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# MEMO

THE UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR WORLD MINISTRIES  
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10115

To: Bonga Goba  
Joan Campbell  
Willis Logan  
All concerned persons

From: Di Scott

Date May 16th 1989

Subject: FRANK CHIKANE'S CONDITION

*(Not for general/public  
information at this point)*

I talked with Kagiso this morning. It is clear that Frank is much better than he was and has been moved out of the Trauma Life Center and out of Intensive Care to a ward. They have been through a tremendous trauma -- Frank was in very very serious condition last Friday, and almost died -- at one point all his metabolic systems collapsed, he was completely paralyzed, he lost consciousness and stopped breathing and the Doctors and nurses told Kagiso that they could not do anything more -- they had done everything they could. It is a miracle that Frank is still alive -- for which we thank God. The disturbing thing for the Doctors is that the attack that he had was extremely sudden, and his apparent recovery was just as sudden. They had begun a battery of tests, but have started all over again because his recovery on Sunday ~~through~~ <sup>has</sup> thrown their theories off course completely. So they have begun new tests, and are trying to find the root cause of Frank's attack.

Kagiso is doing well. She has the support of the entire university community and told me how even the chancellor of the university was with her at the hospital at midnight on Friday. She is extremely tired, as is to be expected, and she is trying to return what ever calls she can. She said she will keep in touch. I am not sure that calling the hospital is helpful at this point because they do not allow access to her at all. She is in touch with South Africa (SACC) and is updating them on a regular basis. I assured her of our love, care, support, and willingness to go out to Madison at very short notice. At this point she says all is taken care of, and they will just go through this process of letting the Doctors test until they find out what the root cause is. I also assured her of support in terms of medical bills (as Joan C had requested I do) -- and she says that she will not worry about that -- the University seems to be taking care of everything and they have told her not to worry. The only thing we can do is wait, and also send cards, telegrams and flowers to Frank.

The address for such communications is:

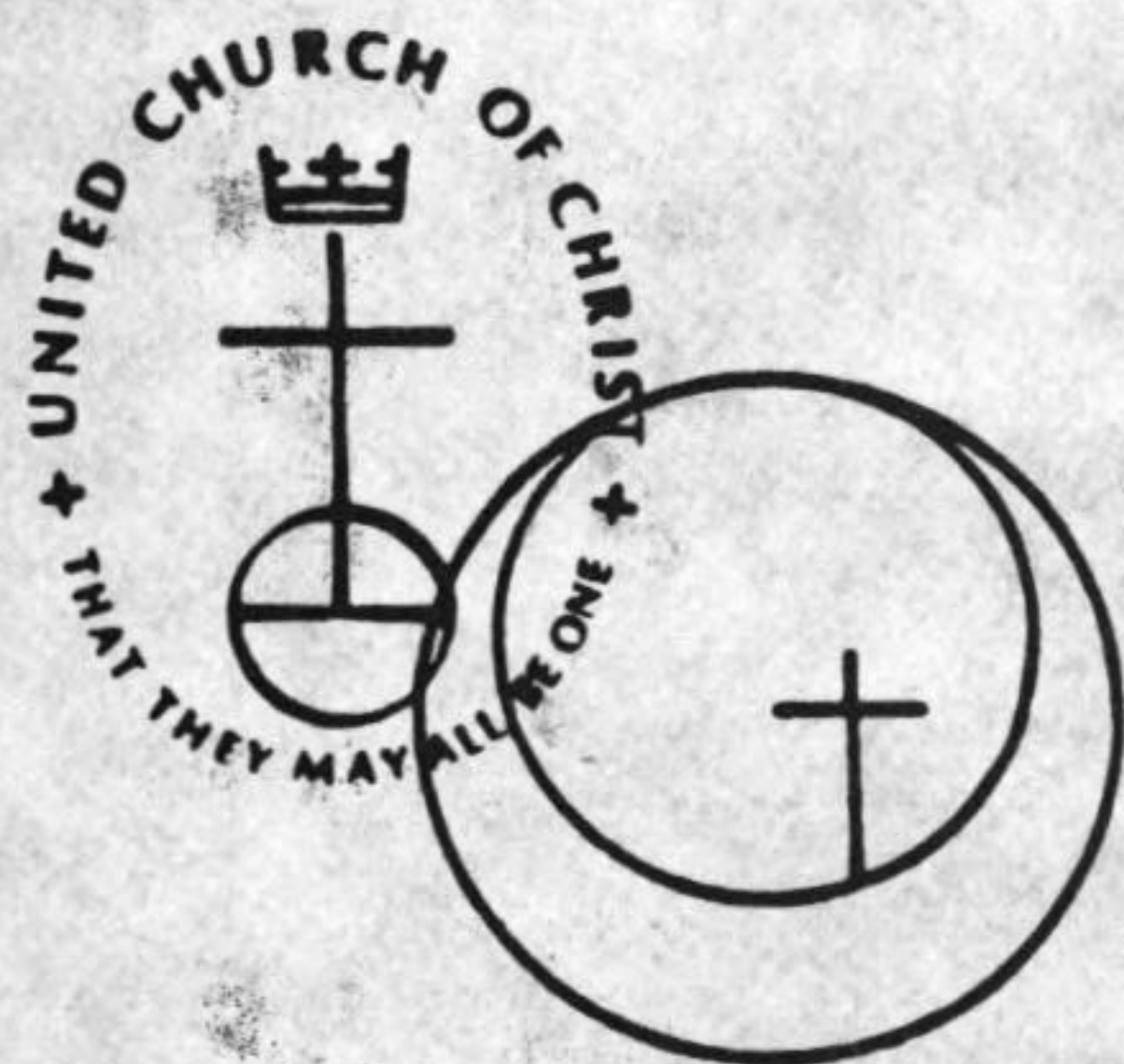
Frank Chikane  
University Hospital  
Ward D6 - 476  
600 Highland Avenue  
Madison, WI 53792

Kagiso's address is (not for public)

866 Van Hise Hall  
University of Wisconsin  
Madison Wisconsin 53706

I will be in touch with Kagiso and will keep you all updated.





# UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR WORLD MINISTRIES

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July 18, 1989

**Mr. H.G. Makgothi**  
African National Congress  
Office of the Secretary General  
P.O. Box 31791  
Lusaka, Zambia

Dear Mr. Makgothi:

Thank you very much for your letter dated June 3rd introducing your new representative in the United States, Ms. Lindiwe Mabuza. We deeply appreciate the honor of being informed about this significant appointment.

We are very impressed with her credentials and we are looking forward to developing a relationship with her as soon as she gets here. As you may know, the United Church of Christ as well as the Disciples of Christ, whose African Secretary is Dr. Dan Hoffman, have both made a strong commitment to support the struggle for justice and peace in South Africa. Therefore, we have a lot to share with Ms. Mabuza as she begins her work in New York.

Please do assure her that our office and that of my colleague, Dr. Dan Hoffman, welcomes her to New York.

Please ask her to contact us as soon as she arrives so that we can plan a meeting to welcome her.

Shalom.

Yours sincerely,

*Bonganjalo Goba*

**Bonganjalo Goba**  
Regional Secretary for Africa

BG:jb

cc: Dan Hoffman, Disciples of Christ



From: S.AFRICA (EPI121) Delivered: Wed 17-May-89 12:09 B.S. Sys 142  
Subject: Statement by SA Church Leaders in Washington DC

May 17, 1989

WASHINGTON -- Four South African church leaders today called on the US Government to put pressure on the South African Government to get it to the negotiating table.

The call was made in a "founding statement" prepared for American legislators by Dr Allan Boesak, the Rev Frank Chikane, Dr Beyers Naude and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The full text of the statement was released in South Africa as the leaders prepared to address an "American Forum on South Africa" in Washington today.

The major thrust of the statement gave strong backing to the "growing emphasis in international relations on resolving conflict situations by negotiated, peaceful settlements..."

But it discounted the possibility of the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and her Government being accepted by black South Africans as impartial brokers. The church leaders said they did not place much hope in the prospect of the British Government becoming "pre-eminent broker", but Mrs Thatcher "might conceivably play a useful role in reassuring fearful white South Africans during negotiations..."

They told the US: "We believe that you in the United States, together with your allies, have the means to get the South African Government to the negotiating table."

They dealt with the sanctions issue in one paragraph. They said they remained "totally convinced" that the only way in which those outside South Africa could force the Government to sit down and talk to black South Africans was by applying economic and diplomatic pressure. The time was "not appropriate" to lift the campaign to exert such pressure.

However, they stressed: "...The methods which you use to put pressure on the South African Government are secondary to the main issue, which is to get it to the negotiating table. If it can be done without sanctions, so much the better."

The full text of the statement follows:

FOUNDING STATEMENT FOR THE VISIT TO WASHINGTON D.C. OF A DELEGATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH LEADERS.

The four of us have come to Washington D.C. at the invitation of our friends in the American Forum on South Africa. We express our deep appreciation for their efforts towards the achievement of justice and peace in our country.



We come at a time when there is a growing emphasis in international relations on resolving conflict situations by negotiated, peaceful settlements instead of by violent confrontation. We welcome this trend warmly, more especially because it reflects the desire of black South Africans as repeatedly expressed for the past 80 years.

We believe that throughout South Africa's history our people have been reasonable. Since before South Africa was formed as a country in 1910, they have worked unceasingly for a negotiated, non-violent settlement in our country. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Chief Albert Luthuli, President General of the African National Congress, in 1961 bore witness to our people's commitment to non-violence. Those of our liberation movements which have adopted the military option did so only in the early 1960s, after half a century of peaceful pleading had failed. Even though the liberation movements chose that option, it is only one element of their strategy and its aim is to force the South African Government to the negotiating table. Internally, our other political organisations have worked for peaceful, negotiated change. Both the liberation movements and the political organisations inside the country co-operated with the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group in its efforts to promote a negotiated settlement. More recently, members of our delegation have been involved in negotiations with the South African Government in an attempt to secure the release of detainees after many of them went on hunger strikes because they were jailed without trial.

During this period, the obstacle to a negotiated settlement has been the South African Government. It was the South African Government which banned Chief Luthuli. It was the South African Government which outlawed our liberation movements, prompting them to resort to arms. It was the South African Government which deliberately smashed the Commonwealth peace initiative by bombing South Africa's neighbouring states. It has been the South African Government which, over the years, has banned nearly all the political organisations of our people for doing nothing more than working peacefully for democracy. The South African Government has been an intransigent government, and Western countries have helped to keep it in power.

We believe President Bush's Administration stands on the verge of an important threshold. In the past, too many U.S. administrations have propped up unjust regimes because of perceived U.S. economic interests and theoretical ideological considerations. Too often the U.S. has been forced to take late, reactive and defensive steps to protect its interests when a government is about to fall after the people of a country have decided they will tolerate oppression no longer.

During the life of this Administration, our people will take decisive steps towards attaining freedom. We believe that you in the United States, together with your allies, have



the means to get the South African Government to the negotiating table. You have in Southern Africa an opportunity to open a new chapter in your history by taking early, pro-active and creative policy decisions which place you at the cutting edge of international support for the movement for democracy in our country.

There has been speculation that the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, wants to be a peace broker in Southern Africa. We do not place much hope in the prospect of the British Government becoming the pre-eminent broker. While Mrs Thatcher might conceivably play a useful role in reassuring fearful white South Africans during negotiations, neither she nor her Government have the credibility among black South Africans to be accepted as impartial brokers.

If Americans are to play a role in bringing peace to Southern Africa, you would need to make a fundamental policy shift in your approach to the South African crisis. Such a change would involve a clear recognition:

- That the movement for democracy in South Africa is legitimate;
- That the system which represses that movement is illegitimate and incapable of reform;
- That the current South African Government urgently needs to be replaced by one which represents all the people; and
- That every possible peaceful, effective step needs to be taken to bring about negotiations between all political groups in South Africa which will result in representative government.

The Commonwealth EPG, in consultations with the democratic movement inside and outside South Africa and with the South African Government, has developed a negotiating concept for South Africa. Time and again, our people have spelled out within South Africa and internationally their proposals for a just, non-racial and democratic South Africa in which black and white can share. Among the latest to have been tabled were the constitutional guidelines of the African National Congress.

We urge the U.S. Administration and the rest of the international community to press the South African Government to take the following preliminary steps, without which negotiations cannot begin:

1. To lift the State of Emergency.
2. To release all detainees and political prisoners and to allow exiles to return home.
3. To unban the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and all other banned and restricted political organisations.
4. To guarantee free political activity and to amend the Internal Security Act and all other laws accordingly.
5. To repeal the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act and all other laws



which organise South African society on the basis of race.

It is well known that we believe that, short of taking up arms, the application of various forms of economic and diplomatic pressure is the only way in which those outside South Africa can force that government to sit down and talk to our people. At present, there is a new emphasis on the ways in which financial sanctions in particular could achieve that aim. We are monitoring the exploration of that question closely. However, the methods which you use to put pressure on the South African Government are secondary to the main issue, which is to get it to the negotiating table. It can be done without sanctions, so much the better. Nevertheless, we reiterate that we remain totally convinced that the South African Government will not be brought to the negotiating table without pressure and therefore that the time is not appropriate to lift the campaign to exert such pressure. A decision by the United States to support fully the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa could have an international impact as dramatic as the Soviet Union's policy of "glasnost". As we move towards the 21st century, countries of the South and the so-called "Third World" will become more powerful in international politics. Against this background, a bold decision now would serve the long-term global interests of the United States. Moreover, vigorous backing for democracy in South Africa would be in line with your best historic traditions. South Africans aspire to no more than the fundamental freedoms Americans have enjoyed for most of their history.

Mr Allan Boesak, Moderator of the NG Sendingkerk (Dutch Reformed Mission Church) and President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches The Revd Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches

Mr C F Beyers Naude, former General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa