

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN
for
SOUTH AFRICA

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-For A Free Southern Africa-

AUGUST

1982

MISSIONS & MOVEMENTS

'However, if it is taking into consideration that the number of troops deployed in the various operational areas in South West Africa and South Africa increased by more than 5,000% between 1975 and 1981, then this extension of the period from eight years to 12 years makes sense.'

- General Magnus Malan, South African Defence Minister, in House of Assembly debate, 7 June 1982. Hansard, p.8444

'LISBON, Aug 28 (Reuters) - The Angolan Government said today that South African forces were moving north in Angola from southern Cunene Province, while 30,000 troops were massing for an invasion near the Angolan border with South-West Africa. The Angolan press agency, Angop, said the Defense Ministry calculated the number of South African troops now operating in southern Angola at 5,500, but said the bigger force was ready to invade from Namibia -'

- THE NEW YORK TIMES, 29 August 1982.

'Considerable progress has been made in transforming Southwest Africa into the independent republic of Namibia, the State Department said yesterday.'

- THE WASHINGTON POST, 28 August 1982.

TALK and the BIG STICK

The South African Defence Force, says its military commander in occupied Namibia, is 175 miles inside Angola, its deepest thrust since the war of 1975/76. Major General Charles Lloyd also says the SADF will stay there until there is a ceasefire between Pretoria and SWAPO, the Namibian independence movement.

All the while - for the last five and a half years, actually - the 'delicate negotiations' engineered by the Western Contact Group (the USA, France, Britain, West Germany and Canada) drag on. Their stated purpose is to reach a 'settlement' on the issue of Namibian independence agreed to by SWAPO; the Front Line African states (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, cum Nigeria); the Western powers; Namibia's lawful authority, the United Nations; and Pretoria, which illegally occupies Namibia.

In June 1974, there were approximately 15,000 South African troops and counter-insurgency police in Namibia, according to the International Defence & Aid Fund's APARTHEID'S ARMY IN NAMIBIA (London, January 1982). The same document reports an estimated 45,000 South African troops based in Namibia in March 1976, just following Pretoria's withdrawal from its unsuccessful invasion to seize Luanda and control Angola. Since then the South African Defence Force has undergone an enormous transformation in size, equipment and aggressiveness. Data are hard to come by because of Pretoria's tight security laws. General Malan's remark on troops in 'operational areas' (by far the greatest of which is Namibia-Angola) indicates the South African regime's gigantic effort to prevail and to assure the survival of the Afrikaner 'nation' - a recurrent theme heard in South Africa.

(continued, over)

'The principle of the right of self-determination of the White nation must not be regarded as being negotiable.'

- South African Defence White Paper, 1977

General Malan spoke to a National Party provincial congress on 19 August about the explosive political situation in Southern Africa, which he laid at the doorstep of the Soviet Union. 'The continuing civil wars in Angola and Mozambique and the conflict in Zimbabwe are three focal points', the defense chief asserted. The facts are that Pretoria funds, supplies and directs UNITA in Angola and the Mozambique National Resistance in terrorist activities which are, however, no where close to being civil wars. A few days after Malan's speech a detachment of South African troops on a mission in south-east Zimbabwe was tracked down and attacked by Zimbabwean soldiers who killed three of Pretoria's sergeants. In the 19 August London/Manchester GUARDIAN, Jonathan Steele writes of the parcel bomb murder of apartheid opponent Ruth First in Mozambique and of the South African regime's campaign of destabilization which has been 'increasing inexorably' since 1974. The SWAPO office in London was broken into at night on 31 August and valuable papers, including travel documents of Namibian students, stolen; taunting phone calls followed. A SWAPO home in Gaborone, capital of Botswana, was bombed at the same time. The London office of the African National Congress was bombed in March. ANC officials and members have been assassinated in Harare, Swaziland, Lesotho, Maputo. Pretoria's secret terror squads reach out across the world. When to Washington and to New York? Pretoria is engaged in military enterprises ranging from Angola to the recent coup attempt in the Seychelles in the Indian Ocean. There is more. Listen to Jonathan Steele:

'South Africa's destabilisation campaign is only one facet in a strategy which is primarily designed to transform Southern Africa into an East-West battleground. In the first instance it is meant to warn its neighbours that South Africa is strong enough to go it alone in defending the economic and political status quo in the Republic. But Pretoria would much prefer to transform the West's de facto acquiescence in apartheid (shown by its consistent failure to take strong action against it) into a system of overt guarantees. Pretoria has already won the Reagan Administration's agreement to a change in the long-drawn-out Namibian negotiations. Instead of focussing on the details of a United Nations-supervised ceasefire and elections, they now centre on the search for a parallel withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and South African troops from Namibia. Such a deal would put the United States on South Africa's side as guarantors against any reintroduction of Cuban forces, if UNITA, the Angolan dissident group which South Africa supports, were to step up its activities.'

Magnus Malan again: the Cubans would have to leave Angola before a Namibian settlement becomes a reality - 'This is an undertaking which the United States will have to carry out.' A year ago THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER printed a frontpage story about the USA offering 'a secret bi-lateral security agreement' with Pretoria if the latter agreed to UN-monitored elections in Namibia. The USA would offer guarantees against ANC bases being set up in an independent Namibia, 'securement' of the Angola-Namibia border and support of a South African sea and land blockade of Namibia 'to prevent the importation of Soviet weaponry and military personnel'.

'Cuban withdrawal' is the latest rubric in Pretoria's stalling game on a Namibian settlement, music to the ears of the Reagan administration, and, as Malan says, something for Washington to handle. The Namibian talks dawdle on, having long ago distracted Western public attention from the fundamental issues - South Africa's defiance of the world community with its illegal occupation of the Territory, the struggle of the Namibian people for their freedom and the United Nations' role in helping them achieve that freedom. All the while Pretoria drives deeper into Angola and accelerates its war in Southern Africa.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs CHESTER CROCKER, point man in the current episode in the long-drawn-out (5½ years) 'delicate negotiations' the USA and other members of the Western Contact Group (France, West Germany, Canada and Britain) have engaged in to bring about a Namibian settlement agreeable to them and the South African regime, is showing the strain. Interviewed by the US government's International Communications Agency, Crocker evinced tedium and petulance. ((The ICA has had its original name restored. President Reagan signed legislation making it again the United States Information Agency: seems ICA was too easily confused with CIA.)) Quoth Secretary Crocker: 'We never thought of Namibia as something that would take up 80 percent of my time for four years as well as that of many other senior officials of the US Government. Namibia is not as high a priority for the American people as it is, presumably, for the Namibian people.'

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Economic sanctions against South Africa and global efforts to press public and private bodies in the USA and other Western countries invested in and trading with and providing financial support for the apartheid state and the military/industrial/banking system undergirding it continue apace. A recent success was scored by the Massachusetts Coalition for Divestment from South Africa and its friends in the state senate by getting a bill through the upper house of the legislature which would require state public employee pension funds to sell holdings in stocks and bonds of banks and companies directly involved in businesses in South Africa. The campaign continues in the lower house. Of no help whatsoever in this accomplishment was the Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts, John B. Coburn. He was interviewed by THE BOSTON GLOBE after a trip to South Africa:

Question: 'When Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, spoke at your cathedral in Boston several years ago, he went so far as to suggest that Americans have a moral decision to make about investment that supports the South African government and its racial policies. You said he spoke primarily about the things of faith when you visited him recently. Is it the responsibility of those who are here in safety to speak out about halting the flow of US investment to South Africa and to prevail upon our government to reduce its support for South Africa, which has since taken away Bishop Tutu's passport since he came to Boston?'

Bishop Coburn: 'It is fair to say that Bishop Tutu believes that sanctions imposed by the United States government would strengthen the cause of blacks in South Africa. When it is argued that sanctions would make the situation of blacks in South Africa even worse, his rejoinder - and the rejoinder of many blacks - is that nothing could make the situation of blacks in South Africa substantially worse than it is now, that the kind of pressure...might be so great that the government would...modify its position with respect to apartheid. I also think that is the position of (most) blacks in South Africa...I do not agree with that interpretation. I do not see that disinvestment would make the slightest difference in the labor policies of the South African government. The stock that is sold would be purchased by other groups. It would isolate South Africa even more, and I think the great danger is its increasing isolation. And the net effect on the well-being of blacks would, I think, be minimal and probably nonexistent.'

* * * * *

Exponents of closer ties with Pretoria in the belief that closeness and persuasion will prevail on the apartheid overlords to moderate their policy defensively maintain that evolution and moderate change is occurring in South Africa. THE NEW YORK TIMES reports that draft legislation entitled the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill is working its way through a parliamentary committee. Any black person in South Africa or Namibia can readily testify to what orderly movement and settlement means for them.

* * * * *

THE WAR MACHINE

South African officials are given to boasting that Pretoria's rapidly-growing military machine is largely homemade. They credit the Armaments Corporation of South Africa - ARMSCOR - with supplying all the South African Defence Force's ammunition and a widening range of guns, cannon, armored vehicles, aircraft, ships and soldierly impedimenta. South Africa had a fledgling arms industry at the beginning of World War II, but the threat of sanctions in the 1960s because of apartheid caused Pretoria to embark on an intensive effort to develop its own weaponry and military equipment. A UN Security Council resolution demanding an arms embargo in 1977 reinforced this effort. Although Pretoria obtains its most sophisticated weaponry and high technology on the world armaments market and through friendly Western countries, ARMSCOR has been built into an impressive armory for sustaining the Pretoria regime.

ARMSCOR's assets are valued at \$1.2 billion, the second largest industrial enterprise in South Africa. It is a state corporation and receives the bulk of the regime's defense budget of \$2.6 billion. It employs about 28,000 people, but because much of its work is sub-contracted to private manufacturers some 100,000 South Africans are engaged in the running of this giant complex.

ARMSCOR in early September unveiled new weaponry it says it has developed. The star was the G-6 155mm mobile artillery unit. General Magnus Malan, Pretoria's Defence Minister, declared at a champagne breakfast for the press that the new cannon is the 'most sophisticated weapon system in the world'. ARMSCOR chairman Commandant Piet Marais said the G-6 represented a new era in artillery warfare. G-6 is mounted on a six-wheel chassis, is said to do 56 mph on good roads and 20 mph on rough terrain. ARMSCOR claims G-6 can fire a round up to 25 miles within one minute of stopping and be underway 30 seconds after firing. Marais stated \$12 million had been spent developing the weapon. A new version of South Africa's Oliphant tank was also demonstrated at the ARMSCOR proving ground near Pretoria.

But Pretoria has grander designs. Chairman Marais declared: 'We are entering the export market in an aggressive fashion.' South Africa made foreign armaments sales of \$9 million in 1981. ARMSCOR wants to increase this to \$130 million a year. Malan, talking of the G-6, stated: 'We hope it will find a place in the arsenal of friendly countries.' Pretoria strictly controls its arms exports; it will not sell to communist nations or those hostile to the regime. ARMSCOR executives see markets in South America, the Middle East, the Far East and in Africa. The range of countries is somewhat narrow, surely including the so-called pariah states like Taiwan, Israel, Chile, Paraguay, and Argentina, to which South Africa was surreptitiously shipping guided missiles at the height of the Falklands/Malvinas war. And, what about the USA???

In Pretoria's 1975/76 invasion of Angola it was stopped dead by Cuban troops firing the famous rapidly shooting (and weirdly shrieking) Stalin Organ. ARMSCOR frantically went looking for the finest artillery in the world and found the GC-45 howitzer at Space Research Corporation, a unique armaments maker located on a tract straddling the Vermont-Quebec border, with close connections to the USA and Canadian military. The cannon, its sophisticated technology and experts were sent to South Africa. Even the shells - made at the US Army arsenal in Scranton - were shipped to South Africa, the entire arrangement receiving the swiftest approval from the US government - totally in defiance of the UN arms embargo. Pretoria later claimed it and it alone had produced what had become in its terminology the G-5 howitzer. G-6 is obviously a further modification of what basically is a US gun. All these cannon can fire tactical nuclear shells.

The South African Defence Force has sent out military call-up notices to 75,000 men who are to report for their two-year hitch in January 1983. Most of them will end up in the infantry - in the Angola-Namibia theatre of operations. This past June, the South African parliament drastically expanded its military conscription system.

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—For A Free Southern Africa—

17 August 1982

Mr George P. Schultz
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr Schultz:

A number of Namibians who are members of the Senate of the United Nations Institute for Namibia, which is located in Lusaka, are caught having to wait for their visas for entry into the United States on legitimate business: the UNIN Senate is meeting in New York this week. Mr Hage Geingob, director of the UNIN, applied for his visa at the US Embassy in Lusaka two weeks ago; he is now in Edinburgh en route to New York. His personal assistant, Ms Connie Tabor, a Jamaican citizen, has not got her visa from the Embassy in Lusaka.

Mr Nahas Angula, Senate member and Secretary for Education for SWAPO of Namibia, is in Havana and has not received his visa. Mr Ben Amathila, SWAPO Secretary for Economic Development, together with his aide, Mr Schoombe, are stranded in Paris awaiting US visas.

Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, SWAPO's representative to the United Nations and in the USA, has this year alone encountered nagging and needless delays in obtaining visas for re-entry into this country on five occasions. Mr Johnston Makatini, representative at the United Nations of the African National Congress, had the same experience in June in endeavoring to return to New York from Havana. Other SWAPO and ANC members have suffered the same indignity, or been refused entry into this country.

In stark contrast, two South African lawyers working for Pretoria's Eloff Commission - which is preparing to conduct a pogrom against the South African Council of Churches - had no difficulty in obtaining one-year, multiple entry visas from the American Embassy in Pretoria.

I would think, Mr Schultz, that the State Department would have the foresight at least of looking ahead a few years and want at a very minimum to deal correctly with officials of the ANC of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia: you will soon have to deal with them as representatives of their respective sovereign states.

Very sincerely yours,

William Johnston
William Johnston
President

TOTAL STRATEGY

Members of SWAPO of Namibia are having great difficulty obtaining visas for entry into the United States. SWAPO leaders - and their counterparts in the African National Congress of South Africa - are delayed and harassed when they apply for American visas in overseas cities, some are tightly restricted upon arriving here and some even have been prevented from coming to this country. US government pressure on the liberation movements has become more overt this year - at the same time that same government has taken the chief role in the ongoing talks on a Namibian settlement.

SWAPO and ANC officials are granted only single entry visas and are therefore required to re-apply each time they are called overseas for conferences and diplomatic consultations. Theo-Ben Gurirab, chief SWAPO representative at the United Nations and in the USA, has had to wait for up to a week for his visas on five distinct occasions this year. Mr Gurirab has been attending the Namibian talks in New York among the Western Contact Group and the Front Line African states which have been dawdling on since early July.

Ms Pendukeni Kaulinga, a member of SWAPO's Central Committee, and Ms Esther Maleka of the ANC's womens section, were scheduled to be featured speakers at the International Day of Solidarity with the women of South Africa and Namibia at the United Nations in early August. Both were denied visas by the US government. A meeting later in August of the senate of the United Nations Institute for Namibia was obstructed by the American administration. Hage Geingob, director of UNIN, which is located in Lusaka, applied for his visa two weeks in advance at the US embassy in the Zambian capital. He left for engagements in Europe without getting the document and was hung up for a week in Edinburgh and London. Eventually arriving in New York, Mr Geingob was permitted a USA stay of only two weeks. Ben Amathila, SWAPO Secretary for Economic Development and a senate member, was delayed in Paris before being allowed a 10-days stay in the USA. The SWAPO Secretary for Education and senate member, Nahas Angula, was kept waiting for days in Havana; he was let into the country but restricted to within 25 miles of New York City's Columbus Circle, the classic sentence meted out to suspect visitors.

High ranking SWAPO and ANC officials, many of them performing official UN functions, are included on a secret list held by the State Department's visa section at the direction of Judge William P. Clark, former Deputy Secretary of State and now national security advisor to Ronald Reagan. Those listed are considered communists or communist-related, and for them to be considered for removal from the list they must aver that they are not members of a communist organization.

On 5 May a civil action was filed in the US District Court in Washington against SWAPO by a 'Committee for a Free Namibia', describing itself as 'a voluntary group of Americans having a common interest in helping the people residing in Namibia achieve independence free from external domination' by SWAPO. The complaint alleges SWAPO is engaged in 'para-military actions aimed at seizing control of Namibia (South West Africa), a territory of the Republic of South Africa'. It strongly implies, but does not specifically assert, that SWAPO is Soviet controlled. It goes on to charge SWAPO with falsifying its registration statements rendered the US Department of Justice as required by the Foreign Agents Act - 'Defendant....has misrepresented the true identity of the principal for which it serves as agent'. Carl L. Shipley and Marion H. Smoak of the plaintiff's attorneys, Shipley, Smoak & Henry, are registered agents for the 'Administrator-General of the Territory of South West Africa/Namibia' - the South African regime's proconsul in occupied Namibia.

On 16 July another operation got underway. The Criminal Division of the Internal Security Section of the US Department of Justice issued a notification to SWAPO that it intended to conduct a 'routine inspection of your books and records, maintained on behalf of your foreign principal...The review will include, but will not be limited to, an inspection of all correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams and teletype messages as well as an audit of all bookkeeping and other financial records relating to your activities on behalf of your foreign principal, including canceled checks, bank statements, and records of income and disbursements.'

'Racism has taken on new, subtle forms and has found powerful allies in militarism, nationalism and national security. The responsibility of the Church is now greater than ever before. It not only has to challenge the myopic theologised patriotism of yet another brand of "evangelicalism", but it has to proclaim the vision of the kingdom of God. Not only is South Africa the most blatantly racist country in the world, it is also the country where the Church is most openly identified with racism and oppression.'

- The Rev Dr Allan Boesak



A double thunderbolt struck the very altar of Afrikanerdom in late August. The World Alliance of Reformed Churches meeting in Ottawa voted by 221 to 20 to suspend South Africa's chief Dutch Reformed Churches, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk, from the Alliance for the heresy of apartheid.

And, the synod chose as its president for the next five years the Rev Dr Allan Boesak, a South African minister-theologian-university chaplain who in Pretoria's racist terminology is classified as 'Coloured'.

The South African Dutch Reformed churches constitute the country's largest Christian denomination. The NGK is by far the biggest, counting as members almost two-thirds of the three million Afrikaners (including most government leaders) and 40 percent of all whites. South African journalist Hennie Serfontein says that more than 50 percent of the NGK's ministers belong to the secret Afrikaner society, the Broederbond, 'which dominates all aspects of South African life'. The one-two punch delivered at Ottawa drives right to the heart of Pretoria's state church and the apartheid state itself.

Another South African journalist, Allister Sparks, in the LONDON OBSERVER, reckons the heresy declaration and the suspension of the NGK and the NHK 'will deepen the divisions already tearing Afrikaner nationalism apart, transform the whole structure' of the DR church, 'create an entirely new multiracial Dutch Reformed Church' and possibly defeat Prime Minister P. W. Botha's scheme of enticing 'Coloured' and 'Asian' representatives into a new constitutional system which would of course be white-controlled. This coming October will see the NGK synod at which the Ottawa pronouncement will surely be rejected and a recent open letter by 123 ministers decrying apartheid will suffer the same fate. Serfontein writes the dissidents are subject to widespread condemnation and that their movement 'may just peter out'. However, Sparks believes many NGK members will leave their 'heretical' church. The majority who stay might swing politically closer to the newly-established Conservative Party of Dr Andries Treurnicht, a former NGK clergyman, which in the white spectrum stands to the right of Botha's National Party.

The 37-year-old Allan Boesak has been cast into an outstandingly crucial role in the seething ecclesiastical and political South African scene. He has been for years a leading voice among churchpeople crying out about the devastation of apartheid and has written extensively. He is prominent in the Sendingkerk, the name given by the white NGK to its three missionary arms serving black South Africans - Africans, 'Coloureds' and 'Asians'. Dr Boesak is a member of the Broederkring, a fraternal body of Sendingkerk clergy formed three years ago. The Sendingkerk convenes in synod in September and Dr Boesak will probably be elected its moderator. This gathering in the wake of Ottawa will see movement toward uniting the three segmented black entities and almost surely a formalization of the long-building break with the 'mother' church. With the latter in heresy, the new nonracial Dutch Reformed Church will be the internationally recognized Reformed body in South Africa to which whites can be drawn. It will be truly a non-state church. Pretoria's fury will be unbounded. Its venom and muscle will be directed at this beacon of South Africa's future. Allan Boesak will be the chief target.

A THREAT TO THOSE IN REFUGE

SOUTH HADLEY, Mass. — For more than two centuries, the United States has provided a refuge to which opponents of authoritarian regimes could flee without fear that they would be returned to stand trial for political offenses. That policy may be about to end.

Under either of the extradition bills now cleared for debate in Congress, persons charged with political crimes would be stripped of their legal defense and United States courts would be turned into the long arms of foreign persecution.

The purpose of the bills — to facilitate the return of terrorists — is manifestly worthwhile. However, both bills are so badly written that they would endanger the very persons that American law governing extradition has always shielded: critics of foreign regimes, former freedom fighters against authoritarian rule, former officials of regimes that the United States once supported.

For example, both bills provide for the arrest of an accused person without any proof that he is guilty of a crime. A mere allegation by a foreign dictatorship, coupled with a promise to produce evidence sometime in the future, would be sufficient to cause the United States Government to jail the accused for months. No United States prosecutor has this power of arbitrary detention, but under these bills, Albania, Rumania, South Africa, El Salvador and about 90 more countries with which we have extradition agreements would have it, and could use it to bring about the imprisonment of their critics within the United States.

Under current law, no American court will allow a person to be extradited if it can be shown that he or she is really being sought for "an offense of a political character." Each bill would, in its own way, destroy this defense.

The Senate bill, which the Adminis-

Ruining Extradition

By Christopher H. Pyle

tration favors, would do so by stripping the courts of jurisdiction over the political crimes defense. Instead, the accused would have to raise his claim with the State Department, which could then decide whether protecting him from persecution is worth the risk of alienating the foreign government involved.

The State Department's motive for supporting this bill is clear. It wants to be able to swap alleged criminals with foreign countries the same way that children trade baseball cards: "We'll give you one terrorist if you give us three embezzlers."

The House bill seems more protective of political refugees than the Senate bill because it would keep in the courts the power to decide the political crimes defense. However, the appearance is deceptive, because the House bill would forbid the courts to regard as political, and hence not extraditable, any offense involving bodily violence or a conspiracy to commit bodily violence. There is a tiny exception for crimes committed under "extraordinary circumstances," but the bill does not say what they might be. All that is clear is the political message: Protecting foreign revolutionaries from return to authoritarian regimes should be a rare, not common occurrence.

As if to emphasize a preference for authoritarian regimes, both bills would forbid the courts to question whether a request for extradition was really a subterfuge for persecution.

Nor would the courts be allowed to hear evidence that the charges against the accused resulted from torture or to deny extradition on the ground that the requesting regime is notorious for brutal interrogations, unjust trials or cruel punishment. Judgments of this sort would be left to the State Department, which currently pretends that El Salvador protects human rights.

The Administration claims that the courts should be denied the power to look into foreign injustice in order to assure the neutrality of the United States in foreign political conflicts. However, there can be no doubt where the Justice Department's sympathies would lie; both bills would require its lawyers to represent all foreign governments in their extradition requests. The United States would be neutral — on the side of whoever happens to be in power.

In anticipation of this legislation and a treaty to implement it, the Marcos dictatorship is requesting the extradition of more than a dozen of its opponents now living in the United States. One of those charged with plotting in the United States to support bombings in the Philippines is Benigno Aquino Jr., an associate at Harvard University's School of International Affairs who ran against President Ferdinand E. Marcos in the last free election. The only "evidence" against Mr. Aquino comes from the confession of an alleged co-conspirator who later recanted, claiming he had been tortured. However, if either bill now before Congress passes, that evidence will be sufficient to send this democratic politician back into the hands of the dictator he opposed.

Christopher H. Pyle teaches constitutional law and civil liberties at Mount Holyoke College.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1982

Shocking? If this proposed legislation directly affected those of us who are American citizens, we would be up in arms. But those amongst us seeking political refuge from oppressive regimes abroad - many of them our close friends - are in imminent peril of being offered up in sacrifice for cold-blooded foreign policy considerations by a reactionary US government. Americans have traditionally prided themselves that their country is a sanctuary for the oppressed. The sanctuary is endangered.

Contact your Senators and Representatives immediately. The time is short.

For full information and advice:

Campaign for Political Rights
201 Massachusetts Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002

ATT: Ms Susan Benda

PHONE: 1-202-547-4705

'I CAN SHOOT ALL THESE PEOPLE DEAD!'

South African terrorism against the people of Namibia has become a commonplace. Time and again the churches have over the years recorded instances of brutalization of men, women and children by the South African Defence Force, the South African Police, the 'home guards' attached to Pretoria-installed chiefs, a secret terror unit, Koevoet. We print herewith excerpts of a report issued in May 1982 by Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, leader of the Evangelical Lutheran Owambokavango Church in northern Namibia, who has for a long time been a prime target of Koevoet:

"On Sunday the 16th May it was time to meet the whole congregation. We started with the Worship Service at 10:30 a.m. I myself and two pastors, namely, Titus Ngula and Vaino S. Nambala conducted a special service for the children under a tree, while the other four pastors, Festus Ashipala (area dean), Petrus Shipena (ELOC's General Secretary, Josef Kapewangolo and Markus Amushila (the local pastor) conducted the worship service in the Church for the adult people. Just as we were finishing the Children's Service, while that of the adults was still going on, there arrived two army trucks without registration numbers on them. The soldiers immediately surrounded the church building. I myself and the other two pastors were just leaving the place where the children's worship service was held. We went straight to a group of soldiers who had taken position at the entrance of the church. I was of the intention to go and talk to their commander in order to request him whether they could retreat back a little within striking distance from the church and wait there until the service is over.

"I greeted them in Afrikaans, 'Goeie more' (Good morning). 'More', they answered. 'Who is your chief? I want to talk to him.' One of them said, 'Dis ek' (It's me). Another one again retorted, 'Praat maar ons hoor' (Just speak, we are listening). Then I said: 'I plead with you, could you please retreat to a distance from the church for a while. For we are busy with the worship service and the people are so scared to see you surrounding the Church like that.' The commander's answer was: 'We are following the footprints of SWAPO. Why are the people afraid? We are at war, and we are fighting for you. I have seven brothers killed by SWAPO.' He spoke angrily and ordered me to shut up immediately. I answered: 'You are representing a government which claims to be a subscriber to the principles of the freedom of religion. Therefore it will be better if you can let us continue with our service in peace.' He then retorted: 'Go into the church right now! Ek moer jou, jou kak (you shit) I can shoot all these people dead. It is the Owambo Government which has given me the order to do that!.....'

"One of the soldiers then commanded right away all the people to leave the church. He then ordered the soldiers to shoot anyone who tries to run away or who refuses to leave the church. 'Get out of the church, all of you! People are ready to shoot if you don't get out immediately.' In a state of great shock and terror stricken the congregation had to vacate the church abruptly. Some people went out through the windows, despite the effort of the Dean who was doing his best to calm the people. The assembled congregation was estimated to be approximately 600-700 people in total. While the whole congregation was surrounded by the army, the commander approached me very close and said: 'You who has a white robe on and all your colleagues with black garments, should leave this place immediately. Go to that white house over there.....'

"The soldiers checked out all women and children and ordered them to sit down at a separate place. All men were assembled at the main entrance of the church. They were taken by the soldiers one by one in order to be interrogated and beaten. Some of the women started to cry when they saw that the men were really badly beaten. The soldiers then ordered the men to move further behind the walls of the church building. They too were also beaten and kicked with boots. All these things were done before our very eyes.. Some of the people were so badly hurt that they were unable to continue with the worship service. According to the report I received this very same thing also took place at the Onayena Parish, approximately 15 km from Elombe on the same day..A civilian car full of passengers on its way to the parish grave yard for a funeral was standing there. Soldiers jumped off their trucks..all passengers were brutally beaten up - two of them half dead. Two watches of the beaten up civilians were snatched from them by force..The pastor tried to find out the reason but no reason was given why this should happen."

ANGOLAN CHURCHES CONDEMN SECRET WAR

(reprinted from Lutheran World Information, news service of the Lutheran World Federation)

LUANDA, Angola, July 15 (aps) - Churches in Angola have appealed to the international community to condemn the genocide and destruction caused by South Africa's occupation troops which have invaded Southern Angola. The appeal was made by the general secretary of the Angola Council of Churches, the Rev. Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga, who decried international indifference to the suffering in Angola caused by the South African regime.

Nzinga said thousands of Angolans had been displaced from their homes by South Africa's military incursions, many of them having fled into the bush. About 130,000 Angolans are 'officially' known to have fled Southern Angola to seek refuge in the Northern part of the country, but the total figure of displaced people was believed to be several times over the official figure.

'South Africa is waging a secret war against Angola. The international community should be made aware of this,' he said. He pointed out that apart from the displaced Angolans, the country was harboring more than 50,000 Namibians, 5,000 South Africans and 20,000 Zaireans. 'These people need help and assistance which the Angola government and other voluntary agencies are providing, but there is a need for more. More importantly, the cause of this situation should be eliminated,' he said.

He blamed South Africa's hot pursuit policy against the South-West People's Organization (SWAPO) for creating the war situation. 'They are flagrantly violating international conventions by entering Angola at will and killing people indiscriminately,' he said. Victims of the incursions, he said, included women and children in refugee camps. 'The horrors and atrocities carried out by the South Africans are beyond description,' he said.

Churches in the country, he said, were doing everything possible to aid the refugees and displaced people. 'But it is important that the people who support the "apartheid" regime realize that far from protecting "Christian civilization" they are supporting a brutal system that will stop at nothing to perpetuate an obnoxious system,' he said.

He added that military incursions were designed to destabilize the country. 'We would like to appeal to all men of conscience to realize that the war in Angola is just as ferocious as any other wars except that the other wars receive more publicity. We do not get as much acknowledgment for several reasons, especially because South Africa is fighting for the imperialists,' he charged.

The Paris newspaper LE MONDE reports that the Portuguese government has initiated an official investigation on the possible organizing in Lisbon of a plot to overthrow the government of the Peoples' Republic of Angola. The Lisbon weekly EXPRESSO asserts that representatives of South Africa's espionage services recently met in the Portuguese capital with elements of UNITA and FNLA, in order to prepare for the venture. This follows the conclusion of a secret accord among the three in London.

THE WINDHOEK OBSERVER, the Namibian capital's weekly English language newspaper renowned for its publication of blunt facts in the country despite the consternation of officials of the South African occupation and its local adherents, carries this report on the June 6th attack on African workers in Katutura township on the edge of Windhoek. Three people were killed and 12 seriously injured. The assailants are described as 'thugs' - members of Makakunyas, the black South Africa Special Police. The existence of the officially sanctioned Koevoet unit of black and white police and army men operating as an assassination/terror element in the north of Namibia has long been known. A source in Katutura said: 'We are calling on the Government to do away with the terminology of "peace officers or security officers" and rather to call these people by their real names.'

Zimbabwe is the centerpiece of the emerging community of independent Southern African states organized in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference. SADCC's aims are regional development and breaking the grip of the giant of the sub-continent, South Africa. SADCC faces a direct threat from Pretoria's constellation of states, its new-fangled scheme for maintaining its political, economic and military domination of Africa below the equator. Zimbabwe - large, wealthy in minerals and agriculture, strategically located in the heart of south-central Africa - is in the throes of social and political adjustment and a struggle to build its economic structure after years of colonialism and civil war. Press stories are full of kidnappings, tribal strife, sabotage. The destabilization of Zimbabwe is the aim of a number of forces for it is the keystone of a grouping of nations which, once Namibia and South Africa are free and with the untold wealth of the region, would in the next century comprise a major power center of the world, rivalling even the West European EEC.

We reprint here a report on one American scenario which appeared in our February 1980 Missions & Movements together with an important dispatch from THE OBSERVER of London of 1 August 1982. Reflect on these as events unfold in Southern Africa.

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN
for
SOUTH AFRICA



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MISSIONS & MOVEMENTS #5

—For A Free Southern Africa—

26 February 1980

WAR GAMES - SOUTHERN AFRICA

It's not often that we get a look into the processes of governmental thinking and game-planning on urgent matters of foreign policy. Such an opportunity came recently for at least a select group of New Yorkers who attended a benefit sponsored by a time-honored college at a location on Manhattan's upper East Side. A lot of us, kids and grown-ups alike, have heard of and played popular war games - refighting the Battle of the Bulge, defending Leningrad, mixing it up in Star Wars. But this was a real game - out of the here-and-now. A professor of strategy and international relations at the US government's National War College led a quick two-hour simulation session on renewed war in one of today's foremost hotspots - Zimbabwe.

The givens were these: It is late July 1980. Robert Mugabe received 35% of the vote in the February elections and has persuaded small parties to join in forming a government of Zimbabwe. Fighting breaks out around the country, spreads, and the Zimbabwe Defence Force supported by South Africa, stages a coup against the government of Prime Minister Mugabe and launches savage country-wide attacks on his ZANU supporters. Joshua Nkomo, runner-up in the elections, has conspired with Ian Smith and his white minority. Nkomo proclaims himself interim prime minister and appoints Bishop Abel Muzorewa and a Rhodesian Front member to his cabinet. All the nations of Africa - except South Africa - condemn the coup. President Samora Machel of Mozambique calls an urgent meeting of the Frontline States. Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere urges Washington and London to denounce the coup and to reimpose economic sanctions until the government is restored in Salisbury. In Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasango warns of a shut-off of oil to any country supporting the rebels. Angry crowds besiege the British and American embassies in Lagos; an American cultural official is killed in a provincial Nigerian city. The UN Security Council meets and the Nigerian representative calls on Britain to restore order in its former colony. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher says her country is unable to act without the 'willing compliance' of all parties, and that sanctions are 'under study'. The Soviet and American fleets are on the move. In Havana, Fidel Castro promises aid for the Frontline States and gets it underway.

(continued,over)

The question for Americans is in several parts: what are the USA's interests? what objectives should the American government pursue? What actions should Washington take? The New Yorkers, with no preparation and little time, tackled their assignment with elaborate concern about the possible loss of Zimbabwean chrome and Nigerian oil, some fretting over the Russians and somewhat more about Cubans, scant attention to the United Nations, none for the Organization of African Unity. Yet they did come up with a hazy policy of non-intervention and of waiting for the dust to settle and deal with the winner. There was virtually no voiced understanding of Pretoria's role and none whatsoever of the deep and abiding thrust of black Africa for self-determination.

This Zimbabwe game was presented as one just completed by a class at the National War College. Documents passed out at the New York session still bore SECRET markings on the covers; it was said the simulation had been declassified for the occasion. The NWC in Washington conducts one-year-long classes with 160 people, two-thirds from the military - mainly colonels and brigadiers - the remainder from middle-level positions in the CIA, State Department and other government agencies and the staffs of Members of Congress. The NWC class, after wrestling with this simulation (and a concurrent crisis in the Horn of Africa omitted from the New York exercise) apparently - after much hawkish argumentation - came up with pretty much the same response as the New York sophisticates.

The simulation script reveals what one may presume to be the outlook and preconceptions of the more liberal wing of the American government: superficial feelings on aspirations of the African people, a belief that Nkomo and Mugabe cannot work together, a casual recognition of South Africa's intrusion, a calculated assurance that the upheaval can be contained, an implicit trust that a 'moderate' pro-USA regime will prevail. The public presentation in New York was of course modified from what was engaged in at the National War College. One wonders what exactly was restated in the modification, what options omitted, what, indeed, will the ultimate decision makers do about Zimbabwe in the very near future. The Manhattan session was a sampling of civilian American opinion on an issue surely among the most immediate for the US government. It implanted the idea and the possibility of US involvement in the course of history in Southern Africa - or elsewhere. This and other scenarios will undoubtedly be tried out on other American groups. Keep on the lookout. You may be next. Please let ECSA know at once.

'Pretoria is behind attacks'

from PAUL ELLMAN in Washington

THE destruction of a third of the Zimbabwean Air Force last weekend is believed by observers here to have been carried out by South Africa as part of a covert military campaign to destabilise its northern neighbour.

Sources said that the track on the Thornhill air base outside Gweru, in central Zimbabwe, was almost certainly the work ofappers drawn from the ranks of the former white Rhodesian army.

They noted that large numbers of former Rhodesian troops were now serving in the South African Army, including virtually the whole of the Selous Scouts, a 'dirty tricks' unit whose activities were shrouded in controversy during the war which preceded Zimbabwe's independence.

The officials said intelligence reports indicated that much of the present violence in the south-western province of Matabeleland was the work of these troops and not of dis-

sident supporters of Joshua Nkomo.

The latter, a former ally of Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, has been publicly accused of fomenting armed activities against the Government in Harare, formerly Salisbury.

It is suggested in Washington that the South Africans have decided to exploit dissent in Matabeleland to their own advantage and that Mugabe, for domestic political reasons, has preferred to lay the blame for the crisis in the area on Nkomo.

The activities of the South Africans are causing considerable irritation among Western diplomats in Washington, who question Pretoria's good faith over Namibia at a time when Western-sponsored efforts to achieve a settlement there are about to yield fruit. 'It's about time they stopped messing around like this,' one said.

Diplomats added that

South Africa appeared to have decided to send a signal warning of the damage it can inflict on neighbouring countries, as a sample of what might be in store for Namibia should a settlement there result in a left-wing government.

In Mozambique, Government sources say a South African reconnaissance team penetrated at least four miles inside the country recently.

The incident has caused great concern because it was in the same area where South African commandos last year crossed the border on their way to attack African National Congress houses in the Maputo suburb of Matola.

The Mozambicans also claim there has been a significant increase in South African overflights, particularly in the area where the South African-backed Mozambique National Resistance recently kidnapped an Italian priest.

THE OBSERVER, SUNDAY 1 AUGUST 1982

'These people are detained because they have information which is interesting to us. The death of Neil Aggett and of Ernest Dipale is very regrettable...but you do not obtain information if you hold a detainee with his friends or in a five-star hotel.'

— Louis le Grange, South African Minister of Law and Order, LE MONDE, 17 August 1982

Ernest Moabi Dipale was found hanged in a cell at Johannesburg's John Vorster Square police headquarters on Sunday morning, 8 August. Lt Gen Johan Coetzee, chief of security police, said the 21-year-old black prisoner had hanged himself with a strip of blanket after having made a confession to police on Saturday afternoon. Dipale had been detained on 5 August. Another police spokesman said Dipale was no longer a detainee but an accused; if so he should have been transferred to another jail in charge of the prisons department. The 10th floor at John Vorster Square contains the torture chambers of the security police presided over by Major Arthur Cronwright, termed one of the South African security police's three 'Chief Torturers' by Amnesty International. Cronwright described himself as a 'born again Christian' in a rare interview granted June Goodwin, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR reporter, in January 1979. Moabi Dipale's funeral in Soweto was partially inhibited from being an occasion for the expression of resistance which last rites for heroes and the murdered have become in South Africa. An amendment to Pretoria's Internal Security Act forbids such demonstrations. But, when the priest in the church spoke of Christian forgiveness, the 300 mourners cried out: 'An injury to one is an injury to all'.

The South African Institute of Race Relations recorded that 53 people had died while in police custody since 1963, 18 of them hanged. These figures refer to political detainees. The number of people meeting violent deaths during arrest or detention (as distinct from the thousands shot down over that same period) is far higher. Moabi Dipale's murder follows by six months that of Dr Neil Aggett, physician and trade union official, the first white political detainee to be killed. An inquest into Aggett's death was abruptly postponed in early July after Major Cronwright asked for 'protection' for some documents - alleged statements by Aggett - on the grounds that they were 'secret'. Cronwright also said that the security police may have to re-detain Neil Aggett's lover, Dr Liz Floyd.

Pretoria's somewhat more formal pursuit of killing its opponents was once again advanced on 6 August when a Pretoria judge found three African National Congress soldiers guilty of treason, murder and sabotage and sentenced them to death. Marcus Thabo Motaung, 27; Jerry Semano Mosoloi, 25; and Thelle Simon Mogoerane, 23, had been accused of attacks on police stations near Johannesburg and Pretoria and of sabotaging an electricity substation and a railway line. Four policemen had been killed. Although the attacks had been made by a large number of men, the judge declared: 'Each militant is responsible for the acts committed by his peers'. When asked during cross-examination if he felt he had the right to shoot policemen, Thelle Mogoerane replied: 'What do you do when you meet your enemy in a war?' The ANC has formally declared that it would observe the Geneva conventions on prisoners of war in its struggle against the Pretoria regime. The people in Pretoria have rejected that they do likewise.

The South African regime's deadly hand reached out to Maputo, capital of Mozambique, when on 17 August, Ruth First, prominent South African-born opponent of Pretoria, was killed by a parcel bomb. Ms First, writer and journalist and member of the ANC, had written and edited a number of papers and magazines in Johannesburg and had been one of the accused in the Treason Trial in the late 50s. She was subsequently banned, then detained, an ordeal she told of in her 117 DAYS. She authored works on Namibia, power in South Africa and the Western nations' involvement in apartheid. Her husband, Joe Slovo, is an ANC official based in Maputo. Ruth First met her death at the Eduardo Mondlane University where she worked. The university is named for the great FRELIMO leader who in the 60s was the victim of a parcel bomb engineered by the then Portuguese secret service.

SOUTH AFRICA - CHURCH and STATE

'The long shadow of State action stretches across this Council - and therefore over the Church.'

- The Rev Peter Storey, President, South African Council of Churches

The regime in Pretoria perceives itself beset by enemies everywhere, within South Africa, on its borders, worldwide. The apartheid state has many targets, one of the chief ones the South African Council of Churches, The SACC, composed of the country's major religious bodies, has taken ever firmer and more vocal positions in opposition to Pretoria's hardening totalitarianism and aggression. Pretoria's rancor is manifest in a speech given on 30 May 1980 by Prime Minister Pieter Willem Botha, who accused the SACC of -

- having distributed about two and a half million Rand to promote unrest;
- furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress;
- being in the frontline of a passive resistance and civil disobedience campaign;
- making whites feel guilty; and,
- engaging in the total onslaught on the present political order in South Africa.

All that adds up to a multiple charge of treason. Nevertheless, Pretoria does not yet make a headlong assault on the churches. The SACC has not been banned nor declared an affected organization, two of the regime's methods of handling opponents. The passport of Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, was taken from him last year and he has just lost a court battle seeking its return. The regime is engaged in undermining the Council. In April 1981, it became known that an anti-SACC organization, the Christian League of South Africa was funded during 1979/1980 by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Information to the tune of 340,000 Rand. The CLSA has devotees throughout South Africa and overseas supporters, including in the United Kingdom and the USA. Widespread elements in the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa, religious counterparts of the country's political/military set-up, are assiduous in attacking the SACC.

More stealthily, charges began to surface about the way the SACC handled its finances, the greater part of which come from overseas churches. The Council began an investigation. Pretoria, claiming there was a public outcry, instituted an official inquiry under the chairmanship of a Supreme Court judge. The Eloff Commission is mandated to go into the SACC's background, development, objectives, how it functions, who manages it, who gives it monies and who gets funds from it, and the purposes for which those funds are used. The Eloff Commission has subpoena powers; any witness appearing before it can only be cross-examined 'because the Chairman deems it necessary in the interests of the functions of the Commission'; any witness requesting anonymity shall be accorded secrecy of name, address or testimony; a witness may 'in the discretion of the Chairman and in such manner as may be determined by him, be assisted by an advocate or an attorney'. And, 'The Chairman, any member, or any officer may, for the purposes of the inquiry of the Commission, at all reasonable times enter and inspect any premises and demand and seize any document on or kept on such premises'. Further, none of the documents submitted to the Commission may be published without permission, no notes transcribed without permission, 'no person shall insult, disparage or belittle the Commission or a member of the Commission or prejudice, influence or anticipate the proceedings or findings', under penalty of fines or imprisonment.

Pretoria has already begun a flanking attack. John Rees, former SACC general secretary, has been charged by the State with fraud and theft of a reputed sum of 295,000 Rand. In August, two South African lawyers working for the Commission visited the USA and saw by prearrangement Ernest Lefever, who was rejected by the US Senate as Human Rights secretary of state and who is now a special consultant on terrorism with the State Department; local Christian League of South Africa friends; and delved into records dedicated to J.B. Matthews, once Senator Joseph McCarthy's 'expert' on the churches and communism. The South African lawyers were readily granted one year, multiple entry visas to the USA, in sharp contrast to repeated denials of visas for US church people by the Pretoria regime.

FACING THE FACTS: The Church of England AND South Africa

'...progressive disengagement from the economy of South Africa... is now the appropriate basic policy for this country to adopt as a contribution to bringing about peaceful change in South Africa.'

The General Synod of the Church of England on 9 July 1982 joined the growing worldwide movement pressing for economic divestment from South Africa. A strong majority of the 500 bishops, clergy and laity who were delegates at Synod endorsed the view expressed in a report which coupled a call for 'progressive disengagement' from South Africa's economy with a commendation of 'generous aid to the independent states bordering on South Africa'.

The comprehensive report - FACING THE FACTS: The United Kingdom and South Africa - was prepared by a working party appointed by the Board of Social Responsibility of the Anglican Church's International Affairs Committee. Its 60 plus pages examine concisely the nature of the apartheid regime as it has maneuvered to construct its total strategy of survival against the rising thrust for change by South Africa's majority while at the same time attempting to give the appearance to the outside world that it is bringing about evolutionary change, Pretoria's ever-increasing internal security apparatus, its escalating aggression against neighboring states, its duplicity on the Namibian issue, its merciless pursuit of population removals whereby literally millions of black South Africans are being torn from their homes and dumped in barren, out-of-the-way places. FACING THE FACTS outlines the developing role of the churches in South Africa as black churchpeople assert their hand based on their existence in a repressive, racist society. Bishop Desmond Tutu's eloquent address to the British Council of Churches in 1981 is included in the church report.

At its November 1979 meeting, Holy Synod considered the issue of South Africa and while moving 'widespread consideration of the proposals for economic disengagement in efforts to secure a more just society in South Africa' ended up calling for implementation of a Code of Conduct for foreign companies operating in South Africa which had been drawn up by the European Economic Community. In 1982, FACING THE FACTS states bluntly: 'We now believe that the Code has not worked, is not working and will not work'. The EEC Code's American counterpart - the Sullivan Principles - continues to bemuse most elements of US churches who have not or will not find their way to comprehending that US transnational corporations, and those of Europe, are engaged in the same deception Pretoria practices in trying to convince the world there is evolutionary progress in South Africa.

FACING THE FACTS is addressed not merely to the Anglican Church but to the British public and to Her Majesty's Government. It recommends calling on the government to 'publicize its intention to disengage progressively with South Africa and in particular to ban further investment and to pressurize companies to disinvest as far as is practical'. It further recommends urging 'the Government to support UN calls for trade sanctions and not to use its veto on these'. The Synod resolution commends FACING THE FACTS 'to the dioceses and parishes for study and appropriate action'.

Synod's resolution caused great consternation within the British business community - with its £5,000 million investments in South Africa; the South African embassy in London, which circulated an 'aide-memoire' to all delegates before the vote; with the Church Commissioners who are responsible to Parliament for the state church's £380 million portfolio; and of course to the government. (Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is ex-officio one of the Church Commissioners). A church-state conflict is brewing in Britain: a service at St Paul's Cathedral after the Falklands/Malvinas war was not the victory celebration Mrs Thatcher expected, and another church report has been leaked to the press, a document calling for Britain to abandon nuclear weapons unilaterally.

