



Letters

Dear Friends:

One always feels apprehensive in writing a publication one admires only when severe criticism arises. But the alternative of looking the other way is even more ghastly to contemplate. I refer to the editorial in your March 1983 issue ["The Gospel According to CBS"] that correctly raked CBS and "60 Minutes" over the coals for their unseemly attack

on the World Council of Churches' Program to Combat Racism.

But why no mention in that same editorial of their vicious red-baiting of the path-breaking October 1981 Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa held at New York's Riverside Church? Or do you accept the absurd notion that this mass upsurge of anti-apartheid, anti-imperialist sentiment was all a devious and manipulative effort manufactured by the Communist Party, USA? Your silence on this question was deafening.

It would be ironic indeed if US

supporters of southern African liberation movements were implicitly or explicitly accepting the idea that the anti-apartheid movement here was a "CP front." It would be a mirror image of Pretoria's view that the African National Congress of South Africa is manipulated and directed by the South African Communist Party and Josip Broz Tito. I trust that you will speak on this matter in the near future and vigorously protest "60 Minutes" red-baiting.

Solidarity
Dr. Gerald Holtz

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PAC Trial Opens

On March 22, the trial of nine Black South African activists accused of "furthering the aims" of the exiled Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, began in Johannesburg. The trial marks the first major court case involving the PAC since 1979, when the "Bethal eighteen" Black activists were convicted of forming a PAC front organization inside South Africa.

Those on trial this March include a banned journalist and founding member of the Union of Black Journalists, Joseph Thlole, the secretary of the Black Municipal Workers Union, Philip Dlamini, and the entire leadership of the Azanian Youth Unity Organization (AZANYU). The AZANYU defendants—Chairman Harrison Nongqokele, General Secretary Sipho Ngcobo, Branch Chairman Mfana Mtshali, and President Nhlanganigo Sibanda—were arrested in May 1982 and detained on unspecified charges. Also on trial are Shadrack Rampete, husband of AZANYU Treasurer Bafedile Rampete, and two other Black community leaders, Veli Mguni and Steven Mzolo.

All nine are charged with furthering the aims of the PAC by procurement of arms, recruitment of people, and mobilizing support within trade union and community organizations.

Asked about the trial and its significance for the struggle in South Africa, PAC Assistant to the Representative to the United Nations, Kindo Makhandu, placed the trial in the context of the PAC's long history of struggle inside the country, from the Sharpeville demonstrations in 1960 to the Soweto

uprisings in 1976. "The South African government is trying to remove the leadership of the people in order to suppress the revolutionary tempo of the country," said Makhandu. "For instance, they cannot legally arrest someone for leading a union, so they arrest them for 'reviving the PAC.'"

Makhandu also pointed out that the trial began March 22, just one day after the 23rd anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, when 67 unarmed demonstrators, led by the PAC, were gunned down for protesting South Africa's pass laws.

Union Leader Tortured

In early March the South African police detained a number of Black labor leaders in another crackdown on South Africa's independent Black trade union movement. According to the New York-based American Committee on Africa, those detained include the president of the South African Allied Workers Union, Thozamile Gqweta, SAAWU Vice President Sisa Njikelna, and Jef Nabena, also a member of SAAWU. SAAWU members Bungwizi Sufing, Humphrey Mafegwana, as well as Sidney Mafanude, a member of the General and Allied Workers Union, were also detained recently.

Most of the labor leaders have been detained before, and for Gqweta this is the eighth time since 1980 that he has been picked up. In late March Gqweta submitted detailed testimony of the torture he has been subjected to while in custody. In one incident he was stripped naked, handcuffed and suspended from window bars. A wet bag was then put over his head and electric shock applied to his toes. After his testimony before a South African court, Gqweta was returned to police custody.

The American Committee on Africa has put out a call requesting that letters of protest be sent to the South African Prime Minister P.W.

Botha, Union Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa. Letters of solidarity should go to SAAWU, 94 Tasman Center, 122 Victoria Street, Durban, 40001, South Africa.

Frontline Leader Meets Reagan

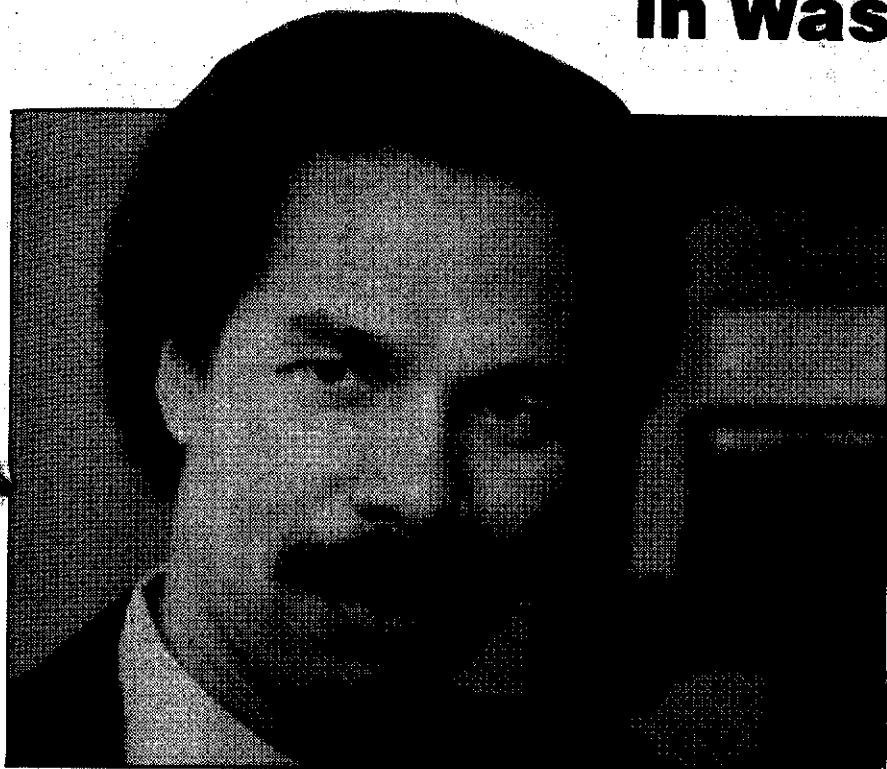
Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda met for two hours in Washington with President Ronald Reagan on March 30. Kaunda, a strong critic of Reagan's "constructive engagement" policy towards South Africa, and of Washington's handling of the Namibia negotiations, was at pains to find points of agreement with the president, saying the two, "share an abhorrence of the apartheid system," and that Namibia "is a serious problem."

But Kaunda's visit, the first by a leader of an African "frontline state" since Reagan's inauguration, seemed more motivated by economics than politics. Zambia is seeking US support for a rescheduling of its \$3 billion foreign debt, and according to some reports, for a new \$200 million loan from the International Monetary Fund.

Although Washington has been critical of Kaunda's purchases of arms from the Soviet Union, he is also viewed as moderate, and pro-Western, and a state department source suggested the US would back additional IMF loans to the hard-pressed central African state.



TransAfrica: Africa's Ally in Washington



TransAfrica Director Randall Robinson.

by Greg Beals

Persuading the American Congress to side with Black Africa in political and economic matters is just about the last job most people would choose. Yet for the last seven years the dedicated staff at TransAfrica, the Black American lobby for Africa and the Caribbean, has been doing just that. But lobbying without a big budget, or extra cash to buy votes, is much more than buttonholing members of Congress and working the three-martini lunch circuit.

Greg Beals majored in African studies and political science at Wesleyan University. He studied political economy in Ghana in 1980 before returning to the US as a foreign affairs intern for the Congressional Black Caucus. He now lives in New York.

"The whole object of TransAfrica is to build a constituency large enough and effective enough and efficient enough to be able to reward and penalize members of Congress who are unresponsive," explains TransAfrica Executive Director Randall Robinson. The result of this type of pragmatic analysis is that Robinson spends at least half his time mobilizing people around the country, and building up TransAfrica's network of local chapters. Indeed, although it can't compare in financial resources with the high-budget corporate lobbies, TransAfrica today is an impressive organization, with twelve chapters across the US, over 10,000 individual members, and an annual budget in excess of \$400,000.

Black American Vehicle

TransAfrica was formed in 1977 following a two-day gathering of

130 national Black leaders initially convened by Charles Diggs, then the chairman of the House Africa subcommittee, and by Andrew Young, at the time a Congressman from Atlanta. The leaders at that conference were concerned about the direction of US policy towards white minority-ruled Rhodesia, and they felt that Black Americans needed a permanent vehicle through which they could express their views on American foreign policy towards Africa and the Caribbean. Out of that conference came a resolution establishing TransAfrica.

The lobby's initial focus was US policy towards Rhodesia, and the organization worked hard to keep then-President Jimmy Carter from lifting sanctions against the rebel white government. (For a description of TransAfrica's first three years see "Advocates for Africa on Capitol Hill," *Southern Africa*, January 1980.)

In the past two years, the organization has been deeply involved in some key Congressional struggles—the fight to retain the Clark Amendment's ban on covert support for anti-government rebels in Angola and lobbying in support of legislation prohibiting US corporate investment in South Africa among them. But TransAfrica's focus isn't limited to southern Africa, the organization has also sponsored forums and lobbied for greater assistance to refugees in North Africa, worked to support POLISARIO freedom fighters in the Western Sahara, and lobbied for US recognition of President Fidel Castro's government in Cuba.

South Africa/Namibia Key Issue

"But the key issue," Robinson is quick to point out, "has been the

Marvin Jones

South Africa/Namibia issue. And we have spent a good deal of time testifying on that issue, generating letter writing campaigns, and meeting with members of the administration and with Congress on these questions." The focus of all this activity is the Reagan administration's "constructive engagement" policy that advocates closer relations with Pretoria. TransAfrica has worked to fight and expose US collaboration with apartheid in a number of areas.

The big issues last year, according to Robinson, included exposing the shipment last August of 2500 electric "shock batons" to South Africa. The device, which delivers a powerful 3500-volt shock, has been singled out as an ideal crowd control or torture instrument. TransAfrica was also the first anti-apartheid group to learn that South Africa was about to apply for a large loan from the International Monetary Fund, and the organization worked hard, although unsuccessfully, to stop US government support for the loan.

Working on behalf of African liberation with a man in the White House who views apartheid's rulers as "our old friends," can be discouraging, but Robinson seems undaunted. While pointing out that a lot of time is spent trying to control the damage caused by the Reagan administration, he also noted some impressive victories in which TransAfrica has played a significant role.

Last year the Commerce Department received an application from a company wanting to export an isotatic press to South Africa. These presses can be put to a number of uses, among them the development of nuclear weapons. When word of the pending application leaked out, anti-apartheid groups around the country swung into gear. TransAfrica for its part organized a delegation of national leaders, both Black and white, to meet with Commerce Department officials to discuss the application. The alarm was sounded through the organization's national alert system and all twelve chapters across the country were mobilized to

generate letters and phone calls to the Commerce Department, the Congress, and the White House opposing the export application. Finally, TransAfrica—along with other anti-apartheid and anti-nuclear groups, worked with sympathetic members of Congress, enlisting them to help persuade their more reluctant fellow legislators. And as of early 1983, the shipment of isotatic presses has been blocked—an indication that even with a hostile administration this type of lobbying campaign can be effective.

Just how effective depends on their ability to wield real political clout. "You have to let people know that there's a political consequence in it," Robinson explained. "If one depends on sheer weight of moral force, in most cases you are not going to do very well. You have to be able to demonstrate that this is an issue that a member of Congress can't afford to ignore.

And one of the prime weapons that TransAfrica tries to mobilize for the Congressional wars is Black Americans. "Our prime constituents are Black Americans," says Robinson. "Black Americans comprise at least ten percent of some 150 congressional districts," Robinson points out, "and in many districts throughout the southeast in the high thirties and forties." As Robinson sees it, there is a tremendous potential there for having a major impact on US policy.

Education Key

The key to organizing this potential, Robinson believes, is raising popular awareness of the issues. Again and again Robinson emphasized the importance of educating the general public. "You can't effectively lobby, nor can you effectively mobilize your people to lobby, until and unless you have an effective educational campaign," he said.

In 1981 a new organization, TransAfrica Forum, was created to do the work of educating the general public about African and Caribbean affairs. This education process takes place on a number of levels. TransAfrica and TransAfrica Forum provide information to legis-

lators, national civic and religious leaders, local political leaders, and grassroots activists.

For instance, in speaking about the cultural boycott Robinson pointed out that, "no doubt a lot of people are going to perform in South Africa without any information about the implications of going." And getting that information out is a key aspect of TransAfrica's work. To do this the Forum publishes a monthly newsletter that has featured, in the past few months, interviews with the likes of SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma and former US Ambassador to the United Nations Donald McHenry. The Forum also publishes a quarterly journal and researches a number of other key issues affecting Africa and the Caribbean.

In addition to the Forum's publications, TransAfrica publishes a quarterly update, *TransAfrica News Report*, and periodic action alerts to members around the country. And it is these two publications that form the backbone of TransAfrica's communications with members around the country. Whenever a piece of legislation in Congress requires special attention, TransAfrica mails out action alerts to its constituencies. In addition, local chapters are contacted to organize a national response.

The TransAfrica chapters also hold special events of both an educational and a fundraising nature. For instance the Boston chapter hosted a dinner for Black former US ambassadors—the first time Black US ambassadors had ever been called together. The event attracted 1,300 people. The Boston chapter also played an important role in organizing support for a state divestment bill that became law early this year.

National Role

Robinson is careful, however, not to limit TransAfrica's audience just to Black Americans. "In a broad way we have a broader constituency, in that we believe very strongly in the value of coalitions," he said. "Of course we work with the American Committee on Africa [ACOA], the Washington Office of

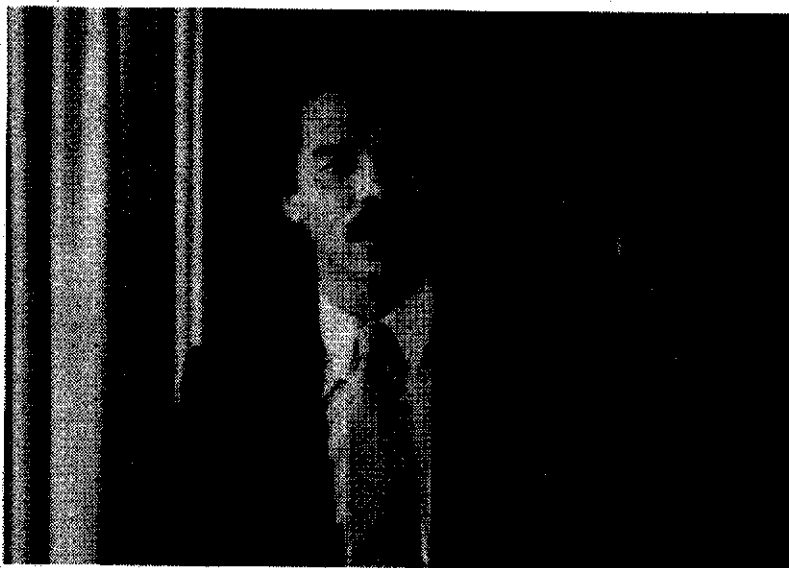
Africa, the United Auto Workers, the various church groups, for instance."

The national anti-apartheid organizations, says Robinson, coordinate in a number of ways. As examples he points to the Southern Africa Working Group in Washington, made up of twenty national organizations with offices in the capital area, and to the Campaign Against Investments in South Africa, a national coalition pressing state and local governments to divest public monies from corporations involved in South Africa.

"I don't see any difference of view among national organizations," says Robinson, "only a difference of function." For instance, he notes that "ACOA is a very, very important research institution." And the Washington Office on Africa, for its part, is an organization that works closely with the national church apparatus.

"TransAfrica's role, or a piece of it," the veteran Black leader explains, "is to mobilize the Black audience. To bring it together with the constituency mobilized by the Washington Office on Africa and provoked to think and to learn by ACOA." In addition to explicitly anti-apartheid groups, there are church and labor organizations that have focused on the issue of southern Africa. "All of these church organizations, labor organizations, and Africa organizations have sometimes overlapping, but for the most part different constituencies," he said.

Turning to the future, Robinson begins by assessing the recent past. "Without a Democratic president we have very little capacity to initiate anything. But we still have a capacity to block certain actions that are taken," he said. Robinson credits the Carter administration for pursuing sanctions against Rhodesia in the face of strong pressure from conservatives. "One might even go on further to speculate that had those sanctions been lifted the conference in London might never been held and the war might have gone on a good bit longer, because clearly Ian Smith and



Muzorewa would have been encouraged by the lifting of sanctions." Robinson also believes Carter deserves credit for taking some initiative on Namibia. "The main problem with the Carter administration is that it didn't have the character of conviction to go the last mile, and to that extent all of the previous Democratic administrations have not looked terribly different in character from the Republican administrations—only in degree, not in kind," he said.

For the immediate future, under Ronald Reagan, Robinson sees actions such as the successful battle to retain the Clark amendment as key. "When it comes down to the tough issues of how the US should respond to South Africa when it becomes very publicly and very clearly known that the South Africans aren't going to allow UN supervised elections in Namibia, we've got a long way to go in getting this Congress—any more than any previous Congress—to take tough action, and to urge the administration to take tough action."

But, he says, "we've got to push for some clear measures against South Africa. And that is going to be a big issue."

"I'd encourage activists generally across the country to begin to raise the issue of South Africa for public notice," said Robinson. "Raise the issue of entertainers going to South

Africa, raise the issue of newspapers carrying false and misleading ads paid for by South Africa that give wrongful impressions to the public about what is going on there."

Robinson also urges local activists to raise the issue of US corporations involved in South Africa and oppose the sale of South African gold coins, Krugerrands, in the United States. And he stressed the need for greater grassroots pressure.

"This thing can't be built from top down alone," he explained. "We can't persuade the Congress that this is an important issue to deal with unless at the same time there is vigorous local activity on Krugerrand questions, where your public pension monies are, and where your state monies are. All of these things have to be raised because the South African connection with the United States goes far beyond the positions of the Reagan administration and the investments of multinational companies."

"When the issue is raised like that and becomes one of broad concern, then I think we will get a better response on the national level. Those people who manage national policy will know then that this concern about South Africa is more pervasive than they ever thought it was." □

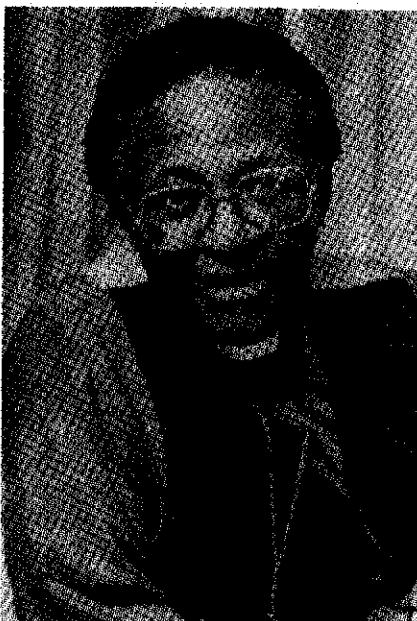
South African Churches Under Attack

In an effort to stifle domestic church opposition to apartheid, the South African government has, for the past year, launched a major effort to discredit Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu and the ecumenical social welfare and evangelical organization he heads. As part of that campaign, the head of the South African Security Police, Lieutenant General Johan Coetzee, recently told a government commission that the South African Council of Churches should be barred from receiving any funds from foreign sources. As some 96 percent of the council's annual budget, which topped \$4 million last year, is officially estimated to come from foreign churches, Coetzee's recommendation would effectively destroy the church agency.

Echoing allegations frequently made by government members, Coetzee also alleged that the South African Council of Churches, under General Secretary Tutu, has been guilty of "advancing the cause" of the banned African National Congress, a major liberation organization in South Africa.

Coetzee's changes came during testimony before the Eloff Commission, an all white, five-member government-appointed body headed by a South African judge, C. A. Eloff. Ostensibly set up in 1982 to investigate SACC's finances, the appointment of the Commission followed years of increasing government harassment of the council and its members. Church officials both here and in South Africa have ridiculed government charges and claim the SACC is being harassed because of its demonstrated opposition to the racist apartheid policies pursued by South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha.

"We know that the real reason for the South African government's hearings is to discredit us and our longstanding opposition to apart-



Bishop Desmond Tutu

heid" Tutu stated at a September press conference in New York City. According to the Bishop: "The activities in which the South African Council of Churches is necessarily involved are provided for in other countries by the state. When we furnish legal counsel to persons who are accused of political offenses, we are assisting in the administration of justice. When we give food and shelter to people who are forcibly resettled, we supply vital social services... What the government is really saying is that it is criminal to be a Christian in South Africa."

Mirror of Society

The council traces its roots back to 1904 and the South African General Missionary Conference, an initiative undertaken jointly by the major white churches. Yet even the supposedly liberal white-controlled churches were less than eager campaigners for Black social justice, and mostly identified with the continuing state policy of white supremacy.

It was not until the late 1960s

that a dynamic thrust for change emerged from the church's Black constituency. All across South Africa there was a renewal of Black political consciousness, a revitalization of demands for justice and equality. This mood, which produced strikes, student boycotts and the 1976 uprisings, was mirrored in the life of the churches, and of the SACC.

By 1970, Blacks made up 35 percent of the membership and 50 percent of the observer churches of the council, although whites still held all positions of authority. In 1973, the director of SACC's Justice and Reconciliation Division could suggest in reference to the emergence of black consciousness that "this needs to be encouraged and supported by the churches." Things had indeed changed.

Clashes with the State

So did the level of confrontation with the government. With church involvement with African opposition groups on the rise, then-Prime Minister John Vorster warned all clerics who were planning to "do the kind of thing here in South Africa that Martin Luther King did in America," to "cut it out, cut it out immediately, for the cloak you carry will not protect you if you try to do this in South Africa." True to his words, Vorster had increasing numbers of progressive church leaders jailed, banned and harassed as they supported their congregations in the struggle against pass arrests, removals, and all the many facets of apartheid. Finally, in February 1978, Anglican Bishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu became the first African general secretary of the SACC.

Today the SACC represents 15 million South African Christians—80 percent of whom are poor and Black. Virtually all of its operating expenses come from churches in Western Europe and North America.

ica. Through the National Council of Churches in the United States, for example, SACC received up to \$100,000 a year for programs that assist political detainees or prisoners and their families.

Until recently, the widespread support that the council and Bishop Tutu enjoy abroad made the South African government and police move cautiously against the church. Now apparently buoyed by the ascendancy of like-minded leaders in the US, the South African government seems to have decided it has the green light to crush its church opposition.

According to General Coetzee, for SACC to become a "true South African Council of Churches, free from foreign control and financial slavery," it should be declared an "affected organization," ineligible to receive any funds from foreign sources.

Broad Attack on Justice Advocacy

But the establishment of the Eloff Commission is only one tactic in the government's war against the SACC. This past November, in an attempt to undermine the council's international credibility, an anonymous letter was sent to overseas and member churches of the SACC bitterly attacking Tutu. According to the Bishop, it was a "smear letter

which most certainly did not come from a present staff member, although it clearly came from sources

"What the government is really saying is that it is criminal to be a Christian in South Africa."

who have access to the SACC information and know something about its donor members." The Rev. Peter Storey, the SACC's president, commented, "We as a council are getting used to the kind of methods one would never normally associate with the world of the church but which belong to the gutter area of the political arena. The stakes must be very high to discredit us."

In the US, right-wing ideologists such as Ernest W. Lefever and the Institute for Religion and Democracy, by attacking the sources of SACC's funding, notably the World Council of Churches, have allied with the South African government against the work of church activists

committed to the struggle for justice and liberation.

Nor is the political assault on the progressive church limited to South Africa. From Johannesburg to San Salvador to Tchula, Mississippi, church support for human rights has provoked opposition and retaliation from the state and from conservative elements within the church itself.

In early February, Jacobus Wessels, an auditor hired by the Eloff Commission to examine SACC's finances released his findings. Although the report criticized the SACC's accounting and disbursement controls, the audit found no evidence of embezzlement, mismanagement or illegality in the handling of SACC funds. Wessels also noted that SACC's bookkeeping procedures had improved noticeably in 1980. Nevertheless, the Eloff Commission investigation is continuing.

And so does the work of the South African Council of Churches. In Bishop Tutu's words: "While the government may persecute us, it will not succeed in its attempts to sabotage our mission. The council is not a fly-by-night organization. It is part of the whole Church of God. In taking on the council, the South African government is taking on the whole Church throughout the world. As tyrants have before, they will come a cropper." F.M. □

The SACC At A Glance

Much of the government's attack on the South African Council of Churches has focused on its \$4 million annual budget. And the way the council's various divisions spend that money accurately reflects SACC's main concerns. The Justice and Society Department was formed in 1972 as a response to "growing concern of the church to the whole question of racism and structural violence." It includes:

- The African Bursary Fund, which distributes over \$90,000 to about 100 university students every year. Some 2000 high school students also received financial aid, ranging from \$45 to \$900 each.
- The Amogel Relief Fund formed after the Soweto rebellion in 1976 to provide support and relief services to victims of the uprising. The fund still disburses over \$700,000 annually to victims of political

repression, mostly to cover legal expenses for detainees and political prisoners. Funds have also gone to hire a mediator in a trade union dispute, to pay back rent for the inhabitants of the Crossroads squatter camp, to help people evicted from "white" areas under the Group Areas Act, and to finance a "pass law" advice office.

- The Dependents Conference spends more than \$900,000 annually to support the families of political prisoners and detainees. About 800 families received these funds last year, which also go to pay for visits to prisoners and assistance after release.
- The Church and Mission Department spends \$45,000 per year on activities ranging from producing publications on theological issues to assisting regional evangelism and upgrading ministry skills. This division includes the controversial Ministry to Refugees, which is examining ways for churches to serve South African refugees and exiled guerrilla forces.

Labour Party Decision Sparks Protests

The South African Coloured Labour Party's early January decision to collaborate with the government's new constitutional reform plans has sparked major opposition among the party's mixed race, or "colored" constituency. A series of Labour Party meetings during February, at which the leadership had hoped to explain the party's stance, ended in near rioting as crowds of angry people denounced party leader Allan Hendrickse for becoming "a junior partner in white supremacy." Participants in these meetings strongly rejected the Labour Party's acceptance of the government's constitutional program, which calls for limited "colored" and Indian participation in a legislative system that totally excludes the majority African population and ensures white control over the government.

The Labour Party leaders, however, have continued to argue that the "time for protest politics is over" and that participation in the new racially segregated parliament will give them a platform to fight for more rights for all South Africans. That these sentiments are not shared by many of the Labour Party's presumed constituents became obvious when Hendrickse and National Chairman David Cur-ray tried to argue their case at a rally in the town of Stellenbosch, just outside of Cape Town. No sooner had the meeting begun than fists, chairs, bricks and stones began to fly. In the end, five people lay badly injured as police led the two leaders to safety. Earlier that week, at the end of a stormy meeting near Pretoria, less than a third of the audience voted to endorse the



Labour Party Leader Allan Hendrickse. Charges of sellout.

leadership's decision. According to the South African *Financial Mail*, "fiery disruption" marked most of the Labour Party's meetings in February.

New Forces Align

The high level of opposition to the plan within the Labour Party, as well as among even moderate Black and Indian leaders has sparked the creation of an opposition formation called the United Democratic Front. Formed in January, this new coalition seeks to galvanize "colored," Indian, and Black forces to fight the proposed reforms. Support for the UDF has been taken up by a variety of community organizations, including the country's largest non-racial trade union, the Federation of South African Trade Unions, FOSATU, which has pledged to work with groups opposing the constitutional plan and the Labour Party's decision to take part in it. FOSATU's decision marks the first time that that labor federal federation has participated in an explicitly politi-

cal campaign.

Another major supporter of the United Democratic Front is Allan Boesak, a minister in the "colored" branch of the Dutch Reformed Church who was appointed president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches last August (see *Southern Africa*, November 1982). In explaining his opposition to acceptance of the constitutional plan, Boesak notes that, "the plan based on acceptance of the fact that the homeland policy would be irreversible, and that all the basic tenets of apartheid . . . would remain intact." Boesak's involvement in the formation of the front has his prominent place in the "colored" community, and his international stature as president of the world body of the Dutch Reformed Church has led a number of observers to refer to him as a political alternative to Hendrickse. Although charges of his name have drowned out several recent Labour Party meetings, Boesak has repeatedly maintained that he is not a political leader.

Perhaps most interesting are the parallels being drawn between the United Democratic Front and the old Congress Alliance, a 1950s grouping that included the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress and the now-banned African National Congress. The Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council, a group formed to oppose the government-sponsored South African Indian Council, has publicly called for the revival of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and advocates its participation in the UDF, suggesting a new attempt at mass movement along the lines of the postwar alliance. M.H.

Nkomo Flees Zimbabwe

In a dramatic twist to his long and controversial political career, on March 8 Zimbabwe opposition PF-ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo fled into exile in Botswana after government troops raided his Bulawayo home, killing his chauffeur. The army sweep, part of a military campaign by Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF government against "dissident" former members of Nkomo's ZIPRA guerrilla forces, reportedly left two other people dead in the nation's second largest city. According to government sources in Harare, Nkomo's driver was slain after he pointed a pistol at an approaching army patrol, but Nkomo aides produced a blood-stained mattress which they said proved the chauffeur had been shot in bed.

After four secluded days in Botswana, Nkomo traveled on to London, where he charged Mugabe with plotting to kill him. Nkomo's return to exile follows months of deepening antagonism between Mugabe's ruling ZANU party and their erstwhile coalition government partners in ZAPU. Relations between the two nationalist parties, never good, flared into open confrontation in February 1982, after arms caches were discovered on ZAPU-owned farms. The revelations led to the arrest of seven top ZAPU and ZIPRA officials on treason charges (see related article), and Nkomo's expulsion from the government.

These animosities have been compounded by ZANU charges that ZAPU is directing the "dissidents" in their anti-government guerrilla campaign centered in the western province of Matabeleland (see *Southern Africa*, March 1983). The dissidents have attacked and destroyed government development projects, robbed banks and stores,



ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo. His return to exile marks a new chapter in his turbulent political career.

and shot dozens of civilians in recent months. And while the dissidents have certainly been waging a harsh campaign, ZAPU has responded with accusations of brutality against the government security forces sent to Matabeleland to crush the dissidents.

Mugabe has denied any designs on the opposition leader's life, saying Nkomo is "welcome home" at any time. But Nkomo has dismissed Mugabe's offer with the comment, "that's very nice, but his boys almost got me switched off." He has demanded a meeting with Zimbabwean officials in London, as well as personal guarantees of his safety.

Atrocities Reported

In recent months, ZAPU statements and Western press reports about the government's anti-dissident campaign have been filled with

horror stories reminiscent of the worst excesses of the Ian Smith regime—of government security forces cutting a brutal swathe through rural villages, burning huts and crops, cutting off and seizing food supplies, summarily executing villagers suspected of sympathizing with the dissidents, interning scores of ZAPU members in hastily constructed detention camps, and sending hundreds of refugees fleeing Matabeleland into Zambia and Botswana. Estimates of the number of civilians killed by the army have run as high as 3,000, and a number of relief and church organizations, including some who strongly supported the liberation struggle, have submitted detailed reports of army atrocities to the government.

The reports were sharply denied by Minister of State for Defense Dr.

Sydney Sekeramayi, who accused ZAPU and the foreign press of malicious distortions. "Nkomo has made wild allegations about so-called atrocities being perpetrated by the Zimbabwe National Army against the civilian population," Sekeramayi said. "The security forces are operating and will always operate within the confines of the law . . . If some innocent people get caught up it is regrettable, but it's not a Zimbabwean peculiarity that in a conflict situation some innocent civilians regrettably fall victim."

But government denials notwithstanding, the volume of detailed ac-

counts of abuses from previously reliable sources suggests that the army has gone beyond the "rough and ready" tactics Harare concedes are being employed in Matabeleland to a deliberate policy of intimidating the local populace. These charges have centered on the Fifth Brigade, a newly created and specially trained Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) unit composed almost exclusively of ZANU ex-guerrillas considered to be intensely loyal to ZANU and Mugabe personally. Nkomo described the unit as a "political and tribal army come to wipe out the Ndebeles." Sekeramayi termed Nkomo's characterization

"contemptible mischief," and he demanded that Nkomo halt the dissidents' activities "before it is too late."

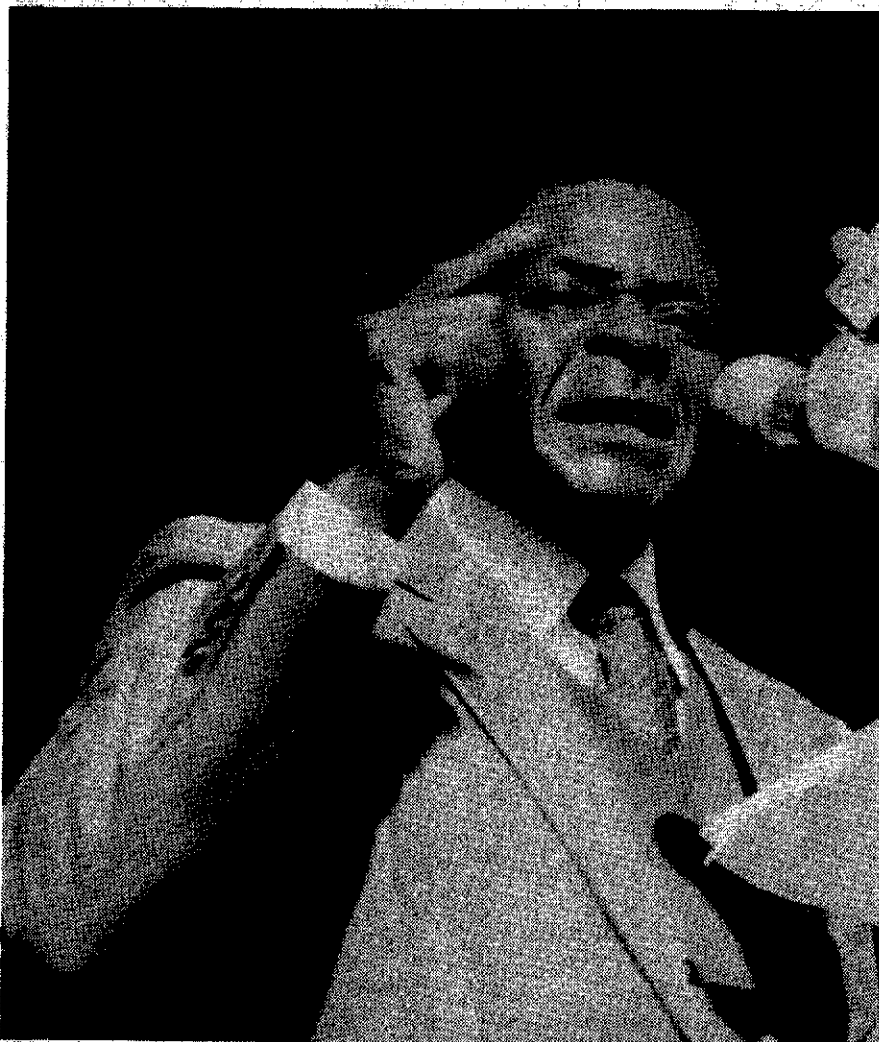
Reconciliation or Civil War?

It is open to question, however, how much influence Nkomo retains over the dissidents, especially after having left the country. Many former ZIPRA guerrillas are known to be unhappy with the moderate policies adopted by the national government, and with Nkomo's ineffectiveness in opposition. Many are reported to look to their former commanders, Lookout Masuku and Dumiso Dabengwa for leadership. The slow pace of land reform, the failure of the government to move against foreign capital, and what many perceive as a gradual purge of the left wings of both parties by their respective leaderships is far more likely to be at the heart of the dissident movement than any underlying ethnic tension.

Even if a formula can be reached for Nkomo's return to Zimbabwe and for some kind of reconciliation between the leaderships of both parties, the dissidents' problem is unlikely to fade away. Some reports have put the number of ex-ZIPRA deserters from the ZNA at over 4,000, with perhaps 1,000 of those presently involved in the western fighting. Other reports claim the dissidents have revived the old ZIPRA command structure from the days of the liberation struggle and are targeting white commercial farmers in their anti-government campaign. These reports received an added measure of credibility with the shooting deaths of five members of a white farming family in mid-March.

"The young men who have run away are trained people," one highly placed ZAPU official cautioned. "They have spent years fighting. They will cross the country to dig up the arms which they have buried and they will fight with them. We fought Smith because he was wrong," he continued. "Now we will fight Mugabe because he is wrong."

L.C.F.



Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. "We will finish the war Nkomo has started."

Penelope Lockridge

Treason Letter

A point usually missed in Western press coverage of Zimbabwe is that the so-called "dissidents" tend to look toward the ex-leaders of ZAPU's military wing for political inspiration. The left-wing politics of these leaders are shared by many "dissident" elements, who have carried their criticism of ZANU's policies with them as they try to mobilize the masses for what some of them have reportedly described as a "second liberation war." A key demand of the dissidents has been for the release of these leaders, who have been on trial since February 7.

On March 22 the Zimbabwe High Court in Harare dismissed treason charges against six of seven high ex-ZIPRA and ZAPU leaders accused of plotting to overthrow the Mugabe government. Judge Hilary Squires, who sent numerous Zimbabwean nationalist militants to the gallows during the liberation war, ruled that Dumiso Dabengwa, former ZIPRA intelligence chief, still had treason charges to answer. The other six still face weapons possession charges, for which the state can demand the death penalty.

Dabengwa, 43, joined the struggle in 1960 as a youth leader in the National Democratic Party, a precursor to ZAPU which had not yet split into rival factions headed by Nkomo and Mugabe. After training in the USSR and holding a number of ZIPRA posts in the war, he became the organization's chief of intelligence and secretary of ZAPU's War Council. From April 1980 to August 1981 he was a member of the Joint High Command. After the death of J.Z. Moyo, Dabengwa has been seen as the most prominent left-wing figure in ZAPU.

The following are excerpts from a letter Dabengwa sent to Soviet leader Yuri Andropov while the latter was KGB head, and on which the state has based its treason charges. In his ruling, Judge Squires said much of the treason case would rest on when the letter, dated April 28, 1980, was actually written. Dabengwa says the letter was written in mid-March, before independence and is therefore not treasonous:

Dear Cde Chairman,

In connection with Cde Nkomo's personal request to you, I am authorised by him to define more precisely some points and to make some additional explanations so that our stand could be more clear to you.

Cde Nkomo is unable to leave the country at present due to the tense situation in the country which could develop to be explosive as a result of the provocative and aggressive conduct of ZANU elements aimed at assisting to bring into reality the pro-Western policies of Mugabe.



Former ZIPRA commanders Lookout Masuku (left) and Dumiso Dabengwa.

His candid inclination towards Anglo-American imperialists has already widely opened doors to the country for all governments that in the past contributed in suppressing the masses of Zimbabwe.

The masses of Zimbabwe are deeply convinced that Mugabe has turned out to be actually more reactionary and pro-Western than Muzorewa and that his policies will undermine the national interests of Zimbabwe and her people.

It has also become clear that the British and USA

governments intend to make a stance in their neo-colonialist aspirations and make Zimbabwe into a key country in the region for their southern African axis of influence.

This is why we are of the opinion that the greatest threat to Zimbabwe, her national independence and sovereignty, originates from the UK, USA and South Africa.

Having in mind the above-mentioned, we now request you, Cde Chairman, to render us further assistance in our next struggle against imperialist intrigues, and the subversive activities of their secret services against Zimbabwe.

As far as the political power in Zimbabwe is concerned, we consider this an internal affair for the people of Zimbabwe to decide.

In order to start active work and to achieve better results, as spelt out above, we request you to allow your

[KGB] representative, Cde Maxim, to remain in Zambia under his present cover and to be allowed free access to all five frontline states—Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola (perhaps Lesotho as well) so that he can lean in his work on the whole KGB facilities in this part of the world.

We are confident that we can arrange his entry visas to Zimbabwe.

I should further like to assure you that Cde President Nkomo has already sought President Kaunda's consent on his [Maxim's] continued stay in Zambia, pending your approval.

Contact and consultation between us (NSO) and Cde Maxim, we suggest, should in future be arranged in all the frontline states mentioned above. We intend to station our NSO representative in Zambia for liaison functions. With warmest regards,

Signed Dumiso Dabengwa
Secretary for National Security Organization

Letter From Matabeleland: "Hatred Instead of Harmony"

Reports on what is happening in Zimbabwe's western province, of Matabeleland vary considerably depending on the source. The Zimbabwe-based Catholic magazine *Moyo*, which was a strong supporter of the liberation struggle, published an editorial in its March 1983 issue strongly condemning the brutality, atrocities and killings. Along with the editorial, *Moyo* published an article on the Fifth Brigade's campaign and two letters from "unimpeachable sources" backing up reports of Fifth Brigade actions. Below we print one of those letters.

Soldiers of the National Army harass people to an extent which can only cause and increase hatred among the people. I wonder whether the people responsible for the army units in this area know what is going on.

Last week, a soldier went to the teachers' quarters. He threatened to

shoot one of the male teachers and forced him to fetch a stick. Then he had to lie down and was thoroughly beaten. Then he forced the wife of a teacher to strip and lie down. He did not beat her. But then he beat five other members of the staff who included three women. Later when he wanted to beat up another lady teacher, he was stopped by his fellow comrade.

Soon afterwards, more soldiers arrived and inquired what happened. One of the soldiers, seemingly the commander, took notes. Another one apologized and asked us to forgive the culprit. I only mentioned that all the children already knew what had happened and would spread it all over the area. Later, policemen came and started their investigations.

At a nearby mission, soldiers had a camp. A man who was accused of having grown mbanga (marijuana) was beaten in front of teachers and

school children. Result: ten teachers left the place, they were just afraid that the next day it might be their turn to be beaten.

On the same day, many people who live nearby were beaten and a man from a nearby school was killed. Another man who was beaten there, came to the mission hospital. One of his knees was still badly swollen.

Two days later, the member in charge of our police station brought a man to the hospital who had been terribly beaten. One of his forearms was broken in at least two places. The explanation of the member in charge was that he had been bruised by the soldiers (*apambira nemabanga*).

These are only a few incidents which I know of. They show that a number of soldiers take the law into their hands, without being challenged or punished. They sow discord and hatred, instead of harmony and reconciliation.

SWAPO Leader Raps Reagan

Six years after the Western powers promised the world a speedy resolution to the painful question of Namibia's independence, and over six decades after the first South African troops entered the territory, peace and freedom for the Namibian people seems as far away as ever. Particularly since 1981, when the Reagan administration came into office, the professional liars in Washington and Pretoria have erected an opaque wall of fabrications, misinformation and false hopes around the steadily escalating conflict in Namibia.

First there was the illusion of "constructive engagement," the fantasy that closer military and political ties to the US would persuade the Afrikaners to vacate Namibia and liberalize apartheid at home. Then there was the illusion of progress in the drawn out Namibia negotiations — created by the promulgation of some irrelevant "constitutional principles" and a lot of on-the-record star-gazing for gullible reporters. Now the world is hearing the political fable that the Cubans in Angola are the only obstacle to a settlement in Namibia. This very story, in fact, was put forth by State Department officials in mid-March after yet another round of talks first in Paris with the Angolans and then in Washington with the South Africans.

But behind this artful dodging of South African intransigence and American complicity lies the harsh reality of South African aggression and occupation in Namibia and southern Angola. Noticeably absent from most recent discussions of Namibia, however, has been any report of what the Namibian liberation movement, SWAPO, has been doing or saying. SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma, speaking before an audience that included Washington's top Africa adviser, Chester Crocker, laid the illusions surrounding "constructive engagement" and the deadlocked Namibia talks to rest in a mid-January talk in Harare, Zimbabwe. We reprint below excerpts from the SWAPO leader's address:

As representatives of the oppressed but struggling Namibian people, we in SWAPO are extremely perturbed by the current US policy towards Africa, especially southern Africa.

The prospects for our oppressed people to be able to immediately exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and to achieve national independence remain bleak. The US is largely to be blamed for this state of affairs.

The people of Namibia, particularly the Black majority, are paying an enormous and ever-increasing price, in terms of human suffering and loss of life, for each day by which South Africa's illegal occupation is prolonged. The catalogue of cases of atrocities that are being perpetrated against our people by the racist army of South Africa in Namibia has become extremely long and horrifying. These atrocities find their tragic expression in a countless number of acts of cold-blooded murder, destruction and seizure of property, torture, beatings and rapes.

It is against this background that we should take a look at the Reagan administration's policy of so-called constructive engagement towards South Africa. The policy as we all know it, postulates that unlike in the case of Poland, Soviet Union, Iran and Argentina, one can help to bring change in the apartheid system by moving closer and by becoming friendlier to South Africa. In other words, the Reagan administration wants the world to believe that appeasement, and not pressure, will help to bring an end to apartheid oppression in South Africa and to the occupation of Namibia by the racist state.

Thus, in a calculated attempt to bail racist South Africa out of its international isolation, the Reagan administration has actually increased its political,

military and diplomatic exchanges with the racists of Pretoria.

In the case of Namibia, the Reagan administration has in actual fact helped, through the policy of "constructive engagement," to turn the clock back regarding the independence of our country. For instance, since April 1981, the Reagan administration has been busy trying to rewrite UN Security Council resolution 435 in an effort to make it more favorable to South Africa.

The Reagan administration came up with its notorious "linkage" issue which has led to the current impasse in the Namibian negotiating process over the last six months. Washington's insistence on linking the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola has provided racist South Africa with yet another convenient excuse to delay the implementation of the UN plan for Namibia's independence. Pretoria is not now worried about the need to immediately proceed with the settlement of the Namibian question. Racist South Africa has been unable to win popular support for its puppet arrangements in Namibia. It, therefore, needs more time to continue to try to create a credible alternative to SWAPO, even if that means prolonging the armed conflict in our country.

Thus, contrary to what the Reagan administration has been telling the world during the last two years that it seeks to move the negotiations to the implementation stage, it is quite clear that under the leadership of Dr. Chester Crocker, the American negotiators have only succeeded to throw more spanners in the negotiating process. They have not only created new excuses for South Africa to continue to delay, but they have also begun to lay an East-West dimension on the Namibian issue.

The Role of Culture in the Struggle for Independence —Amilcar Cabral

Amilcar Cabral, founder and leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), was assassinated ten years ago. He remains one of the leading revolutionary figures of the 20th century. His thought provoking analysis of the role of culture in the liberation struggle continues to inspire people struggling against foreign domination. We are reprinting the following excerpts from Cabral both as a way to honor his memory, and as a valuable contribution to the ongoing cultural forum our center-fold provides.

Culture has proved to be the very foundation of the liberation movement. Only societies which preserve their culture are able to mobilize and organize themselves and fight against foreign domination. Whatever ideological or idealistic forms it takes, culture is essential to the historical process. It has the power to prepare and make fertile those factors that ensure historical continuity and determine a society's chances of progressing (or regressing).

Since imperialist rule is the negation of the historical process of the dominated society, it will readily be understood that it is also the negation of the cultural process. And since a society that really succeeds in throwing off the foreign yoke reverts to the upward path of its culture, *the struggle for liberation is above all an act of culture.*

The fight for liberation is an essentially political fact. Consequently, as it develops, it can only use political methods. Culture then is not, and cannot be, a weapon or a means of mobilizing the group against foreign domination. It is much more than that. Indeed, it is on firm knowledge of the local reality, particularly the cultural reality, that the choice, organization and development of the best methods of fighting are based.

This is why the liberation movement must recognize the vital importance not only of the cultural characteristics of the dominated society as a whole but also of those of each social class. For though it has a mass aspect, culture is not uniform and does not develop



The late Amilcar Cabral

evenly in all sectors, horizontal or vertical, of society.

The attitude and behaviour of each class or each individual towards the struggle and its development are, it is true, dictated by economic interests, but they are also profoundly influenced by culture. It may even be said that differences in cultural level explain differences in behaviour towards the liberation movement of individuals of the same social class.

It is at this level, then, that culture attains its full significance for each individual—comprehension of and integration within his social milieu, identification with the fundamental problems and aspirations of his society, and acceptance or rejection of the possibility of change for the better.

Whatever its form, the struggle requires the mobilization and organization of a large majority of the population, the political and moral unity of the different social classes, the gradual elimination of vestiges of tribal or feudal mentality, the rejection of social and religious taboos that are incompatible with the rational and national character of the liberating movement. And the struggle brings about many other profound modifications in the life of the people.

This is all the more true because the dynamics of the struggle also require the exercise of democracy, criticism and self-criticism, growing participation of the people in running their lives, the achievement of literacy, the creation of schools and health services, leadership training for rural and city workers, and

Reprinted from: *The African Liberation Reader: Documents of The National Liberation Movements, Volume 3.* Aquino de Braganca and Immanuel Wallerstein (eds). London: Zed Press, 1982. Volumes I, II and III of the *African Liberation Reader* are available for \$10.50 each from Lawrence Hill, 520 Riverside Avenue, Westport, Connecticut, 06880.

many other achievements that are involved in the society's 'forced march' along the road of cultural progress. This shows that the liberation struggle is more than a cultural fact, it is also a cultural factor.

Among the representatives of the colonial power as well as in their home countries, the first reaction to the liberation struggle is a general feeling of surprise and incredulity. Once this feeling, the fruit of prejudice or of the planned distortions typical of colonialist news is surmounted, reactions vary with the interests, the political opinions and the degree to which colonialist and racist attitudes have crystallized among the different social classes and individuals.

The progress of the struggle and the sacrifices imposed by the need to take colonialist repressive measures (police or military) cause a split in metropolitan opinion. Differing, if not divergent, positions are adopted and new political and social contradictions emerge.

From the moment the struggle is recognized as an irreversible fact, however great the resources employed to quash it, a qualitative change takes place in metropolitan opinion. The possibility, if not the inevitability, of the colony's independence is on the whole gradually accepted.

Such a change is a conscious or unconscious admission that the colonized people now engaged in the struggle have an identity and a culture of their own. And this holds true even though throughout the conflict an active minority, clinging to its interests and prejudices, persists in refusing the colonized their right to independence and in denying the equivalence of cultures that right implies.

At a decisive stage in the conflict, this equivalence is implicitly recognized or accepted even by the colonial power. To divert the fighters from their objectives, it

applies a demagogic policy of 'economic and social improvement', of 'cultural development', cloaking its domination with new forms. Neo-colonialism is, above all, the continuation of imperialist economic rule in disguise, but nevertheless it is also the tacit recognition by the colonial power that the people it rules and exploits have an identity of their own demanding their own political control, for the satisfaction of a cultural necessity.

Moreover, by accepting that the colonized people have an identity and a culture, and therefore an inalienable right to self-determination and independence, metropolitan opinion (or at least an important part of it) itself makes significant cultural progress and sheds a negative element in its own culture—the prejudice that the colonizing nation is superior to the colonized one. This advance can have all-important consequences for the political evolution of the imperialist or colonialist power, as certain facts of current or recent history prove.

If culture is to play its proper role, the liberation movement must lay down the precise objectives to be achieved on the road to the reconquest of the rights of the people it represents—the right to make its own history and the right to dispose freely of its own productive resources. This will pave the way to the final objective of developing a richer, popular, national, scientific and universal culture.

It is not the task of the liberation movement to determine whether a culture is specific to the people or not. The important thing is for the movement to undertake a critical analysis of that culture in the light of the requirements of the struggle and of progress; to give it its place within the universal civilization without consideration as to its superiority or inferiority, with a view to its harmonious integration into the world of today as part of the common heritage of mankind.



In the liberated zones of Guinea-Bissau in 1970, a group of young men pose after performing a dance. Throughout the liberation struggle, the PAIGC encouraged expressions of traditional culture, and peasant villagers adapted the lyrics of songs and dances turning them into celebrations of the heroes and goals of the independence struggle.

It is a fact that there is no direct connection between the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and the independence of Namibia. We, therefore, fail to understand why the Reagan administration has decided to mix up a simple and straightforward issue of our country's inalienable right to independence with the foreign policy of a sovereign and independent Angola.

We in SWAPO consider it cynical, shameful and in-

human that President Reagan and his advisers could find it appropriate to use our people's grave sufferings as Washington's bargaining card to achieve America's imperial ambitions in southern Africa.

We in SWAPO do not agree to the American position that "the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola will provide a framework of regional security within which Namibia can achieve its independence." This position is grossly erroneous. It attempts to falsify the fact that it is the existence of a racist state which poses a threat to the peace and security of southern Africa, not the Cubans in Angola. The argument of the Reagan administration that the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola will lead to regional security is not only hypocritical but extremely ridiculous. The Cuban troops in Angola have and it occupies Namibia. The apartheid republic has southern African country.

It is, however, common knowledge that the South African army has violated the territorial integrity of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana, and it occupies Namibia. The apartheid republic has also organized the armed overthrow of the government of Seychelles. Yet, there are no Cuban troops in Zimbabwe, in Mozambique, in Lesotho, in Botswana, in Namibia and in the Seychelles.

Here, too, we find that "constructive engagement" is revealed to be no more than a myopic policy intended to justify Washington's collaboration with Pretoria's heinous crimes and aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. The demand for the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola has been conducted in a crude and bullying manner, all to the comfort of South Africa and to the dismay of independent Africa. It is not surprising, therefore, that apart from the apartheid regime, no single government in the world has thus far come out publicly in support of Washington's "linkage" issue.

Furthermore, the American negotiators have found it expedient to try to cover up the delays which their policy of "constructive engagement" has caused to Namibia's independence. They do this by maintaining a propagandistic posture that there is progress in the negotiations and that nobody should do anything that would interfere with the "delicate-stage" which the negotiations have reached. This propaganda line is pursued to hide the fact that what we are confronted with is not progress, but an actual impasse. It is an attempt to play diplomatic games with the sufferings of our people.

To the American friends who are here with us today, I would like to register SWAPO's appeal that you should take up the responsibility when you go back to North America to mobilize American public opinion against the shameful USA collaboration with South Africa, and in particular against the unjust and inhuman attempt by the Reagan administration to link our people's freedom and our country's independence to the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola. We must not try going to places such as Moscow to try to pretend that it is there where Namibia's problem could be resolved are simply being hypocritical. We must all reject their hypocrisy with the contempt that it deserves.

Church Leaders Slam Contact Group

In late January the Council of Churches of Namibia added their voice to the growing chorus of condemnations of the contact group's negotiations and in particular "certain members" of the Western contact group. We reprint below the text of the council's open letter.

Your Excellencies:

As we continue to hear and experience further wanton acts of destruction of life and property in our country, we, the Executive Committee of the Council of Churches in Namibia, meeting in Windhoek on January 28, 1983, would like to state that, because of our commitment to reconciliation, justice, peace and the preservation of human life, we remain resolved that independence under United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 is the only just and concrete solution to our country's plight.

Having supported your initiatives, we view with increasing concern the developing stalemate of non-existent progress in regard to the negotiations and the implementation of the said resolution which are now impeded by the irrelevant linkage of Cubans to the historical colonial problem of our country.

We wish to state also that the Cuban presence in the sovereign state of Angola is not a threat to the Namibian people. The historical priority is South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia without the consent and mandate from the majority of the people. We are disturbed that certain members of your group are obstructing and undermining the negotiations by trying to make their own domestic political capital from this irrelevant linkage, and by so doing, prolonging suffering and bloodshed in our country. We reject such obstruction, and consequently are beginning to question the authenticity and sincerity of the motives of your group.

We urge you to act promptly in order to restore the diminishing hope and expectations that we originally had in your initiative.

Yours sincerely,

The Executive Committee of the
Council of Churches in Namibia

The members of the Council of Churches in Namibia are: the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Anglican Church, the Lutheran Churches, the Roman Catholic Church and the Methodist Church.

SWAPO Refugees: With the People of Cuanza Sul

by Susan Hurlich

The drive south from the Angolan capital of Luanda to the Namibian refugee settlement in Cuanza Sul is long, but I find it invigorating. As a member of Oxfam Canada, I visited Cuanza Sul last year to learn about conditions facing the 40,000 Namibians who fled the South African occupation of their country for the relative safety of the vast refugee camp. With me are three SWAPO comrades: Tamina, an administrative secretary from the Namibian liberation movement's headquarters, Licius, the driver, and a soldier from the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the armed wing of SWAPO. It is a crisp,

southern hemisphere fall day in late March and we plan to spend five days with the people at Cuanza Sul.

We pass through the green countryside of Luanda province before entering the lush and hilly surroundings that mark the province of Cuanza Sul. Small villages of mud and thatch houses dot the land, separated by neatly cultivated fields of maize and vegetables, and small orange and banana groves. In the afternoon we stop to buy fruit from a rural roadside market—a small group of women sitting under the shade of a tree with their bananas, oranges, lemons, and limes spread out on cloths. Tamina buys fruit for her friends at the settlement, where such foods are in short supply.

But the roadside markets themselves are short stocked: one result of South Africa's continuing aggression against the country. And we see other reminders of the war as well, including the many Angolan army checkpoints and large con-

voys of military trucks transporting materials farther south.

Finally we reach the entrance of the Cuanza Sul settlement, home for over half the estimated 70,000 Namibian refugees now in Angola. And even as we approach the central administrative area, the enormity of the settlement makes itself immediately felt—its vast area divided into smaller population centers miles apart and separated by thick groves of trees.

This arrangement is a bitter safety lesson SWAPO learned from Cassinga, the southern Angolan refugee camp South Africa attacked in 1978—killing 600 people, mostly women and children, and wounding hundreds more. Just over three quarters of the Namibian refugees in Angola are women and young children, a figure that cannot be reconciled with South African claims that the camps are SWAPO military posts.

Many of Cuanza Sul's residents

Susan Hurlich works for Oxfam Canada, a development organization that has provided a great deal of assistance to liberation movements in Africa and America. She visited Angola in March and April, 1982.



Namibian refugees at Cuanza Sul. Three quarters of all Namibian refugees in Angola are women and young children.

Susan Hurlich

are survivors of the Cassinga massacre, but most are newer arrivals—with more arriving every day.

Refugees Must Move

The refugee settlement is situated on a coffee plantation abandoned by its colonial owner after Angola's independence in 1975. Now the Angolans want to bring the land back into production before the next growing season begins. This means SWAPO must move the refugees off the land to other sites nearby. The areas affected include the education center, where some 10,000 school children live, and the largest medical center in the camp.

It is a daunting prospect. Over 20,000 people, half the settlement's total population, must be moved and resettled in only a month if the April 5 deadline is to be met. Many of the refugees' tents, already in poor condition due to the damp climate, clearly will not survive the move. New accommodations will somehow have to be provided. Moreover, SWAPO has too few trucks to move basic supplies from Luanda to the settlement—let alone to move the camp. And perhaps the most serious problem is the inadequate water supply at the new sites. This means that drinking, bathing, and cooking water will have to be brought in daily by truck.

But water shortages are already a harsh reality for the Namibian refugees at Cuanza Sul—a reality brought home to me on my first morning at the camp.

I awoke to the sound of a large truck straining up a short steep hill. It was the DAF water tanker truck donated to SWAPO two years earlier by Oxfam Canada and other Canadian and international non-governmental organizations. It is the only water truck they have, and is possibly the most useful piece of equipment in the camp.

There are streams and rivers in the area, but the camp lacks the pumps, pipes and generators needed to get the water from the streams over the many hills surrounding the settlement. The rocky soil makes it virtually impossible to dig wells without substantial drilling, and with only one large drilling crane in



The Oxfam Canada-supplied water truck at Cuanza Sul. Security requirements and severe shortages of drilling equipment, pipes and pumps make access to clean water a major concern for Cuanza Sul's residents.

the entire country, the camp's few existing wells are hopelessly inadequate to meet the people's needs. Small wonder then that SWAPO has requested a second water truck from Oxfam and other organizations. (I later learned that the DAF broke down shortly after I left, and was sent to Luanda for repairs, exacerbating an already serious situation.)

Education, Production

After a breakfast of milk, *oshishima* (corn porridge, a staple at the settlement), and tea, I met with Joseph Nakatana, a member of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) and the director of the trade union school.

Founded in September 1981, the labor school trains both men and women as trade union organizers, with classes on the international and Namibian trade union movement, organizing techniques, labor law and legislation. The school is located in two small buildings at "Camp A," home for some 10,000

women and children. Several smaller schools are located in other parts of the vast settlement, including the agricultural center and the tuberculosis center. The labor school's five teachers provide instruction to fifty students, two-thirds of whom are women.

That afternoon, Nakatana and Icco Kaxumbah, one of the settlement's young administrators, accompany us to the agriculture center some fifteen miles from the main camp. We pass through large areas planted in maize (corn) before reaching the tiny administrative building, where we are warmly greeted by the center's director, Willy Iyambo.

The agriculture center has about 200 acres under cultivation, mostly in corn, with smaller plots of tomatoes, cabbages, onions and lettuce. Labor is provided by 300 women, along with a few men. The center has its own day-care facilities, and a tiny clinic provides for basic health needs. SWAPO teachers also offer

Holding a meeting? Distribute Southern Africa promotional flyers. Send a postcard and let us know how many you need.

literacy training in English for the center's workers, the majority of whom came to Cuanza Sul illiterate.

Though the center suffers from chronic shortages of farm tools and irrigation equipment, its most serious problem is the drought that is wracking the entire southern African region. The rains, which normally come in January, have yet to begin in central Angola, resulting in serious crop losses.

Just before I arrived, Cuanza Sul lost over half of its maize harvest to the worms and ants which have accompanied the drought. If the ravages of hunger are to be avoided this year, SWAPO will have to rely on increased food aid from friendly governments and organizations around the world. SWAPO remains committed, however, to trying to meet more of the settlement's food needs by improving agricultural skills and techniques. Director Iyambo spoke ambitiously of plans to increase maize production and to expand a recently established duck and poultry farm.

Our first day ended with a quick visit to the weaving and knitting center, where 39 students, mainly women, are learning to use weaving and knitting machines to repair and produce clothing for the settlement. The sewing project is also located here, where 96 students, only six of whom are men, learn sewing and tailoring skills.

These projects reflect SWAPO's emphasis on developing the productive skills of the refugees—especially among women. Comrade Angula, deputy sewing director, noted that back in Namibia, only men are allowed to become tailors. Angula also said that women are being trained as tractor and truck drivers and auto mechanics as well.

"The sewing students get a different outlook as they work," Angula observed. "At first they just did hand sewing, but as they learn to use the machines they get a new morale. They also learn some basic literacy, because many didn't even know how to read a tape measure before. And they become very political in the process, because not only are

they learning a new skill, but they also develop a political outlook as they talk about the future of Namibia."

Children's Needs

The next day I visited the camp's education center. It was in a state of flux, as the facility and its 10,000 primary and secondary school children were being moved from the middle of a coffee field to a new site. Youngsters hurried about carrying their few belongings—a blanket and some spare clothing perhaps, but little else.

Although I am at the "permanent" camp, I am told that classes are frequently held under the shade of a tree because of the lack of sufficient classrooms and of materials for building even temporary classrooms. Nonetheless, about 200 teachers provide instruction in English, mathematics, science and social studies. The shortage of teaching materials is compensated for by using the ground as both blackboard and notebook, and twigs as chalk and pencils. Ninety percent

of the children are primary school students, while there are special programs for older children denied education in their occupied homeland. Literacy programs are also provided for the center's nurses, day care and kitchen staff.

But education at Cuanza Sul is not just limited to the classroom. Productive work is a regular part of the daily curriculum, with the students taking turns working in the school's small garden. This aspect of the children's schooling reflects not only SWAPO's commitment to link education with useful skills and production, but also the perennial shortage of food that affects the entire camp.

In the best of times, adults at Cuanza Sul eat only two meals a day, and only occasionally do the children eat three. *Oshishima* and beans are the most common fare, with meat or fish available irregularly. The supply of fresh fruits and vegetables is erratic, and there is never enough to go around. Cooking oil and milk are also in short supply.



Namibian women preparing *oshishima*, the corn porridge that forms the staple diet at Cuanza Sul.

Lynne Barber

Natalia Mavulu Center

Besides the grade school, there are seven nurseries. These try to provide care for some 3,000 children under three years of age and some 5,000 children between the ages of three and six. One of the main nurseries is located in Camp A, where about 600 children between three months and seven years old get full-time care. Smaller nurseries exist in the education center, the garage center, the agriculture center, the weaving and knitting center and the tuberculosis center. The largest nursery and kindergarten center is the Natalia Mavulu Center, which houses 700 toddlers and pre-school children, many of whom are orphans. There is a tremendous shortage of child-care facilities at Cuanza Sul, many of whose buildings are not designed to withstand the rain and cold. There is also a grave need for toys, small chairs and tables, and teaching materials suitable for the very young.

The last day and a half of my visit is spent at the Natalia Mavulu facility, several hours drive from the main settlement over some of the most difficult road conditions we have yet encountered.

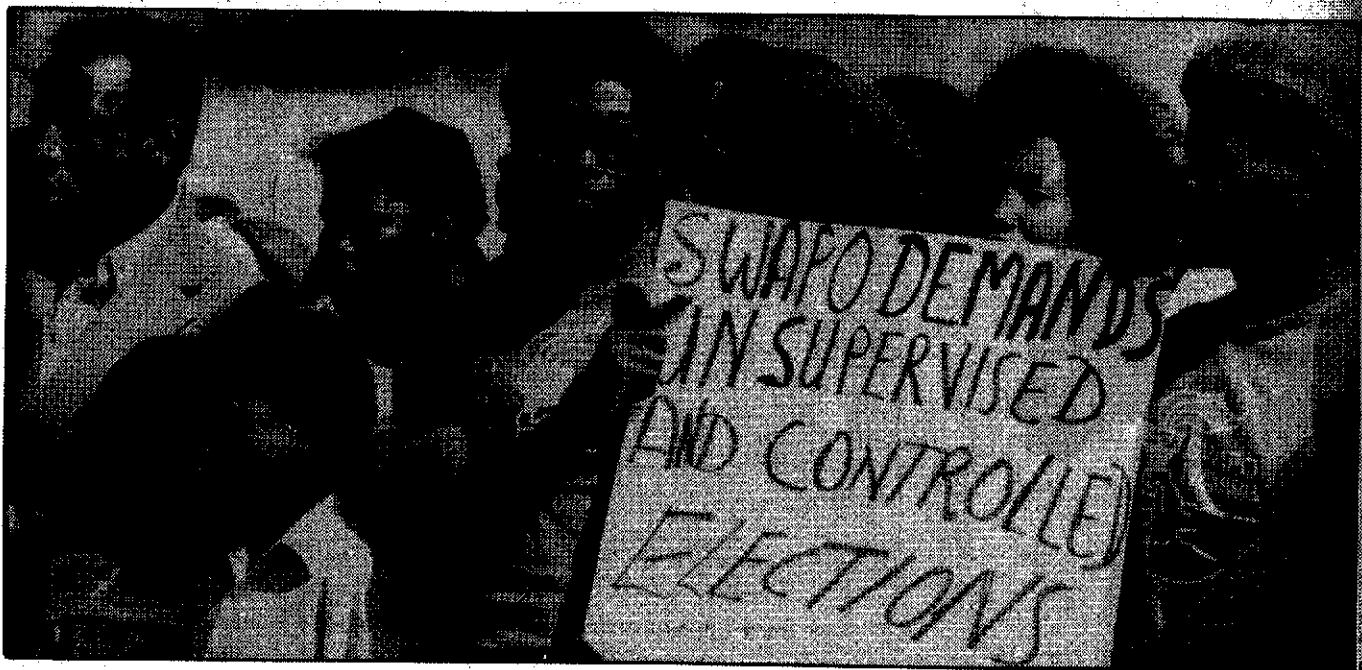
The first to greet us is Libertine Amathila, director of the center. She is one of four trained doctors active in SWAPO and is deputy director for health and social affairs. She talks energetically about the center and the 250 adults who care for the children. Once the children reach seven years of age, they move on to the education center.

Natalia Mavulu, located at the base of several steep mountains, is situated on the grounds of an old coffee and banana plantation. It is the one center the Angolans have not insisted be moved. Everywhere bright colors and cheerful pictures greet the eye, as the low buildings in which the children sleep—former slave quarters where plantation workers used to live before Angola became independent—have been painted with scenes of traditional village life, children playing, giraffes and elephants, and flowers.

The children's day is well organized. It begins with exercises, followed by a breakfast of porridge, butter, and milk. The children attend pre-school at regular periods where they learn counting and the alphabet. This is followed by lunch, a sleep and play period, dinner and bed.

The Natalia Mavulu Center is the only center with an adequate supply of water and a more or less sufficient supply of food. Still, there are obvious difficulties. Accommodations are very crowded and in spite of the improvements SWAPO has made to the existing structures, there is no possibility for expansion beyond another 40-50 children, as every available piece of land in the area is occupied.

Everywhere in the Cuanza Sul settlement the stories are the same—a shortage of transport, inadequate supplies of water, poor accommodation, a sparse diet. And yet people's spirits remain high. I saw evidence of this at various points of my stay. When I visited the vehicle repair center, for instance, a group of young men and women approached us laughing with their arms raised in a clenched fist 'Power' salute. And on the small tents and huts hidden among the trees where some 10,000 women and infants sleep are signs painted in big red letters: "Power SWAPO—we shall win!" After a week with the people of Cuanza Sul, I came away convinced that, in fact, they would.



SWAPO supporters inside Namibia.

resources

Publications Received

Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa (TCLSAC), 427 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.*

* **LABOUR IN NAMIBIA**, 1981. 20pp. Contains an overview of the contract labor system, migrant labor, living conditions and worker resistance, as well as a chronology and further reading lists.

* **RESOURCE EXTRACTION IN NAMIBIA**, 1982. 20pp. Contains a brief explanation of diamond, metal and uranium extraction, highlighting the roles of the leading corporations in Namibia's exploitation.

* **WOMEN OF NAMIBIA**, 1981. 20pp. Contains a brief overview of the triple oppression of race, class, and sex of women in Namibia's rural and urban areas and their important resistance efforts

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF AFRICAN STUDIES, Volume 16, Number 1, 1982. Ottawa: Canadian Journal (Department of Geography, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada K1S 5B6), 218pp. pb. (Note: "Most Painful to Our Hearts": South Africa Through the Eyes of The New School, Frederick Johnstone: Canadian Policy Towards Southern Africa, Cranford Pratt, and a review by Gwendolen M. Carter, Agony and Change in South Africa.)

A QUESTION OF SOLIDARITY: INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA, Bob Fine and Lawrence Welch. London: Socialist Forum for Southern African Solidarity (Box 1, 2a St. Paul's, London N1W 1NK), October 1982. 44pp, 90p + p&h, pb.

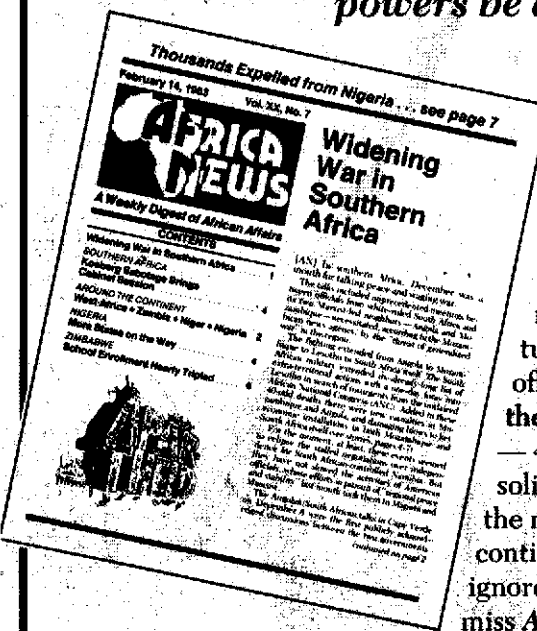
Closing date: 3/1
(Inclusion in this list does not preclude later review.)

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book reviews

South African Sports

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GAME: Sport and Racism by Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon
London: Zed Press 1982. \$12.50 pb. 352 pp.
US Distributor: Lawrence Hill & Co., 520 Riverside Ave., Westport, CT 06880

APARTHEID: THE REAL HURDLE: Sport in South Africa and the International Boycott by Sam Ramsamy
International Defence and Aid Fund, London 1982 107 pp. \$4.00 pb.
US Distributor: IDAF for Southern Africa, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138

by John Dommissie

Both these books are exciting, important and timely. Sports can present a vivid microcosm of the society within which it is played, providing a revealing 'window' into the workings of that society. In the absence of the more usual and legitimate forms of political expression in South Africa, sports has also inadvertently become, along with the trade union and ecumenical Christian movements, a channel of struggle, and a model for future socio-political advancement.

Anyone who doubts these assertions should reserve final judgment until reading these exten-

John Dommissie, a Cape Town-educated M.D., is currently the acting honorary chairman of the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS), and a consultant to the health department of the African National Congress of South Africa. He has written widely of the social effects of apartheid and the politics of apartheid sport.



Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour demonstration in New York, 1981. Anti-apartheid sports campaigns are a key component of the international opposition to apartheid.

sively-researched books. Archer and Bouillon have never been to South Africa but this has been no handicap to the accuracy of their work. Their writing is factual and totally authentic. In fact, in their successful attempt to place South African sports in its proper context within apartheid society, they have produced a work that could serve as a valuable introduction to broader historical and political studies of South Africa. The drama and excitement of sports creates a fast-paced medium for communicating the poignancy and brutality of the race and class struggle in South Africa.

Starting with the 18th and 19th century hunting and killing of the Bushmen 'for sport,' Archer and Bouillon show how the Afrikaners have used sports, especially rugby, as a stage for 'proving' their 'natural supremacy,' much as Hitler tried to do this for Aryans in the 1936 Olympic Games. They show how the deprivations of apartheid, from nutrition and health care through

psychological, social, economic and political manipulations, keep the vast majority of Blacks from even participating in sports, let alone excelling or receiving its physical and psychological benefits. They also chronicle the growth of the brave non-racial sports movement, which has found organizational expression in the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) within the country and the exiled South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC), based in London. These organizations are giving the lead toward—and a hint of—a rosier future when race and class will not be a criterion of membership in any sports club or federation in South Africa.

Yet there is a good deal of non-racial sports played in South Africa, not by the official, government-approved sports federations, but by those under the umbrella of SACOS. The vast majority of Black athletes belong to these non-racial federations. They rent and

racial federations. They rent and maintain their own sports grounds, pay their own way, and run their own show. The government and the official sports bodies vilify their leaders, impound their passports, and make them out to be political radicals who must be avoided and ridiculed by all right-thinking people.

The South African Game: Sport and Racism is also a powerful appeal for continued and expanded world support of the anti-apartheid sports movement, and of its demands that countries like the US and Britain stop playing ball with apartheid. Challenging the South African state's propaganda campaign about increasing integration in sports the authors quote a powerful statement by the exiled South African non-racial tennis champion, Jasmal Dhiraj, who says:

"There is no way I can be equal to a white man who has more facilities, better housing, better jobs, just because he is white. . . . It is inspiring when a sportsman overseas says he will not go to South Africa because of its policies, or when white South Africans are thrown out of some international body. . . . [because] I was wasted and, of the 18 to 20 million Blacks in South Africa, thousands are being wasted. . . . I forgot my Indian tag at some stage in my life. . . . Well, the whites must also reach that stage, of identifying with the Blacks. Until they do. . . . I don't care how liberal they are, their hypocrisy stands out like a bright star in the sky. . . . Those people are lucky that we cannot demonstrate in South Africa. If we could, not a single match would take place. They should be thankful it is a police state!"

Robert Archer is a young English historian, now working for the Catholic Institute for International Relations in London. Antoine Bouillon is a Paris-based journalist and former secretary-general of the French Anti-Apartheid Movement. Both authors have campaigned against sports contacts with South Africa in collaboration with SAN-ROC and Sam Ramsamy, the author of the second book under review here.

As full-time joint chairperson of SAN-ROC and coordinator of the

International Coordinating Centre Against Apartheid in Sport, Ramsamy may well be the single most active person in the non-racial sports campaign today. As the current leader of SAN-ROC, which has reconstituted itself outside South Africa, he is closely in touch with all the latest developments "on the ground" back home. An athlete himself, Ramsamy was forced to leave the country in 1972, as was his predecessor, Dennis Brutus who left South Africa in 1964 after spending ten months in South Africa's notorious political prison, Robben Island.

Real Hurdle is a bare-bones document dealing exclusively with sports, but it includes all the essentials: a brief history of sports among the Black population; legal and police aspects; a review of the government's extravagant efforts to break South African sports out of its international isolation—with the help of overseas sports collaborators; commercial (including US firms') sponsorship of apartheid sports events; the continuing international campaign against apartheid sports, and the determined struggle inside South Africa towards non-racial sports.

The book also records the important contributions made by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, including its semi-annual publication of a register (known as "The Blacklist") of athletes who compete with South Africa. It is typical of his modesty that Ramsamy avoids any mention of his own key role in drawing up the register.

The author's total immersion in the day-to-day struggle is reflected in the style of his book—a brief handbook designed to arm activists with the essential elements they need to keep campaigning.

The Tasks Ahead

After digesting these two valuable, and complementary books, what steps remain for us to take here in the US? I suggest two main tasks: first, to increase our protests and demonstrations against the staging, sponsorship, and media coverage of all sports events that include South Africans while the policy of apartheid is in force; and second, to pressure the US government to formulate a sports policy against contacts with South African sportspeople, until apartheid is ended. The socialist states, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Scandinavian countries, and even Canada and the other Commonwealth countries have already moved in this direction. We must pressure the US to join with the other countries at the UN to formulate a Security Council international convention against sports contacts with South Africa. The UN has passed a 1977 General Assembly international declaration in this regard, but it is not mandatory or binding.

In the past, successive administrations have explained their policy as one that, "doesn't interfere in the decisions of private sports bodies." The consistency of that stance was shattered by the extreme pressure President Carter chose to exert on the private US Olympic Committee—and private Olympic committees around the world—to boycott the Moscow Olympic Games in 1980 over a political/military issue that had nothing whatsoever to do with sports. The US government needs to be challenged for not taking a boycott stance on an issue that directly affects the sporting interests, and also the most fundamental human rights, of the majority of the population of South Africa.

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solidarity NEWS

New York, Greece Honor Mandela

African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned symbol of Black resistance in South Africa, continues to receive recognition and support from the international community, even as he enters the twentieth year of his life sentence.

The City College of New York announced in March that it will award Mandela an honorary Doctor of Laws degree in June of this year. CCNY President Bernard W. Harleston also announced he will seek the assistance of the State Department in arranging a presentation of the award to Mandela personally.

In another act of international solidarity, the City Council of the ancient Greek city of Olympia bestowed honorary citizenship on Mandela on March 17. Furthermore, the United Nations Information Center in Athens, Greece, and the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid have begun a country-wide petition campaign calling for Mandela's release.

Canada Churches Target Corporate Ties

A group of Canadian churches has demanded that a Canadian corporation, Alcan Aluminum, stop its South African affiliate from selling goods to the South African military. In late March the Canadian churches, coordinated by the Toronto-based Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility, introduced a resolution calling on Alcan to tell its South African affiliate, Hulett's Aluminum, that Alcan is opposed to all sales to the South African military.

Alcan has announced that it will oppose the resolution at its annual meeting, but the churches have vowed to press the issue. Church groups in Canada have targeted Canadian corporations such as Falconbridge Limited, Rio Algom, and Alcan for a number of years, demanding that these corporations take actions to stop supporting apartheid. For further information contact the Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility, 500 Jarvis St., Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2J6, Canada.

US Church Groups Target Corporations

Church groups in the United States, coordinating with two Cali-

formia-based pension funds, have filed a total of thirty shareholder resolutions with 28 corporations concerning their operations in South Africa. The churches and pension funds together hold stock valued at more than \$74 million in the corporations being targeted.

The shareholder resolutions are being coordinated by the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a unit of the National Council of Churches. This year's shareholder resolutions range from calling on corporations to endorse the code of corporate conduct known as the Sullivan principles to calling on banks to refuse to make any new loans to the South African government. A number of corporations have been asked to "consider their involvement" in the sale of South Africa's gold coin, the Kruggerand, and two California public employee pension funds have led a shareholder's call for two oil companies to stop selling oil to the South African military.

And for the first time, church shareholders have filed resolutions with several corporations, including Chemical Bank, Sears, and Shearson/American Express, commending them for refusing to lend money to South Africa. For more information contact ICCR, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027.

No-Nukes Nix Nuclear Ties

The national nuclear freeze campaign has taken the first step towards including the issue of US nuclear collaboration with South Africa in its initiative for a bilateral freeze in nuclear weapons deployment between the US and the USSR. At its mid-February national conference the nuclear freeze resolved that US collaboration with South Africa be included in the organization's educational work and that local freeze chapters work to support Congressman Charles Rangel's (D-NY) legislation (HR-1020) to cut off all nuclear exports to South Africa and prohibit the training of South Africans at US nuclear facilities.

The resolution, which was introduced at the conference by Clergy and Laity Concerned's Disarmament Coordinator Tony Watkins, was co-sponsored by CALC and the Washington Office on Africa. "This was a way to see if we could get the campaign to have an issue that would be palatable to Black folk," said Watkins.

The nuclear freeze has already mailed out 5,000 copies of the Washington Office on Africa's Stop the Apartheid Bomb leaflet, and Watkins anticipates that the freeze will endorse an effort to build a national coalition to end US-South African nuclear collaboration. For more information contact: Tony Watkins, Clergy and Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212) 964-6730.

Hats Off to Trade Unionists

In a show of solidarity with Black workers in South Africa, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) has issued a statement calling for a boycott of children's headwear imported from South Africa.

The union has called for a letter-writing campaign against retailers who import the products from South Africa. They are presently targeting

the Caldor Retail Chain, which has repeatedly ignored ACTWU appeals to replace the South African imports with domestically-made headwear.

Union President John Hudson stated two reasons for the boycott: "First, products made under substandard conditions jeopardize jobs that our members desperately need. Second, and of equal importance, the South African apartheid system of institutional racial discrimination and exploitation is repugnant to us, as we're sure it is to you and to

all people of good will. The sale of South African goods in the United States lends economic strength and political legitimacy to apartheid."

The ACTWU is requesting that letters of concern be sent to the president of the Caldor Retail Chain, Dennis Bookshester, at 20 Glover Ave., Norwalk, Connecticut 06852, and that a copy be forwarded to the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, CLC, 15 Union Square, New York, NY 10003.

Students Meet, Plan Coordinated Actions

On March 12, fifty student and community activists came together for a day-long conference on grassroots strategies for anti-apartheid organizing in the northeastern United States. The conference, which was organized by the American Committee on Africa and held at Amherst College in Massachusetts, brought together groups from communities as far apart as Maine and New Jersey.

ACOA's student organizer Josh Nessen pointed to the meeting with its large attendance as "reflecting the growing strength of the anti-apartheid movement on campus and in the community."

Conference participants spent half the day reporting on actions that have happened in the northeast during the past year, and the remainder of the time was spent deciding on what types of actions should be taken in the future.

The period April 6-20 was designated as a time for coordinated anti-apartheid actions and students agreed to kick off the two-week period with a nationwide armband day on April 6. On April 15, simultaneous demonstrations for divestment will be held at Dartmouth, Columbia, and Amherst. Organizers emphasized that although April 6 and April 15 are key dates, mobilization against US collaboration with apartheid will take place from April 6 through April 20.

"The meeting was marked by a high degree of unity, reflected by the unanimous decision to form a

regional organization based on the principle of support for armed (national) liberation struggles, as well as total divestment of shareholding in companies operating in South Africa, and support for the cultural boycott," said organizer Nessen. The process of establishing this regional coalition will continue on April 30, when a larger meeting of activists is scheduled to take place at Amherst. For more information about that meeting, contact Joshua Nessen, American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212-962-1210). □

Rights Group Targets Namibia

Amnesty International has launched a campaign against human rights violations in Namibia. The campaign, launched last December, is intended to stimulate public awareness of the atrocities being committed against the Namibian people by the South African army.

There are presently 90,000 South African troops illegally occupying Namibia. Amnesty officials cite such key issues as detention without trial, torture, disappearances, extra judicial executions and the death penalty as targets of the campaign.

Amnesty International received reports in late 1982 of 25 arrests by South African security police and military forces operating in the Kavango area in northern Namibia. According to Amnesty International's campaign coordinator, Susan Riveles, since Amnesty published its first paper on human rights violations in Namibia in 1977, the situation has noticeably worsened. "Recently, two Namibians died within two hours of being detained," Riveles said, "and we're conducting an inquiry into the autopsy in order to make the information public." For more information regarding the Namibian human rights situation, and Amnesty's campaign, write Amnesty International, 304 W. 58 Street, New York, NY 10019. □



Mass Divest—A Campaign That Worked



Mass Divest members (from left) Willard Johnson, Liz Phillips, Jenny Patchen and Paul Pallacola listen to testimony at the state legislature.

Patricia Lee Farris

Boston—The final vote wasn't even close. By landslide margins of 23-5 in the State Senate and 133-2 in the House of Representatives, the Massachusetts state legislature overruled Governor Edward King's veto on January 4 and made their state the first in the nation to require full divestment of public funds from firms doing business in or with South Africa. Over the next three years, the state is now committed to sell nearly \$100 million of pension fund investments in 27 major banks and corporations—including Ford, Xerox, Exxon, and the Bank of America.

The decisive vote capped a determined two-year campaign by a coalition called Mass. Divest, which united legislative sponsors Senator

Patricia Lee Farris was media coordinator for Mass Divest and is a long-time southern Africa solidarity worker.

Jack Backman and Representative Mel King, public employee unions, southern Africa activists, Black community groups and churches. "Our new law," a delighted Rep. King remarked, "is a tremendous psychological boost to those who are oppressed and are looking for signs of support in their fight against apartheid." The activist Black legislator from Roxbury voiced the hope that the divestment campaign could "put such pressure on South Africa that their system will be forced to change."

The victory reflects several key strategic decisions made at the start of the campaign in 1981. That was when Backman, a liberal white legislator from suburban Boston, and King initiated formation of Mass. Divest to generate the wide community support they believed was necessary to move the bill through the legislature.

In addition to forging an unusually coordinated effort between legislators and the community,

Mass. Divest made a firm decision from the start not to accept compromise bills but to push for full divestment of all South Africa-related stocks and bonds. The goal, as Sen. Backman explained, was "to send the strongest possible message to the rulers of South Africa—the only government in the world whose constitution mandates racial discrimination—and to South Africa's allies in Washington and the corporate world." By defining that goal and sticking to it, Mass. Divest soundly defeated several attempts to weaken the bill.

The bill drafted by Mass. Divest was also carefully designed to broaden its appeal by specifying that proceeds from the divestment sales be reinvested in Massachusetts firms whenever possible. This provision helped attract union endorsements, and it strengthened Mass. Divest's argument that many companies operating in South Africa had recently shut down plants in the state.

Initial Prospects Not Rosy

In planning outreach and lobbying strategies, Mass. Divest "took a cold, hard look at the realities of Massachusetts politics," according to Melinda Tuhus, an early coordinator. Although the state has a liberal reputation, the prospects looked far from rosy.

The Governor throughout the divestment campaign was Edward King, an extremely conservative Democrat who strongly supported Ronald Reagan's economic and foreign policies. Many legislators shared King's world view. The state treasurer also lined up against the bill, claiming that divestment would hurt pension fund profits, thus damaging the pensioners' retirement benefits. And at least two

paid lobbyists showed up to work against the bill, one representing the South African government itself and the other the Ford Motor Company.

Against this array of forces, Mass. Divest marshalled a two-year shoe-string budget of \$4000 and no paid staff whatsoever. But starting with a group of activists who had participated in an earlier Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa campaign to boycott the First National Bank of Boston because of its South Africa ties, Mass. Divest brought together a handful of core activists who, at their peak, brought out thirty activists to regular meetings. And this small coalition formed a base that won endorsements and active support from a broad range of influential organizations.

Armed with a slide show about Massachusetts and South Africa, coalition activists addressed more than 100 organizations, the group's outreach coordinator Peter Aladjem reported. And they came back with endorsements from the three unions which together represent the bulk of state employees (the Massachusetts Teachers Association, AFSCME and the Service Employees International Union), from Black organizations such as TransAfrica and the NAACP, and from church groups, including the politically powerful Massachusetts Catholic Conference.

Endorsing organizations were urged to contribute more than their names. "One of the most effective things we did was to arrange for delegations of leaders of influential organizations to visit key legislators at crucial moments," explained lobbying coordinator Liz Phillips. "We also triggered floods of letters and phone calls at the time of every major vote."

Wendy Earle, another coordinator, offered examples of other tactics that proved effective. "We won over the Public Service Committee chairman by arranging for 27 diverse organizations to testify in favor of divestment at a packed committee hearing on the bill. We worked on other legislative leaders by leafletting shopping areas in their districts, asking them questions at

local meetings and persuading their own churches, unions, and constituents to contact them."

Union Backing Crucial

Backing of the public employee unions proved crucial in rebutting the state treasurer's charge that divestment would cause their pension funds to lose money. Union officials testified that divestment was financially sound. And buoyed by an improvement in the bond market, coalition financial experts were able last October "to demonstrate that divestment would actually yield a \$2 million profit," said Mass. Divest research director Dick Clapp.

Mass. Divest also sought and benefited from extensive media coverage. The state's leading daily, *The Boston Globe*, published a lengthy series on divestment at the beginning of the campaign, followed by four editorials endorsing Mass. Divest's bill. A timely front-page article in Boston's most widely read weekly helped expose the role of the anti-divestment lobbyists.

Above all, Mass. Divest relied on the persistence and determination of its members. When Senate conservatives stalled passage long enough to keep the bill from reaching the House floor in 1981, the coalition simply started all over again at the beginning of the next

legislative session. When Governor King stepped in at the last minute with an amendment favored by the Ford lobbyist to exempt companies that had signed the feeble anti-discrimination guidelines of the Sullivan Principles, the coalition was ready with evidence that the principles were "sugar coating on a bitter pill," in the words of the local TransAfrica chapter leader Prof. Willard Johnson. The amendment was soundly defeated. And when Governor King finally vetoed the bill, supporters managed to bring it back to the floor just before the end of the legislative session and override the veto. At last, Massachusetts had the strongest divestment law in the nation.

Mass. Divest organizers want their victory to encourage similar actions in other states. According to the group's coordinator, Tom Watkins, "We have already heard that at least 27 other states will consider divestment proposals in their 1983 legislative sessions."

To aid divestment work across the country, Mass. Divest plans to hold a conference on divestment strategy in Boston on April 15 and 16. The American Committee on Africa and other national groups will co-sponsor the event. For details, contact Sen. Jack Backman's office: Room 213B, State House, Boston, MA 02133; (617) 722-1639.

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Box Bout in Bophuthatswana

Frank Sinatra is returning to Sun City, South Africa to introduce two world-title boxing matches. On May 27, Davey Moore will defend his junior middleweight title against Roberto Duran and lightweight champ Ray (Boom Boom, Mancini will fight Kenny (Bang Bang) Bogner. The event will be broadcast live in the US on cable TV.

Sinatra sang in South Africa in 1981 when he opened a new stadium in the Sun City gambling resort complex located in the Bophuthatswana bantustan. Ever since, Ol' Blue Eyes has been a frequent target of anti-apartheid activists in the United States.

But money talks. Moore and Mancini will receive \$1 million each plus a percentage of the gross—estimated at \$20-\$25 million. Duran will get \$500,000 and Bogner \$200,000. No one will comment on what Sinatra will get, but at the time of his 1981 performance, press reports estimated his pay for a week tour at over \$1 million.

Cricket Team Breaks Boycott

In mid-January, a group of West Indian cricketers became the third foreign team in the span of a year to break the international isolation of South Africa in the field of sports. At a price tag of nearly \$100,000 each, at least eleven professional West Indian cricket players toured South Africa during a month-long visit, demonstrating the South African Cricket Union's (SACU) determination to buy its way out of the International Cricket Conference's boycott of South Africa in international cricket competition.

At the end of last year, SACU laid out big money to bring in a team from Sri Lanka, which, due to a successful domestic boycott—and the Sri Lankans' poor performance—resulted in a SACU loss of almost \$600,000. Bringing in the players from the West Indies, home for some of the world's finest players, was an attempt not only to refurbish its cof-

fers (cricket-going audiences in South Africa pay well to see such competition), but to proclaim, as SACU President Pamensky has said, that "the game is now totally non-racial."

Yet the highly secretive West Indian tour had scarcely arrived in Pretoria when Jamaica denounced the cricketers for accepting "blood money" for playing with apartheid. The consulate-general noted that "it is well known that the South African regime is increasingly using sport in order to attempt to create a favorable image for its apartheid policy," and banned three Jamaican members of the tour from playing within their national borders.

Within South Africa, Black and Indian political organizations have been attempting to organize a boycott of the products of the tour's sponsoring companies.

Principles?

The new national coordinator of the Sullivan Principles in South Africa, Roger Crawford, recently said that management, not unions, knows what is best for workers. In an interview published in the *Financial Mail*, a South African business magazine, Crawford said, "I believe that an organization that applies the Sullivan Code will in fact achieve more for its workers than any union."

"As a result of my experience, I think that management has a better understanding of the needs of its own work force than a union," Crawford's views contrast sharply with those of the growing Black union movement in South Africa. One union, the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union of South Africa, was asked by the Ford Motor Company—considered one of the "best" employers in South Africa—to comment on the Sullivan Code. MACWUSA said that the Sullivan Code "circled around apartheid's basic structures. The Code does not demand apartheid be abolished, but merely to modernize and ensure its perpetuation."

NEWS
Briefs

Changes on the Hill

Following national elections last November, the US Congress announced in early March the new members of the key congressional committees that review US Africa policy.

In the House, Howard Wolpe of Michigan remains chairman of the Africa subcommittee, but the only other member to carry over to this session is George Crockett, Jr. (D-MI). The new line-up includes four more Democrats Howard Berman (CA), Harry Reid (NV), Edward Feighan (OH), and Ted Weiss (NY), and three new Republicans Gerald Solomon (NY), Toby Roth (WI), and Ed Zschau (CA). Solomon, the ranking Republican member, is reportedly more interested in combatting the Soviet/Cuban presence in Africa and opposing the liberation movements (he has characterized SWAPO as "terrorists") than in dealing with the issue of South Africa's apartheid policies. This position, according to TransAfrica legislative aide Salih Abdul-Rahim, means there will no longer be bipartisan agreement to address particularly the issue of South Africa in a constructive way. Nonetheless, liberal Democrats still retain a 6:3 majority.

Republican Nancy Kassebaum (KS) retains her position as chair of the Senate Africa Subcommittee while Charles Percy (R-IL) who chairs the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has moved into the only vacant slot. Other members of the committee are Republicans Charles Mathias (MD) and Jesse Helms (NC), along with Democrats Paul Tsongas (MA), John Glenn (OH) and Christopher Dodd (CT).

Labor Leader Knocks Apartheid Ad

John Glasel, president of New York Local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians has protested an advertisement announcing openings for a South African orchestra that appeared in the February edition of the AFM newspaper, *International Musician*.

In a March 7 letter to the newspaper's editors, Glasel wrote: "South Africa's racial policies are well known. The laws of our own country and the policies of many trade unions are opposed to all discrimination....It is high time that the AFM made opposition to racial discrimination a matter of policy. A good first step would be a policy of not accepting advertisements in its journal from areas where discrimination is sanctioned. We, therefore, ask that no further insertions of the Natal Philharmonic ad be printed and that in the future, similar ads be rejected."

President Glasel told *Southern Africa* that, "Our union is absolutely against racial discrimination and we will continue to speak out on social issues affecting our members in the future."

New Death in Detention

A man suspected of membership in the banned African National Congress, Tembuyise Simon Mndawe, was found hanged in his cell in the eastern Transvaal town of Nelspruit on March 8, the 55th South African political detainee to die in police custody. He was arrested on February 22 while allegedly carrying a Soviet-made submachine gun and banned ANC literature. Although police said Mndawe made a confession before a magistrate on February 23, the day after his arrest, he was never brought to court and formally charged. Mndawe's family has retained a private pathologist to perform an independent postmortem.

Mndawe is the first political detainee to die in custody since the Security Police, under growing scrutiny from community groups such as the Detainees' Parents Committee, instituted a code of conduct in the handling of prisoners detained under South Africa's Draconian security laws. And even before Mndawe's death, government opponents charged that the new code

is full of loopholes. In particular, critics cite the total lack of any independent oversight of police conduct, and of South African security laws in general, which place prisoners under the complete control of the police without access to doctors, lawyers and family. Mndawe's death, occurring so soon after the code was announced, is sure to add weight to these criticisms.

Detention without trial has long been a key part of South Africa's massive array of internal security measures. When other means fail, the government can simply seize political dissidents and hold them indefinitely. H.J. Coetzee, South Africa's minister of justice, has defended detaining opponents by arguing that "the subtle manner in which they operate does not always make it possible to charge them in court of law."

But no charges of subtlety can be laid against the police. There is overwhelming evidence that torture and assault are routinely inflicted on detainees under interrogation. Mndawe's death is harsh evidence of this continuing brutality.

A House, Not A Home

According to Sheena Duncan, head of the white liberal South African Black Sash organization: "Rather than living in a period of apartheid reform, we are in the midst of an accelerated process of bringing apartheid to its desired conclusion." Speaking before a group of students at the University of the Witwatersrand in mid-February, Duncan cited the forced removal of over three million Blacks from "white" areas as evidence that life for the African majority is changing for the worse.

Duncan said the removals, which began in the 1960s, had increased the number of Blacks living in the already overcrowded and underdeveloped African reserves or bantustans, from forty to fifty four percent

of the nation's total population. "When these people are moved into the bantustans they become trapped into poverty. They are unable to leave because the law states they may not work in South Africa if they are resident in a homeland."

Since the first bantustan was forced to accept a sham "independence" under the government's "separate development" scheme in 1976, Duncan said, over eight million Blacks have been stripped of their South African citizenship and officially designated citizens of the bantustans. No foreign government recognizes the independence of any of the bantustans.

Duncan's conclusions received added credibility from the government's own, recently-released

figures on "pass law" arrests. According to the South African police, over 200,000 Blacks were arrested on pass law violations in 1982, a 90 percent increase in arrests since 1981.

The government has also stepped up attacks on squatter camps in Soweto and Cape Town, leveling some camps repeatedly and arresting residents in an effort to force Blacks into the bantustans. Even the highly-publicized government decision to sell some 406,000 state-owned houses to urban Blacks has been attacked by Black leaders. While Blacks are now legally allowed to purchase a house in "white" areas, they are still barred from owning the land on which the house stands.

Stan Sierakowski / c 1980



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