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# WASHINGTON NOTES ON AFRICA

**Inside:**

- House Passes Sanctions Bill
- State and Local Actions
- SA Renews Emergency
- Reagan Rehashes Racist Policy

## The Need for Comprehensive Sanctions

by Representative Ronald V. Dellums

*We are honored to have Rep. Dellums (D-CA) as a guest commentator in this issue. Rep. Dellums has long been one of apartheid's most committed and courageous foes in the US House of Representatives. He has been an unwavering supporter of sanctions and was the author of the comprehensive sanctions bill passed by the House this year.*

**S**outh Africa is at a flash point. Over the last two years, more than 2,100 people have been killed and close to 38,000 have been arrested in anti-apartheid protests. I look to the future with a sense of great urgency and deep concern about the rapidly worsening situation for South Africa's Black majority who are suffering now, more than ever, from the oppression of the racist apartheid regime.

As the rebellion, developing civil war, and repression in South Africa continue to escalate, the United States can no longer pretend to be playing a constructive role in South Africa. The political ideals of our nation, our moral teachings, and, indeed, our very history require that we change our policies toward the South African government. We must support the development of democracy and complete freedom. We must end our complicity with racism and violence and recognize and support the quest of the South African majority for full political rights.

On June 5, 1985, in an effort to challenge the immoral apartheid regime and to hasten its demise, the House passed HR 1460, a limited sanctions bill, by an overwhelming margin of 295-127. However, the Reagan administration undercut Senate action on a compromise version of this legislation when, by executive decree, it issued a set of much milder sanctions on September 9, 1985.

In the interim, State President P.W. Botha had invoked the Public Safety Act of 1953 to proclaim an official State of Emergency in 36 magisterial districts, mostly in the Black townships surrounding South Africa's major urban areas. He subsequently imposed severe restrictions on all media coverage of the growing country-wide protests against this heightened oppression. As a consequence, the world community has not been able to monitor closely the steadily deteriorating situation there.

Virtually nothing has changed for the millions of Black South Africans who continue to live under increasing repression. According to an Amnesty International/USA report published earlier this year, 238,000 people were arrested in 1984 because of alleged violations of the so-called pass laws or related legislation. Thousands of these people were then put to work for white farmers under "what is officially described as parole but in essence is closer to a system of forced labor." Whether in prison or working on farms, these victims were often subject to systematic beatings before being exiled to the Black "homelands"—that 13 per cent of South African territory where the Black majority is "allowed" to live without special permission from the apartheid government.

Although the South African government now claims to have repealed the pass laws, they have merely been replaced by a "uniform identity document." This continues to display a racial/ethnic classification, as required by the Population Registration Act of 1949, one of the pillars of apartheid law. Similarly, the "influx control" laws, dropped by the minority regime earlier this year amid much fanfare, have been superseded by "orderly urbanization" legislation, which continues to restrict the movements of Black people in much the same ways.

On March 7, Pretoria lifted the State of Emergency declared last July 21, only to impose a more vicious and sweeping Emergency three months later (see page 6). Already nearly 10,000 people have been detained under the new regulations. Research indicates that only one in six of these detainees will be released without being tortured. Despite government claims to the contrary, the daily violence and death tolls have not diminished.

### The US Must Take Strong Action

The United States has not met its responsibilities in South Africa. The situation is deteriorating and we are among the few nations that have not actively opposed the regime and its abhorrent system. There is no question that it is at least dangerous, if not impossible, for Black South Africans to seek democracy peacefully. The international community has the

capacity and the leverage to cause the South African government to come face to face with Black South Africa and forge true democracy through dialogue and conciliation.

Thus, we now stand at a moral crossroad. We can allow ourselves to be passive observers of the intensifying crisis there through tacit acceptance of the administration's policy of "constructive engagement" and the President's assurance that his mild sanctions constitute an adequate US response to apartheid terrorism. However, this would be to ignore the fact that "constructive engagement" is a failure. Apartheid has not been dismantled. Thousands have been imprisoned for political opposition; hundreds have been shot down in the streets; millions have been resettled to rural ghettos that masquerade as "homelands." The condition of rural Blacks has gotten worse. Poverty is rampant in the urban areas.

To continue our current policy is un-American. I believe that opposition to apartheid is as American as apple pie. We, in this country, believe in individual freedoms; Black people in South Africa do not have them. We believe in the democratic process—one person, one vote—but Black people in South Africa do not have the right to vote. We believe that human beings should have the freedom to travel, to marry, and to raise families. Black people in South Africa do not have those rights. South Africa has an incredibly high infant mortality rate caused by lack of concern, neglect, poor health care, and a government that doesn't care about its Black population. These are all factors to which we must respond.

The United States must take strong steps to promote justice and freedom. We must legislate a series of actions that will withdraw our support of, and end our acquiescence in, apartheid.

As early as 1971, Representative John Conyers and I introduced HR 13147, which called for disinvestment. That remains my position today. Last year, I introduced HR 997, which called for comprehensive sanctions, including mandatory disinvestment, a ban on US trade with South Africa, a prohibition on the sale of South African gold coins in the United States, and a denial of US landing rights (except in emergencies) to South African aircraft. When the House considered the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, HR 1460, I moved to substitute the provisions of HR 997 for those of HR 1460, but the amendments failed by a vote of 77-345.

This year, during debate on HR 4868, the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, I again moved to substitute comprehensive sanctions provisions. This time the amendment succeeded, and the House quickly approved the amended legislation. In so doing, the House has indicated to the Senate and to the President that the United States must adopt the strongest possible measures to combat apartheid. I applaud my Senate colleagues who have introduced

S 2570 as companion legislation (see box, page 3). The Senate must now pass this bill so that we will have a consistent policy which demonstrates, unequivocally, our total abhorrence of apartheid.

## Disinvestment and Trade Sanctions Crucial

The key to such a policy is disinvestment. Seventeen per cent of South Africa's capital comes from abroad. A State Department study put the total US investment in South Africa at \$14.6 billion in 1984. This included direct investments, investments through subsidiaries of US firms based in third countries, short-term loans from US banks, and portfolio investments in South African stocks. US corporate investment is important not only in its aggregate, but also in that much of the investment is in key sectors of the economy such as energy, computers, and transportation.

South African officials are well aware of the impact of US companies. A 1978 State Department cable on South African

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### ***"To continue our current policy is un-American."***

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attitudes toward multinational corporations, released by the American Friends Service Committee, says: "[the South African government's] stake in the multinationals is very large, not only for obvious economic reasons but because they execute a restraining effect on policy-makers abroad."

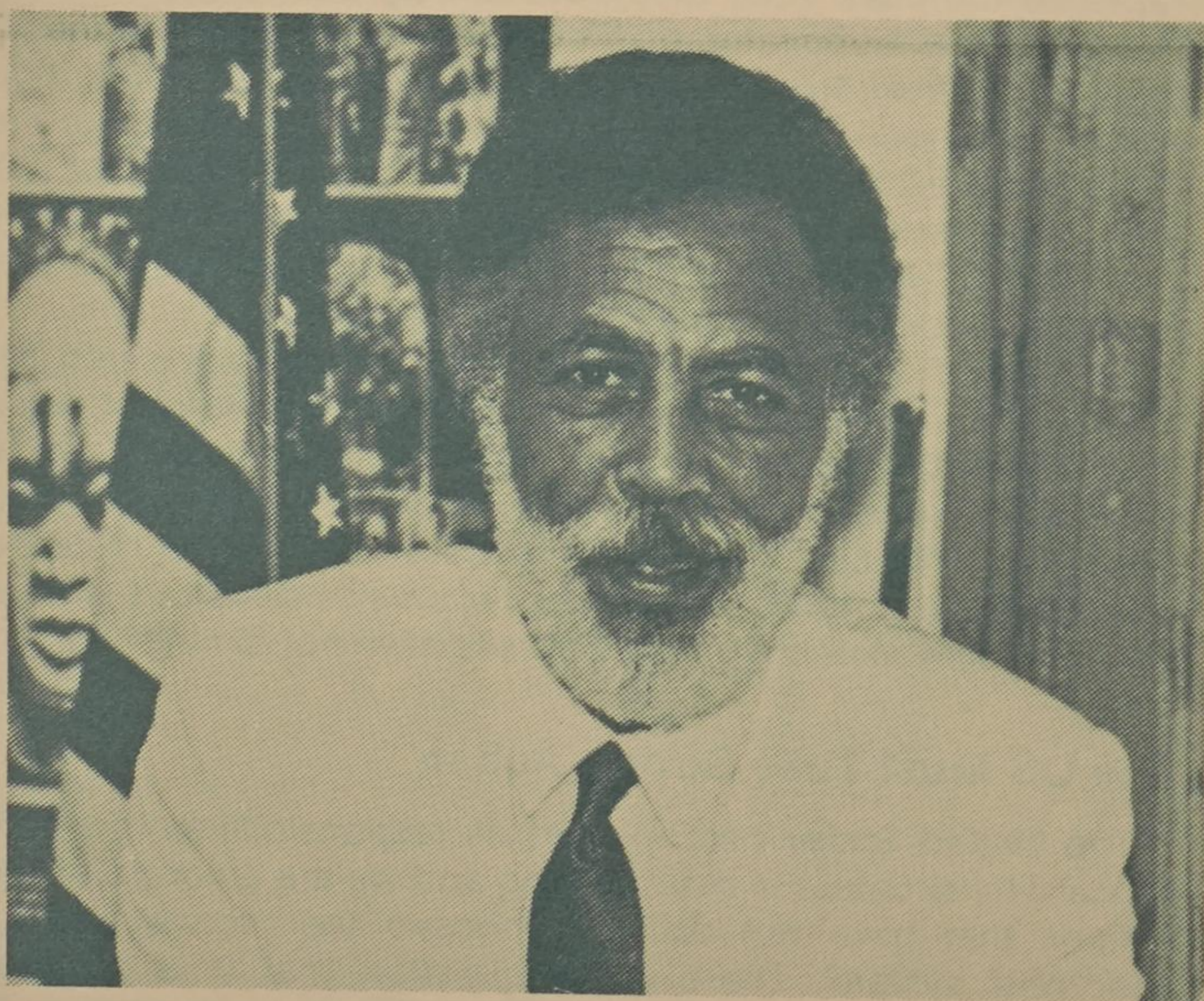
In November 1983, Prime Minister Botha stated "Foreign capital investment was important to South Africa because it supplemented domestic savings to finance investment, affected favorably the balance of payments, often involved transfer of technology know-how, and, sometimes, immigration of managers or highly qualified technical people."

Black South Africans have for many years called for the complete isolation of the white minority government and for a corporate pull-out from South Africa. While advocacy of economic sanctions is illegal, its support by Black South African organizations and leaders that appear to have the largest followings is clear and expanding.

On April 2, Nobel Laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu called for punitive economic sanctions against South Africa, risking criminal charges. The Anglican Archbishop-elect told a news conference, "I have no hope of change from this government unless they are forced. We face a catastrophe in this land and only the action of the international community, by applying pressure, can save us." How can we not support such a call?

US corporate withdrawal would affect less than one per cent of the Black labor force. But even if it were more, disinvestment would remain a priority for the anti-apartheid movements in South Africa and abroad. As the late Steven Biko said: "If Washington is really interested in contributing to the development of a just society in South Africa, it would discourage investment in South Africa. We Blacks are perfectly willing to suffer the consequences. We are quite accustomed to suffering." (Biko was killed by the South African police in 1977 while in detention.)

The second major aspect of this policy is a ban on exports to South Africa and a ban on imports from South Africa (except for those strategic minerals that the President certifies are necessary to meet defense needs). Foreign trade is vital to South Africa's economy. Its primary trading relationships are confined to a relatively small number of countries, and the United States is the largest of these trading partners. Fifteen per cent of South Africa's imports come from the United States. Most important, we provide essential goods in the areas of computers, transportation, and energy. We import products such as coal and uranium that hurt



*Representative Ronald V. Dellums*

our depressed industries while helping the government of South Africa.

## Senate Now Bears Responsibility

It is now up to the Senate and the President to enact the House-approved legislation. And it is up to the people of the United States to provide them with a clear and emphatic political message. Such sanctions are a serious step. The question arises—since human rights violations, even massive ones, occur in many nations having different economic and political systems, why single out South Africa? The answer is simple; South Africa is the only nation in the world that constitutionally provides that the overwhelming majority of the population shall not be able to participate in the affairs of state, solely on the basis of race.

In closing, I would like to quote Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.:

*South Africa's national policy and practice are the incarna-*

*tion of the doctrine of white supremacy in the midst of a population that is overwhelmingly black. But the tragedy of South Africa is not simply in its own policy; it is in the fact that the racist government of South Africa is virtually made possible by the economic policies of the United States and Great Britain, two countries which profess to be the moral bastions of the world.*

We must act now, before it is too late. The situation in South Africa will not improve without outside pressures. If there is no real and dramatic change in the conditions of Black people, there is little hope for peaceful change.

The double standard in US policy toward South Africa and other regimes we oppose is obvious. Our policy toward South Africa discredits us before the world, particularly the Third World. As the crisis heightens in South Africa, we will become the focal point of discontent. That is not necessary. We must disengage and end our support for and acquiescence in apartheid. ■

## House Victory on Tough Sanctions

**A**fter four hearings on South Africa during March and April, the House Subcommittee on Africa unveiled new selective sanctions legislation at a May 21 press conference with the sponsors of the bill, Rep. Bill Gray (D-PA) and Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA). The bill, HR 4868 in the House, called for no new South African loans or investment; no US involvement in the development or servicing of South Africa's energy sector; no coal, steel, and uranium imports; conditional disinvestment from the computer sector after one year; withdrawal of South African aircraft landing rights; and \$25 million in aid to refugee education and "community development" programs. The Africa Subcommittee later amended the bill to ban the extraction or importation of Namibian natural resources until after the implementation of UN resolution 435, the only internationally accepted plan for the independence of Namibia.

The Washington Office on Africa recognized the importance of the sanctions provisions of this bill and supported their passage. However, we remained adamant in our call for adoption of the comprehensive sanctions provisions contained in Rep. Ron Dellums' (D-CA) bill, HR 997, as the most appropriate response to the crisis in southern Africa.

On June 18, the House opened debate on HR 4868. Among the six amendments allowed the Rules Committee were two by Dellums. The first was to strike the terms of HR 4868 and to replace them with comprehensive sanctions provisions. If that failed, Dellums would move to expand the conditional disinvestment section of the bill to include comprehensive sanctions.

Rep. Dellums opened debate on his first amendment with an impassioned plea for an end to the administration's "constructive engagement" policies. Twenty-two members from both sides of the aisle rose to support the amendment, which passed on a voice vote. The House then proceeded directly to a vote on HR 4868 (as amended), which also succeeded on a voice vote.

In the aftermath of this tremendous victory, detractors such as Rep. Mark Siljander (R-MI) claimed that they "allowed" the Dellums amendment to succeed as a means of diminishing the bill's chances in the Senate. However, such comments ignore the enormous pressure for strong action which House members felt in the days before the vote. The previous week, the apartheid regime had imposed the most draconian Emergency regulations to date. The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group had released their widely publicized report exposing the intransigence of the Botha regime (see Newsbrief, page 7). A June 14 rally in New York City commemorating the 1976 Soweto Uprising and calling for passage of HR 997 drew nearly 100,000 people. On June 16 and 17, hundreds of religious

activists lobbied in Washington, DC in support of comprehensive sanctions. The two days, which included a legislative briefing, were coordinated by the Washington Office on Africa as part of four days of nationwide action, organized by the Churches' Emergency Committee on Southern Africa.

Anti-apartheid activists are now working to place similar pressure on the Senate, where three sanctions bills are pending:

- **S 2570**—The Anti-Apartheid Action Act of 1986; introduced June 19 by Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA) as the companion to the House-passed comprehensive sanctions bill (HR 4868, as amended). It has been referred to the Finance Committee.
- **S 2498**—The Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986; introduced May 21 by Sen. Kennedy as the companion to HR 4868, the *original* House bill. The bill now has more than 20 co-sponsors and has been referred to the Banking Committee.
- **S 2636**—The South African Restrictions Act of 1986; introduced June 26 by Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS). This bill bans new loans and investment, gold coin and military equipment imports, computer exports to the government, and South African aircraft landing rights. It also offers incentives for US firms to sign the Sullivan Principles and provides \$25 million in aid to education and "community development" programs. It has been referred to Foreign Relations.

S 2636, although the weakest of the three bills, may turn out to be the most significant, given the political situation in the Senate. It marks the first time that Africa Subcommittee Chair Nancy Kassebaum has publicly endorsed sanctions. Her action is indicative of a widening of the gap between the mainstream Republican Senate leadership and the Reagan administration over the issue of US policy in South Africa. Also, the Foreign Relations Committee is much more likely to report a sanctions bill to the Senate floor than is either Banking or Finance.

The Senate will be in recess from August 15 to September 8. Anti-apartheid activists are pressing the Senate to act on sanctions legislation prior to this break. On July 8, the Washington Office on Africa, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Free South Africa Movement, the National Black Leadership Roundtable, and TransAfrica convened an emergency meeting on South Africa for national organizations. Over 130 people representing 70 organizations participated, making specific commitments to generate grassroots pressure on every Senator who has not yet made a commitment to back the comprehensive sanctions provisions of S 2570. Given the strength of grassroots support for comprehensive sanctions, the Senate will almost certainly have to act on sanctions before the November elections. ■

# Local Divestment Fuels Freedom Struggle

**N**ineteen-eight-five was a watershed year for anti-apartheid action in the US and in 1986 the momentum generated by the anti-apartheid movement continues. State, local, and university divestment movements have achieved unprecedented success. To date, 19 states, more than 70 cities and counties, and over 100 colleges and universities have enacted divestment policies involving approximately \$10 billion. According to the American Committee on Africa, 11 of the states, 37 of the cities, and 65 of the colleges and universities adopted their divestment policies during 1985. Among the states which began to divest last year were: New Mexico, Iowa, California, Louisiana, North Dakota, Rhode Island, and Minnesota. In 1986, Vermont, West Virginia, and at least 7 other cities and counties have enacted divestment laws or regulations. The wide geographical cross-section of state, city and university divestment action testifies to the national character of the anti-apartheid movement.

## Divestment Analyses Expose Myths

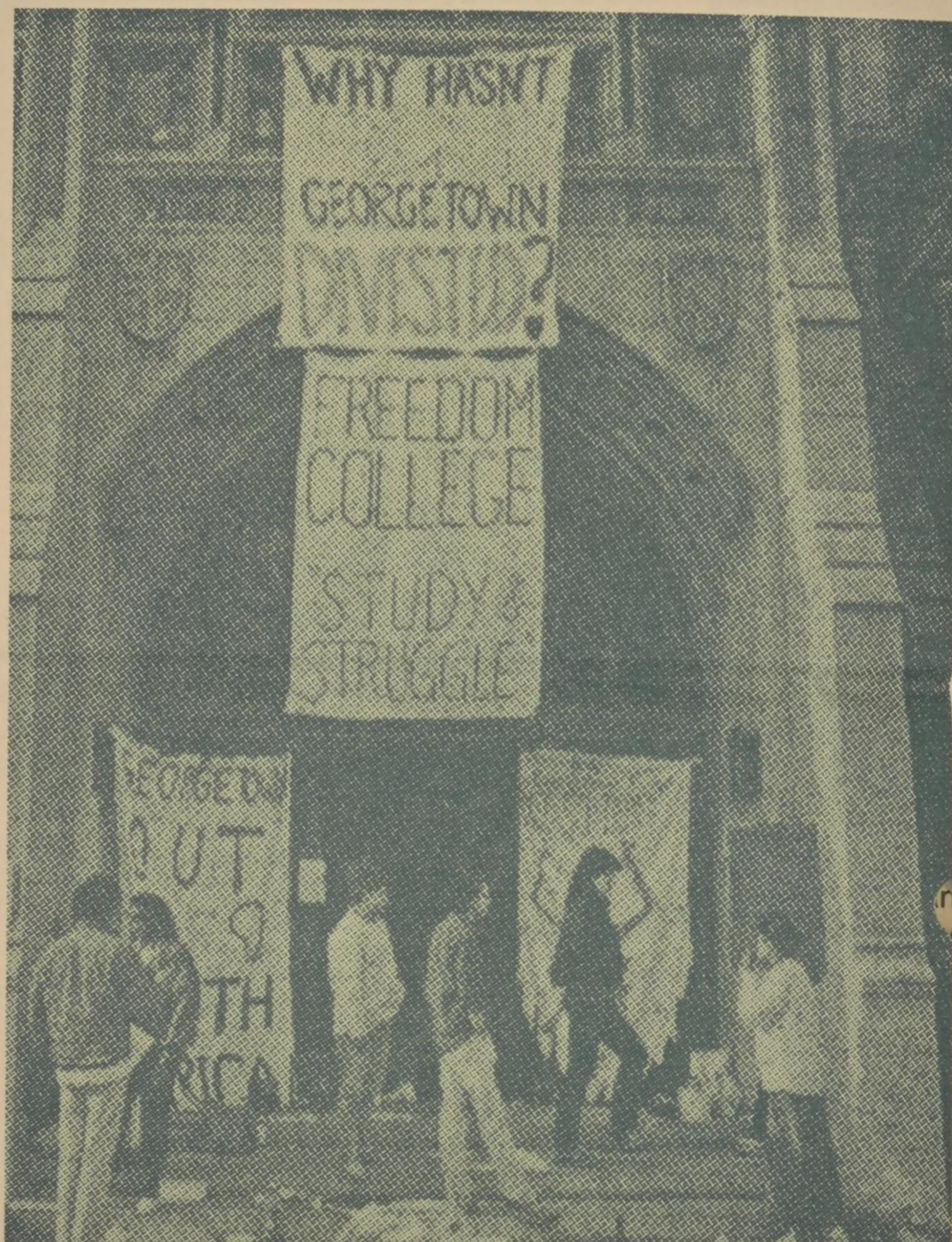
In spite of the tremendous success achieved by the divestment movement, anti-apartheid coalitions still encounter resistance from some state, local, and university authorities. These officials often ignore the relevant data and instead rely on various "technicalities" or false arguments to block divestment action. One such argument maintains that divestment is costly and inefficient. However, the Washington Office on Africa and other groups have presented testimony at several local divestment hearings to refute this claim.

Studies we have cited demonstrate conclusively that an institution does not have to incur substantial costs from divestment, as long as the policy is implemented over a reasonable period of time. For example, the state of Michigan has completed a study of 1982 divestment legislation that involved a portfolio totalling \$4.74 billion in which 58% was South Africa or Namibia-related stock. The study found that, to date, divestment had not had significant transactions costs (the brokers' fees and other costs involved in selling any stock at any time) or opportunity costs (the difference between the estimated return an unrestricted portfolio could have earned and the return actually earned over the same time period after divestiture).

Stan Calderwood, President of Trinity Investment Management in Boston, has calculated that, for the two years ending March 31, 1986, the divested portfolios he managed for the University of Michigan and nine other colleges earned an annual rate of 29.4%, while his unrestricted portfolios earned only a slightly higher rate, 30.1%. Such evidence refutes the claims of opponents that divestment is necessarily a costly policy.

Despite the many divestment successes they have already achieved, anti-apartheid activists are now working to strengthen current divestment policies. These efforts are focused around a number of key issues. For example, some states such as New Mexico, California, and Colorado have divestment *regulations* rather than legislation. They are not statutory, but can be changed or rescinded by a governor without consultation or public debate. Consequently, it is important for anti-apartheid coalitions to continue to press for divestment *laws*.

In California, the governor's recent action was positive for divestment forces. In September 1985, California Governor George Deukmejian vetoed divestment legislation and instead issued a weaker executive order mandating a case-by-case review of corporations investing in South Africa using the Sullivan Principles as a criteria for divestment. However, on July 17, 1986, under great pressure from divestment forces and facing stiff competition in the upcoming gubernatorial race, he reversed his decision and announced his support for total divestment. The next day, the Board of Regents of the University of California system voted to divest more than \$3.1 billion in stocks of US



*Student anti-apartheid activists turn Georgetown University into Freedom College.*

Photo: Hoya

corporations invested in South Africa. If the state of California follows suit, an additional \$9 billion would be affected.

## Sullivan Principles Remain Obstacle

Another battleground for divestment activists has been the effort to counter the obstacles to divestment posed by advocates of the Sullivan Principles. These voluntary principles mandate "fair employment" practices for US corporations operating within the apartheid system. The Principles do not address the denial of basic political, economic, and civil rights to the overwhelming majority of South Africa's population. Nevertheless, many state legislators, governors, and university trustees are promoting the Sullivan Principles as a justification for US firms' ongoing willingness to profit from apartheid.

Forty of the 65 colleges and universities that implemented some divestment action in 1985, included the Sullivan Principles as a part of the divestment criteria. Nine of the 19 states with divestment laws or regulations include the Sullivan Principles. States such as Kansas, Maryland, Maine, Connecticut, and Nebraska have approved selective divestment legislation which targets only those corporations that have not signed the Sullivan Principles.

Anti-apartheid activists must continue to oppose the Sullivan Principles as a feature of divestment legislation. While not abandoning his own "Principles," Rev. Leon Sullivan himself stated last June that they have been used by many corporations to justify their continued involvement with the apartheid regime. He has also stated, "Even if all the American companies complied, we could not attain our objective of eliminating apartheid."

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## Selective Purchasing Legislation

Procurement restrictions or selective purchasing legislation is a newer and very effective approach to state, local, and university divestment activity. Procurement restriction legislation bans goods or service contracts with any company doing business in South Africa. Among the states and cities that have passed procurement restrictions legislation are Raleigh, NC; Berkeley, CA; Newark, NJ; and Washington, DC.

In the District of Columbia, a formula has been devised for assigning demerits to corporations bidding for contracts if those institutions have investments in South Africa. Stronger procurement restrictions legislation would ban all purchases from South Africa-related corporations. Many key networks that had been lobbying state legislatures, county councils, and Boards of Regents to pass divestment legislation are now organizing to push for procurement restrictions.

## Namibia As A Divestment Issue

Another trend in local divestment action has been the prohibition on investment of public funds in US corporations that are operating in *Namibia* as well as South Africa. South Africa continues to occupy and colonize Namibia in defiance of the United Nations, the World Court, and international opinion. The city of Baltimore, Maryland recently passed legislation that called for the divestment of city pension funds from US corporations operating in South Africa and *Namibia*. Baltimore joins Alameda County, CA; Boston, MA; Camden, NJ; and Miami, FL in taking such actions.

Often divestment actions acknowledge the struggle for justice in South Africa without explicitly recognizing the plight of the Namibian people. As Africa's last colony, Namibia's natural and human resources are being ruthlessly exploited for the sole benefit of South African, North American, Japanese and European corporate interests.

At present, Namibia is illegally occupied by 100,000 South African troops. The apartheid government has imposed its dreaded system of bantustans, identity cards and other heinous burdens upon the Namibian people, viciously repressing their right of self-determination. The Washington Office on Africa encourages activists in areas where divestment bills have passed to work to expand this legislation to include divestment from US corporations operating in Namibia.

## What Has Been the Impact of Divestment?

In the current climate of increasing political and economic instability within southern Africa, the US divestment campaign has placed added pressure on corporations to end their business in South Africa. The divestment movement is a crucial part of the disinvestment campaign. Disinvestment (withdrawal from South Africa) has been one of the corporate responses to the divestment movement, the deteriorating situation in South Africa, and the increased international pressure on the South African economy. Shareholder resolutions by the thousands, employee anti-apartheid group activities, and divestment actions by cities, states, universities, major religious denominations, and other institutions have helped to pressure many US corporations to take stock of their role in South Africa. Since January, 1984, 51 US corporations have withdrawn from South Africa, including PanAm, Atlantic Richfield Co., Boeing, General Electric, General Foods, TWA, and Pepsico, Inc.

Phibro-Salomon, a commodities trading firm, announced in August 1985 that they would be ending all operations in South Africa. J. Clarence Morrison, a first Vice-President of Dean Witter Reynolds who follows Phibro on the stock exchange, explained why Phibro took this action:

*The Smithsonian Institution . . . recently sold its stock in Phibro-Salomon [because it implemented mandatory selec-*

*tive divestment regulations passed by the Board of Directors]. Since the amount of business [profits] Phibro makes from its South Africa operation were minimal compared to the significance of the Smithsonian's divestment, it was important to make the decision [disinvestment], to broaden the appeal of its shares for all institutional investors."*

States, cities, counties, universities, and major church denominations have also been applying consistent pressure on US banks to end their loans to the white minority regime. Many states and localities now penalize banks doing business in South Africa. The federal government has also placed restrictions on bank loans to the South African government. As a result, many US banks have joined the international finance community in limiting loans to the white minority regime.

The divestment campaign, international economic pressures, and the spreading rebellion within South Africa also contributed to the decision of the international banking community to refuse to roll-over South Africa's short-term loans. In renegotiating its foreign debt, South Africa was forced to accept higher interest payments and the immediate repayment of \$500 million of the outstanding loans.

Economic recession and political crisis have made South African investments unprofitable for many US corporations. A recent report of the Investor Responsibility Research Center states that, "The average rate of return on investments in South

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***"The divestment movement is a crucial part of the disinvestment campaign."***

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Africa has been falling. In 1981, the return on investment (after taxes) was 31%. By 1982 and 1983 the return was 7% and in 1984 corporations experienced losses equal to 9% of the book value of their direct investment."

## The Challenge

Over 2,100 people have been killed in uprisings in South Africa since September, 1984. Everyday the death toll rises as Black resistance to the apartheid repression reaches ever higher levels. As the crisis in South Africa deepens, it is important to continue anti-apartheid action in every state, city, and university. Where there is no divestment legislation or no condemnation of apartheid on the record from local lawmakers, begin building the coalitional support necessary to make South Africa a key campaign issue in this election year. Challenge all candidates and incumbents on their position on economic sanctions against South Africa.

Concurrent with the success of state, city, and university divestment action and the increasing national attention given to the apartheid issue in 1985, the struggle for passage of strong sanctions legislation was underway in the US Congress. The momentum and media attention generated by the anti-apartheid movement and divestment successes have now shifted the national debate on South Africa from *whether* sanctions should be imposed to *which* sanctions would be the most appropriate response to apartheid.

As the sanctions battle continues throughout the summer and fall of 1986, anti-apartheid activists must redouble their efforts to duplicate last year's success. The challenge for divestment advocates in the states, cities, universities, labor unions, and churches is once again to translate the local support for divestment into support for comprehensive economic sanctions, including disinvestment and a total trade embargo against South Africa. ■

# South Africa Crisis Deepens; Reagan Responds with Racist Speech

**W**ith the declaration of a renewed State of Emergency on Thursday, June 12, Pretoria dashed all hope of political dialogue by resorting instead to brute force to suppress South Africa's escalating crisis. In the first week of the emergency 40 people died, making it one of the highest weekly death rates since the present rebellion began in 1984. Since June 12, more than 180 people have died, according to official figures. At least 10,000—and possibly many more—have been detained, many of whom have been tortured. The new emergency regulations are the most sweeping ever imposed on South Africa. Unlike previous declarations, which have affected only urban areas, the new decree covers the entire country, giving security forces power to jail political opponents incommunicado and without trial and to use whatever force they deem necessary to enforce the decree. Hundreds of trade union, church, and community leaders have been arrested or driven underground, and the offices of anti-apartheid organizations have been raided and ransacked.

While some aspects of the emergency regulations were declared invalid by the Natal Supreme Court, the decree itself was upheld. The emergency regulations have been further strengthened by the enactment of new internal security legislation on July 20. The Public Safety Amendment Act allows the Minister of Law and Order to designate any area an "unrest area" and to impose any regulations on such areas, without a formally declared emergency. The Minister's decrees cannot be challenged by the courts, and those enforcing the Minister's regulations are immune from prosecution. The Internal Security Amendment Act makes it easier for police to detain opponents for more than 48 hours. It also increases from 14 days to 180 days the period of additional detention which police may impose. As in the past, detention can be extended indefinitely through the practice of immediate re-detention.

## "Black on Black" Violence

In attempting to justify the state of emergency, the Botha government has attributed a large part of the increased bloodshed to "Black on Black" violence. The term "Black on Black" absolves white authorities of responsibility for the rising death rate, and has the three-fold effect of discrediting the liberation movements, distorting the reality of the conflict in South Africa, and perpetuating the myth that Black South Africans are not "ready" for self-rule. A civil war is now developing in South Africa in which both whites and Blacks working for the apartheid authorities have become the targets of Black rage.



Police watch as vigilantes attack a delivery van in Lamontville, Natal.

Photo: CIIR

That which is termed "Black on Black" violence is often a manifestation of conflict between government and anti-government forces. In Crossroads, outside of Cape Town, the South African government has been attempting for years to remove residents to the outlying townships of Khayelitsha. Earlier this year, 55 people were killed and more than 70,000 left homeless when vigilantes attacked anti-apartheid activists and set fire to their homes. Affidavits obtained by church and community workers indicated that police armed the vigilantes and directed the attacks. Following the clash, government bulldozers razed the area. Thus, Pretoria was able to achieve its objective without the embarrassment of forced removals. This new tactic should not be

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***"Reagan . . . stated clearly that the US will stand beside the white minority regime . . ."***

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allowed to obscure the fact that the principal perpetrator of the violence in South Africa is the white minority regime whose security forces have taken thousands of innocent lives.

## US Response

The deteriorating situation in South Africa has generated worldwide pressure for sanctions against Pretoria. The United States and Britain, apartheid's main backers, have been the target of global criticism for their refusal to impose such measures. Under increased pressure to impose sanctions following the House vote of June 18 (see box, page 3), the Reagan administration began maneuvering to salvage "constructive engagement" and to prevent a Senate vote for sanctions. The administration announced a major policy review in mid-July and revealed that it was considering appointing Black North Carolina businessman Robert Brown as the new US envoy to South Africa. The proposal was subsequently withdrawn when preliminary investigations revealed Brown's questionable business dealings and his reputation for union busting. The Washington Office on Africa joined with TransAfrica, churches, major trade unions, and other anti-apartheid critics in denouncing this effort as a ludicrous attempt to put a Black face on an already racist and discredited US South Africa policy.

The Administration's "policy review" culminated in Reagan's alarming and racist speech on South Africa policy on July 22. The President denounced sanctions, criticized the "calculated terror" of the African National Congress, and defended Pretoria's racist and repressive policies by saying it "has a right to maintain order in the face of terrorists." He praised pre-State of Emergency South Africa as a place where "there was a broad measure of freedom of speech, of the press, and of religion." He thus stated clearly that the United States will stand beside the white minority regime by continuing to invest in apartheid, by trading with Pretoria, and by ignoring Black South Africans' calls for action. Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu called the speech "nauseating," and added "the West can go to hell!"

The speech produced a bi-partisan firestorm of criticism in Congress. As we go to press (July 23), Senate sanctions advocates (Cranston, Weicker, and Kennedy) have introduced a selective sanctions amendment to legislation currently being debated on the Senate floor. Their action was designed to prod the Senate Foreign Relations Committee into rapid action on the sanctions legislation which has been referred to it. ■

## Students Build Anti-Apartheid Activism

Since the spring of 1985, US students have intensified their anti-apartheid activities. On April 4, 1985, students at Columbia University (NY), Rutgers University (NJ) and the University of California-Berkeley occupied administration buildings to protest their institutions' South African investment policies. These actions ultimately touched more than 100 campuses nationwide. Last fall, on October 11, more than 50 campuses and numerous communities participated in National Anti-Apartheid Protest Day; similar actions are planned for this fall on October 10.

In response to this increased activism, many campus administrators have adopted measures to address South African investment and to quell student protests. These include scholarships for South African students, seminars and teach-ins, shareholder resolutions, alternative endowment pools and others. However, the divestment of endowment funds from South African-related corporations remains the main focus of campus mobilization. During 1985, 65 institutions adopted divestment resolutions, bringing to over 100 the number of schools which have divested (either totally or partially) since 1977. Included in this are 63 of the 100 institutions with the largest endowment portfolios.

1986 has also seen its share of divestment decisions: Spelman College (Atlanta, GA), Duke University (Durham, NC), and the University of Wyoming to name a few. On June 18, the University of California approved a total divestment policy which could affect up to \$3.1 billion in investments—more than three times the \$848 million divested to date by other schools.

As their activities have increased, student activists have had to cope with both conservative administrators and violent, right-wing extremists. At Dartmouth College (Hanover, NH), 12 right-wing student destroyed a shantytown which was erected on the campus green. Similar incidents have occurred on many campuses across the country, including the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor), Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, MD), the University of Texas (Austin), the University of Washington (Seattle), and Milsaps College (Jackson, MS).

Many college and university administrators have prohibited the erection of shanties and other forms of anti-apartheid protest. Students have often defied these rulings, continuing the campaign for the liberation of South Africa in the face of arrest, fines, and, in some cases, jail sentences. Administrators have also resorted to arresting campus activists in an effort to discourage any future anti-apartheid protests.

Despite this repression, students have continued to organize successfully. Many are now focusing on comprehensive sanctions legislation pending in Congress. In another important development, many campus movements have expanded the focus of their work to address domestic racism and other issues (e.g., the lack of campus pluralism and integration, minority student and faculty retention, etc.). The April 1986 launch of the National African Youth/Student Alliance in Washington, DC and the agenda time devoted to discussions of domestic racism at recent national student meetings and U.N. hearings suggest that the coming years will see a rise in student mobilization around domestic issues. African-American students in particular, as well as increasing numbers of white students, are realizing that the struggle for justice and liberation here in the US is far from over. ■

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Eminent Persons Call for Sanctions

On June 12, 1986, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) reported the failure of their six-month effort to negotiate a peaceful solution to South Africa's racial strife. The seven-member EPG concluded that the Botha government is "... not yet ready to negotiate fundamental change..." and that international economic pressure in the form of sanctions "... may offer the last opportunity to avert what could be the worst bloodbath since the Second World War."

The EPG was created at the October 1985 Nassau Commonwealth Summit to resolve a disagreement between Britain and most of the other 48 Commonwealth governments over South African sanctions. The group, co-chaired by former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and former Nigerian leader Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, was a compromise effort, designed "to foster a process of negotiation across lines of color, politics, and religion, with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government" in South Africa. The EPG's findings will be discussed at a meeting of Commonwealth nations in August 1986, at which time Britain's Conservative government will be under increased pressure to impose substantial sanctions on South Africa.

The EPG called on Pretoria to dismantle the apartheid system, to release all political prisoners, and to lift existing banning orders on the African National Congress (ANC) and other political parties. However, after intensive meetings with the minority regime, the group concluded that Pretoria "is not ready..." to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future. Its program of reform does not end apartheid, but seeks to give it a less inhuman face."

The EPG co-chairs spent several days in Washington, D.C. in late July meeting with Senators and anti-apartheid activists.

*The report of the Eminent Persons Group, Mission to South Africa, has been published in paperback by Penguin Books.*

### Southern Africa Under Seige

South Africa has intensified its campaign to destabilize southern Africa. In the early hours of May 19, South Africa launched coordinated attacks on Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana. Three days later, South African troops again invaded Angola to defend positions held by UNITA, Pretoria's surrogate army in Angola. South Africa also attacked the Angolan port of Namibe on June 5, destroying two fuel storage tanks, sinking one ship, and damaging two others.

In Washington, conservative legislators and administration officials insist on helping Pretoria to dominate the region. On July 15, the House adopted by voice vote an amendment to HR 4510, the Export-Import Bank Act Amendments of 1986, offered by Rep. Bill McCollum (R-FL). The McCollum amendment prohibits Ex-Im Bank financing of exports to Angola, thereby entrenching current Reagan administration policy in law.

*Meanwhile, House Democrats are trying to block US aid to UNITA. HR 4276, which would make US support for the rebels contingent upon open Congressional approval, has now been approved by both the Intelligence and Foreign Affairs Committees. In April, the Intelligence Committee attached the provisions of HR 4276 to HR 4750, the Intelligence Authorization Bill. This omnibus legislation regulates US intelligence and covert action expenditures for FY 1987. HR 4759 is expected to be considered on the House floor just before the House goes into recess on August 15. Conservatives will likely attempt to strike the UNITA aid restriction from the bill. **Please ask your Representative to support all efforts to block aid to UNITA and to increase aid to the Frontline States, presently under attack by South Africa.** ■*

# NAMIBIA UPDATE

**T**wenty years after the United Nations formally terminated its mandate to administer Namibia, Pretoria is as determined as ever to assert its illegal control over the territory. An "independence constitution" is reportedly in its final stages of preparation by the unelected Multi-Party Conference "government," installed by Pretoria in June 1985. This development has fueled speculation that South Africa may be preparing for a Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Namibia in open defiance of the internationally-accepted independence plan embodied in UN Security Council Resolution 435.

On May 1, after two days of meetings convened by the Council of Churches in Namibia, representatives of 16 groups, including the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), and church, women's and student organizations, issued a proclamation, known as the *Ai-Gams Declaration*. The document condemned South Africa's continued obstruction of the implementation of Resolution 435 ("the only peaceful democratic way" of achieving independence), attacked the "unholy alliance" between the US and South Africa over the issue of Cuban troops in Angola, rejected the "transitional government" as South Africa's "puppet," and urged the Namibian people "to actively resist the status quo."

Namibian leaders reiterated their concern over the US role in the region at a conference in Brussels, Belgium, May 5-8. SWAPO president Sam Nujoma pointed to the recent shipment of sophisticated Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to the South African-backed UNITA rebels in Angola as proof that "the Reagan Administration has decided openly to collaborate with Pretoria in their joint effort . . . to delay indefinitely the independence of Namibia." Namibian Lutheran Bishop Kleopas Dumeni agreed, saying: "To link the issue of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola to the independence of Namibia . . . is, to us, precisely the same as to . . . shoot to death the people of Namibia indiscriminately."

The Washington Office on Africa has stepped up its efforts to focus congressional attention on Namibia's plight. On June 5, WOA, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Southern Africa Support Project, the Free South Africa Movement, and TransAfrica convened a briefing on Namibia on Capitol Hill. Damu Smith, Director of WOA, analyzed pending legislation relating to Namibia and led a discussion of ways in which anti-apartheid

activists could focus increased attention on the Namibian people's struggle. In conjunction with the briefing, WOA organized a luncheon for members of Congress to promote legislative action on Namibia. Addressing the luncheon, SWAPO Foreign Secretary Theo-Ben Gurirab stressed the need for swift Congressional action to support Namibia's independence and the unconditional implementation of Resolution 435 as part of the effort to end apartheid.

In early June, the House Africa Subcommittee voted to include a ban on the exploitation of Namibian natural resources in HR 4868, the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. The amendment was substantially the same as the provisions of HR 2589, the Namibian Natural Resources Act, introduced last year by Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO). The Dellums comprehensive sanctions provisions subsequently included in HR 4868 (see box, page 3) also encompass Namibia. The amended bill defines "South Africa" as all areas under the legal or illegal control of the South African government, thereby extending its restrictions on trade and investment to occupied Namibia.

The House-passed legislation has now been introduced in the Senate as S 2570. The inclusion of Namibia gives added incentive to anti-apartheid activists to focus all of their energies on winning Senate approval for this landmark legislation. ■

**Call the Hotline!** The anti-apartheid action hotline offers a 3-minute, taped message, changed weekly, providing up-to-date information and action suggestions. Open 24 hours a day, call **(202) 546-0408** for the message. If you would like to advertise a local action or victory, call (202) 546-7961, and we will put it on the hotline to let others know.

## Washington Notes on Africa

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*Dr. Jean Sindab, the former Executive Director of the Washington Office on Africa, has assumed her new post at the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism in Geneva, Switzerland. Jean was honored for her six years of dedicated and unwavering commitment to WOA and its work at a farewell salute on June 27. Pictured above (left to right) are: Damu Smith, Interim Director of WOA; Dr. Sindab; and Rev. Edgar Lockwood, WOA's first Executive Director.*

Photo: Doug Tilton