward to reading your piece in August and am enclosing a piece which may interest you on the Holocaust and the Holocaust Center which is going to appear in an upcoming issue of JUDAISM. may be interested in the subject matter. With all good wishes, I remain Sincerely, Daniel Jeremy Silver DJS:mp Encl.

postery

LOCAL GUESTS WHO WILL JOIN YOU FOR BREAKFAST

The Hon Justice D B Frie	edman	-	Judge of the Supreme Court
Mr Alec Rogoff		-	Chairman of Beares Ltd (a large retail chain) and Chairman of the Executive Council of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa; a Trustee of the S A Foundation
Mr A N Zulman		-	Chairman and Managing Director of Beacon Sweets and Chocolates; a Trustee of the S A Foundation
Mr B Lazarus		-	Joint Managing Director of Non- Ferrous Metal Works (SA) (Pty) Ltd
Mr P Ditz		-	Senior Partner of Ditz Incorpo- rated - a firm of attorneys
Mr R Arenstein		-	Financial Consultant
Mr P Jacobson	WRHS		Managing Director of Progress Knitting Mills
Mr Josh Goldberg	0,990	-	Communal Director of Natal Jewry
Mr Alan Benn			Director of J H Isaacs and Isaacs, Geshen and Company (Pty) Ltd; a Trustee of the S A Foun- dation

TRADE UNIONISTS

NATIONAL DISTRIBUTIVE & ALLIED WORKERS UNION

Miss Hartwell

23 7354

Mr Solly Ariefdien

Mr C George

Mrs Francis Norman

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION

Mr Norman Daniels

Mr Samuel Tiyo



LUNCH - HOSTED BY CARINGET MINISTERS KWAZULU HOLIDAY INN - 25 MARCH, 1986.

1. CHIEF L G DLAMINI -MINISTER OF, AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

MINISTER OF WORKS 2. CHUEF SH GumEDE

MINISTER OF JUSTICE C-J MIETWA -3. REN - MINISTER OF INTERIOR

DRB MADIDE -

MINISTER OF HEALTH FT MALALOSE -AND WELFARE 5. DR

HT MADONSELA - MINISTER OF FINANCE.

CHEF WITTP CLEC. HOSELER 7. MR CZ CONCO -

MR PO. BOX 4348, DURBAN 4000 S.M. SPEAKER

PRINCE GIDEON ZULU - ASS. CHIEF WHIP LEGISLATIVE SASSEMBLY.

10. MR ZA NZUZA - MEMBER OF LEGISLA ASSEMBLY

Barney & Susan Bergman - 22 Smits ROAD JUNKELD 2196

Matkhews Carol Lawson - 25 Tottenham Ave Melrose 2196

Brett Isserow - do Temple Emanel
38 Oxford Rd, Parktown 2193

Roy Steinman - 23 Davidson Street
Fellside
2192

Ronnie Zlattner - 48a - 6th Quenue Parktown North 21943

Selwyn & Gwen Janik 25th Restanwold Drive Saxonwold 2196

Fallacies About Israel's Ties with South Africa

Allan L. Kagedan, Ph.D.





Allan L. Kagedan, Ph.D., is the policy analyst in the Division of International Organizations of the American Jewish Committee's International Relations Department.



Currently, the world's attention is focused on South Africa, whose unjust apartheid system has evoked international condemnation. In response to public pressure, Western governments have begun to impose sanctions on Pretoria, raising the question of what relations other countries should entertain with it.

In the public debate over policy toward South Africa, some, in the United States and elsewhere, have argued that other countries should sever all ties with it until apartheid is eliminated; others contend that the causes of abolishing apartheid and upholding Western security are best served by continued Western ties with Pretoria. Whatever position one takes, many countries, including black African states, do conduct public or private economic, diplomatic, political or military relations with the South African government.

A number of commentators in American newspapers and magazines have begun to single out Israel for special condemnation for its relationship with South Africa, alleging, indeed, that "an alliance" exists between the two countries. For example, some recent articles in the Christian Science Monitor, the Chicago Sun-Times, the Nation, and the Pittsburgh Courier assert that Israel and South Africa are closely Tinked through trade and weapons sales and that the two societies are alike. In addition, studies published by the United Nations, pro-PLO organizations or independently have concocted the allegation that the two countries are plotting against other African countries, that South African Jews are "agents" of the "alliance" between Israel and South Africa, and that the two societies share similar historical roots.

An analysis of the allegation that Israel is an ally of South Africa reveals that this notion is the product of an alliance of anti-Israel propagandists. This canard is filtering into the American media, having been accepted by writers who are unable to demonstrate its truth and presumably are unaware of its provenance.

Trade and Military Relations

Peter Allen-Frost, writing in the <u>Christian Science Monitor</u>, claims that "Pretoria and Jerusalem have formed an alliance of pragmatism ... they have moved into a close, almost symbiotic relationship," in part because of their "brisk trade."

What is the nature of Israel's trade with South Africa? Israel trades less with South Africa in absolute terms than do Western nations and even black African states. In fact, in 1983 the value of U.S. exports to South Africa was 32 times the value of Israeli exports; the value of West German exports was 30 times as great; and the value of exports from other African states was four times as great. In that same year, 1983, South African exports to other African states totaled \$796 million, those to Israel only \$142 million.

Reluctant to admit the relative insignificance of trade between Israel and South Africa, Alexander Cockburn, in the Nation, alleges that South African diamonds are processed in Israel at great profit. He concedes, however, that these diamonds are bought and sold at international diamond exchanges. There is no way countries -- if they are not totalitarian -- can control the sale and purchase of diamonds through third parties. Besides, the Soviet Union and black African countries are also diamond sellers, and the origin of a particular diamond is difficult to ascertain.

Not only is Cockburn's article inaccurate, it is incomplete. He does not, for instance, mention that Arab oil-producing states provide South Africa with at least 76 percent of its oil -- earning billions of dollars while meeting a key South African economic and military need. Cockburn also neglects to mention that in 1982 Israel's exports to black Africa exceeded its exports to South Africa.

The second pillar of the argument that Israel and South Africa are allied is the assertion, made by Cockburn, Allen-Frost, Marable and others, that the two countries have an "extensive" military relationship. The facts are otherwise. Israel has repeatedly asserted that it has adhered to the 1977 UN embargo on arms sales to South Africa. A Congressional research study issued in 1984 was unable to find any evidence to the contrary. Even if one accepted as true various reports of Israeli military sales to Pretoria since 1977, these alleged sales are minor in comparison with the actual sales of other countries. The Congressional report mentions allegations that Israel provided South Africa with two drone aircraft, a bomb-disposal device, and training for South African-backed, anti-Communist guerrillas in Angola led by Jonas Savimbi. 6 It compares these alleged sales to known post-1977 sales by France (360 air-to-surface missiles, 300 surface-to-air missiles, 10 Mirage F-1A fighter aircraft, and 100 armored cars) and by Italy (36 Atlas Impala training attack aircraft).7

The emphasis that Israel's critics place on foreign support for the South African armed forces obscures the fact that Pretoria is largely self-sufficient militarily. In response to the 1977 arms embargo, South Africa developed an indigenous arms industry, reducing the percentage of its defense budget devoted to arms purchases abroad from 70 to 15 between 1966 and 1982.8

Why do American writers provide highly exaggerated reports of

Israel's trade and military relations with South Africa? The very fact that Israel is unfairly singled out for condemnation reveals a hidden agenda of some of these critics: tarnishing the image of the Jewish state. Proponents of the notion that Israel and South Africa are allied often prejudge the issue and then seek to justify their view.

As the source of their information on Israel-South Africa ties, Cockburn and Marable cite <u>Israeli Foreign Affairs</u>, a misleadingly named news bulletin edited by a "Jewish progressive," Californian Jane Hunter. What sources does Jane Hunter use as a basis for her allegations? The footnotes in an article on Israel and South Africa in the April 1985 issue of <u>Israeli Foreign Affairs</u> are revealing. TASS, the official Soviet news agency, is mentioned, along with reports submitted to highly politicized, anti-Israel UN bodies, a French-language book published by a Canadian Arab organization, and several English-language books by PLO supporters.

In other words, Hunter provides no independent or objective verification of her claims, which means, in turn, that Cockburn, Marable, and others, writing in the mainstream American press, also have no basis for calling Israel an ally of South Africa. The notion of an Israel-South Africa alliance is, quite simply, an invention. Its purveyors, wittingly or unwittingly, are disseminating anti-Israel propaganda.

Contemporary Differences, External and Internal

Why, in the view of the proponents of the alliance notion, are Israel and South Africa "allies"? Their answer: the two countries are "similar." Similarity arguments may be divided into those focusing on external relations and those emphasizing internal conditions.

Peter Allen-Frost claims that what unites Israel and South Africa is that they share a "siege mentality." This misleading notion is now almost a commonplace among some writers on the topic. In the first place, in its bilateral relations, Israel is not nearly as "besieged" as South Africa. Israel has excellent ties with the United States, Canada, and Western European countries, while South Africa is the target of sanctions by them. Recent media reports indicate that Israel's ties with black African states and with several East European countries, including Poland, are improving. How is this in any way comparable to South Africa's world position? 10

Still, critics argue, are not both countries similar in that they are surrounded by enemies? Of course, both Israel and South Africa face problems with hostile neighbors, but this makes them no more similar than a murder victim and a suicide: both have died, but for rather different reasons. The question is, why do the two nations face opposition? The reasons are utterly distinct. Israel faces opposition from the Arab world because, with the exception of Egypt, no Arab state is willing publicly to recognize Israel's right to exist. This policy of

nonrecognition dates back to 1948, long before Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The PLO's covenant explicitly rejects Israel's right to exist and seeks its liquidation. The Arab-PLO program is not aimed at altering internal Israeli ethnic relations nor even at securing Israel's withdrawal from the territories it occupied in its 1967 defensive war; its aim is to eliminate the manifestation of Jewish sovereignty in the Middle East.

South Africa's neighbors oppose it because of its cruel and unjust internal policy of apartheid. They do not, themselves, have designs on South African territory, claiming it as their own.

Here one comes to the second type of argument alleging resemblance between the two states: "The greatest distinction between Israel and South Africa is that Zionism is legally non-discriminatory while apartheid is legally racist. And yet ... in practice the results are comparable." 11 But again, contemporary conditions in Israel and South Africa cannot be compared. Israeli Arabs enjoy the right to vote -- one-person-one-vote -- and freedom of movement, including the freedom to reside where they wish. Indeed, Israeli Arabs possess key civil and political rights that black South Africans seek.

To extend Israeli citizenship to Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza would necessitate formal Israeli annexation of these territories. Whereas the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza strive for separation from Israel, South African blacks want full integration in their country. The situations and goals of the two groups are fundamentally different. Recently, moreover, Israel welcomed thousands of Ethiopian Jews, removing any question, if there ever was one, of its devotion to racial equality.

Global Menace

Independent anti-Israel writers and persons working for the United Nations or Palestinian organizations inflate the alliance notion into an imaginary global threat. In July 1983, an International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel was held in Vienna under the auspices of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid. The Conference Declaration, echoing a theme found in other UN documents, states that the Israel-South Africa "alliance" constitutes "a grave menace to peace and stability in Africa and the world, and a serious challenge to the United Nations." The "collaboration" between these two states, the Declaration continues, is directed against "the independent states of Africa and the Arab world." 12

Elaborating on this far-fetched theme, James Adams, a British journalist who covered the Arab world for many years, describes how, united, Israel and South Africa will limit black Africa's "freedom to develop economically and to take independent political action." By gaining military self-sufficiency, he claims, these two nations, in a

"pincer movement," will secure a controlling influence over Africa. 13 To lend credence to this fantasy, the Soviet and Syrian media have leveled the absurd charge that Israel and South Africa are developing "racist" biological weapons capable of killing blacks and Arabs while sparing whites.

South African Jews

Grasping at straws, anti-Israel publicists also point to the 119,000-member South African Jewish community to allege the existence of an Israel-South Africa "alliance." Polemicists term the South African Jews an "important link in ... [the] Zionist design" to create this "unholy alliance."

Omitting the fact that the South African Jewish community was formed only in the 20th century, long after the establishment of apartheid, and that many of its members actively oppose apartheid, writers try to identify Jews as agents of Israel working with the South African government. They label normal contact between South Africa's Jews and Israel -- visits, charitable donations, cultural events -- as evidence of an Israel-South Africa "axis." Charitable private donations to Israel are termed "a South African transfer of funds to Israel," as if this were a government-to-government project. Speaking engagements of Israeli representatives are described as "official" meetings between South African and Israeli leaders. An Israeli comedian's arrival in South Africa is cited as evidence of extensive cultural exchange. 14

Inventing History

The word "alliance" implies affinity and shared objectives. Anti-Israel publicists from the PLO and Arab and Soviet-bloc states and their supporters have sought to distort history and portray Israel's founders as "virulent" racists. The authors of one book claim that "the relationship between Israel and South Africa is something more than pragmatic ... [it] is ordinary and natural, for it flows from the nature of Zionism," which mandated European colonization of an undeveloped region. 15 Phillip Oke, a representative of the Christian Peace Conference, which has been identified as a Soviet-front organization, told a UN body on Nov. 5, 1984, that Israel, like South Africa, is a "racist settler state." 16

No historical analogy can be drawn between the origins of Israel and the development of South Africa. Zionism's impetus was not colonization for profit or proselytism. It was a wish to overcome European hostility toward Jews and Jewish traditions. In Russia, for example, a tsarist version of apartheid limited the movement of Jews to a borderland region, away from political and economic centers, and restricted Jews to certain occupations. Government-sanctioned pogroms against Jewish communities led Jews to fear for their lives. Zionism's cultural

program was not directed at "enlightening" other peoples; its focus was on the revival of Jewish culture. Zionism should be seen in the same context as African movements for self-determination in the 1950s and 1960s, and not as a variant of 19th-century European colonialism.

South African apartheid sprang from markedly different historical conditions. Its roots lie in the South African slave trade of the early 1700s, administered by the Dutch East India Company. In the 19th century the white Transvaal Republic's constitution provided for "no equality in church or state for blacks." The Republic established separate areas for the two races, and required blacks visiting white areas to carry passes. Legally mandated residential restrictions and the pass requirements provided prototypes for current South African "homelands" and "pass laws." Nowhere in Zionist history can one find slavery, doctrinal statements favoring inequality, or discriminatory legal decrees. Indeed, Zionism's founding father, Theodor Herzl, pledged that, after liberating the Jews, he would help to liberate African blacks. And Israel's declaration of independence, adopted on May 14, 1948, provides for "equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants, irrespective of religion, race or sex"

Propaganda Alliance

Who is behind the campaign to identify Israel and South Africa as allies? The "List of Participants" in the Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel is revealing. The Arab and Soviet-bloc governments attended; so did representatives of the UN Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Nongovernmental organization participants included the Arab League and the Arab Labour Organization, the PLO, and Soviet-front organizations such as the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions. Working together, these states, UN agencies, and private organizations were able to pass resolutions condemning the "Israel-South Africa Alliance" and push them through the UN General Assembly and other UN bodies. Furthermore, they were able to use UN units, such as the Centre against Apartheid, to prepare "studies" and hold meetings to legitimize this theme. Over time, this politically motivated falsehood has found its way into mainstream U.S. and other media.

The high priority that the Arab and Soviet blocs have assigned to this propaganda ploy is indicated by its constant repetition in statements made by their representatives at the 1985 UN General Assembly. A Soviet representative called (Oct. 15, 1985) the equation of Zionism with racism "historic," and her Czech colleague compared (Oct. 11, 1985) Israel's policy toward the West Bank and Gaza with "South Africa's practices." The FLO spokesperson identified (Oct. 16, 1985) Zionism with apartheid, and the Iraqi delegate made (Oct. 14, 1985) the false claim that the Israeli and South Africam regimes "were the same, and based their policies on the 'inferiority' of groups of peoples." "Friends" from Vietnam (Oct. 11, 1985) and Zimbabwe (Oct. 16, 1985)

joined the anti-Israel chorus. Apparently, these representatives believed in the standard propaganda gambit of repeating a lie so often that it begins to gain acceptability. 18

Arab and Soviet-bloc publicists reach beyond the UN in their effort to link Israel with South Africa in the American mind. Beginning in 1983, Movosti, the Soviet government press agency, distributed an English-language pamphlet in the United States giving a Soviet perspective on the world arms trade. In addition to blaming America for all commerce in weapons and denying Soviet arms trading, the pamphlet accuses "Tel Aviv" of forming a "veritable military alliance" with South Africa. Similarly, a U.S.-based group called the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, which in July 1985 sponsored an academic tour group that was greeted warmly by Yasir Arafat, refers to Israel's policies as "apartheid-like" in its September 1985 newsletter. 19

What are the aims of anti-Israel propagators of the notion of an Israel-South Africa alliance? Two objectives may be discerned. For their part, Arab states hope to depict Israel as illegitimate so that it will be ostracized like South Africa; they also hope to generate support among black Africans for the Palestinian cause. The political motivation behind Arab and PLO "concern" about relations between Israel and South Africa becomes transparent in paragraph 19 of the Declaration of the UN Conference on the Alliance between Israel and South Africa, which reads: "The conference expresses the hope that no State would resume relations with Israel so long as it continues collaboration with South Africa...." The canard that Israel and South Africa are allies serves as a tool to restrain black African states from renewing relations with Israel. If Arab states were truly opposed to apartheid, they would not be reaping huge profits on oil sales to Pretoria. 20

The Soviet Union, its supporters, and surrogates have another reason for disseminating the Israel-South Africa alliance notion. The USSR is engaged in a campaign to vilify the United States in the Third World in order to undermine the U.S. image there and hence increase Soviet influence. By linking Israel with South Africa, and in turn by linking Israel with the United States, the Soviets have constructed a false syllogism designed to enhance their own stature on the African continent and throughout the Third World. Indeed, some analysts rate the Sowiet Union's ability to criticize the United States and other Western powers for their South African ties as one of the chief assets of its African strategy.²¹

The Arab and Soviet blocs and their supporters, then, disseminate elaborate myths about relations between Israel and South Africa to serve clear political objectives. Why have a few American commentators embraced these false notions? This is a difficult question to answer. In some cases, their use of the alliance notion trumped up in the midst of public condemnation of South Africa seems to be an expression of hostility toward Israel. For instance, a history professor at Appalachian State University who traveled to the Middle East courtesy of

the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, returned to compare Israel's treatment of Palestinians with South African apartheid. In other cases, the alliance canard may have been employed for the simple reason that it is sensational. Yarns about plots, conspiracies, and secretly concluded alliances speak to an often unhealthy need in the public psyche to believe in a secular demonology. Irresponsible publicists have always exploited this human failing.

The <u>Boston Globe</u> recently editorialized that the notion of an alliance between Israel and South Africa is nothing more than "propaganda by Soviet-bloc nations and their Third World allies." Fortunately, the American public is rejecting this propaganda. Media reports misrepresenting ties between the two states serve only to divert public attention from the injustice being visited on blacks and other nonwhites in South Africa.

Notes

- 1. Mark A. Bruzonsky, "Israel Is Too Much Like South Africa," Chicago Sun-Times, Sept. 11, 1985; Peter Allen-Frost, "South Africa and Israel: An Alliance of Pragmatism," Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 25, 1985; Alexander Cockburn, "Apartheid Alliance," Nation, Aug. 17/25, 1985; Manning Marable, "Who Profits from Apartheid, Part II," Pittsburgh Courier, Mar. 9, 1985.
- 2. International Monetary Fund, <u>Direction of Trade Yearbook</u> (Washington, D.C., 1985). For a fuller discussion of trade and military relations between Israel and South Africa, see Kenneth Bandler and George E. Gruen, <u>Israel and South Africa</u> (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1985).
- 3. Shipping Research Bureau Report, 1984.
- 4. International Monetary Fund, <u>Direction of Trade Yearbook</u> (Washington: D.C., 1983).
- 5. Note Verbale from Israel to the UN Security Council, Sept.4, 1979.
- Memorandum, Brenda Branaman, Analyst in African Affairs to Hon. Walter E. Fauntroy, Congressional Research Service, Sept. 5, 1984, pp. 21-24.
- 7. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
- 8. Aaron S. Klieman, <u>Israel's Global Reach</u> (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985), p. 53.
- 9. "Israel and South Africa," <u>Israeli Foreign Affairs</u>, April 1985. Hunter's sources include documents from the UN Centre against Apartheid, Les Editions Canada Monde-Arab, and several pro-Arab writers.

- 10. "Mobutu: Other African States May Renew Ties with Israel," Christian Science Monitor, Nay 15, 1985; "Israelis Say Poles Will Restore Limited Ties," New York Times, Oct. 18, 1985.
- 11. Bruzonsky, "Israel Is Too Much ..."
- 12. International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, Vienna, 11 to 13 July, 1983 (United Nations Centre against Apartheid, October 1983), p.1.
- 13. James Adams, <u>Israel and South Africa: The Unnatural Alliance</u> (London: Quartet Books 1984), p. 200.
- 14. Alfred T. Moleah, Israel and South Africa (Washington: Palestine Research and Educational Center, 1984), p. 9; Rosalynd Ainslie, Israel and South Africa: An Unholy Alliance (United Nations Centre against Apartheid, July 1981), pp. 6-7; Richard P. Stevens and Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri, Israel and South Africa: The Progress of a Relationship (New York: New World Press, 1976), pp. 1-2.
- 15. Moleah, Israel and South Africa, p. 5; Stevens and Elmessiri, Israel and South Africa, p. 2.
- 16. United Nations Special Political Committee, session 5, November 1984 (GA/SPC/1767). Identification of Christian Peace Conference in Richard H. Schultz and Roy Godson, <u>Dezinformatsia</u> (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1984), pp. 24, 113, 118, 125, 128.
- 17. International Conference ... July 1983, pp. 10-17.
- 18. UM press releases: Soviet Union (GA/SHC/2702); Czechoslovakia (GA/SHC/2698); PLO (GA/SHC/2704); Iraq (GA/SHC/2701); Vietnam (GA/SHC/2699), Zimbabwe (GA/SHC/2704).
- 19. Tom Emelyanov, A Dangerous Business (Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1983), p. 54; Palestine Human Rights Campaign, Newsletter, September 1985, pp. 1, 6.
- 20. International Conference ... July 1983, p. 3.
- 21. Peter Clement, "Moscow and South Africa," <u>Problems of Communism</u>, March-April 1985, pp. 29-50.
- 22. "Prof. Returns from Mid-East Criticizes Treatment of Palestinians," Mountain Times, Aug. 22, 1985; "ASU Professor Return from Mid-East," Appalachian, Aug. 29, 1985.
- 23. Boston Globe, July 11, 1985.