To the drafters of the Anti-Apartheid Movement Proposal:

Thank you for forwarding the proposal. Clearly, you are feeling the same needs and imperatives that many of us feel who have worked with the Southern Africa issue for several years...the need for a more effective, constituency-oriented coalition of Americans who are united for change in Southern Africa. While I believe your orientation is correct, I believe also that your timing and methods are not.

I offer the following criticisms constructively, hoping that they will eventuate in a widened network of persons supporting something like your proposal and in an alteration of it.

I think your timing is unfortunate in that you have presented a fairly detailed proposal without consulting with many of the organizations which have worked on this issue for several years. It is this unilateralism which has characterised most southern Africa actions of the past two decades. Cooperation is not engendered by one more unilateral proposal...especially when a national consultation is about to occur when consultation would be possible.

I think your sponsorship is unfortunate - to initiate a proposal from a committee on which the majority are not citizens of the country you are hoping to organize. Where is the participatory democracy about which progressives are so concerned. It also is unfortunate to begin with representation of only certain liberation movements on the initial proposing committee, suggesting an organization which will not necessarily unite all supporters of freedom and justice in Southern Africa...only some.

Most of all, I think your title is most unfortunate and reflects the UK-Europe origins of the conceptualization. The issue in southern Africa is not apartheid, which does not yet exist in Zimbabwe, for instance. The issue about which we all are concerned is injustice, inequality, and racial domination. You also are much too hasty in assuming a resolution in Zimbabwe and Namibia when you say these two territories "remain on the brink of a breakthrough towards Black majority rule." Therefore, we are not free to dismiss all cases excepting South Africa. Thus, it must not - definitely not - be an Anti-Apartheid Movement. It is a catchy and glib phrase which may catch public attention, but where are we left if South Africa abandons many aspects of "apartheid" while keeping still the worst of economic, political, and social domination?

You also, on page 3 (3), overlook the fact that many of the groups which have worked in the USA have organized themselves primarily to support liberation movements directly - in consultation and at the direction of the movements. We have accepted the liberation movement uses of the funds sent to them without question. The proposal also seems to suggest that the liberation movements will provide a unified direction, advice, and set of priorities to American constituents if the liberation representatives are central. I believe you are overestimating the unity which is possible. In fact, many of us working with movements are continually faced with competing goals, strategies, ideologies, and requests for funds. The simple adoption of whatever projects are suggested by any liberation movement will not necessarily eventuate in an effective U.S. program to weaken the white regimes of southern Africa.

The rationale for choosing the U.S. South and Midwest as regional offices is not clear. Does that suggest that the East Coast already is sufficiently well organized on these issues?
As a final word of criticism, may I note that your budget note (page 8F) suggests that the National Anti-Apartheid Movement is a *fait accompli* and that "we" are only assessing "our budget requirements."

To speak more constructively, may I suggest the following ideas:

1) Please wait until the national consultation October 11-13 before re-drafting this proposal. Do not come to the consultation with constitution, budget, and strategy in hand. The needs and problems of such a movement in the world's most powerful nation are too complex for such a simplistic approach.

2) Please change the name of the movement. More appropriate would be a title such as the Movement for Justice in Southern Africa, or some such title.

3) Please eliminate the determination of U.S. priorities by liberation movement representatives. Just as we are unable to suggest the nature of the political and economic and social structures which are appropriate to their peoples, their expertise is not in suggesting how we may be effective in weakening U.S. support for the white minority regimes. They can give us valuable advice as to their priorities and goals, but then we must decide what is appropriate and relevant in this country.

4) Please re-draft in order to include all constituents who in any way are willing to contribute to the cause of change in southern Africa. There are many individuals and organizations in the U.S.A. who have a valuable contribution to make to change in southern Africa but who cannot, out of personal conviction, contribute to liberation wars with personal contributions. We should not have compunctions about accepting whatever they are willing to offer in time, energies, and monies.

5) You have assisted us by crystallizing a reaction to something specific. Now that you have accomplished that, please widen the group of persons who create this organization, please widen the conception, please indigenize the organizing committee, please delay forming this organization - in short, please allow whatever network, coalition, cooperation channel, or organization that develops to flow from a more thoughtful, careful, and "responsive" process than your detailed draft suggests.

If we have learned anything in the past two decades, it is that individualism, men and women on horses, charismatic prophets, and radical-liberals "doing their thing" will result in but one more division of the already fragmented small contingent of persons who wish to work for justice in southern Africa. We have learned how terribly difficult it is to organize on this issue. We have learned, I think, that your goals of a large movement will best be obtained through listening, consultation, and cooperation - those qualities which have not characterized those of us who have remained for too long so frustrated by the powers that be in our own nations and in southern Africa.

For Freedom and Justice,

David Wiley