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NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

EVALUATION OF PROJECTS

BUILDING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A.I.D. GRANT No. 674-0306-G-00-6025-00

April 25, 1989

Rec'd AFR/POJ/SK
5-5-89
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NOT AN A.I.D. EVALUATION |

INTRODUCTION

This evaluation, prepared in accordance with Amendment 1 to A.I.D. Grant No. 676-0306-G-00-6025-00, discusses accomplishments and progress toward program objectives as well as problems in project implementation. The focus is on subgrants awarded in FY 1987; FY 1986 subgrants were discussed in detail in the interim evaluation submitted in September, 1987. Table 1 shows the subgrantees, subgrant amounts, and effective dates for FY 1986 and FY 1987 awards.

TABLE 1
Subgrants Awarded

	Eff Date	FY 86	Eff Date	FY 87
USSALEP		\$14,526		\$21,000
NBCU	11/86-5/88	25,038	1/87-4/89	32,000
Lamla	11/86-5/88	85,000	3/88-12/88	60,000
IDASA			9/87-12/88	90,910
Freedom House	11/86-7/89	7,000		
City Press		40,000		
Frontline		30,000		
CFPO/AALC				
Afro-Asian Inst. of the Histadrut			11/87-12/88	300,000

EVALUATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN PROJECTS

I. USSALEP GRANTS

A. IDASA

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The Endowment made a grant to IDASA to support a major conference on educational reforms in South Africa and the infrastructure needed to carry out IDASA's overall program of research, regional and local meetings and workshops on such issues as democracy, the church, youth, business and labor. By focusing attention on regional and national issues which require united efforts on an inter-racial basis, IDASA seeks to stimulate debate on democratic alternatives for South Africa.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The "Democracy in Education" conference, held May 20 - 22 in Grahamstown and attended by the Endowment's Africa program officer, demonstrated IDASA's ability to organize a successful event around a contentious issue. Approximately 120 educators, student leaders, and community activists from South Africa's diverse race, age, political, and social classes participated. Among the speakers were Andre Du Toit, head of the Department of Political Science of the University of Cape Town; John Samuels, director of the South African Council for Higher Education; Sefako Nyaka, reporter for the Weekly Mail and the New Nation; Franklin Sonn, head of the Cape Teachers Professional Association; and Curtis Nkondo of the National Education Crisis Committee. Conferees discussed fundamental educational issues in South Africa on panels such as "Democratic Initiatives in South African Education" and "How Democratic is the Current Education System?" Conference participants represented the range of South African opinion on education, from traditionalists to advocates of "peoples education." The spirit of debate was open and constructive throughout. The conference included four workshops, which resulted in the formulation of a commission to write working documents on democratic education. Participants expressed their enthusiasm for this rare opportunity to exchange new points of view, make new contacts, and share resources. The conference may have had an impact on subsequent meetings on education, such as the "Education for a Democratic South Africa" conference held by the CTPA the following month.

A second IDASA conference supported by the Endowment was held at the University of Natal in Durban November 4 and 5 with funds reprogrammed from savings on the education conference, which had

been scaled back from a national to a regional program. It was entitled "The Right to Speak." Speakers included Dr. Stuart Saunders, vice chancellor of the University of Cape Town; Frank Meintjies, communications officer of COSATU; Richard Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness; and Dr. J. Cochrane of the Department of Religious Studies of the University of Natal. The conference addressed topics such as "The Law and the Right to Speak," "The Press and the Right to Speak," and "Culture and Censorship." A panel entitled "The Right to Speak: A Democratic Framework," brought together Peter Gastrow, PFP MP representing the Indaba; Theo Coggin, deputy director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, offering a liberal perspective; and David Niddrie of The Other Press Service, commenting on the ANC's perspective. The conference received prominent coverage on five pages of IDASA's December newsletter, including a condensed version of the keynote speech.

The national office received Endowment support for the directors' secretary, and some communication and transportation costs.

PROGRAM ASSESSMENT

In its first two years, IDASA has grown into a professional and effective national program. IDASA now has a presence throughout South Africa. The Institute has gained international recognition for its work and receives almost daily attention in the South African press. It has managed to bring diverse segments of South African society together for constructive discussions and activities with the express purpose of moving them closer to a democratic resolution of the South African dilemma. Much of the credit for this success must go to the political acumen of Alex Boraine and Frederick Van zyl Slabbert, who have been able to avoid the imposition of government sanctions (such as proposed legislation that would have halted foreign funding, which seems to have been aimed at IDASA) while remaining on friendly terms with often highly factionalized black political groups. IDASA has also recruited some talented staff for its regional and national offices who are developing effective grassroots programs to promote dialogue.

Although IDASA's black leadership is not as numerous as the Endowment would like to see, NED is impressed by IDASA's credibility and effectiveness in the black community. IDASA does not claim that activities such as conferencing, educational meetings, press statements, and position papers somehow make it a mass grassroots movement. Yet it has still emerged as one of the most important political initiatives in South Africa. This

can be attributed to the basic cogency of the program, effective leadership, and the fact that it was the right idea at the right time: given the ferment in the black community and the reassessment of attitudes this caused among whites, especially Afrikaners, a forum was needed to bring the two together on equal footing to understand each other and begin working towards a democratic future. IDASA has become successful at raising funds, supplementing NED support with substantial contributions from other private foundations and European donors. This allows it to afford a reasonably large and professional national staff and a high level of activity. As well, IDASA benefits from Frederick Van zyl Slabbert's reputation as one of the most articulate and persuasive advocates of democracy in South Africa. Finally, with the exception of trade unions, most mass-based black organizations have been suppressed by the government; thus IDASA has become one of the few national or regional forums black community leaders still have. IDASA has preserved this role through consistent good-faith efforts to consult with and involve the black community. The Endowment remains proud of IDASA's success and our relationship with IDASA from its inception.

B. Lamla

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

Endowment assistance to Lamla, an interracial, inter-denominational conciliation and mediation group in the Western Cape, supported Lamla program activities, salaries, office rent, and general infrastructure. Lamla aims to "open entire communities up to participatory democracy, dialogue, and critical examination of ideology through a process of training in conflict management/conflict prevention, community dialogue and leadership training." Its grassroots program supports specific communities through workshops, counselling and group social therapy.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

During the past year, Lamla has continued to organize workshops on conflict management, provide technical assistance to community organizations and cooperatives, share resources, and participate in planning meetings with a wide range of organizations. Workshops have occurred at the rate of about three a month, lasting one or two days each, and each involving from 15 to 45 participants. The workshops provide community organizations such as cooperatives and consumer groups with

training in management skills, planning, human relations, role clarification, conflict resolution, communication, and leadership development.

Lamla has developed resource materials for groups participating in these workshops, including two handbooks, and provides groups with access to a library, meeting space and office equipment. With its recently acquired video equipment, Lamla produced a video for the Border Council of Churches describing their Community Resource Programme. The newly renovated Lamla offices in a house in Mowbray provide ample space and facilities for meetings and other activities.

In one of its efforts to strengthen community organizations, Lamla assisted the Brown's Farm squatter community by helping them organize an effective resident's committee and intervening with local government authorities for better sanitation and social services. Lamla facilitated organization of two meetings of 50 community leaders with the Legal Resources Centre, an informational meeting for the Brown's Farm community, and meetings with government representatives.

Another activity indicative of Lamla's catalytic role in building consumer cooperatives in the Cape was a series of workshops co-sponsored by Lamla at St. Francis Centre November 18 - 20, 1988, and attended by about 100 representatives of co-ops, unions, and service organizations. Lamla staff led several key workshops, including "The Role and Function of Co-ops," "Problems Experienced by Co-ops," and "Solutions to Some of the Problems Identified." Other organizations involved were the Unemployed Workers Movement, the Montagu Skrynerkers, Black Sash, World Vision, Khanya College, about 12 local co-ops, and 8 other service organizations. The report on the workshops demonstrated considerable substance to the program and a serious follow-up effort.

As a result of its networking, Lamla provided leadership skills training at a Cape Teachers Professional Association Regional Representative Teachers Workshop. In the East Cape, Lamla helped the Unemployed Workers Union structure a "resource mobilization program" of workshops and leadership training to help its members in morale building, career planning, skills marketing, workers rights, and job conduct.

Lamla sponsored a "cultural awareness programme" at a white school to expose the students to various social issues. A counterpart program enabled 100 township youth to attend a production at the Nico Malan Theater in Cape Town. Lamla holds

monthly meetings for members of all of its projects and the general public. The Endowment's program officer attended one of these meetings in May, 1988, which included some 40 township residents and Lamla staff.

PROGRAM ASSESSMENT

Over the course of the two years that the Endowment has supported Lamla, we have been satisfied with the growth the organization seems to have enjoyed. Lamla is undoubtedly contributing to the empowerment of black community organizations and is occasionally engaged in the difficult work of mediating conflicts in the Cape. Several contacts in the Cape praised Lamla's activities. A Black Sash worker in Port Elizabeth reported that Lamla had successfully mediated disputes among certain youth groups there. A respected liberal Afrikaner academic at the University of Cape Town who had been involved in the early stages of Lamla's development still strongly supported it as a worthwhile initiative. The president of the Cape Teachers Professional Association said Lamla was gaining a good reputation in the area and had provided valuable training to CTPA staff. He said that Lamla works more at the grassroots level than many South African organizations and is just the kind of group that most needs NED support.

In providing support to Lamla, the Endowment hoped both to enable the organization to continue to respond to the evolving needs of communities in crisis throughout the Cape region and to help strengthen the infrastructure and operation of Lamla. In fact, the organization has matured notably since the outset of the Endowment's first grant when Lamla's activities were somewhat more sporadic and ad hoc and it was unable to adhere to a long-term strategy. At first, Lamla had difficulty capitalizing fully from the body of experience and the work product that was emerging out of its diverse activities and community networks. But over the last two years, Lamla has succeeded in introducing greater structure into its operations and greater clarity into its planning process. In light of this progress, the Endowment would like to provide another year or partial year of funding to Lamla in order to allow the organization some time to pursue new sources of funding. The Endowment would strongly support direct AID funding in the future as Lamla would greatly benefit from an in-country point of contact which has the extensive ties and experience with many similar groups throughout the country. The Endowment's support to Lamla over the past two years was well invested. Lamla's new headquarters and facilities will be a resource the organization can rely on for many years to come.

The expansion of activity and networking the NED grant permitted have elevated Lamla's profile nationally. The staff have gained experience. The organizations assisted by Lamla will continue to profit from the training they received. The benefit to their communities should be enduring.

C. National Black Consumers Unions

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

Endowment assistance to the National Black Consumers Union (NBCU) was to support staff salaries, rent, travel, and other infrastructural expenses that would allow the organization to continue its activity. The NBCU program included cooperative training programs, consumer advocacy, membership recruitment, and establishment of new affiliates, .

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

According to NBCU's reports of the last year, the organization has continued its activity to establish the Sechaba Sizwe Cooperative. The Cooperative has not made as much progress as had been hoped, but a vegetable bulk-buying project and a second-hand clothing project have been launched. David Thompson, an American expert on cooperatives, visited South Africa in March, 1988, to consult with the NBCU. He met more than 20 groups during his tour and advised the NBCU to start small and promote self-sufficiency.

In its ongoing consumer advocacy efforts, NBCU delegates met with the Director General of the Department of Agriculture and Economics to protest the increase proposed in the price of bread. These efforts contributed to a scaling back of the price hike. The NBCU is investigating the distribution and pricing of red meat and trying to educate consumers to eat less of it. Continuing its fight against skin lighteners, the NBCU met with the Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr. Willie Van Niekerk, to protest the delay in removing skin lighteners from the market.

NBCU has also been engaged in the creation of a new business organization, the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services (FABCOS). NBCU hopes that FABCOS will broaden its membership base and provide additional resources. The FABCOS initiative has received a great deal of press attention. NBCU also participated in the NAFCOC Industrial Conference in Tzaneen, held its 5th annual general meeting to elect new

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officers, and has been circulating the report published this year with a separate grant on "Urban Black Perceptions of Socio-Economic Needs." Two new members have joined NBCU, the Christian Women's Enrichment Programme and the Orlando West Community Association.

PROGRAM ASSESSMENT

NBCU has been very successful at promoting a clear image of itself and developing ambitious, structured programs. Yet the amount of activity and the organization's accomplishments have so far been relatively small. NBCU's cooperative program has yet to take off, the organization has little outreach beyond the Transvaal, and the consumer advocacy efforts have not been notably consistent.

Several explanations account for this. First, NBCU's level of funding has been just enough to keep the office open, but not enough to allow it to engage in a great deal of community outreach. Eldridge Mathebula, NBCU's director, understands that NBCU needs to broaden its funding base. He would like the NBCU to become entirely self-sufficient, but expresses frustration at the unwillingness of its membership to invest in the organization. Members seem to want an immediate pay-off for their R25 membership fee, not understanding the long-term need for a consumer organization. Private businesses have made some contributions to the NBCU, but not on the scale necessary to sustain its programs.

After spending two weeks with the NBCU, David Thompson seems to have been impressed by its potential, but echoed the need NBCU has expressed for a larger capital base to get its program started. He felt NBCU has also been hampered by the South African government's restrictive licensing regulations. Thompson noted NBCU's apparent organizational capabilities, the wide range of South African society represented by its board, and its pragmatic strategy. He confirmed NED's impression of Eldridge Mathebula as a businesslike, committed, articulate, and personable director of the NBCU. He also supported NBCU's cooperation with FABCOS as a means to broaden its base at a low financial cost. He felt NBCU's consumer advocacy efforts have made it an organization the white business community now recognizes. Thus, despite the apparent lack of progress, Thompson remains interested in helping the NBCU in anyway he can.

Second, it may be that NBCU made a mistake in placing as much emphasis as it has on consumer cooperatives. Although cooperatives have recently become a popular cause in South Africa, and despite the conclusions reached in the National Institute for Personnel Research report commissioned by the NBCU, cooperatives have yet to be notably successful in South Africa and the NBCU's efforts to create one may have distracted the organization from its consumer advocacy, which should have been NBCU's bread-and-butter. Nonetheless, the NBCU's rationale for making the attempt was certainly persuasive, but it remains to be seen whether NBCU will try this course again.

Finally, NBCU may have been overly distracted by extra-organizational politics rather than servicing its members. This problem is compounded, paradoxically, by the obvious leadership talent of NBCU. Eldridge Mathebula and Ellen Kuzwayo are both articulate, dynamic, and enormously energetic individuals. But once the NBCU program began to slow down, the temptation to turn their energy to establishing FABCOS, which does indeed hold promise, must have been detrimental to the needs of NBCU. FABCOS's benefit to NBCU has yet to be demonstrated.

NBCU is resolved to continue its efforts and remains a program worthy of support. The need for such a group is clear; the NBCU has experience and talent and seems to have maintained a good reputation. Its relationship with FABCOS may well give it a new lease on life. As David Thompson asserted, NED's "investment in the NBCU is an excellent one. I'd be very proud if I were you to be associated with the group."

II. FREEDOM HOUSE GRANTS

A. Frontline Magazine

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The FY 1986 Freedom House subgrant to Frontline magazine has been slow to bear fruit, but seems to have been put to good purpose. The grant had originally been intended to support a magazine supplement with articles on democracy. Largely due to the excessive scrupulousness of Frontline's editor, Denis Beckett, very few articles of the sort proposed were published. Mr. Beckett felt obliged to maintain a high standard of discussion about democracy in the articles for the series, but was discouraged from proceeding by the readership's negative reactions to his theoretical musings. Despite the failure of

the supplement, Frontline itself continues to offer refreshingly independent coverage of South African politics, suffused with commitment to a just and democratic South Africa.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

In this context, the Endowment completed negotiations to reprogram the grant in August 1988, allowing Frontline to hire a managing editor, purchase computers, and move to new premises. Early in October, Frontline set up shop in new offices in Mayfair, which are much more spacious than those formerly occupied in Braamfontein, but cost about the same. Beckett was very happy about the move and what he termed Frontline's "second phase." With Frontline firmly established after 10 years and 75 issues, Beckett committed his efforts toward increasing the magazine's focus on investigative writing and stimulating the examination of new avenues toward democracy.

The reprogramming allowed Frontline to hire Howard Dalton, the former owner of a book publishing company, as managing editor. His job was to make Frontline financially successful. His immediate goals were to regularize the monthly appearance of Frontline, increase advertising by soliciting more consumer ads rather than socially conscious corporate ads (a sales pitch has been developed around the 75th anniversary issue), increase distribution from the current base of 10,000 hard-core subscribers, and keep tighter control over expenditures. Mr. Dalton's presence was to allow Denis Beckett to write more for the publication. The reprogramming also supported the purchase of new computers which have served to boost production efficiency and should result in reduced costs.

Unfortunately, Mr. Dalton left Frontline after only a few months. The Endowment has subsequently received conflicting reports regarding the magazine's future. Mr. Beckett first announced that the magazine would only publish five more issues and would then go out of business. A flurry of meetings with donors interested in salvaging or buying Frontline ensued. It is not clear whether these will enable the magazine to survive. The NED grant has been amended yet again, transferring funding remaining from Mr. Dalton's position to other production costs.

PROGRAM ASSESSMENT

Frontline's first two reports for the reprogrammed grant have been submitted. The Endowment was impressed by the improvement in the quality of Frontline's writing and editing, and by the wide range of democratic themes of its content. Currently,

Frontline's circulation is more than 10,000; its influential readership is thinly-spread across all sections of South African society and is estimated to be 40 percent black. From this base, Frontline is serving as a unique and effective forum for a discussion of democracy.

The Endowment's support of Frontline is not essentially motivated by a desire to defend freedom of the press in South Africa, although Frontline does provide an alternative point of view, which strengthens freedom of the press. Rather, the Endowment's support was provided to encourage a discussion of alternatives for a future democratic South Africa. A strong case has been made to the Endowment that such a forum has been sorely lacking in South Africa, that it could serve a vital purpose in stimulating discussion and dialogue, and that Frontline is uniquely suited to serve as such a forum.

Frontline originally requested a grant for a seven-page "democratization" section of the magazine which would serve as a forum for democratic debate. It was proposed that "this arrangement would allow Frontline to provide a forum for democratic debate without jeopardizing the entire magazine which would lose most of its advertising support if advertisements were to be placed among articles generating debate on democratic alternatives." Such a segregated format proved to be impracticable, but the reprogramming accomplishes the same purpose in an undifferentiated format.

Frontline describes itself as "a forum and a focus for independent investigative journalism, where South African issues are explored with depth and objectivity. The aim is to plumb the concerns of opposing factions, not to hold them up to ridicule." The Endowment has confirmed this assertion by monthly examination of Frontline's content; thus, the Endowment has taken the view that, in effect, the entire magazine serves as a forum for democratic debate and a supplement is unnecessary. The Endowment has never endorsed or prescribed a particular point of view espoused by Frontline. Rather, NED support for the publication was intended to enhance Frontline's effectiveness as a forum for discussion of democracy.

B. City Press

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

City Press completed the terms of its FY 1986 subgrant from Freedom House to run a series on democracy in its biweekly "Prospects" supplement. The Endowment obtained copies of most of the series, which included articles by Raymond Louw and Denis Beckett, interviews with academics, excerpts from the U.S. Constitution, descriptions of the democratic experience of other countries, and letters from readers.

City Press has the largest circulation among blacks of any paper in South Africa. Despite its Afrikaner owners, Nasionale Pers, the paper has been viewed as independent and a vigorous advocate of black interests. In terms of credibility, the risk due to ownership by Nasionale Pers was construed as a virtue since, it was argued, the project would not only stimulate the debate about democracy among blacks, but also within the Afrikaner elite, which owns the paper. Furthermore, the credentials of the editor of City Press, Percy Qoboza; the proposal's chief architect, Raymond Louw; and other principles involved such as Dennis Beckett and Keith Lister, seemed reassuring. But Percy Qoboza met an untimely death and the three others involved in the project resigned, one by one.

A proposal for second-year funding was submitted in FY 1987 by Keith Lister for a political leadership forum and journalists' training conference. Although approved for funding by the Endowment's Board and AID, the grant was never awarded because Keith Lister resigned from the newspaper and it was determined that City Press would no longer be capable of carrying out the program. NED is currently considering alternative proposals for a similar program, but has yet to receive one that is clearly satisfactory.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The Endowment was reasonably satisfied with the content of the supplement in the beginning. The final quarter's supplements strayed the furthest from the original proposal, focusing on business opportunities for blacks, but implying little about how this contributes to democratization. NED found it difficult to disallow these articles, however, since most of the originators of the proposal were no longer associated with it, the Endowment has no desire to dictate the editorial content of such programs, and broadly interpreted, the articles did conform to the guidelines of the grant proposal.

Vic Colbeck and Dion Smit, who have taken over responsibility for the last \$4,000 of the NED grant, made an exhaustive case for why this should be applied to a proposed education supplement in City Press. Although it shies away from the more political historical issues that Ford-funded SACHED tackles, the reading, math, and science curriculum had been developed over 20 months to be as meaningful as possible both to young students and adults. NED will get a little blurb of credit in each issue of the series, which will continue through 1989. Colbeck says the education supplement is much more popular than the "Prospects" program. The black staff were unhappy with "Prospects", which they considered irrelevant.

PROGRAM ASSESSMENT

The City Press "Prospects" project, although thoughtfully conceived and nearly completed, floundered following the initial phase of its life, the victim of various accidents, personality clashes, and, most fundamentally, a lack of commitment to and understanding of the original purpose of the grant on the part of those who finally took charge of it. Thus, although the idea of a forum for democratic debate in City Press has at least been tested, its success was limited, at best. The long-term objective of developing a democratic rapport with both the broadest possible segment of the black community and the Afrikaner ownership did not materialize. Frontline, by contrast, has consistently sought to address issues of democracy regardless of NED support; City Press has seemed to avoid a sustained focus on such issues.

III. FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE/CENTER FOR FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS

The Center for Foreign Policy Options (CFPO) received an Endowment grant of \$300,000 to support the a program of the Afro-Asian Institute of the Israeli labor movement, Histadrut, to train black South African community leaders. The program is administered in cooperation with the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center and the Free Trade Union Institute. Chronic reporting difficulties seem to have been resolved. A NED/AALC audit of the CFPO should help strengthen some of the administrative problems between AALC and the CFPO.

A. Histadrut

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

NED support was provided to enable three groups, averaging twenty South African blacks each, to travel to Israel for the month-long training program in community development designed by the Afro-Asian Institute of Histadrut.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

For each of the three courses carried out during the past year and a half, participants were recruited from a cross-section of black community organizations -- trade unions, women's and youth groups, church organizations, educational institutions, and social welfare agencies. For each group, Histadrut's various institutions -- such as the kibbutzim, the trade unions, the health insurance system, the youth and women's movements, and self-help projects -- were presented as case studies in community development and examined in detail on field trips. The discussions which followed were organized in small groups to allow greater participation. At the end of the course, participants designed their own projects for possible implementation in South Africa.

A course held in April and May, 1988, was observed by the Endowment's program officer and attended by nine trade unionists and eight community activists from South Africa. The last course, held November 20 - December 15, 1988, was hurt by delays experienced by the program organizer in obtaining a visa from the South African government, permitting only a week to recruit the entire group of South African participants. Nevertheless, a delegation of ten men and fourteen women was assembled, representing nine different organizations, one of which was a trade union. Histadrut has also been able to conduct training seminars within South Africa. In January, 58 participated in a Histadrut seminar held at Soweto's Funda Centre for eleven days and in Cape Town for two days.

PROGRAM ASSESSMENT

The training courses conducted by AAI are providing significant black South African community leaders with useful skills and knowledge, contributing to the strengthening of democratic institutions and ideas in South Africa, and building ties between black South Africans and the Histadrut labor federation. The participants were key representatives of a wide range of black South African labor and community organizations. After completion of the course, participants acknowledged its

applicability to their work in South Africa and expressed a determination to become more active and effective in their organizations upon their return. Many seemed to be especially impressed with Histadrut's cooperative enterprises, such as the kibbutzim. They also cited the labor organization training as particularly valuable.

Although the program entails limited technical training, its emphasis is on a conceptual approach to organizing. The entire course is intensive, sometimes consisting of ten hours of lectures, group discussions, and workshops in a single day. The Israelis believe that the most important product of the course is the ongoing interaction between Histadrut and the South Africans, including personal and institutional relations. They feel the course must do a better job of reaching the full ideological and geographical range of South African community organizations and would like to have a greater presence within South Africa, possibly by opening an office and conducting a course in-country.