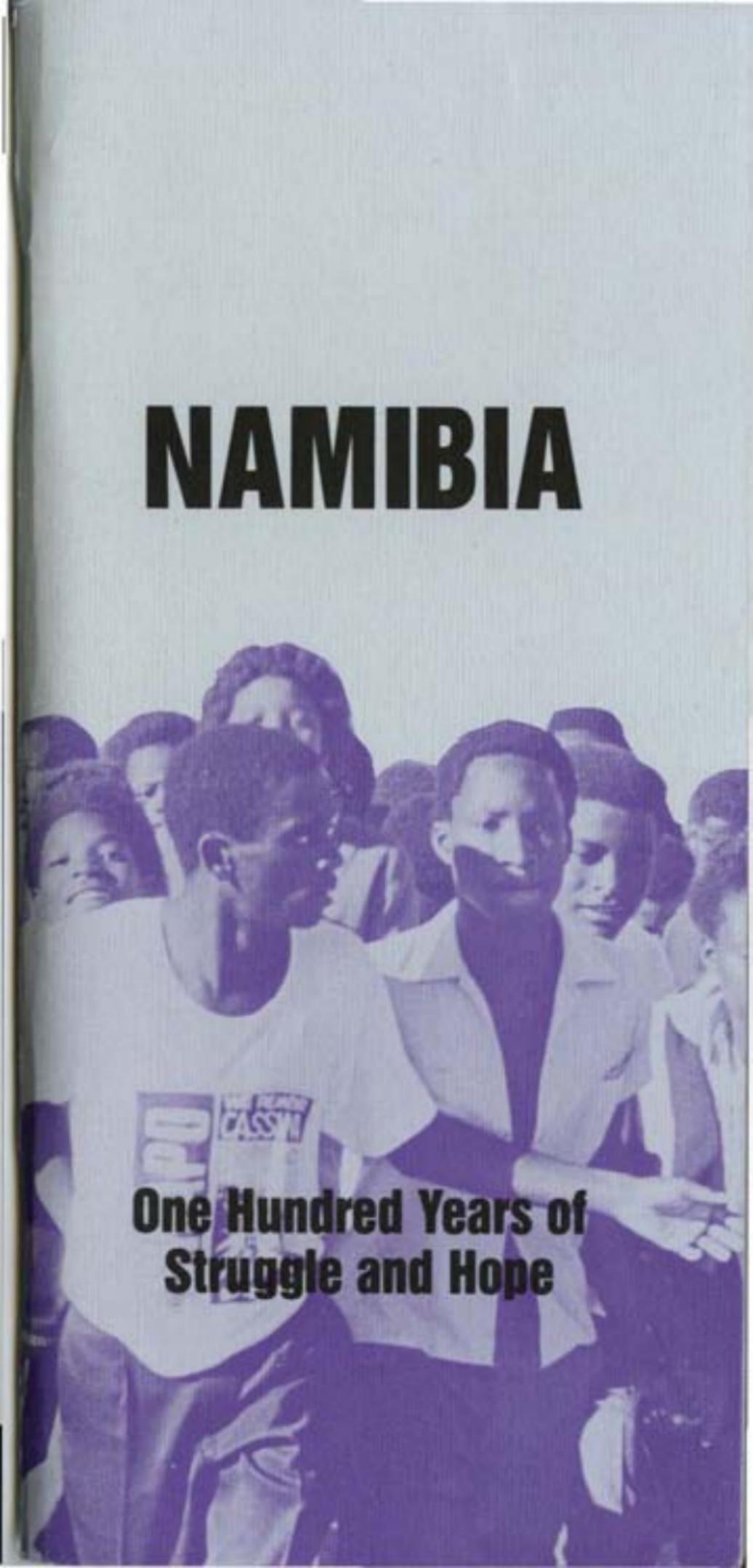


NAMIBIA



**One Hundred Years of
Struggle and Hope**

NAMIBIA



CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction | 1 |
| Race Is the Deciding Factor of Life | 3 |
| A Brief Chronology of Colonialism | 7 |
| The Farm Industry | 17 |
| The Fishing Industry | 21 |
| Mining | 25 |
| Namibian Labor | 33 |
| Liberation and the Churches | 39 |
| The International Stalemate | 49 |
| The Internal Solution | 57 |
| What Can We Do | 63 |
| Bibliography | 67 |
| AFSC in Southern Africa | 71 |

INTRODUCTION

NAMIBIA

—A land of wealth and poverty, of awesome beauty and terrible oppression, one of the richest countries in the world in relation to the size of its population, perhaps also the most exploited in the world in terms of the gathering of that wealth into foreign hands.

Namibia is a large country, 318,261 square miles—about twice the size of California, or as large as England and France combined. It has a small population, estimated by the United Nations as 1.5 million people. Its Gross Domestic Product averages over \$1,000 per capita annually, one of the highest in Africa. And yet over 85% of its wage earners are paid below the Poverty Datum Line, the income estimated by South African authorities to be necessary for a Black family of four to meet its minimal needs for food clothing and shelter.*

* *Because South Africa has taken no accurate census of the territory and refuses to report economic information on Namibia, all statistics are calculated estimates drawn from the most reliable sources available.*

RACE IS THE DECIDING FACTOR OF LIFE

In Namibia, race determines almost everything about a person's life. A Black child has only a 50-50 chance of surviving disease and malnutrition to reach the age of five. For each White child, the government spends over \$700 annually for education. For each Black child, government expenditure is only one-sixth of that amount. For Whites the total annual personal income averages approximately \$3,500 for every man, woman and child; for Blacks it is less than \$150, lower even than in a resource-poor nation like Tanzania.

"You can never bring these people up to our level, and besides, they much prefer to keep to themselves. Why can't the Bantu (Black) be left alone in his ways and the White in his?"

— Afrikaner School Inspector in
Ovamboland, Namibia, 1979.

During its occupation of the territory, South Africa has imposed the apartheid policy of racial separation on Namibia that it enforces at home. The inhabitants of Namibia were classified by South Africa into three groups: Blacks, or "Natives,"

who make up over 80% of the population; mixed race groups, over 10%, and Whites, whose members are decreasing, between 5 and 7%.

The shaded portions of the map on the inside front cover show the distribution of the Black population in the country in 1904, before extensive White colonization. Settlement was largely in the fertile central highlands. Outlined on the map are the locations to which most of the population were to be forcibly removed under South Africa's 1964 Odendaal Plan. Separate "homelands" for ten of the eleven Black and mixed race groups are almost completely in either the arid desert regions or marginal agricultural areas.

The major agricultural and mining areas are part of the "White homeland."

Whites also comprise different ethnic and language groups. About 30% of the White population is German speaking, most of whom are descendants of the original colonizers of what was once called German South West Africa. Some are families of Nazi sympathizers who settled in Namibia after World War II. The majority of Whites are Afrikaans-speaking South Africans; English-speaking South Africans make up only 7% of the total White population. Whites however, have not chosen to divide themselves along ethnic lines as they have divided the rest of the country. They claim one "homeland," 60% of the total land area and at least 80% of the fertile land.

When the Odendaal Plan was formulated in 1964, (in a country where water is precious) whites owned or controlled 34,500 of the 35,000 wells surveyed.)

“Have these three gods (race, language, color) taken the place of the Trinity in the hearts of our White brothers?”

—The Rev. Zephariah Kameeta
Deputy Bishop, Evangelical
Lutheran Church, Namibia

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF COLONIALISM

- 1878-94** Britain laid claim to Walvis Bay; Germany invaded and placed the rest of the territory under its "protection."
- 1904-07** The Herero and Nama people of south and central Namibia rebelled and the Germans issued an Order of Extermination. Between 50,000 and 75,000 African people were killed or driven into the desert to die. Others died in prison labor camps. Less than a third of the population survived; their cattle and land were taken from



Namibians taken prisoners by German troops during the early colonial period

them.

- 1915-20** After the defeat of Germany in World War I, the League of

Nations granted South Africa authority over "South West Africa" as a mandated territory, "a sacred trust of mankind" for the well-being and development of the inhabitants.

- 1920-23** South Africa subdued the Ovambo people of the north, who make up half of Namibia's Black population, and put down revolts by the Nama and Rehobother people who had been led by Allied propaganda to believe that Germany's defeat would mean an end to foreign oppression.
- 1946-66** South Africa refused to recognize the United Nations' right to oversee the South West African trust territory transferred from the League of Nations; despite international protest, South Africa moved toward annexation of the territory.
- 1948-50** Chief Hosea Kutako of the Herero and others petitioned the United Nations for deliverance from South African control.
- 1959** South African police killed 11 persons demonstrating against relocation from Windhoek to Katutura, a newly created Black township. Commemorated as Namibian Women's Day.

**“We beg U.N.O.! Help! Help!
Help!”**

— taped interview smuggled out of
Namibia as testimony before the U.N.

- 1960** The South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) organized as a multi-racial national liberation movement despite South Africa's refusal to recognize Black and multi-racial political organizations.
- 1966** After the International Court of Justice ruled on a technicality that it could not decide a complaint against South Africa's maladministration of its mandate, SWAPO began armed struggle. The United Nations revoked South Africa's mandate.
- 1967-69** The United Nations officially recognized the name "Namibia" and established a Council for Namibia to act as the legal authority for the territory until independence.
- 1968** 34 Swapo members were found guilty retroactively under South African Terrorism Act and imprisoned on Robben Island.
- 1970** The UN Security Council called

on all nations to end all economic involvement in Namibia by their corporations.

- 1971** The International Court of Justice declared South Africa's administration of Namibia illegal; Lutheran Namibian church leaders protested the occupation in a public letter to the South African Prime Minister.
- 1971-72** 15,000 Namibian workers struck for two months against the contract labor system run by South Africa and won modest concessions.
- 1972** State of Emergency declared in Ovamboland is [still in effect!]
- 1973** The UN General Assembly recognized SWAPO as "the authentic representative of the Namibian



Mayday celebration in Katutura in 1987

PHOTO: NCCT

People.”

- 1975** South Africa launched its first invasion of Angola from Namibia, to aid the Angolan faction, UNITA, which was backed by the U.S. CIA. Though South African troops were forced out after six months of casualties and international protests, they have continued attacks across the Angolan border and maintained troops on Angolan soil for much of the period since then.
- 1978** The United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 435 which had been drawn up by the Five Western Powers (Canada, France, Great Britain, the United States, West Germany). This plan for a United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) to supervise and oversee the election of a Constitutional Assembly in Namibia was “accepted in principle” by South Africa, but every attempt to implement it has been blocked by South African objections. Instead, in an attempt to legitimize its presence, South Africa conducted an election in Namibia for a “national assembly.” This election was boycotted by all significant Black and mixed race political parties and condemned as illegal and void by

the UN Security Council. On May 4, South Africa launched an attack upon unarmed Namibian refugees at Kassinga inside Angola, killing 867 refugees mostly women and children.

- 1980** South African government introduced compulsory military conscription into Namibia, causing



The horrors of the Kassinga Massacre, perpetrated by South African troops.

thousands of young Namibians to flee into neighboring countries.

- 1981** A conference in Geneva among the UN, SWAPO, the South African government, and some small, internal parties collapsed because of the refusal of South Africa to agree to a cease fire; South Africa followed the lead of

U.S. President Reagan in linking Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola.



Secretary-General opens Geneva meeting on Namibia.

United Nations Photo UN145 508

- 1982** South Africa disbanded the “national assembly” after it failed to gain any significant support from either Blacks or Whites in Namibia, and returned to direct rule by a South African Administrator General.
- 1984** SWAPO and other Namibian parties supporting UN Resolution 435 met in Lusaka with Multi-Party Conference of parties backed by South Africa; talks deadlocked after 3 days when White MPC parties blocked a resolution for a cease fire and implementation of 435.

- 1985** South Africa appointed an unelected new "interim government" from six small parties, including the (White) Nationalist party and the White dominated Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).
- 1986** Seventeen religious, political, social, and student organizations formed the /Ai-Gams movement to promote independence in accordance with UN resolution 435 and oppose the "unholy alliance" between South Africa and the U.S.; White businessmen organized Namibia Peace Plan 435 to



Theo-Ben Gurirab, SWAPO Secretary for Foreign Affairs, speaks against linking Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. UN PHOTO/Saw Lwin(ARA)

**"fight for" the UN Resolution:
Namibian court over-rode South**

African authorities and "interim government" and permitted SWAPO to hold rallies for the first time in 5 years. Ten thousand rallied in Katutura, one of the largest gatherings in Namibian history. South Africa launched air attacks against the Frontline States from bases in Namibia. Several unions formed under SWAPO leadership; there were strikes by thousands of mine workers, factory workers, students, and teachers.



Cautious optimism surrounds the final signing of the tripartite agreement between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, and the bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba, which hopefully will permit the independence of Namibia and the phased withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. UN PHOTO 173882J. Isaac

1988 The U.S. and South Africa began talks with Angola about the Cu-

ban presence in Angola, U.S. and South African support for UNITA, and Namibian independence. Namibian workers and students began widespread strikes and boycotts.

- 1989** Under agreements reached with South Africa, Angola, Cuba, and the U.S., South Africa is to allow the process toward Namibian independence to begin in April under UN supervision, while Cuba will begin the withdrawal of its 50,000 troops from Angola.

Since the earliest days of their administration of the territory, South Africa's rulers have attempted to absorb Namibia into South Africa. Although they now claim to intend to grant independence to the territory, South Africa's rulers continue to obstruct and delay the negotiations for independence while reaping the profits of its exploitation of Namibian resources in defiance of international law. Those profits are enormous.

THE FARM INDUSTRY

Although much of Namibia is desert, the large central plateau is well suited to grazing sheep and cattle. Most cattle are raised for the foreign market, especially for South Africa. Similarly, almost all of the very lucrative market in karakul sheep pelts-marketed as "Swakara furs" or "Persian Lamb"-is overseas. Agriculture accounts for 14% of Namibia's Gross Domestic Product and 20% of its exports.



A model exhibiting a karakul fur coat at a fashion show in the Kalahari Sands Hotel in Windhoek.

Photo: UNITED NATIONS/Photo by A. Reininget>Contact(NJ)

The Hudson's Bay Company of Canada is the largest single wholesaler of Swakara (South West African Karakul furs). By mid-1970, 5.5 million skins were being exported annually with a net retail worth ranging from \$193 to \$330 million. After a sharp decline in the 1980s, the market for karakul is growing again.

Two-thirds of the Black and mixed race population live in rural areas, and depend wholly or partly on farming. Where the Herero and Nama people of Namibia once tended their own herds, their descendants and the Ovambo migrant laborers from the north now tend the land and livestock of White farmers of German or Boer ancestry who have replaced them. While one-half

“The dogs of White men live ten times better than I do.!”

— Namibian man’s taped testimony,
smuggled to the UN.

of the Black population remain subsistence farmers, they live on only 3.2% of the land. Under the contract labor system that South Africa maintained until 1977, the strongest and healthiest laborers were singled out for work in the mines or factories and only the youngest, oldest, or most infirm were assigned to farm labor. Farm workers nonetheless make up the largest segment of the work force. Their earnings, starting at \$5 a month, average less than one-tenth what South Africa regards as a minimum for an African family to survive.

Since 1978, workers have had the legal right to seek employment in any sector, but only if granted approval by South African-controlled “homelands” and labor bureau officials. The men are still forced by

poverty to travel long distances from their families to accept work, while women and children remain behind to try to eke a living from the land. The "homelands" to which they have been restricted are too poor to provide either employment or subsistence agriculture sufficient to meet their needs. Once the men accept employment, they may face penalties from employers and harassment by officials if they attempt to break their contracts or organize protests or strikes. On the karakul ranches where the precious skins are stripped from carcasses, the workers may not be allowed to add the meat to their diet. It is often fed to dogs instead.

THE FISHING INDUSTRY

The waters of the long Namibian coastline are a rich fishing ground for the commercial vessels of many nations. The products of the fishing industry —canned sardines, fish meal, fish oil and rock lobster —are second only to mining in economic importance to the territory. South Africa reported in the mid-1970's that investment in canning factories, equipment and fishing vessels in Namibia stood at about \$65 million (U.S.). Annual sales totaling about \$90 million were being made each year to over 60 countries, including Belgium, France, Panama, Puerto Rico, Sri Lanka, Thailand, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Zaire.

The UN adopted Decree #1 for the Protection of Namibian "Resources," which declares illegal under international law any exploitation of Namibian resources under South African control. Nevertheless, American consumers have been sold Namibian products under such brand names as Del Monte and Spruce sardines and Purina cat food. However, due to overfishing by foreign nations and corporations, there was a sharp decline in the industry starting in the late 1970s. This decline has added to the increasing unemployment rate among Namibian workers.

Most of the fishing industry, including the canneries, is in the vicinity of Walvis

Bay, the only deep water port along the more than 1,000 mile coastline of Namibia. South Africa has laid claim to this port as an integral part of South Africa — even though it is 700 miles from the nearest stretch of South African Coast — because it was originally claimed by Great Britain as part of the Cape Colony. Since 1977,



Cannery workers on the beach at Walvis Bay

Photo: UNITED NATIONS/A. Reininger

South Africa has stopped administering it as part of Namibia and now governs it as part of the Cape. Even in the event of Namibian independence, South Africa has announced its intent to retain Walvis Bay, thereby undermining Namibia's national unity and territorial integrity. This would divorce the profitable fishing industry from the Namibian economy. Furthermore, since the rail lines in Namibia terminate in South Africa and in Walvis Bay, South Africa would have total control of all traffic to and from Namibia except by air, and could tax,

restrain or even blockade all commerce whenever it chose to.

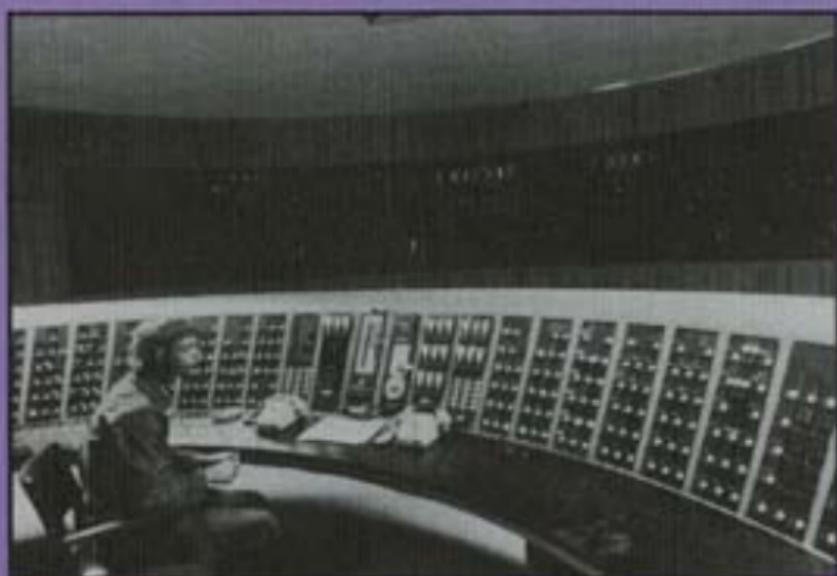
Black workers in the fishing industry are paid better than those on farms, but they still earn less than half of the Poverty Datum Line figure. Like the farm workers, they work long and erratic hours.

These workers are mainly migrants from the "homelands," living in single sex barracks where they are bedded on mats on concrete bunks and fed coarse meal mush from buckets and shovels. Resentment against these conditions led to large strikes in 1959 and 1971, but Black workers won only some minor concessions from the South African administration.

A tragic irony is that Namibia, a country with a bountiful supply of fish, a rich source of protein, has one of the lowest rates of fish consumption of any coastal country in the world. Almost all the fish is handled by workers too poorly paid to buy the products of their labor. The workers know that kwashiorkor, a disease of protein deficiency, and other ailments linked to malnutrition are destroying the lives of their children left behind in the homelands.

MINING

Namibia is the third largest producer of non-petroleum minerals in Africa. About half of Namibia's annual GDP comes from the exploitation and export of base metal ores including copper, lead, zinc, and other metals, as well as uranium and diamonds. They account for 60% of Namibia's foreign exchange, and 40-50% of its national revenue. All of Namibia's mines are foreign owned, part of the 88 transnational corporations which dominate the Namibian economy. Each year about 1/3 of Namibian GDP leaves the country in the form of profits to multinational corporations. Three companies control 95% of the mining and production of exports: CDM, Rossing Uranium, and Tsumeb.



Western built computers like the one above at CDM, manage Namibia's mining operations as well as South Africa's military operations along the Angolan border.



Namibian workers digging for diamonds at CDM's mine at Oranjemund.

PHOTO: UNITED NATIONS>Contact/A. Reininger

Diamonds were the first source of mineral wealth in Namibia. A railroad worker discovered the first diamond while cleaning tracks in 1908. A diamond rush followed; by 1921 a stretch of coastal desert 210 miles long and 60 miles deep had been sealed off as the private preserve of the Consolidated Diamond Mines (now CDM), subsidiary of the South African De Beers Corporation and part of the larger South African owned Anglo-American complex of companies. As many as two million carats of diamonds are dug out annually, a very large proportion of gem quality. From these, CDM netted about \$250 million each year during the 1970s. CDM, while producing only 14% of DeBeers' total diamond carats, accounted for 47% of DeBeers profits during these years, in part by illegally overmining

and depleting the reserves. The De Beers Corporation controls 80% of the world's diamond trade, marketing not only for South Africa and Namibia, but for the Soviet Union, and the other major sources.

The largest base metal mine in the world is also in Namibia. It is the Tsumeb mine in northern Namibia. Formerly owned by two American firms, it is now owned by the U.S.-based Newmont Mining Corporation and by the Anglo-American group through its subsidiary, Gold Fields of South Africa.

From an investment of under \$2 million in 1945 the original owners had reported dividends of \$175 million in the first twenty-five years of operation.

The most recent major development in Namibia's mineral exploitation has been the Rossing mine near Walvis Bay, the largest opencast uranium mine in the world. Despite controlling uranium sources in other countries, the British firm Rio-Tinto-Zinc chose to develop Rossing to meet



Raw copper awaiting shipment at Walvis Bay

PHOTO: Kimmo Kiljunen

England's nuclear fuel demands. And, although the British firm is the majority partner, voting rights on the Rossing mine are controlled by two South African companies.

It is estimated by the South African press that Rossing's production of uranium is greater than all the uranium mines in South Africa, and that Namibia produces one-sixth of the total uranium output of the non-socialist bloc countries. France, Japan, the Netherlands and West Germany are reported to be purchasers of this uranium, as well as South Africa and Britain. UN testimony has identified both the U.S. and Soviet Union as processors of Namibian uranium for Japan and Western Europe respectively. Rossing reported untaxed profits of \$125 million in 1980. However, details of the mine's management and production are shrouded in the secrecy of South African security legislation. Because Rossing is not subject to international scrutiny, there is no information on how much of the uranium ore extracted is diverted to military use.

In recent years, South Africa has been aggressively acquiring nuclear technology from the United States, France and Israel and is now widely assumed to possess nuclear weapon capability. Hearings held at the United Nations in 1980 discussed South Africa's 1977 nuclear test site in the Kalahari desert, the mysterious nuclear blast in the South Atlantic in 1979, and the

existence of a secret facility at South Africa's Sasol II coal gasification plant which could process weapons grade uranium. Since these hearings, a second unexplained explosion occurred off the South African coast.

Nowhere is the plunder of Namibia more evident than in the mining sector of the economy. The amount and percentage of Gross Domestic Product going to foreign owners, shareholders, and entrepreneurs, as well as to South African revenue collectors, are rising while the mineral wealth is being exploited at a rate that threatens to exhaust existing mines before the end of the century.

Furthermore, the industry is built on the exploitation of Black labor by multinational mining interests under a system of control enforced by the South African Army. Even in this highest-paid sector of the Black Namibian work force, most workers earn wages below the Poverty Datum Line. Here again workers live in single-sex barracks, denied the right to have their families near them. The Tsumeb Mine, Namibia's largest single employer, has repeatedly ignored U.S. stockholder calls for equal pay for equal work in the mine and continues a minimum wage that is only 60% of the Poverty Data Line figure. Even a South African survey described Tsumeb's wage scale as substantially below the South African norm for Black mine workers. Although Tsumeb will

on current operations, figures available in the 1970s showed that, in the whole term of AMAX-Newmont ownership, only about 5% of the total wages paid at Tsumeb had gone to Black workers, although those workers made up 80% of the labor force.

At the Rossing mine, workers carry out the task of blasting out a million tons of ore each week in a swirl of radioactive dust. The parent company, RTZ of England, has no health compensation plan for Black

“I had been in prison for over eight years on Robben Island, and when I came to the Tsumeb hostels where the workers were housed, I couldn't help noticing that conditions there are far worse than in Robben Island prison.”

— Ben Uulenga, General Secretary, Mine-workers Union of Namibia.

workers and gives them no regular health checkups, as it does for white employees. Although there is a doctor on 24-hour call, workers report that only White employees are automatically eligible for medical attention. Blacks, except the very few in middle management positions, are not likely to be treated. Furthermore, the huge piles of radioactive tailings left by the mining process — containing particles which will remain deadly for several thousands of

years — lie only a few miles from the Black township while White employees enjoy the greater safety of Swakopmund, 40 miles away.

NAMIBIAN LABOR

This exploitation of labor has been an essential to the exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia, for this pool of cheap labor has allowed foreign investors to reap such large profits. It is not surprising then, that the efforts of labor to organize have been resisted with the full force of the apartheid regime. Until 1978, Black Namibians were denied the right to strike or to have legal recourse in labor disputes, even within the narrow limits granted to White and mixed race workers. Even afterwards, they were not allowed to have an affiliation with a political party. Nor could they bargain collectively without representing all grades of worker, thus including privileged White workers who could undermine the interests of the poor Black workers.



Exploited Namibian women workers are today in the forefront of the political struggle.

Nonetheless, the history of workers' resistance goes back to 1893, when miners at Gross Otavi mine near Tsumeb went on strike, and efforts to organize trade unions date back to the 1920s. The modern struggle for Namibian independence grew out of the massive resistance of Namibian workers in the 1950s. Ovambo contract workers struck in 1952 and again in 1953. In 1953, Ray Alexander, a Cape Town organizer of the Food and Canning Workers Union, arrived in Luderitz to organize the fish canners of Luderitz Bay. She negotiated an agreement with the industry, but, at that point, she was banned from Namibia and returned to South Africa while the union was intimidated and disbanded.

In 1959, South Africa set about to remove the Black workers in Windhoek to the newly established "township" of Katutura, an Herero word meaning "We have no home." The Ovamboland People's Organization,



Home in Katutura Township.

PHOTO: UNITED NATIONS/W. Raynor

and the Herero-based South West Africa National Union (SWANU) organized the protest that led to the Windhoek Massacre. On December 10, 1959, now remembered as Namibian Women's Day, women joined together outside the South African administration headquarters in Windhoek to reinforce their petition to the United Nations against forced removal from Windhoek to Katutura with a boycott of local buses and beer halls. It was their desire for change without further bloodshed which marked the Katutura uprisings. In the midst of this non-violent demonstration the South African police opened fire on the crowd, killing eleven and wounding 54 of the protesters.

The women and men whose peaceful demonstrations in 1959 were fired upon by South African police were developing not only the labor movement of Namibia. The Ovamboland People's Organization which led the demonstrations and which had organized against the contract labor system was to evolve into the national liberation movement SWAPO.

In December 1971, SWAPO led workers in a general strike that spread to 15,000 workers in twenty-three cities and affected eleven mines. In the face of massive arrests, torture, killings and treacherous promises, the workers held out for two months. The strike led to minor concessions in the conditions of contract labor employment in Namibia, though the oppressive nature of the system continued. But the strike was

so successful that the South African government had to hire White schoolboys to haul garbage at ten times what the adult Black workers earned.

As South Africa first promised and then delayed the process of independence under UN Resolution 435, and as the over-exploited Namibian economy declined, there was some falling off of labor activity, but strikes continued. In 1978 Katutura workers struck in protest against "homelands" police, and 5200 Black miners struck Consolidated Diamond Mines. In 1982, half the female work force of the Table-Top fish-processing factory went on strike.

Though sporadic strikes continued, it has been since 1986 that there has been a resurgence of organized labor activity in Namibia under the leadership of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), a federation of unions representing workers in the mining, food proc-



South African corporate leadership tour a mine site in Namibia.

essing and manufacturing sectors of the economy. Formed by SWAPO in 1970, NUNW has slowly built a unified labor movement in the face of government harassment. About half of Namibia's mine-workers are now members of the Mine-workers Union of Namibia (MUN), a NUNW affiliate.

MUN and its affiliated, Namibian Food and Allied Workers Union (NAFAU), which represents over 6000 workers as well as government and public employees, have led the largest work stoppages since the 1971 contract workers strike.

Strikes have grown out of disputes over low wages, dangerous and humiliating conditions, and grievances on behalf of employees discharged without compensation for illness or injuries, and they have been met with arrests, police and military intimidation, firings, and grudging concessions, as well as attempts by the South Africans to foster pro-government labor organizations.

In June 1988, the National Union of Namibia Workers called a two-day strike to support the demands of students who were boycotting schools and calling for the removal of South Africa military bases near schools in Ovamboland, as well as demanding release of detained workers and union officials. Almost 90% of the workers stayed away from work. Another dramatic display of the new strength of the Namibian labor movement has been the annual May Day

celebrations starting with a rally of 7500 people in Katutura in 1987, 5000 in Tsumeb on the same day, and smaller demonstrations throughout the country, actively supported by SWAPO and the Namibian Council of Churches.

LIBERATION AND THE CHURCHES

Until the recent past, the South African government had generally refused to recognize the existence of Black political parties, preferring instead to deal with traditional chiefs whenever they could be swayed through financial support and flattery. But a large number of political parties have grown out of the determination of Namibians to reclaim their country.

More recently, the South African government has used the same financial support and flattery to create puppet politicians and try to splinter the major Black parties in order to promote an "internal solution"-a Namibian government with Black faces, but totally controlled from South Africa.

Since the late 1950s, one political group has remained predominant: SWAPO, the South West African Peoples Organization, which functions both as an external liberation movement and an internal political party.

The South African government has tried to diminish SWAPO's popularity by promoting a Turnhalle Conference of Namibian tribal chiefs, a multi-ethnic grouping of White and Colored politicians and Black tribal chiefs named the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), and currently a "Transitional Government of National Unity" appointed by the South African government

from six minor parties, including the (White) Nationalist Party, the DTA, and splinter groups from SWAPO and the South West African National Union (SWANU). However, even South African intelligence agencies acknowledge that SWAPO commands the loyalty of at least 80% of the population.

SWAPO developed out of the resistance of Black Ovambo workers to the brutal contract labor system of Namibia. In the early 1960's it grew beyond its large ethnic base (Ovambos are half the Black population) by recruiting among other Blacks, mixed race groups and Whites on a non-ethnic basis, and by speaking out aggressively against oppression. SWAPO urged that the united voice of Namibian labor would carry to the United Nations, and that support for their struggles would come from the world organization and the international community.

Those hopes seemed dashed in 1966, when the International Court of Justice refused to rule on South Africa's maladministration of its mandate in South West Africa. At that point, militants from SWAPO outside of the country returned to begin the armed struggle. In the view of SWAPO leaders, labor was the first arm of the struggle; the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) was the second. In 1968, Andimba (Herman) Toivo ja Toivo, a founding member of SWAPO, was tried along with thirty-six other Na-

mibians for giving aid to the SWAPO guerrillas. He was sentenced to twenty years on Robben Island by a South African court, under that country's Terrorism Act which was passed after his arrest and applied retroactively. He was released in March



**Andinba
(Herman)
Toivo ja Toivo**

PHOTO: Susan Burchfield

I am not by nature a man of violence and I believe that violence is a sign against God and my fellow men...but the South African Government is not truly interested in whether opposition is violent or nonviolent...Violence is truly fearsome, but who would not defend his property and himself against a robber? And we believe that South Africa has robbed us of our country.”

— Andinba (Herman) Toivo ja Toivo

1984 and is now active as Secretary General of SWAPO.



Police storm students March on Kassinga Day in Windhoek 1988. PHOTO: NCCT

South Africa has responded to SWAPO's struggle with ever increasing intimidation and torture, with a military force of 100,000 men armed with sophisticated weapons from the Western world's arsenals, with an expensive publicity campaign to discredit SWAPO, and with its continuing refusal to have the politicians it supports confront SWAPO in an internationally supervised election.

“The Namibian Black churches have stood together with the liberation movement because they too were not spared oppression.”

— Theo Ben Gurirab,
Secretary for Foreign Affairs

In 1965, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) recognized SWAPO as the liberation movement of the Namibian people. In 1973, the UN General Assembly recognized SWAPO as the "authentic representative of the Namibian people."

The churches have been crucial to the struggle for liberation in Namibia, and the churches have paid a heavy price for their commitments to conscience and to justice. After the defeat of Germany in the First World War, the churches in South West Africa gradually began to transform themselves from foreign missionary institutions to indigenous churches with Black leadership. Many of the leaders of SWAPO and the other Black political parties were educated in church-run schools. Thus, both the political and the religious leadership of Namibia have sprung from the same formative spiritual ground.

Caskets of 16 victims of the Oshakati Namibia bomb blast that killed 26 people on February 26, 1988.



Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, has said, "There are three parts to the freedom struggle of Namibia; the part played by SWAPO internally and externally, the part played by the People's Liberation Army, and the part played by the Church."



Sam Nujoma

PHOTO: Susan Burchfield

Cooperation among the Namibian churches and their coordinated resistance to South African control have contributed to unity among Namibians and have called international attention to Namibia.

The Reverend Michael Scott, a White Anglican stationed in South West Africa, carried the petitions of Namibians to the United Nations in 1949. He was banned from South West Africa by South African authorities, as later were his fellow Anglicans, the Bishops Mize, Winter, Wood and Vicar General Ed Morrow. James Kauluma, the present Anglican bishop, a Namibian speaks out courageously against oppression, intimidation, and torture. As a result his church has been ransacked by South

African troops and damaged by fire and he has been marked for assassination by White terrorist groups.

When the International Court of Justice finally ruled in 1971 that South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal, two of the leading Black churches — the Evangelical Lutheran and the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church—representing about half the Black population of Namibia, issued a pastoral letter to their congregations with their first public denunciations of South African apartheid: "We can no longer be silent...if we, as the church, remain silent any longer, we will become liable for the life and future of our country and its people." Support came from the Anglican and Roman Catholic



South African troops on patrol near Angolan border

PHOTO: John Liebenberg/NCCT

churches; then the United Evangelical Mission of West Germany and the Finnish Missionary Society joined in expressing their solidarity.

The churches appealed worldwide to fellow Christians to attend to the cries of suffering in Namibia. Their voices protested the brutal intimidation South Africa used to force Namibians to vote in rigged elections. At great risk, the churches have continued to investigate and refute South African propaganda against the liberation movement.

For these acts, church officials have been jailed and harassed, more foreign clergy have been expelled, churches have been bombed and church property destroyed by the South African Defense Force.

In 1977 the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) was organized including the African Methodist Episcopal, Anglican, Congregational, Evangelical Lutheran Church of SWANamibia, Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango, Evangelical Reformed Church of SWA, German Evangelical Lutheran, Methodist, and Roman Catholic churches, in an effort to speak with a united religious voice against the South African oppression. Their unity in the Namibian Council of Churches has continued to refute the South African claims to represent the majority in Namibia.

In the spring of 1986, Representatives of 17 organizations, including the Council of Churches of Namibia, SWAPO, SWANU and other political parties, the National Students' Organization (NANSO) and the YWCA signed the /AI-Gams Declaration reaffirming support for UN Resolution

**Bishop
Kauluma,
1988**



435 and committing themselves to a “campaign of positive action” opposing South African control, the transitional government, and the “unholy alliance” between South Africa and the U.S. It’s first public action was a Corpus Christi Day March of 5000 from the Black township of Katutura to the mixed race township of Khomasdal outside Windhoek in defiance of a “line of death” drawn by thugs directed by the “transitional government.”

Finally, it has been the sad task of the churches and their leaders like Bishop



**Zephariah
Kameeta, Deputy
Bishop of the
Evangelical Lu-
theran Church
(ELC)**

1979 - The Reverend Paul Wee, General Secretary of the Lutheran World Ministries, on a fact finding tour of Namibia "Twice during my brief trip I had a gun pushed into my stomach and many times their (South African army) guns aimed at me during searches of our car and our suitcases. It is the South African army together with units of the Home Guards which detain and beat the students, hospital personnel and pastors, applying sand and electric shock torture to those accused of aiding SWAPO. It is these who are responsible for harassing, intimidating, blackmailing and bribing the population....It is they who deserve the name 'terrorists'."

Kauluma, Bishop Dumeni, Pastor Abisai Shejavali and Rev. Kameeta to offer last rites to those who have perished through the violence of bloodshed and the violence of starvation and sickness.

THE INTERNATIONAL STALEMATE

Many times since 1979, Namibia has seemed on the verge of internationally supervised and controlled elections to install an independent government, but each time some new obstacle has been raised by South Africa or its client politicians in Namibia, and the war of occupation continues.

The five Western powers — Canada, Great Britain, France, West Germany and the United States—acting as a contact group between South Africa and SWAPO, and consulting with the African frontline states—Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and later Zimbabwe drew up a proposal to carry out UN Security Council resolution 385 calling for UN supervised elections.

South Africa accepted the proposal in the spring of 1978 and predicted that SWAPO would balk at an election. Despite a delay by SWAPO after South Africa's attack on SWAPO refugee camps deep inside Angola which left over a thousand men, women and children dead, wounded or captured, SWAPO did accept this proposal for UN supervised elections as UN Security Council resolution 435.

Then South Africa and, later, SWAPO raised objections to the interpretations that the other was putting upon parts of the

plan. Both sides expressed fears of possible intimidation during the election.

After more negotiations, in which South Africa raised additional conditions, UN supervised elections seemed assured when SWAPO agreed to allow South Africa to maintain 20 military bases in a "demilitarized zone" to be established along the Angolan border of Namibia. This DMZ had earlier been added to the plan to allay South African fears of SWAPO infiltration from Angola. But, after SWAPO made this concession, South Africa raised still more objections to the agreement.

When President Reagan took office in the U.S., he announced a dangerous new tilt toward the White minority regime in South Africa:

As long as there's a sincere and honest effort being made (to end apartheid) we should be trying to be helpful. Can we again take the other course? Can we abandon a country that has stood beside



President Ronald Reagan meets with South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, in 1981.

PHOTO: AP LASERPHOTO (fr61009stf&schwarz)1981

us in every war we've ever fought, a country that is essential to the free world, that has minerals?

This new policy of "constructive engagement" was based on inaccurate information, inadequate analysis, and dubious morality. Despite having major stores of various strategic minerals, South Africa did not have a monopoly, nor were the U.S. stockpiles as critically short as alarmist propaganda led some to believe.

The Reagan policy of supporting "moderately repressive regimes" with a concern only for "U.S. vital interests" in southern Africa, in Central America, and in other parts of the world seemed to ignore both the immorality of such a policy and the seeds of distrust, suspicion and hatred of the U.S. which it sowed.

The most significant parts of the tilt toward South Africa by the Reagan administration were the repeal of the Clark Amendment which had prohibited further covert CIA efforts at military destabilization of Angola, and the linkage of the removal of Cuban troops in Angola to the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

Under Reagan, the CIA is again funding the UNITA rebels in Angola, this time arming them with sophisticated U.S. ground-to-air missiles and landmines that have caused Angola to have the highest percentage of amputees in the world. These materials are delivered either through Namibia with the help of the South African

forces that also assist UNITA or they are flown to the rebels in Angola from a U.S. airbase in Zaire.

President George Bush's policy on Namibia is not clear, but some suggestion of a position is reflected in his utterances on



President George Bush (R) at the White House with Vice President Quayle and Ronald Reagan.

PHOTO: UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

South Africa. He argues, "I do not support further sanctions in South Africa. To imagine that we impose a solution by taking further unilateral measures shows a lack of understanding of South African realities." He defends current U.S. military assistance to UNITA in Angola by noting, "While the Soviets pour arms into aggressive countries menaced by no one, we carefully tailor our military aid to reduce tensions by moderate assistance to countries facing a clear external threat."

By demanding that the Cuban troops depart from Angola as a condition for South Africa granting Namibian independence, the U.S. government created an issue which even the South African government had not raised at the time Resolution 435 was adopted, although it, too, now argues that the Cuban presence is a "problem."

Although talks in 1988 by the Angolan government and its Cuban ally with South Africa and the U.S. led to a withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, those troops will remain just across the border in northern Namibia, a force now larger than the civilian White population of Namibia.

In addition, South Africa has created, largely from the poorest minorities in



Military truck in the north of Namibia

PHOTO: NCCT

Namibia, a South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF), used as support troops and trackers for the South Africa Defense

Force. One of every four male Bushmen or San have been recruited or drafted into SWATF.

Among the most detested of the South Africa "police" forces is the military-trained and armed "koevoet" or "crow-bar" unit that carries out acts of sabotage and terror against Namibian civilian churches and church property. Because the South Africa government defines them as police rather than army units, they would not be restrained to barracks during a UN monitored election under UN Resolution 435.

"The police are like a snake. The snake bites you and you have to go to the snake to state your case."

—Oswald Shivute, 2nd Tier
Ovambo Administrator



Mrs. Monica Kamulungu, 5 months pregnant, run over by South African "koevet" police troop carrier, which also killed her 2 year old baby daughter.

PHOTO: THE NAMIBIAN NCCT

The worst thing (the soldiers) do is to rape women and then push broken bottles or sticks inside their vaginas. In the case of men, they burn the organs or cut them.”

—testimony from a Namibian woman

One-third of the total South African military budget is spent in Namibia. As a result of the actions of the South African military, 18,000 Namibians have died, 380,000 have been displaced, 10,000 have gone into exile and 55,000 farmers in the rural north have abandoned farms for shanty towns, near Oshakati and Ondangwa or to seek work in Windhoek.

THE "INTERNAL SOLUTION"

While the movement toward an international solution has been stalled, since 1978, South Africa has been moving relentlessly toward an "internal solution" for Namibia.

In 1977, South Africa financed the formation of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

In 1978, South Africa carried out unilateral internal elections which were boycotted by all the Black political parties of Namibia and all but two small mixed race parties. This election was for a "constituent assembly" which then became a National Assembly. Forty-one of the 50 seats were won by the DTA, the White nationalist party AKTUR won six and the mixed race parties and the far right White Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) won one each. Later, the Namibian National Front (NNF), a small racial alliance which boycotted the elections, was offered seats in the assembly, but only the White minority party in the Front was willing to accept this token membership.

From the National Assembly, a Council of Ministers was formed to act as an executive committee (a cabinet with administrative powers) of the South African Administrator General. The National Assembly conducted elections on an "ethnic" basis to elect a second tier of government,

that is, ethnic or tribal "homelands" governments.

This National Assembly was dismissed by the South African Administrator General in 1982 after it failed to gain popular support among either the Black and mixed race populations or the White population and after Peter Kalangula, the only member who had demonstrated any independence, withdrew his Ovambo Peoples Party after the Whites in the alliance reneged on their offer to grant him effective leadership of their alliance.

However, this removed only the "1st tier" of government, and the 2nd tier -which was just as unpopular and which had distinguished itself mainly by lavish living and unbridled corruption-remained in control of the "homeland" governments and contributed to Namibia's economic plight. By 1984, state spending was almost 60% of GDP.

"The present constitutional dispensation, whereby the Representative Authorities are allowed to feed like parasites on the fruit of the land without any control or supervision and without delivering corresponding returns is fast leading to a collapse of the whole country"

— South African Department
of Finance, 1983

Under this 2nd tier structure, each "homeland" has a largely autonomous government. The White "homeland" contains most of the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country; the Black areas are destined to remain impoverished and politically helpless to effect change. Some petty apartheid restrictions have been lifted and Blacks can purchase land in any part of the country, in fact, few can afford to live in the prosperous White areas. Furthermore, although travel is not legally restricted, Black and mixed race citizens will be enfranchised only in the barren homelands to which they were assigned in the 1960s. Black children who live in the White homeland may not attend White public schools and Blacks in the White homeland must go to Black hospitals. They are not admitted to White hospitals even for emergency care.

Typical of this "non-racial" approach is the design for education in a country where fewer than half of the Black children complete primary schooling. University education is to be nationally funded and free to all.

But primary and secondary schooling, as well as all other social services, are funded by the homelands. Thus, the Black and mixed race homelands are taxed to support the newly created university, which will have an overwhelmingly White student body, while trying to educate their own

youth on the resources of their impoverished people and lands.

The South Africans have now replaced the first tier of government with the "Transitional Government of National Unity," a body no more representative of the Namibian people than the previous arrangement.

"GOVERNMENT" IN NAMIBIA

The result of South Africa's attempts to install puppet governments that would protect the interests of the white minority is a complex and costly bureaucracy, confusing to outsiders and, at times, to the Namibians themselves. The following is a brief overview of the current structure.)

| |
|--|
| 1. Administrator General [Since 1977] |
|--|

[South African official appointed by the South African President] governs by decree. Powers unrestricted, subject only to the S.A. President.

| |
|---|
| 2. Interim [or Transitional Government of National Unity since 1984] |
|---|

[multi-racial Cabinet and Assembly of six Namibian political parties appointed by the South African government]. Term indefinite, to be established by an as yet unwritten constitution.

Powers defined by a South African mandate, subject in some case to judicial review within Namibia and revocable by the Administrator General and the South African president; no

voice in military, security or international affairs.
[1st (i.e., "National") Tier of Government]

3. Ethnic Administrations

[regional governments for each of the ethnic "homelands", elected continuations of administrations elected in widely boycotted 1978 elections that created previous "interim government", the 1st tier of which was dissolved by Administrator General decree in 1982]

Term: presumably subject to Interim Government legislation.*

Powers: autonomous administration of each "homeland", subject to South African military command and 1st Tier taxation for "national services."

[2nd Tier of Government]

4. Local (municipal) Government

[elected by local residents who hold franchise in that "homeland"]

Terms vary.

Powers: subject to 1st and 2nd Tier Governments and South African military command.

[3rd Tier of Government]

*Except for the Rehoboth administration which derives its authority from a 'Self-Government Act' of the South African Parliament.

WHAT CAN WE DO

The U.S. was one of the group of Western nations which drafted U.N. Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia and urged its acceptance by SWAPO and the South African government. SWAPO accepted, but the South Africans have continued to postpone implementation. Throughout the Reagan administration, the U.S. government has contributed to this delay by linking Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Even as the Reagan administration in its final months attempted to negotiate a ceasefire in Namibia and Angola, it encouraged further delay and warfare in the region by continuing to arm the UNITA rebels against the Angolan government. International reports have increased of a U.S. military presence along the Northern Angolan border with Zaire in support of UNITA forces.

Therefore, the necessary conditions for peace in the region are a ceasefire in the region, and an end to U.S. and South Africa military assistance to UNITA, and free elections in Namibia under U.N. control and supervision.

In keeping with the Quaker belief in speaking truth to power, the American Friends Service Committee invites public expressions of support for an end to U.S. and South Africa military activity in the region and a speedy implementation of

U.N. Resolution 435 which would allow the Namibian people the opportunity to choose their own government, control their own resources, and manage their own affairs. The ending of South African rule would mean an end to more than a century of colonial violence and the beginning of a new opportunity for peace and justice in a truly independent Namibia.

“We feel that the world as a whole has a special responsibility toward us. This is because the land of our fathers was handed over to South Africa by a world body. It is a divided world, but it is a matter of hope for us that it at least agrees about one thing—that we are entitled to freedom and justice....We are sure that the world’s efforts to help us in our plight will continue....”

—Andimba (Herman)
Toivo ja Toivo, 1968

SPECIFICALLY, WE CAN

- 1) Inform Ourselves. Review the list of suggested readings. Check out the following periodicals: AFRICA NEWS, P.O. Box 3851, Durham, North Carolina 27702. U.S. ANTI-APARTHEID NEWSLETTER, 1501 Cherry St., Phila, Pa 19102.
- 2) Get In Touch With Others. Offices of

the AFSC (listed on the back) can help you reach groups active in your area. Churches, schools, college and community organizations are places to start.

3) Ask city councils, and state legislatures to pass binding legislation and civic and religious organizations to pass resolutions supporting United Nations efforts to force South Africa to relinquish its political and economic control of Namibia.

States, municipalities, churches, unions, universities and individuals should be encouraged to disengage economically from South African and Namibian interests.

They can also be encouraged not to do business with banks that lend directly or indirectly to the South African government or its instrumentalities. For ideas, resources, speakers contact an AFSC regional office.

4) **Speak Up:** Let your state or congressional representatives know your views on U.S. policy in southern Africa. As specific issues arise, write letters to the editor; telephone radio talk shows to express your views; express your views to local television news and program staff.

Encourage implementation of the spirit of UN Resolution 435 and voice your support for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. Support legislation that would end U.S. covert military aid to UNITA and legislation that would give U.N. Decree #1 for the Protection of Namibian Resources

the force of U.S. law.

5) **Help Namibian Refugees.** The AFSC and other groups have sent material aid to refugees from Namibia now living in southern Angola, Botswana and Zambia. The AFSC is appealing for selected material aid and donations of money. Get in touch with an AFSC regional office.

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SUGGESTED FILMS

Free Namibia

16mm, Color: 27 Minutes, 1978

UN Production

VIDEOS

The Capenhurst Connection (30 mins) 1986.

Torture in Namibia (30 mins) 1983.

Namibia Independence Now (55 mins) 1986.

Namibia: A Case Study in Colonialism
16mm.

Color: 18 Minutes, 1975 UN Production

Information and Resources are also avail-

able from:

American Committee on Africa
198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212)
962-1210

African National Congress
801 2nd Avenue, No. 405
New York, NY 10017

California News Reel
630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 621-6196

Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free
Southern Africa
339 Lafayette St. New York, NY 10012
(212) 477-0066

Interfaith Center on Corporate
Responsibility
475 Riverside Drive, No. 566, New York,
NY 10115 (212) 870-2293

Lawyers Committee/S.A.
1401 I., NW, Washington, DC 20002 (202)
371-1212

Mozambique Solidarity Office
343 S. Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60604 (312)
922-3915

National Namibia Concerns
915 East 9th Avenue, Denver CO 80218
(303) 830-2774

United Nations Commissioner for Namibia
1 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY
10012 (212) 963-7062

United Nations Council for Namibia
No. 3322-United Nations, New York, NY

10017 (212) 963-5400

South West Africa People's Organization
801 Second Ave, Rm 1401, New York, NY
10017 (212) 557-2450

TransAfrica
545 8th St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 547-2550

Washington Office on Africa
110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington,
D.C. 20002 (202) 546-7961

AFSC IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Since 1957, AFSC representatives have been based in southern Africa in a variety of capacities initially as "Quaker International Affairs Representatives." In 1964 the AFSC undertook a community development project in Zambia. In 1974, a southern Africa representative, stationed in Tanzania, was appointed to relate specifically to the liberation movements in Africa and to stimulate interest in their struggle among people in the United States. In 1979, TAMAPSA, a Technical Aid and Material Assistance Program for southern Africa was initiated in Zambia and later moved to Zimbabwe. An AFSC southern Africa information representative was posted to Zimbabwe in 1984, and continues to be based there while traveling throughout the Frontline States.

Today AFSC carries on steadily intensified education and action programs on southern Africa throughout the United States, creating and promoting literature, providing a monthly news clipping service, publishing a Quarterly National Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, distributing films and slide shows, scheduling speakers, helping to organize educational tours and projects, collecting clothing for refugees, and stimulating efforts to influence American foreign policy in southern Africa.

The American Friends Service Committee is a corporate expression of Quaker faith and practice. It is rooted in the conviction that each human life is sacred, each person a child of God, and that love, expressed through creative action, can overcome hatred, prejudice and fear.

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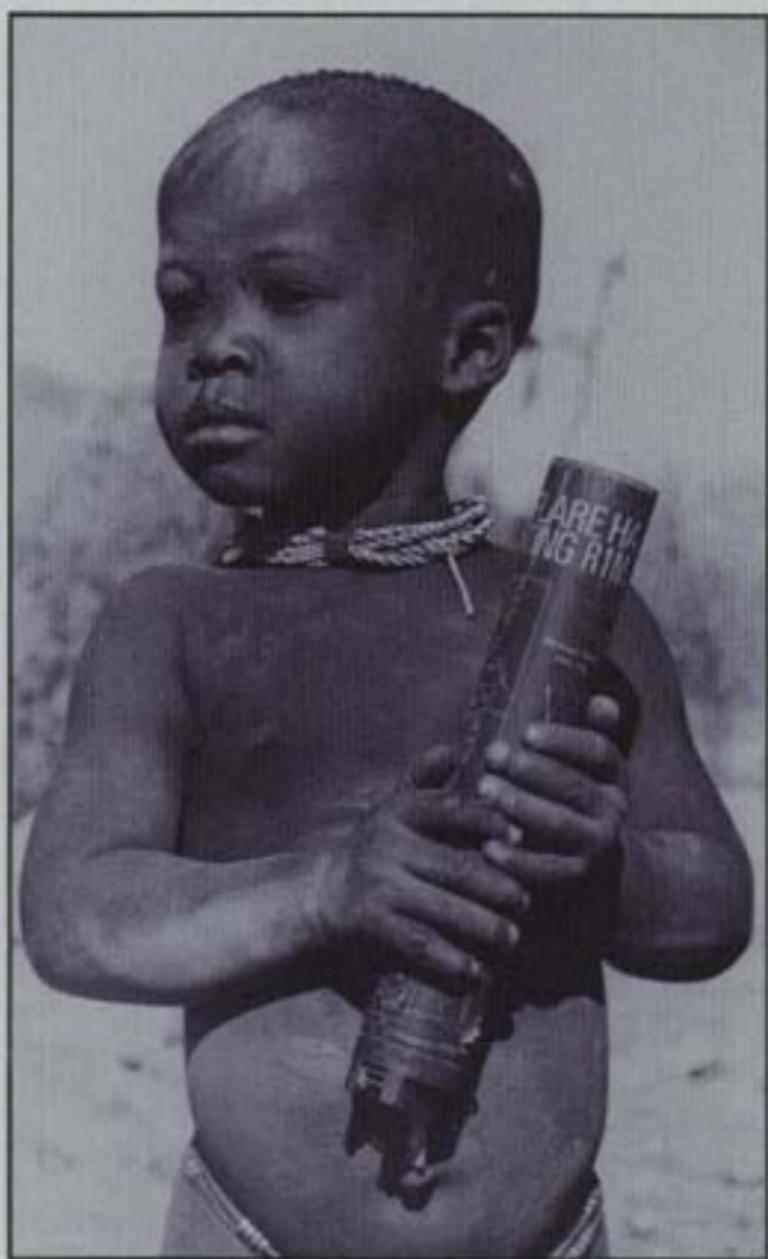
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