

attacks falsely accuse the school of promoting totalitarianism and torture. If you get beyond the rhetoric, which can be as deceptive as it is emotional, you will find their case is factually based on just two things: one, the few graduates who have been involved in human rights abuses and two, certain military intelligence training manuals which were once used at the school in classes attended by some of the students, although not all—which the school got rid of 6 years ago.

It's true some of the school's trainees have turned out not to be nice people. Some, in fact, have been linked to sickening atrocities. But this, alone, is not evidence of wrongdoing at the school. As a matter of fact, most of the graduates have been among the good guys in the region's shift to democracy. Graduates have instituted human rights reforms in their militaries, prevented military coups against freely elected civilian governments, and have made their soldiers more professional servants of democratic governments.

This whole argument gets a little ridiculous. We know of other Latin American human rights abusers who attended colleges and universities in the United States. One is the notorious Hector Gramajo of Guatemala, who did not attend the School of the Americas but did graduate from Harvard. Personally, I think it would be absurd to brand Harvard as a school of assassins.

The military intelligence manuals containing inappropriate material never should have slipped by the school's screening process. There were prepared by the Pentagon years ago for use by military allies, and were adopted at the school as part of the material used in one course. For the most part, the manuals were non-controversial and worthwhile. But they did contain some material that violated U.S. policy, such as the use of psychological stress when conducting interrogations. In a review, the Army recognized this material was not acceptable and eliminated the manuals 6 years ago.

I do not defend the manuals, and neither does the Defense Department. They were a mistake. But it was a mistake that was corrected years ago, and it has nothing to do with the current administration of the school.

In his own report on the school, Representative KENNEDY says: "We do not question the good values and the commitment of the U.S. personnel at the school today." According to his report, the reason for attacking the existing school is to make a fresh start. But that start has already been made. The school and its curriculum have undergone intense scrutiny over the past few years, and instruction on human rights and democratic principles has been exhaustively reviewed, sharpened, and expanded.

The School of the Americas has been investigated and studied by the DOD Inspector General's Office, by the General Accounting Office, and by an outside private consulting firm. Every course except for the computer course has mandatory human rights instruction. Every instructor is certified to teach human rights. The school has a permanent human rights council and a Board of Visitors on which strong human rights' advocates serve. All say the school is effectively promoting U.S. policy on human rights and democracy, and in no way is violating it.

This is certainly a cost-effective program.

For less than \$4 million a year, the school is promoting democracy, building stronger re-

lationships with our neighbors, and combating narcotics trafficking. The school's critics never consider the cost of the crimes and human rights violations that were NOT committed because of the school's influence. The critics never count the benefits of the drug labs taken down, the terrorism prevented, the mines removed by trained professionals, the peacekeeping operations. The school teaches all of these things, and its graduates carry out these missions day-in and day-out.

Just listen to what the officials and agencies responsible for developing and implementing our foreign policy have to say about the school.

Our incumbent drug czar, who served as a former Commander in Chief of the U.S. Southern Command, has said: "As Commander in Chief, my responsibilities included furthering the development of professional Latin American armed forces that promoted and protected human rights and that were supportive of democratic governance. The School of Americas was, and continues to be, the Department of Defense's preeminent educational institution for accomplishing these goals." The State Department has stated: "The School of Americas today is an important instrument for advancing our goals for the hemisphere. The school's curriculum has changed to reflect the end of the Cold War and our commitment to democracy, human rights, and development in Latin America." The Acting Commander in Chief of U.S. Southern Command, Rear Admiral Doran, has said: "The School of Americas continues to be a priority in the CINC's regional strategy and it supports the President's National Security Strategy. By training Latin American military, police, and civilians, we remain actively engaged in the area thereby enhancing American security." And Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, John Shalikashvili, has commented: "SOA remains a critical asset in combatting narco trafficking in Latin America."

This is an issue that touches me personally.

I regularly visit the school. I know the men and women who serve there. These are highly trained, dedicated professionals who believe deeply in their country and in the country's mission to promote human rights and democratic principles everywhere. It is wrong to accuse them of violating their trust and working against the interests of democracy when all of the evidence reaffirms that this is not true.

I strongly urge all of my colleagues to visit the school, learn more about the job it is doing, and not to rush to judgement on the basis of false and unfounded accusations made by people who may have good intentions, but who have little regard for the facts.

Mr. Chairman, I urge our colleagues to support the truth.

Support the School of the Americas.

#### "SOUTH AFRICA AT YEAR THREE"

**HON. JULIA CARSON**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1997

Ms. CARSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share with my colleagues a speech given by James A. Joseph, United States Ambassador to South Africa, at the Meridian House International, Washington, DC, on May 20, 1997.

Ambassador Joseph's speech entitled "South Africa at Year Three" is an outstanding assessment of the impact of the democratic government since the first all race elections was held April 27, 1994. Ambassador Joseph states "there is still much hope and high expectations in South Africa as it begins its fourth year of the new democracy." I am pleased to share Ambassador Joseph's wisdom with my colleagues.

#### SOUTH AFRICA AT YEAR THREE

(By James A. Joseph)

The best way to assess the impact of three years of democratic government in South Africa is to look at how the new government defined its immediate and most urgent goals in 1994. The priorities of the new leaders were described as: (1) establishing a legitimate government that would be both democratic and an effective instrument for change; (2) nation-building and reconciliation; and (3) reconstruction and development.

#### ESTABLISHING A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT

The greatest challenge facing the ANC when it assumed power was that of establishing a legitimate, effective and credible government. Apart from the normal difficulties facing a political movement that had never been in government before, the ANC was faced with the altogether more daunting task of transforming the entire nature of governance in South Africa. Having inherited a state machinery designed to meet the needs of a small racially defined minority, the ANC has had to mold the institutions of government—under severe resource and time constraints—to serve not only the interest of the majority but the whole country.

How successful has the ANC been in establishing a legitimate and effective government? The legitimacy of the government is accepted by all parties, but effectiveness is too often in the eye of the beholder. The fact is, however, that there are now representative governments at all levels; national, provincial and local. There is a new constitution which protects human rights, guarantees equal opportunity and provides for open and fair elections. At the same time, there is no more detention without trial, house arrests, bannings, bombings and political violence have subsided. The press is free, the far right has almost disappeared and many former ideologues have turned out to be very pragmatic.

South Africa is a country that works. Away from national media coverage, streets are being tarred, refuse collection being improved, schools being renovated and health clinics being built and upgraded. In April, government officials gathered in a rural village in the Northern Province to celebrate the millionth person to receive water under the government's program of bringing water to the people. More than a million homes have been supplied with electricity since the new government came into power. Two hundred thousand new homes are presently under construction and millions of children now benefit from the school nutrition program, free medical care and free and compulsory education. Many communities can now feel secure on a piece of land they call their own, with over 250 land distribution projects underway affecting over 57,000 households and 1.7 million hectares. Many families now benefit from the farmer support program and extension of agriculture credit. The national government, the Parliament and the Courts are functioning well. Provincial and local governments have been much slower in taking hold in some places than others, but many are starting to become delivery systems for needed services. It is important to

remember that the local government elections completed last year established a legitimate but interim foundation for local government. The final structure of the local government system will come out of a review process that will lead to legislation by the end of 1997.

With the presentation of the 1997 budget to Parliament earlier this year, the national government reached a new level of credibility. Even the most ardent critic of the ANC government admitted that the new budget was sound and the performance of the Finance Minister and his team impressive. This was a crowning moment in the marriage of legitimacy with credibility.

#### WORKING THROUGH POLITICAL PARTIES

One can not speak of governance without at least saying a word about the role of political parties. Until two weeks ago, the strategy of the National Party seemed to be both a strategy of "deepening" and "broadening" its support base. As explained to me by Roelf Meyer two weeks before he got the ax, the former, the growth and development path, sought to consolidate the NP's traditional white and colored constituencies. The latter, the "realignment path," was designed to reach out to groups and individuals across the political/color spectrum who may be looking for something new in 1999, with a view toward forming an alliance capable of challenging the ANC. After considerable exploration by Meyer and a realistic report to the party of the image difficulty of a political party still strongly associated with apartheid in the public mind, the voices of Roelf Meyer and his expansion-minded colleagues were silenced. Just before leaving Cape Town last week, I spoke to one of the members of the task force who told me that the National Party is now in disarray with its future uncertain.

The ANC is also undergoing transformation, but the changes are of a different type. The 1994 deployment of its members into three spheres of government, the public service, the security forces and the diplomatic corps, left many ANC branches in a depleted state. However, its structures are beginning to demonstrate vitality, and in some instances independence, again. New branches are being launched and internal conflicts which seemed at one time to be tearing the party apart are being more strategically managed and some of the wounds healing. After being overwhelmingly re-elected head of the ANC's Women's League, Winnie Mandela announced to cheering supporters that she was ANC for life. Bantu Holomisa, who was expelled from the ANC for bringing the party into disrepute, is another case, but while he is testing the waters for a new movement even he admits that the ANC is likely to be the dominant party for awhile. I believe, however, that one of the coming threats to party cohesion is the growing importance of provincial issues and interests. We will see more issue-based, ad hoc alliances as we are already seeing in Gauteng.

The IFP has undergone some face-lifting with a new Premier, who was a widely respected Minister in the national government, and new faces emerging in other areas of leadership. But the IFP is still Buthelezi's party and his emphasis on traditional leaders and traditional culture still defines the parameters of party appeal. Great gains have been made in collaborating with the ANC to reduce political violence and there is now talk of collaborating in other areas as well, particularly in meeting the needs of the poor. The Democratic Party and the PAC seems destined to attract far more media attention than followers.

#### ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT OF THE MAJORITY

What we have seen in South Africa in the political empowerment of the majority has

not been matched by economic empowerment. Unemployment, now estimated at between thirty-four and forty percent, continues to be one of the new government's most difficult challenges. One hundred seventy five companies are reported to have invested in South Africa last year, but very little of this was job-creating investment. In my view, the South African economy is in a period of consolidation prior to heading for increasing growth. The pundits estimate two- to four-percent growth in 1997 with the primary goal of the government's plan for Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) of six per cent growth by the year 2000. This clearly defines the challenge. But I side with the optimists when I look at the performance of the Mandela government since coming into office. After a decade in which falls in GDP were more frequent than rises, the Mandela era has brought both economic growth and single-digit inflation. The economy grew by 1.3% in 1993, 2.7% in 1994, 3.3% in 1995 and 3.1% in 1996.

The pessimists will point to a rand which has slipped to 4.44 to the dollar, prime interest rates nudging over 20 percent, low reserves at 12.5 billion rand, a low savings rate and public debt at 56 percent of GDP. And even the government admits that achieving the GEAR goal of 400,000 new jobs annually will be difficult, but, for 1997 at least, the sale of 30 percent of the parastatal Telkom to the SBC/Malaysian consortium is expected to provide 50,000 new jobs alone. It is useful to remind the pessimists, therefore, that all of these are the problems the GEAR is meant to address and South Africa has in three years already come a long way toward overcoming the legacy of apartheid of a closed, protected, stagnant, inefficient economy.

What about the much repeated goal of black empowerment, a concept that means different things to different people? Black empowerment is a major factor in government privatization strategies. The white apartheid government, for all its anti-socialist rhetoric, created a surprisingly socialist state. A startling 50 percent of South African assets were in state hands when the Mandela government took office. The apartheid state owned almost all of the electric company, the telephone company, the national airline, the arms industry, the railroads, busses, ports, hospitals and television stations. It drilled for gas, logged forests, mined some diamonds, grew mangoes and even ran water fun parks. The new leaders have made a commitment to privatization. They see it as a way of encouraging efficiency, lowering prices and attracting more foreign investors; but they want first to gain sufficient control to ensure that privatization contributes to the empowerment of the majority rather than simply increasing wealth concentration in the hands of the white minority. If done right, it is estimated that privatization could raise as much as 30 billion dollars for public purposes.

Another strategy for black empowerment is skills development. The Minister of Labor's Green Paper on skills development proposes a two percent payroll level to fund new training programs for workers. The recent World Productivity Report ranked South Africa 44th of 45 developing countries in terms of human resource development. This is one of the legacies of apartheid that will take some time to unravel.

Black empowerment has been greatly aided by decisions of the largest South African companies to unbundle. Anglo American which controlled sixty percent of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) ten years ago has reduced its share to 24%. The top five conglomerates that together controlled 85% of the JSE ten years ago have reduced their

share to 67%. The clear trend has been toward ownership by smaller, more tightly focused companies. There is a paradigm shift in ownership and distribution taking place that goes far beyond the emerging black elite. There is a new crop of blacks who describe themselves as the patriotic bourgeoisie. They contend that they have the interests of the country at heart and are not motivated exclusively by self-interest.

One of these is Cyril Ramaphosa who, after successfully chairing the efforts to develop a new constitution, decided to devote his considerable leadership skills to black empowerment. As Chairman of Johnnic, he and Finance Minister Trevor Manuel recently announced one of the most creative initiatives to ensure wide participation in economic empowerment. It seeks to make available nine million Johnnic shares to individual black investors and smaller groups not wealthy enough to participate in the original deal. The new installment scheme involves a downpayment of six rands a share, followed by another sixty rands in three years time, by which time, if something near present growth and value continue, the shares should be worth considerably more. This may set a precedent for some of the privatizations that lie ahead.

One way of analyzing success in black empowerment is to look at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange where black control of the JSE's market capitalization increased to almost 9% at the end of last month from less than 1% in 1994. Another way of determining success is to look at the fact that there are now seventeen black controlled companies with a market capitalization of more than twenty-seven billion rands.

#### RECONCILIATION, REPARATIONS AND REHABILITATION

Under the leadership of President Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Tutu, South Africa has taken reconciliation among former adversaries to a new level. Pundits debate whether the spirit of reconciliation in South Africa has its genesis in a form of African humanism known as ubuntu or whether, as some contend, it is simply a political strategy necessary for the progress of the new democracy. But what is not debatable is that after a slow and uncertain start, the formal process represented by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has flushed out more of the truth than seemed likely just a few months ago.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has received more than 8,000 applications for amnesty. The National Party has taken the position that terrorist forces threatened South Africa, that officials carried out lawful orders, and only renegade members, acting independently, committed abuses. While NP top leadership accepts moral responsibility for apartheid, their position is that they did nothing wrong. The ANC, on the other hand, has submitted a 139-page document to the Commission detailing the many individual acts for which its members are seeking amnesty.

The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, which led to the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, also requires the Commission to make recommendations to the president on the reparation and rehabilitation of victims. Much of the Commission's work has focused on amnesty applications, leaving them very little time to give attention to the reparations and rehabilitation mandate. The victims who have testified before the Commission have generally asked for very limited reparation, medical treatment, a tombstone, the restitution of land, etc. But there is a widespread recognition that white society benefited directly from the apartheid system that for

over forty years used exploitative and brutal means to limit black opportunity in order to extend white privilege. The extent of the brutality and violence revealed by the TRC has far exceeded what even the most ardent critic of apartheid had considered possible.

It now appears that wealthy South Africans may be asked to pay a once-only tax to help fund reparations for victims of gross human rights violations. The ANC advised the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on May 13 that those who prospered under the apartheid system should finance meaningful reparations for the victims of gross violations of human rights on both sides of the apartheid conflict. According to the ANC statement to the TRC, "it would be useful if the commissioners could apply their minds to considering the necessity and viability of ensuring that the Doctrine of Odious Debt is given recognition in mobilizing some of the resources that would help make the reparations more feasible." The Doctrine of Odious Debt was used by the ANC government as a rationale for forgiving South Africa's debt to Namibia. Fundamental to the concept are the old principles in Roman and Roman-Dutch law that the wrongdoer should not benefit from the wrongdoing.

#### QUALITY OF LIFE

Some whites in South Africa see the quality of life as deteriorating. The privileges they enjoyed by being the exclusive beneficiaries of apartheid are being threatened and in some areas curtailed. The black majority who were kept outside the mainstream economy by design are demanding a fair share of the economic pie. A recent report on focus group discussions conducted in South Africa found the mood of community leaders across race and party lines to be one of ambivalence. Some local community leaders are impatient and nervous about the future. At the same time, most blacks believe that they must be patient and that the country is moving in the right direction. This patience is not to be confused with disengagement or passivity. Rather, it is a realism rooted in the belief that changing four decades of apartheid will take more than three years. Those who have enjoyed the benefits of freedom; those who take access to water and electricity for granted; those whose children have long had good schools available; those who have had good health care when and where they needed it; and those who were safe in their suburban homes while criminals were permitted to prey, sometimes in collusion with the police, on township and squatter village residents at will, are more likely to use a different yardstick to measure the quality of life in the new South Africa.

Yet, there is one thing on which all South Africans agree. It is the common feeling that unless the crime rate is reduced the quality of life will be significantly impaired. There is an obsession with crime in some quarters, an obsession fed both by reality and a long period of isolation and psychological exile from the rest of the world. Many South Africans are convinced that the high level of crime they are experiencing is somehow unique to South Africa. The government has been greatly limited by the desire not to restrict newly granted liberties and by a police force beset with corruption, poorly trained and whose only major responsibility in the past was to support the maintenance of a police state. They know nothing about community policing and, in some instances, have no desire to learn. But none of this takes away from the fact that crime must be reduced and the government has a very limited window of opportunity in which to do it.

More is being done, however, than is commonly assumed. The government has an anti-crime strategy and a recent report indi-

cates that it is succeeding in some areas. Crime was down in nine categories in 1996, but every high profile bank robbery, rape or murder reminds leaders that more must be done.

The bottom line is that there is still much hope and high expectations in South Africa as it begins its fourth year of the new democracy. As a black leader in a small community that seems to have every reason for despair put it, "We are doing very well. You can actually see things like houses. Look at the electricity. Look at the clinics now. We must admit all races. So there are actually tangible, measurable changes." The majority population in South Africa continues to startle many by the genuineness of its approach to reconciliation and the vast reservoir of hope and goodwill that remains.

#### SPRINGFIELD BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUB CELEBRATES 80 YEARS

#### HON. RICHARD E. NEAL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1997

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize a leading civic organization in Massachusetts' Second Congressional District, the Springfield Business and Professional Women's Club. October 28, 1997, will mark the 80th anniversary of the club's founding. The club has a long history of contributing to Springfield through its civic participation, its sponsorship of speakers and events, as well as its scholarship.

In October 1917, 16 women with a common desire to improve the positions of women in the work force gathered at the local YWCA. They founded a club with the original objective to "blend together women in the professions and businesswomen so that the standard of working women could be raised." Two years later, delegates traveled to St. Louis to join several hundred other women in the founding of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. In its first decade, several Springfield members served as officers of the National Federation as well as traveling to Europe to help found the International Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. The first treasurer of the International Federation was Henrietta Harris of Springfield.

Throughout its history, the club has reached out to promote several charitable organizations. Through their Harris-Bullman Fund, they have been generous supporters of the Open Pantry, Camp Star-Camp Angelina, Grey House, and the Forest Park Zoological Society. Their Jessie M. Bourne—Winifred Daly Scholarship Fund provides nontraditional women students with a scholarship to either return to college or enroll for the first time. In addition, the club routinely collects good used work clothing to donate to women on welfare or who were in prison and are now seeking professional employment.

Beyond these endeavors, the club has championed the role of women in our political system by donating funds and volunteer hours to the Women's Vote Project. Through their continuing Springfield Forums the club has welcomed distinguished guests, such as Amelia Earhart, to speak on current events and their experiences.

On October 28, 1997, the club will celebrate its 80th anniversary. On this night, members will be joined by State officers of the Massachusetts Federation of Business and Professional Women, elected officials, and leaders of other women's organizations to highlight past accomplishments and the evolution of club activities. As an organization with a storied history, it is my hope that the club will use its past triumphs as a springboard for future successes. I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting the Springfield Business and Professional Women's Club on this milestone.

#### TRIBUTE TO DORIS AND KEN RUFENER

#### HON. BRAD SHERMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1997

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Doris and Ken Rufener for 29 years of outstanding community service and congratulate them as recipients of the Conejo/Las Virgenes Future Foundation Civitas Award. Their dedication to serving all of the citizens in our community is remarkable.

The Civitas Award is extremely prestigious because it is not given routinely or annually, but only when one has fulfilled specific criteria. The recipient must have exemplified true, unselfish, and outstanding citizenship, demonstrated the ability to motivate and inspire others, and made a singular and lasting impact in our community. All the while, he or she must have been involved in many aspects of community life, giving extensive service beyond employment, giving long-time, meaningful service to the community and serving as a role model for the residents of the Conejo/Las Virgenes region.

Doris and Ken have fulfilled the aforementioned criteria with overwhelming evidence. They have both served to defend our Nation in the U.S. Air Force. Ken has also served as a board member and president of the Military Order of World Wars. They have provided spiritual assistance to those in the community through their involvement in Westminster Presbyterian Church, particularly Doris's role as a deaconess. The Rufeners are involved in every aspect of community life from their neighborhood homeowners association, various men's and women's service clubs in the area, to athletic associations and assisting in providing mental and health care to indigent persons. Doris's involvement is highlighted by her role as a Governor's appointee to the advisory board at Camarillo State Hospital. This description merely scratches the surface of the Rufeners' record of service to the community; unfortunately the full extent of their dedication is too lengthy to discuss here today.

Doris and Ken also lead full everyday lives. Ken, after serving as mayor and council member of the city of Westlake Village, is currently a director representing division IV of the Las Virgenes Municipal Water District. Doris is concentrating her work at the Human Resources Center and the local mental hospital. They are also the loving parents of two children, David and Karen.

I believe that John F. Kennedy's criteria for determining success in community involvement exemplify the spirit of the Civitas Award