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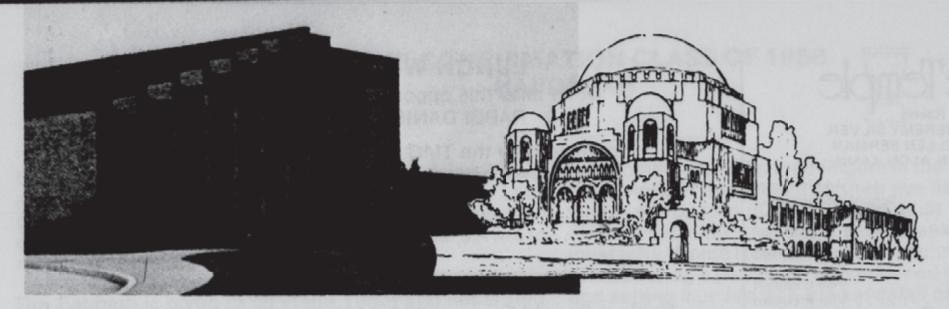
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MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated. Sub-series B: Sermons, 1950-1989, undated.

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South Africa: A Report, 1986.



May 11, 1986 Vol. LXXI No. 19

The Temple Bulletin

SOUTH AFRICA - A REPORT Daniel Jeremy Silver The Sermon of April 6, 1986

I went to South Africa as one of a small group of ten individuals, men, all Jews, who were invited by the South Africa Foundation in conjunction with the South African Jewish Board of Deputies.

The South African Board of Deputies is the equivalent of our Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. The South Africa Foundation was established a number of years ago by the leading industrialists and business people of the country. They had gotten religion when they discovered that you cannot do business if the rest of the world will not do business with you. In recent years, the South Africa Foundation has taken a leading role in pressing for a number of political reforms. It was the chairman of this Foundation who. incidentally, was the Chief Executive Officer of the Anglo-South African Corporation, the leading South African business empire and its Executive Director who, some months ago, went to Lucasa to meet with the leadership of the exiled and banned African National Congress which many in the world see as the recognized leadership of those working for the liberation of the non-white sopulation of South Africa.

Our group was diverse. My colleagues ranged from Martin Peretz, editor of The New Republic to Rabbi Israel Miller, senior Vice-President of Yeshiva University and a former president of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations to Nathan Glaser who is Professor of Sociology and Education at Harvard and a leading expert on inter-group relationships. We were not asked to make any statement individually or collectively.

I, for one, remain mindful of the observation ascribed to John Fairbanks, the well-known Harvard sinologist: anyone who came to China for six weeks wrote a book; anyone who

came to China for six months wrote an article; and anyone who stayed in China for six years wrote nothing. This week's and next week's talks which will concentrate on the Jewish situation in South Africa, represent my private report to you, my congregation, and probably represent the extent of any public comment I will make.

We spent ten full days in the Republic of South Africa, the major part of our time in Johannesburg, Durban and Capetown. We also went by small plane into Natal and the capital of Kwa-Zulu, the Zulu homeland where at Ulundi we met the Zulu Chief Minister Gatsha Butelesi, a strong-minded man who has spoken out forcefully against the government on such issues as the recent constitutional changes and the arbitrary creation of homelands, but who also believes that there are ways blacks and others can cooperate in creating, at least in Natal, a state in which power will be equitably shared.

For most of our trip I knew I was in South Africa, meeting South Africans, but I had little feeling for the country. There were meetings morning, noon and night, from seven o'clock to midnight. It wasn't until the last day that we were allowed to be tourists. That day we drove from Capetown down along the scenic coast which stretches to Cape Point, the headlands where the waters of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans meet. For the first time, I had a sense of the famed natural beauty of that part of the world. We went right from our tour bus to the plane which began the long trip home.

Most of our time was spent in meetings. We met with a number of the liberal faculty of Capetown University, some of whom were active supporters of the African National Congress, most of the United Democratic Front, the in-place umbrella organization which speaks for most groups working for major political reform. Another day we met with faculty from Stellenbosch University, the Africontinued on Page 4

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

May 11, 1986 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch

Rabbi DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

> will speak on TERRORISM

May 18, 1986 10:30 a.m. The Main Temple

Rabbi DANIEL JEREMY SILVER will speak

RALLY DAY FESTIVITIES

Members of the TWA will lead the service

Friday Evening Service — 5:30 - 6:10 — The Temple Chapel

kaaner school near Capetown, a much more conservative group, some of whom worry more about Communist influence in the African National Congress than the elimination of apartheid. We met Seth Cooper who heads AZAPO, the black consciousness organization whose motto is "Africa for the Africans," and by that they mean black Africans. We met with Andreas Treurnicht, a one-time minister of the Dutch Reform church who is now the leader of the Conservative Party which broke away from the ruling National Party on the grounds that the modest reforms which Botha's government has introduced over the last several years are unacceptable deviations from the party's ideology. We met members of Parliament from the National Party and from the opposition, the Progressive Reform Party. We met with Helen Sussman who for decades has been an indefatigable and often lonely critic in Parliament of apartheid and the crude state power which supports this program. Mrs. Sussman has been a member of Parliament for the last thirty-three years, elected year-inyear out from a predominantly Jewish district in Johannesburg. She has spoken out with great personal courage about the abominable acts that the security forces and others have performed in the name of apartheid. We met with trade union leaders, economists, educators, with people working to bring clinics, schools and housing to the outcasts, the American Ambassador and members of his staff as well as with leaders of the Jewish community.

We heard many people talk about the problems of South Africa. Each brought his or her own experience and perspective. As you would expect, even in South Africa the problems cannot be stated in black and white nor are there easy solutions.

As I began to think how to make this report, I thought that perhaps the best way to begin was to repeat a complaint I first heard on the long flight to Johannesburg, a complaint which was often repeated by whites during our trip. My companion was an English-speaking South African businessman, not an Afrikaaner. He told me he had voted for the Progressive Reform Party, not the National Party. He said he favored power-sharing but he complained that South Africa had become the whipping boy of the world. He could think of many worse countries. "I'd rather live as a black in South Africa than in the U.S.S.R. or Albania or Cambodia or Syria or Oran. There have been abuses here, but much greater violence and arbitrariness in Zaire, Ethiopia and Uganda. I read every day in American papers about three or four deaths in South Africa but hardly a word about the tens of thousands of black deaths which result from Ethiopia's ongoing policy of forced relocation. Why is South Africa the country the world dumps on? Why is South Africa the whipping boy of the world?

On my way down I simply listened. I was going to South Africa to learn. Fortunately, on the

flight back there was no one in the next seat and I had a chance to put together my feelings about what I'd heard and seen. I decided that although I had no answer to his complaints, I had little sympathy for them. When I asked myself whether I would prefer living in one of those abjectly poor reservations which the South African government glorifies with the title of tribal homelands or in the gulag in Siberia, I probably would choose Transkei or Ciskei. They are desperately poor places, but at least I would have some hope for the future, if not for my future than for my children's. The days of apartheid are numbered. South Africa is not a super power.

For all its faults, South Africa is not an implacable tyranny. There is a degree of freedom of expression in South Africa which one does not find in many other parts of the world. The press of South Africa, at least the English language press that I could read, featured a significant amount of criticism of specific actions of the government. The Star was positively delighted that the courts had accepted a number of petitions against the government's policy of detention without specific charges. Our last night in Capetown we went to the city's major repertory theater to see the play "Made in the R.S.A," Made in the Republic of South Africa. It's a poor play, but it is also a noholds-barred, knock-down attack on the South African government which pulls no punches about the abuses of the security forces or the ignorance and callousness of the whites toward blacks. "Made in the R.S.A." underlines the nobility and patience with which blacks have accepted the abominable acts to which they have been subjected. I am sure that no other government in Africa or in Eastern Europe would allow such a play to be presented by a leading repertory theater.

I also had to admit that there was a degree of truth to the complaint that much of the moral outrage that is expressed here toward South Africa is not only highly selective but has been deliberately fanned by organizations in the civil rights movement who felt their efforts flagging and who found in picketing the South African Embassy and in disinvestment, activities which encourage greater involvement in their domestic agenda.

But none of these qualifications remove the many cruelties which darken our judgements of South Africa. Seventy-two percent of the population, the black community, has no say in its destiny. Twelve percent of the popula tion, the white community, controls power and most of the wealth of the country. In South Africa you come across again and again statistics, realities, which sicken the soul. The rate of infant mortality among whites is equivalent to ours, about 17 per thousand. Infant mortality among blacks can only be estimated, no real figures are kept for blacks; and that fact also is an indication of the kind of country it is; but estimates suggest that the rate of infant mortality among blacks is over 200 per thousand. In South Africa there are black schools, Asian schools, colored schools, and white schools. In 1985 the South African government spent \$660 per white student and \$94 for each black student. One percent of the blacks in each age cohort graduate, matriculate from high school. The number of whites who matriculate from high school is higher than ours, close to 90 percent. Similar disparities exist for all levels of government services: public health, sport, garbage collection, police protection, the blacks and other non-whites receiving the short end of the stick.

The basic law which governs all else is the Population Registration Act which was originally promulgated in 1950. Segregation has a long history in South Africa, but until 1948 when the National Party came to power traditions of English law and local arrangements gave some non-whites some voice and some hope that South Africa might take the road towards a slow but steady elimination of racism, the road our country has taken. The victory of the National Party ended that hope. Malam and his cohorts came to power committed to apartheid, the full separation of the so-called races. Race is a category of questionable credibility, yet, classification by race determines your destiny: where you can live. where your children go to school, what kind of jobs you can have, whether you will be allowed to travel to a certain place and remain there for more than seventy-two hours, whether you can own land, whether you can be forceably removed to a tribal homeland you may never have seen.

The classification system is complex. Anybody who is white is white provided they can prove that they are white. The non-white categories are various: Asian, Indian, Chinese, colored, Cape Malay - the Malaysians who came to the Cape a hundred years ago to work on the farms. Several days after we arrived I found this article in one of the papers. The headline read: "1167 Race Changes Recorded."

"A total of 1167 people were reclassified from one race group to another in 1985, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Stoffel Eotha, said yesterday in a written reply to a question in Parliament.

The largest number of reclassifications was of 702 people from Coloured to White. A total of 249 Blacks were reclassified as Cape Coloured.

Other reclassifications were White to Coloured (19), Indian to White (1), Chinese to White (3), Indian to Coloured (50), Coloured to Indian (43), Indian to Malay (21), Malay to Indian (30), Cape Coloured to Black (20), Black to Other Asian (2), Black to Griqua (1), Coloured to Chinese (11), Coloured to Malay (3), Chinese to Cape Coloured (1), Malay to Cape Coloured (8), and Black to Malay (3)."

In South Africa the state knows you not as a continued on Page 5

person but as a member of a "racial" classification. The idiocy of all this bureaucratic process stands out in stark relief when you read of the confusion which administration face when a foundling is left on the door of some hospital. How do you classify this infant? A vast pseudo-learned literature suggests how classification should proceed. One paper suggests 'take a comb and put it through the child's hair.' Presumedly, if the hair is curly, the child is colored; if the comb slips through the child is white. No one says what to do with a bald child.

Those who sponsor apartheid insist every group should have the right to develop on their own their own culture. The hypocrisy of this position is shown not only in the operative assumption whites deserve the best of any division, but in the classification of white. The English-speaking whites in South Africa have a different history, culture and language than the Afrikaaners. The Afrikaaners would have liked to divide whites into English, Jews, Afrikaaners . . . that was Malam's original thesis, but the skills of every white person were needed to build the economy, so philosophy gave way to pragmatic consideration.

South Africa is a racist state. Class and competence do not count. For whites of all classes all doors are open. For those unfortunate enough to be one of the lesser breeds, most doors are off limits. If we were South African blacks, we would have to live where a white government tells us to live, to submit our freedoms to government supervision, to accept policies in which we had no say.

Complementing the Population Registration Act as the base of apartheid is the Group Areas Act. The Group Areas Act gives the government the right to determine, on the basis of your classification, where you may live. If you are black and work in an urban area, you must live in a designated area, usually far out of town. If you live in the countryside, you may not come to the cities except with a special permission which is hard to get. The government has the power to arbitrarily redistrict an area or arbitrarily assign you to some tribal homeland. The map of South Africa is littered with crazy quilt lines which define these socalled homelands which are, in reality, little more than reservations into which blacks are funneled to keep them out of the cities.

What you find when you visit South Africa is that the major downtown areas seem very much like our own, that there are lovely white suburban areas not unlike those you find around American cities, that there are modest areas in which some of the more fortunate sub-groups live, and that there are vast tracts of land into which blacks have been funneled with little thought to amenity or even to decency.

Our first day we were taken to Soweto, the world-famous non-white counter city to Jo-

hannesburg. Soweto sprawls over a rolling countryside some twelve miles from the downtown area, behind the pilings from the gold mines which brought Johannesburg its first wealth. Soweto consists of a series of towns which house over a million people. Your first impression of Soweto is that it doesn't look too bad. In many areas there are neat three or four room modest homes, often in brick with some kind of planting in the small plots which front them. Such homes do not a slum make. There are, of course, some real slum areas of tightly-packed tin shacks in Soweto, but at first look you think that, after all, (and this is a South African argument) people of various ethnic groups like to live together and it really is not too bad here. There are schools, clinics, and soccer fields.

When you look more carefully, you begin to see the indignity of life there. The principal indignity is that people have to live there. They have no choice. There are suburbs in Cleveland with few, if any, blacks, but by law blacks may live in Bay Village or Gates Mills. In South Africa blacks may not live in the white suburbs. In Soweto blacks can't own the land under their houses. Apartheid labels Soweto part of the white homeland. The theory is that some day whites will take over and all the blacks of Soweto will have to move into a homeland. They are not to be citizens or permanent residents of the real South Africa. For the moment, black labor is necessary, but in time blacks will be returned to the tribal homelands where, presumedly, they will develop their indigenous culture.

In recent months the government changed policies and increased the lease-hold of many Sowetan homes to 99 years. The government has even suggested it just may be possible for blacks to own land. Theory has given way to necessity, but Soweto is still nonwhite, an inferior place. The Soweto schools are separate but not equal to those in the white areas of Johannesburg. Its clinics are not the equivalent of the clinics in the white area. In Soweto police break down your door without a search warrant to investigate who lives in the home, to make sure that no one who hasn't the right papers is living there. There is more work in the cities than in the countryside; but it is government policy to keep blacks in the rural areas, so the police periodically make sweeps through areas like Soweto to make sure that uncles, aunts, husbands and wives who do not belong there are found and departed. Over 100,000 deportations were ordered in 1985.

I noticed as we drove through Soweto a surprising lack of shopping centers. When I asked I was told that this city of over a million people had only two small malls. The merchants of Johannesburg have made sure that when blacks go to buy, they will leave the black areas and the black storekeepers to go into the white areas to the profit of white storekeepers. From Soweto it costs about 8 to 10 percent of a black worker's wages to take a mini-bus to work each day. The ride lasts 45 minutes or an hour. Those who live beyond Soweto, as many do, must commute as much as two or three hours each way and spend as much as 20 percent of their modest salary to get to work

In Johannesburg and Capetown the white suburbs are all close in and convenient; Indian and colored suburbs form the next ring; the black townships are way out beyond the outer belt. In Capetown there is an infamous squatters area called Crossroads. Crossroads is a squatters village of about 200,000 people. There are some 80,000 children of school age, but only one school which enrolls 1,000 students and has five teachers. The government insists that Crossroads must not become a permanent settlement and has allocated land for houses; but the people refuse to move. Why? The land offered them is 15 miles further out from Capetown. Crossroads is already 15 miles out from the city. They know the time and the cost which would be involved if they accede to the government's plans for them.

Between the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act apartheid is alive and well in South Africa. A single story epitomized for me all I saw. A 27-year old Cape Malay woman had the misfortune to be severely injured in an automobile accident near Preforia. Pretoria, the capital of South Africa is a largely Afrikaaner city in the Transvaal. She suffered major injury to her spinal column and was taken to the central hospital in Pretoria where she was put into the Intensive Care Unit for Muslims. That Intensive Care Unit was not equipped to deal with injuries such as hers, but one of the finest centers for the study and treatment of spinal cord injuries in the country occupies another wing of the same hospital. The accident took place on the 7th of December. Despite three months of pleas and petitions her family and their lawyers had not been able to get the hospital authorities to move this patient some 100 yards from the Muslim Intensive Care Unit where she had been put to the unit where she could receive proper care.

The story appeared while we were in Johannesburg and when I mentioned it that night to a local doctor, his response was to say she was unfortunate. If her accident had taken place near Capetown, she would have been taken to the Conradie Hospital and would have been immediately admitted to its fine spinal cord injury unit. That hospital if fully desegregated. He used this incident as an illustration of the crazy quilt pattern which now exists in South Africa. In recent years under pressure the government has relaxed a number of the rules which govern apartheid. Hospitals have been allowed to desegregate provided the staff was willing to do so. As I continued on Page 6

walked around Johannesburg I could see the nearly fresh paint which had been put a few months before to cover signs designating rest rooms as either white or non-white. The major hotels and downtown restaurants have been desegregated. Blacks were guests in our hotel and in the restaurants where we ate. They were served by whites. Many jobs are filled by both blacks and whites. Between early morning and five o'clock the major cities seem desegregated. In Capetown the beaches have been opened to all, but some of the suburban beaches have not been desegregated. The local councils have not been willing to go that far. On the trains there are now desegregated first-class coaches and first-class coaches reserved for whites. They have rescinded the marriage act which prohibited inter-racial marriage. The government of Premier Botha has spoken of rescinding the passlaws which limit freedom of movement for non-whites; but, at the same time, they have said that they will impose new restrictions on movements so that the urban areas will not be innundated. Such indecision is tragic. For every step the government takes forward it pulls back in other directions. The result is that opponents of apartheid correctly dismiss these changes as cosmetic; while obstinate whites look upon these changes as signs of weakness and indecision. The National Party, which in the 50's and 60's transformed segregation into apartheid, now faces a major revolt from the right, from the Conservative Party and from an even more rightist group, the HNP, both of which show increased strength in the Afrikaan community.

The government of Premier Botha seems to want to move toward accommodation, but to be more worried about the right than what is right. The window of opportunity for evolutionary change in South Africa is a narrow one.

As blacks face this inconsistent pattern of reform, they quite rightfully dismiss changes as band-aids designed for the purpose of placating the world; but they are not clear how to respond or even how to prepare for change. Our first day in South Africa we were guests at an orientation breakfast to which we invited Bayard Rustin who happened to be in the hotel. Rustin is working for the National Endowment for Democracy and one of his responsibilities involves South Africa. Rustin described to us what he had seen and heard during his frequent visits. "You'll find on all sides a great deal of sloganeering and not much real politics. The government is not yet prepared or confident enough to sit down and negotiate what is the ultimate question - the redistribution of power. So it postures. In the liberal and the non-white community, there is little agreement how to get from here to there and so much posturing. Both sides suffer from a lack of self-confident leadership. For the blacks this is the result of government action. Over the last thirty years Pretoria has imprisoned or exiled or banned or deported the

natural leaders of the non-white communities. Nelson Mandela's imprisonment is the classic case in point. A result is that in the black townships leadership has passed to the angry young who shout slogans and mistake slogans for an agenda." Rustin sees black spokesmen like Bishop Tutu engaged in a desperate attempt to keep up with their young, an effort which consists increasingly in espousing maximal and non-negotiable demands. Because the middle-aged, those who traditionally have authority, have not been able to produce tangible political results, the young denounce all attempts at negotiation as a sell-out and renounce all offers to improve schools or clinics or the employment situation as efforts to prop up the government.

Unemployment of young blacks in some urban areas may run as high as sixty percent. The youth have little to do. Few have graduated from high school. They know how to silence informers and to terrorize moderates and believe thy can muscle their way into the future.

While we were in South Africa the United Democratic Front met in port Elizabeth to discuss its strategy. A major debate centered on whether black students should boycott school this coming year. A popular slogan reads: "liberation before education." Some liberation leaders encourage youth unrest, but the appeal of this strategy lies in its identification as part of a program through which some blacks believe they can close down the day-to-day life of South Africa. What is proposed includes boycotts of white stores, strikes against white businesses, stay aways from separate and unequal schools. Presumedly, by bringing the life to a standstill the whites will have to give way. Pressures can work. A black boycott of white businesses in Port Elizabeth created an atmosphere which emboldened the local court to free several labor leaders who had been detained without specific charge and this led to a rash of releases in other parts of the country which raised questions to the whole process of arbitrary detention. But if the power structure does not give in, liberation before education could cost a generation of blacks their future.

When we think of black leaders of South Africa we think of Desmond Tutu and Alan Bosack, ministers both: one the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the other chairman of the Council of Churches of South Africa. Rustin cites these leaders as men running to keep up with the young. Because they have no independent political base they must retain credibility with those who have the energy and can act. So both men find themselves in the position of having to say to liberal groups which want to help ameliorate black conditions, 'don't come,' 'we don't want their help,' 'you'll only be propping up the government.' The Urban Coalition hoped to build schools in Crossroads, but Bosack vetoed the plan. Well and good if change comes tomorrow, but what if it is far off?

If political change were to come tomorrow, who would seize power? What will be their policies? Some blacks as well as whites worry about the silencing of the moderates. The leadership of the African National Congress includes men of various views, including many who are committed to a single party, rigidly controlled state economy. The overthrow of apartheid does not guarantee blacks political freedom. The head of the military wing of the African National Congress was head of the South African Communist Party.

If the revolution is really six months off, as Willie Mandela promises, this bring-life-to-a-standstill approach might be effective. But no one we talked to found such a time table realistic. The political officers of our embassy, scholars in South African politics and experts in the security forces, all believe that the National Party's resolve has not yet been tested and that the Afrikaaner-controlled police and army is willing and able to use great force. The hard truth is that the townships are virtually unarmed.

South Africa is not a paralyzed country. The papers suggest that South Africa is a war zone. It is not. you can go about your business in Johannesburg and Capetown just as you do in Cleveland. You can live for years without being directly touched by violence. The often photographed funerals are restricted to the townships and the townships are unarmed. I didn't say disarmed, but unarmed. They've never had the arms. Black resentment must not be underestimated, but the ability of black youths to disrupt the society has not yet been proven. Violence is mostly cordoned off in black areas. I believe that unless there are major structural reforms in South Africa in the next few years, there will be a time of violent revolution, but I would also believe that the revolution will not come tomorrow and I worry that when it does it may not be successful.

The African National Congress, which has been in being for over fifty years, is one of the world's least successful liberation movements. I asked one of our political officers for his estimate of the man power strength of the African National Congress outside of South Africa. He gave me an estimate of three thousand. Masses can be turned out for a demonstration in the black townships, but the borders are carefully sealed and the army and police have the guns.

What can be done? Can we help? What about divestment and disinvestment? Divestment is the term used to define the sale of stock in companies that do business in South Africa or continued on Page 7

with South Africa. Disinvestment describes the actual sale or abandonment by companies of the businesses they run in South Africa. Sanctions involve the embargo of goods and services.

Each of these programs, unfortunately, leads to unwanted consequences. Divestment means that you sell your stock to someone else, often someone who will not care whether the company lives up to the Sullivan principles. If the company closes down, black workers will lose precious jobs. Since most American companies doing business in South Safric subscribe to the Sullivan principle, their workers are among the best paid and their pay scale helps raise the pay levels of others. There is no unemployment compensation or unemployment insurance, no safety net in South Africa. A worker has the right to strike and an employer has the right to dismiss him and hire a replacement. I would never argue with anyone encouraging divestment, but I am also not convinced that divestment is worth the human cost.

Disinvestment has some of the same problems and others. If an American company sells or abandons its machinery, workers lose their jobs, and someone else comes in and takes over. Trade union leaders explained to us the cruel economic realities. When American companies have sold machinery, these have been bought up by Japanese or other Asians, taken from the cities to the boon docks and set up in homeland factories where workers can be hired for a fraction of city wages, as little as twenty rands a month, the equivalent of ten dollars. The trade union people with whom we met socialists and reformers all, were adamant about the disastrous consequences of disinvestment. In the real world somebody will always be willing to do the business.

What about the sanctions? The United Nations voted to embargo all arms sales to South Africa in 1976, but not all countries have abided by the decision. But some have and since necessity is the mother of invention, South Africa today has one of the most highly sophisticated weapon producing capacities in the world. The result? In 1985 South Africa sold a billion and a quarter dollars of arms to Iraq and another half a billion dollars' worth of arms elsewhere in the Arab world. If you wonder where South Africa gets its oil, the answer is that arms buy oil. South Africa has developed also the most advanced plants in the world to transform their immense coal reserves into gas and oil.

The United States in not the major trade partner with South Africa. England is America is not the major investor in South Africa.

England is. France has been South Africa's major arms supplier.

What the business people there fear most would be the drying up of investment monies. They were mightily relieved when the European banks agreed to 'continue lending monies in South Africa' after President Reagan's embargo of further American loans to the South African government. Monies are needed for productive investments to provide jobs. The economists we talked to told us simply: 'someone always is willing to lend you money for the right rate of interest.'

I left South Africa feeling that South Africa's problems can only be faced by the peoples of South Africa who will do so in their own way. In the jungle of international economics and politics there are few ways we can be truly helpful. One hopes against hope that evolutionary rather than revolutionary patterns will win through. A sizeable nonwhite middle class exists and seems to be growing, and if this middle class is allowed to share power, there may be some hope that a reformist process can go forward. however, if the present situation continues, if the government continues to temporize and offer largely cosmetic reforms, then the maximal demands, "one man, one vote now" and the pressures for revolutionary changes will increase to a flash point. Then what? There would be much bloodshed. Probably, ultimately, the security forces would have to give in. The world won't let you destroy a population the size of South Africa. But even that assumption cannot be guaranteed.

I spend a half hour talking with Helen Sussman in the Parliament building in Capetown. Her well-groomed looks belie her age, she is in her seventies and her courageous political career. She has been put under the ban and house arrest. Her life has been threatened. For many years in Parliament she was the only opposition voice which dared to speak up. We spoke about her daughters, both live outside South Africa. She is clearly relieved by that fact. What of the future? A sigh. "Liberalism has about run its course." "There is little time left for peaceful solutions." I sensed in her a hope held against reason. She wants to believe that there is still reason to believe that the evolutionary pattern will win through, but she finds little in the actions of the government and the reality of the situation in the nonwhite other world to confirm that hope.

While I was in South Africa I tried to read as much as I could of this nation's literature. In doing so I came across a poem written by a man named Don Mattera, I can't tell you a thing about him except that he is black and that the poem spoke to me of the weariness of the spirit which overwhelms so many in that so beautiful, but so troubled, land.

When horizons weep bloody tears
You may reach out white brother
For the fruit of compassion
But your hand will return empty
Like the desolate orchard of your heart.

Yet even at that final hour
My bleeding limbs may bend
To lift your cringing frame
Against the bitterness of my pain
Perhaps you may come to love me then,
Though it may be too late
And I will weep for both of us
As we drown,
drown,
drown,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

TYA END OF YEAR SOCIAL

SATURDAY, MAY 31 8:00 P.M.

SOUTHGATE LANES
Watch Your Mail
For Details

THE TEMPLE MEMORIAL BOOK

The Temple maintains a Memorial Book. Inscribed names are read at the Vesper Service which occurs nearest to the Yahrzeit.

Dorothy Himelfarb
Inscribed by her niece and nephews.

COFFEE HOUR HOSTS

Susan and Ronald Kahn are your hosts for the Coffee Hour on May 11, 1986. Ronald is a member of The Temple Board.

Nancy and Albert (Pete) Pickus are your hosts for the Coffee Hour on May 18. Nancy is a member of The Temple Board.

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1 167 race changes recorded

HOUSE OF AS-SEMBLY. — A total of 1 167 people were reclassified from one race group to another in 1985, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday in written reply to a question by Mr Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP Green Point).

The largest number of reclassifications was of 702 people from Coloured to White. A total of 249 Blacks were reclassified as Cape Coloured.

Other reclassifications were White to Coloured (19), Indian to White (1), Chinese to White (3), Indian to Coloured (50), Coloured to Indian (43), Indian to Malay (21), Malay to Indian (30), Cape Coloured to Black (20), Black to Other Asian (2), Black to Griqua (1), Coloured to Chinese (11), Coloured to Malay (3), Chinese to Cape Coloured (1), Malay to Cape Coloured (8), and Black to Malay (3),

Pordation Restration REG Grove Brons Act

Final hour

When horizons weep bloody tears
You may reach out white brother
For the fruit of compassion
But your hand will return empty
Like the desolate orchard of your heart.

Yet even at that final hour
My bleeding limbs may bend
To lift your cringing frame
Against the bitterness of my pain
Perhaps you may come to love me then,
Though it may be too late
And I will weep for both of us
As we drown,
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