

CIDSA UPDATE

Coalition for Illinois' Divestment from South Africa

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Stop U.S. Aid to South Africa—THE ANGOLA CONNECTION

By Prexy Nesbitt

What do the Heritage Foundation, Adolph Coors, the Wall Street Journal, the College Republican National Committee, the Free the Eagle group, the Conservative Caucus Foundation, the American Security Council and the Cuban American National Foundation all have in common?

All are joining together to "fight for freedom" in Africa, especially in Angola. If that sounds a trifle bizarre simply add to their ranks Ronald Reagan who too has decided he is firmly committed to the struggle for freedom not only in Angola, but throughout Southern Africa. So committed, in fact, is our leader that on Friday, November 23, 1985 Reagan announced that he favored a covert aid operation to UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, the South African-backed rebel group fighting the Angolan government) as it would be "more useful" and "have more chance of success" than the various federal legislative bills calling for open military or humanitarian assistance.

What is the secret covert assistance program which Ronald Reagan and his legions are openly promoting?

The November 1, 1985 *Washington Post* quoted US intelligence sources as saying that the Pentagon, CIA and Defense Department want to see a two to three hundred million dollars covert military program initiated in Angola. It would probably be largely arms and equipment (at least initially)

but UNITA and the South African government have recently admitted anxiety over the much better planes, missiles and anti-aircraft weaponry which Angola has received in recent years in order to repel South Africa's repeated invasions. Incidentally, conservative estimates indicate that South Africa raids have caused Angola twelve billion dollars damage since its independence in 1975.

An important point which the American Committee on Africa highlighted in a November 12 open letter, entitled "AID TO UNITA IS AID TO SOUTH AFRICA", is that UNITA and its leader Savimbi have no bank in the bush. Any aid which the Reagan administration is either proposing (or facilitating) necessarily has to go via the Pretoria regime. Moreover, UNITA's operations are often coordinated and planned by South Africa. Not too long ago UNITA and South Africa forces were caught together trying to blow

up the Gulf Oil installations in northern Angola. Thus, U.S. aid to UNITA would be a violation of the UN arms embargo against South Africa.

Why is aid to UNITA so high on our diminutive minute man's agenda? Why at this particular point?

Aid to UNITA is not new. As early as his 1979 presidential campaign Reagan and another of his freedom-loving colleagues, Jesse Helms (R-North Carolina) pushed for Congress to repeal the Clark Amendment, the Congressional legislation which in 1975 had prohibited U.S. assistance for military or covert operations against Angola. For years Reagan and others (like Freedom House) have loved their brutal black giant Jonas Savimbi who has been their perfect "Crown" from Porgy and Bess. For years Reagan has been close to South Africa and its policies. But this is not the full story.

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The Kairos Document

In the late fall of this year an ecumenical group of more than one hundred black and white South African church leaders meeting in Soweto released a dramatically profound statement and challenge to the apartheid state. At long last the text of this historic document has reached the USA.

It is the *Kairos Document* and it is described as a "theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa."

Kairos has a specific purpose. Just as Dietrich Bonhoeffer wrote a specific piece, with a specific audience in mind i.e., the German people in the midst of escalating fascism and war, so too does *Kairos* target a specific group. It is written by Christian church people for other church people; by South Africans—black and white—for other South Africans. Despite this (and maybe because of

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Next CIDSA Meetings:

Sunday, January 5, February 9, and March 2
U.E. Hall, 37 S. Ashland, Chicago, 6 p.m.

Anti-Apartheid Calendar

Every Thursday—Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) Demonstration—South African Consulate, 444 N. Michigan, Chicago, 12 Noon.

Every Wednesday—FSAM Meeting—700 E. Oakwood, Chicago, 6:30 p.m.

January 5—CIDSА General Membership Meeting, U.E. Hall, 37 S. Ashland, Chicago, 6 p.m.

*Panel discussion by 3 leading Afro-American scholars on Resistance in South Africa. Former CIDSА co-chair Cheryl Johnson-Odim will moderate this educational forum.

The Angola Connection

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Reagan and his associates see the world in very simple child-like terms. They are incapable of anything other than a highly rhetorical, polarized world view which sees only blacks against whites, the East versus the West. Add to this world view their post Grenada beliefs that the American people are past the Vietnam syndrome and are ready to "start winning again" and then a fuller understanding begins.

This momentum to aid UNITA is a dangerous, well organized and well-funded development. It cannot be separated from the issue of apartheid. The fight by the people of South Africa against apartheid and the long combat by the Angolan people (who since 1975 have not been able to lay down their arms) against South Africa and its vicious puppet army, UNITA, is one and the same struggle. The children throwing stones against the hippos and the tanks are brother and sister to the refugee Namibian and Angolan children defiantly fleeing South African bombing raids. Both situations need and deserve our full attention and support.

Who is CIDSА?

The Coalition for Illinois' Divestment from South Africa was founded in June 1983 to push for the passage of a divestment bill in the Illinois State Legislature. Over 65 organizations and 300 concerned individuals from across the state now comprise CIDSА's growing membership.

January 8—John Camaroff, University of Chicago professor, speaks on history of liberation struggles in Southern Africa, 8 p.m., Ida Noyes Hall, 1212 E. 59th St., University of Chicago. Sponsored by Third World Political Forum.

January 15—FSAM Demonstration in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday. Everyone is urged to attend.

January 25—Anti-apartheid films co-sponsored by Chicago Filmmakers. "Woza Albert" and "Allan Boesak: Choosing for Justice," 8 p.m., 6 W. Hubbard. \$3.50; \$2.50 for members and senior. For more information call 329-0854.

February 8—A conference on direct support for liberation movements. 8:30—5, Chicago State University, 95th and King Drive, Chicago. For further information contact M. Malloy, P.O. Box 6770, Chicago, IL 60680.

February 9—CIDSА General Membership Meeting, U.E. Hall, 37 S. Ashland, Chicago, 6 p.m.

*Note this is not the first Sunday in February.

March 2—CIDSА General Membership Meeting, U.E. Hall, 37 S. Ashland, Chicago, 6 p.m.

Why Divest?

U.S. investments strengthen the apartheid economy, thereby increasing the ability of the white government to preserve its power. The past twenty-five years disprove the claim that investments can be an agent for change because the apartheid government's repressive power has only increased during this time. Yet even if every U.S. firm in South Africa practiced commendable labor policies, apartheid would still not be threatened.

The companies must comply with South African law and coexist with disenfranchisement, population control, and forced removals, as well as detentions and bannings. The black community, from 1959 Nobel Peace Laureate Albert Luthuli to 1984 Nobel Peace Laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu, has continually said "we don't want our chains polished, we want them removed." The divestment of publicly controlled Illinois funds from South Africa will be a significant contribution to the world-wide anti-apartheid movement and will help create circumstances for the South African people to forge fundamental change in their country.

MEMBERSHIPS

Enclosed:

Organizational Member Donation	\$15
Individual Member Donation	\$10
Amandla Club Donation	\$100
Additional Contribution	

Membership fee includes newsletter and other benefits

Please return to: **CIDSА**, Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa
Suite 919, 343 S. Dearborn, Chicago, Ill. 60604



NAME _____

ORGANIZATION _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

PHONE (home) _____ / (office) _____

Who Is Jonas Savimbi? What Is UNITA?

• Jonas Malheiro Savimbi comes from the Ovimbundu community of Southern Angola. From 1958 to 1962 he was largely a student of political science at the University of Lusanne in Switzerland.

• In 1962, Holden Roberto, brother-in-law to Zaire's notorious and corrupt General Mobutu and then the leader of an exiled Angolan CIA-backed organization, FNLA/GRAE, appointed Savimbi as the FNLA/GRAE Foreign Minister.

• During the 1964-1966 period Savimbi both split with Holden Roberto and approached the most substantive and strongly supported liberation movement, the MPLA, intending to join the organization. The MPLA leadership however, had problems with various aspects of Savimbi's proposals including the fact that he would only join MPLA on the condition that he was made a top leader.

• Thus, in March, 1966 strongly supported by various Swiss and US church organizations, Jonas Savimbi and sixty-odd others formed the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). From the beginning Savimbi and UNITA virulently attacked the MPLA alleging that it was "nothing but assimilated and mesticos". From the beginning UNITA organized itself on a tribalist basis arguing that only the Ovimbundus could be the basis of a truly black Angola.

• Throughout the late 1960s until the mid 70s Savimbi argued that he was the only authentic black-African liberation fighter, the only one operating solely inside Angola. Various documentation from the Portuguese colonial government, released after the 1974 coup in Portugal, however, indicates that Savimbi may have been an agent of the Portuguese from 1972 onwards with his main assignment being the destruction of the MPLA.

• According to ex-CIA agent John Stockwell's book, *In Search of Enemies*, Savimbi was a regular recipient of over two million dollars in CIA

payments during 1974-75. The main anti-apartheid organization in Holland, the Holland Committee for Southern Africa, discovered early in 1971 that UNITA's representative in Europe, Jorge Valentim, was on a CIA payroll operating through the International Students Organization based in Prague.

• Immediately after the April, 1974 coup in Portugal, Savimbi who had advocated "a black socialist republic in Angola" began to project himself as the moderate alternative, the only statesman capable of governing Angola. He preached "gradual decolonization because the Angolan people were not yet ready for independence". (See Braganca Aquino, "The Strange Career of Dr. Savimbi," *AfricAsia*, No. 1, January, 1984.)

• Savimbi and UNITA's principal ally, sponsor, and arms supplier is apartheid South Africa. For years the South African government and army has provided unlimited assistance to UNITA in its war against the

Angolan government. South Africa air and ground forces regularly provide logistical support and supplementary military offensives for UNITA. At times South African troops fight with and lead UNITA forces. At various points during the last ten years the South African government has invaded Angola in futile efforts to install UNITA. Asked in 1983 how he justified his links to apartheid, Savimbi answered:

"First, I do not get help only from South Africa. There is support from many black African (probably Zaire, Senegal, Morocco, Malawi and the Bantustans) and Middle East states and China. **But I am absolutely without remorse that I have dealings with South Africa** (emphasis added). They are the only real military and economic power in the region. . ."

Christian Science Monitor,
June 5, 1983.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Much more is at stake in regards to events in Angola today than the possibility of Jonas Savimbi and UNITA overthrowing the MPLA-led People's Republic of Angola. U.S. aid helping to bring Jonas Savimbi and his cohorts to power means ipso facto the movement of apartheid's tentacles into Luanda. Not only would centuries of resistance against Portuguese colonialism and exploitation be jeopardized, but additionally, Angola would no longer be the tincheira firma (the firm bulwark) for SWAPO, the ANC and the general effort to overthrow white rule in Africa.

In view of the current situation in Angola and Southern Africa, and given the growing effort by the Reagan administration and some of its racist and reactionary allies to topple the sovereign government of Angola, CIDSA urges you to:

• Call upon Congress and the

Rambo Reagan Administration to stop all efforts to provide aid of any kind to UNITA.

• Demand an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Call upon the United States to enter into good faith negotiations with Angola over Namibian independence and a Cuban troop withdrawal. Demand that the U.S. end its insistence on linking Namibia's independence to a withdrawal of Cuban troops.

• Applaud and support the initiative by Con. Ted Weiss (D-NY) aimed at stopping U.S. covert or overt involvement in Angola.

• Demand tough new sanctions against South Africa, in light of its stepped up internal crackdown and external military aggression, including a total trade embargo and complete disinvestment by U.S. corporations operating there.

DO THIS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IT IS AN URGENT MATTER.



Angola Fact Sheet*

Angola was under Portuguese control from its colonization in the 15th century until it achieved independence on November 11, 1975. Armed struggle for liberation began in earnest in March 1961. Nationalist movements emerged within Angola's three major ethnolinguistic groups: the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) under the leadership of Holden Roberto (Bakongo); the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Dr. Agostinho Neto (Mbundu); and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) headed by Jonas Savimbi.

In 1973, China became involved in the war as a supplier of the FNLA. The United States also began covert aid to the FNLA in July 1974. Shortly thereafter, the Soviet Union began sending small arms shipments to the MPLA. On January 15, 1975, all three liberation movements signed the Alvor Accord calling for Portuguese-supervised elections followed by independence on November 11. On January 26, in an attempt to strengthen the FNLA's position, the CIA sent \$300,000 to Roberto and encouraged the FNLA to attack the MPLA. In response to this treachery, the Soviet Union increased arms shipments to the MPLA, and Soviet and Cuban advisors were sent to Angola.

Over the next year, the CIA spent \$31.7 million in support of the FNLA and UNITA, recruited mercenary forces, and enlisted the aid of two Zairian battalions and a South African armored column—all in an unsuccessful endeavor to evict the MPLA from Luanda and prevent Neto from accepting the reins of government from the departing Portuguese. The besieged MPLA in turn solicited the support of Cuba, which began to land troops in Angola in October, 1975. In January, 1976, U.S. Congress members, upon learning that they had been systematically deceived by the CIA about the nature and extent of U.S. involvement, voted to block future funding for the Angola program (the "Clark Amendment," repealed 7/31/85). However, the U.S. refused to recognize Angola's new government, and **it remains the only country besides South Africa to fail to do so.**

A WAR-TORN ECONOMY

Although the MPLA government professes socialist principles, the constitution and government policy preserve a mixed economy with state, co-operative and private sectors. Since 1979, the government has encouraged investment through a favorable foreign investment law. U.S. investment presently exceeds \$500 million. According to David Rockefeller (in a recent letter to House Africa Subcommittee Chair Howard Wolpe), "Angola is trying to facilitate a larger Western role in its economy through policies promoting greater privatization and reliance on market mechanisms." As a result, Angola's economic ties are overwhelmingly with the west—in particular with the U.S., **Angola's largest trading partner.** Two-way annual trade between the U.S. and Angola has grown to over \$1 billion during the Reagan Administration, a significant portion of which was backed by U.S. Export-Import Bank credits. In October, 1985, the Ex-Im Bank joined with five other U.S. banks to arrange \$350 million in new loans for the development of Angola's oil fields.

Nevertheless, years of warfare have taken their toll on the Angolan economy, laying waste much infrastructure and causing an exodus of vital Portuguese technical and managerial skills. In the south, the protracted struggle against UNITA and South Africa forces consumes valuable revenues, inhibits the development of Angola's rich natural resources, and prevents the rehabilitation of economically important installations, such as the cross-country Benguela railway (which earned \$100 million annually before the wars). In 1981, when GDP was \$7 billion at current prices, it was still about 40% lower than in 1973.

TASK FORCES REPORT

State Task Force Report

Divestment Machinery Gears Up in Illinois

The call is out and the heat is on for ILLINOIS DIVESTMENT BY JUNE '86. As the State Task Force gears up to steer this journey, it is only those people reading this newsletter who can provide the engine power it will take to reach this destination.

Specifically, we need people to:

- 1) Act as a distribution point in your area for information on this issue;
- 2) attend Campaign Meetings to question candidates on their support for divestment in Illinois;
- 3) meet in small groups with your legislators;
- 4) organize letter writing/petition campaigns in your legislative district;
- 5) organize a public hearing on the issue.

Below is a summary of the pending bills and our timetable. Contact CIDSAs for further information and to indicate your willingness to participate in whatever way you can.

At present HB 317 and HB 330 are under consideration in the House. These bills would amend the "Illinois Pension Code" and "An Act in relation to State monies" to prohibit investment in or deposits with any corporation or financial institution which invests in, has any ownership interest in or outstanding loans to:

- a) the Republic of South Africa;
- b) a corporation organized under the laws of South Africa;
- c) any company for the purpose of investment in South Africa;

until the United Nations certifies that apartheid has been abolished.

These bills call for the divested monies to be reinvested or deposited as much as is reasonably possible in Illinois businesses in order to stimulate economic development and employment opportunities in Illinois.

HB 317 provides for a 3 year period to phase out current investments in such firms; HB 330 provides a 5 year period. CIDSAs favors 317.

These bills are currently in Interim Study in the Urban Redevelopment Committee chaired by Rep. Yvette Young of East St. Louis. A Legislative Hearing must be held by March 2, before the Governor's Budget Meeting. These bills must pass out of committee before May 4 and—in order to go to the Senate—must pass out of the House by May 26. The Senate will vote by June 27 if they pass out of committee by the 14th.

At this point approximately 31 Representatives favor the bills and 45 oppose them. The remaining 42 are uncommitted either way and thus need to hear from us. Call the CIDSAs office to find out where your representative stands.

Steel Task Force

The Steel Task Force of CIDSAs is very excited about the recent article in the *District 1033 News & Views*, the newspaper of the Steel workers. The article discussed the importation and use of South African steel in the state of Illinois. We hope that this will be the beginning of some meaningful work between the steel union and CIDSAs's Steel Task Force.

The Steel Task Force has been working on an informational brochure on the importation of South African steel into Illinois. It is anticipated that this brochure will be ready for publication after the first of the year. The publication of this brochure is especially significant because it will be the first of its kind and it will include new documented information about importation of South African steel.

For further information contact Ora Schub at the CIDSAs office 922-3915.

One Struggle Forum

Due to scheduling difficulties the educational forum linking the issues of U.S. foreign policy in South Africa, Central America and the Caribbean originally planned for December 8 has been reset for Sunday, FEBRUARY 2, 1986. The forum will be held in Pilsen on Sunday afternoon and on the south side on Sunday evening. The specific times and locations are being finalized. Speakers include Dr. Jean Sindab, Executive Director of the Washington Office on Africa; Dr. Charles Clements, Executive Director of Americans for Peace in the Americas and author of *Witness to War an American Doctor in El Salvador*; and Dr. John Saul, professor of political science at York University who lived in Mozambique, worked with FRELIMO and was an advisor to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

We hope this forum will: 1) enable the Latino community and its allies to better appreciate and support the struggle in South Africa and Namibia; 2) enable the black community to better understand and support the struggle in Central America; 3) help strengthen and deepen the ties between the black and Latino communities in Chicago.

For more information call Zeva Schub at 461-0543 or CIDSAs at 922-3915.

City Task Force

To date, at least 50 cities have divested from South Africa. Unfortunately Chicago is not among them. Gus Newport, Mayor of Berkeley, California, is sending Mayor Washington a letter asking him to join those cities in divestment.

The CIDSAs City Task Force is also planning to meet with the Mayor to ask why the divestment ordinance supported by the Administration has not been actively pursued. All CIDSAs members should call the Mayor's office and get family, friends and organizations to also call.

South African Update

- Nov. 2** A news black-out was imposed by the South African government. Still photographers and TV camerapersons are banned from news coverage of events occurring in South Africa.
- Nov. 13** The South African government announced temporary halting of the production of the Krugerrand gold coin.
- mid-Nov.** A South African court recognized the National Union of Mineworkers as a legal bargaining unit. The court ordered that workers from this union who struck earlier this year and were fired be reinstated. The court decision also prevented South Africa from repatriating African workers from neighboring countries.
- Nov. 23** ANC leader Nelson Mandela returned to prison after his release from a hospital stay for a successful prostate operation. There had been much speculation and hope that the South African regime would take the opportunity to release Mandela and send him to ANC headquarters in Zambia.
- Nov. 30** Delegates from 36 trade unions, including FOSATU, met on November 29 and formed the largest trade union federation in South African history, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). They have openly called for sanctions and disinvestments from South Africa. COSATU has also warned the South African government that if changes in the apartheid system do not occur within 6 months, action will be taken, e.g. passbook burnings or a call for a nationwide strike.
- Dec. 3** State of Emergency was lifted in 8 rural areas but remains in force in 30 areas of South Africa.
- Dec. 3** Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, made a defiant and courageous speech in violation of her banning order in which she said, "The country [South Africa] is ours." This was her first public speech in over 25 years.
- Dec. 10** The South African government withdrew charges against 12 of the 16 defendants in the UDF Treason Trial. The 4 who still face trial are all members of the South African Allied Workers Union, one of the most militant unions in the country. After the withdrawal of charges, it was said that the trial had been an attempt to "criminalize and immobilize the opponents of apartheid . . . a device to stop people resisting apartheid."

The Kairos Document

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it) *Kairos* is an inspiring and courageous statement for anybody anywhere. It thus becomes indispensable reading for anyone who wants to better understand the depth and breadth of the resistance going on today in South Africa. It enables us to better comprehend the fact that

growing numbers of people inside South Africa have reached that point, common to so many people's struggles where they are ready and willing to die, if need be, in order to fundamentally change South Africa.

Kairos is a message—not whispered as in earlier days when people feared more repression and retaliation—trumpeting a response to all those inside and outside South

Africa—Christians, atheists, Muslims and Jews—who yet are asking: But does it concern me? Why should I care? South Africa and Soweto are way over there.

Copies of the *Kairos Document* are available from: the *Theology in a Global Context Office, Stony Point Center, Crickettown Road, Stony Point, NY 10983* or from the CIDsA office.

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