ANC President Visits Chicago

African National Congress (ANC) President Oliver Tambo spoke at Operation PUSH in Chicago, Illinois on Saturday, January 24, 1987 in part of a nationwide tour to garner support for the South African liberation movement. President Tambo thanked the American people for their hard work in creating a climate in which federal sanctions against South Africa were passed by the U.S. Congress. President Tambo said in speaking about the people of South Africa and the people of the United States, that, "unity is best fostered and sustained in struggle." He said "there can be no greater friends than those who find themselves in a trench of struggle exposed to the hazards of struggle, who might even perish together or run together. Today we feel that sense of unity with our brothers and sisters on this continent." President Tambo continued by adding that the... Continued on page 3

Illinois State Legislature Passes Bill

On January 13, 1987, the Illinois State Legislature passed a pension fund bill which included an anti-apartheid provision. (Complete text follows.) At this moment, when the crisis in South Africa continues to escalate, the bill's passage is significant for three reasons.

First, this action results from much educational and organizing work on southern Africa among people across Illinois. For nearly four years, the Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSA), along with the Free South Africa Movement of Chicago, has worked with state legislators and labor, church and community leaders to bring about the divestment of Illinois state pension funds. This movement developed from the work of many organizations which supported the struggles for independence in other African countries through the 1970s. Such ongoing education of Americans on international concerns, particularly on U.S. foreign policy in different regions, is critical.

Second, while the action taken by the legislature represents a very limited restriction on the investment of Illinois public pension funds in South Africa-related firms, the original bill which proposed total divestment was ultimately weakened through legislative compromise to only provide for limited future investment. However, the bill's passage in a conservative midwestern state like Illinois is rightfully claimed as a victory for anti-apartheid activists.

State legislators Carol Mosley Braun, Woods Bowman, Alan Greiman, Wyvetter Young, Anthony Young, Emil Jones and Art Turner, among others, must be recognized and thanked for their leadership and hard work on this issue.

Finally, Illinois action is not an isolated event. To date, over 18 states, 35 cities and 100 universities and colleges have moved towards divesting their monies from South Africa. There is growing anti-apartheid sentiment in small towns and big cities, church sanctuaries and union halls, high school classes and university lounges across the nation, and all over the world. The anti-apartheid movement has reached the point where each additional substantive action against the apartheid regime has a multiplied effect.

Anti-apartheid activists in Illinois are not satisfied with the legislature's nominal action to reduce our economic support of South Africa. However, we do see it as a step in the right... continued on page 6

Next CIDSA General Membership Meetings:
March 8, April 5, May 3 • Access Living, 815 W. Van Buren, Chicago, IL
CIDSA Hosts Ndilimani Cultural Troupe

On December 4, 1986, CIDSA hosted the Chicago tour of the Ndilimani Cultural Troupe of Namibia. This was the first tour of the 21-member troupe in the United States. Other stops included New York City and the San Francisco Bay area. The Troupe, based in Luanda, Angola, was sponsored on this tour by the Washington Office on Africa, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

The Chicago tour began with a reception at Mayor Washington's office, and the Ndilimani (which means Dynamite) Troupe was personally greeted by Mayor Washington. Other stops on the tour included visits to the Bennett Elementary School on the far south side of Chicago, the Hyde Park High School, the Du Sable Museum of Afro-American History, Operation PUSH, and a concert at Chicago State University.

Ndilimani's performances included singing, dancing, music and poetry, and concentrated on informing audiences of Namibia's struggle to free itself from South African occupation. One drama which they performed recounted the South African massacre of Namibians at Kassinga a few years ago, and their songs, poetry and dance performances strongly showed their resolve to create a free Namibia, so that such atrocities never occur again.

The troupe was housed by the Lutheran School of Theology during its visit. The tour concluded with a visit to the Trinity United Church of Christ and a luncheon at the house of Lucille Graham.

While CIDSA coordinated much of the Chicago tour, it wishes to acknowledge the invaluable work of many people and organizations which helped to make the tour a success. Several of the most instrumental were Velma Wilson of the Mayor's Office of Cultural Affairs, Covak Williamson of the Anti-Apartheid Student Alliance, Tina Johnson, Sharon Adams of the Bennett School and Linda Murray of the Hyde Park School. CIDSA also wishes to acknowledge the help and support of staff members of Operation PUSH, the Washington Office of Africa and the Lutheran School.

University of Illinois Votes to Divest

On January 14, 1987, the University of Illinois trustees voted to divest the university's stock portfolio of any companies that do business in South Africa. The board of trustees voted 6-2 to divest starting May 31, 1987 and to allow 18 months, until December 31, 1988, for the university to complete the process.

Some have viewed the vote as only "partial divestment" because the university will maintain its investments in companies such as General Motors Corp. and IBM Corp. which have announced their withdrawal from South Africa. Companies which have withdrawn continue to financially profit by selling their South African subsidiaries to local investors and collecting licensing fees. University investments in G.M. and IBM account for more than $14 million of the portfolio, while only about $3.3 million in eight companies in the portfolio will be affected by the divestment policy. The university's portfolio is worth several hundred million dollars in total.

Throughout the state, people have worked to achieve divestment by the University. The divestment debate has been going on for at least the last decade. The Divest Now Coalition was in the forefront of this struggle on the U of I campuses for the last four years. Last September, the divestment proposal was defeated by a 5-4 vote. With the election of Judith Ann Calder of Chicago and Charles Wolff of Elgin to the board in November, the scales were tipped in favor of divestment. Both Calder and Wolff voted for the divestment policy.
ANC President Visits Chicago

continued from page 1

groups which have brought the South African peoples' causes to the public have set examples for others. He said “you have swelled our numbers and multiplied our strength.”

Tambo said that the people of South Africa know that “we shall be free.” They are not bribed by the reforms issued by the Botha regime because “you can't reform a crime and apartheid is a crime.” He said that the people have totally ignored the reforms and are seeking total liberation. President Tambo said that Botha can now “only rely on the gun, but his own experience has shown him that the gun does not work, so he knows he has lost the game.” Tambo predicted that the violence in the period immediately preceding the demise of the apartheid system would be extreme, but that the past few years have prepared the South African people for any type of violence.

Tambo was welcomed and cheered by hundreds of enthusiastic supporters at Operation PUSH. Financial contributions of over $20,000 were raised for the ANC. A representative of Chicago Mayor Harold Washington read a proclamation from the mayor designating January 24, 1987 as “South African Freedom Day” in Chicago. The mayoral representative also gave President Tambo the key to the city of Chicago.

At a meeting with anti-apartheid groups and activists in the evening at Northeastern’s Center for Inner City Studies, President Tambo again emphasized that the groundswell of support from the people of the U.S. has been very significant and resulted in the passage of the federal sanctions legislation. President Tambo at 70 years old was very energetic and inspirational. Although, traveling and speaking all day, he insisted on having the evening meeting with anti-apartheid supporters.

Visiting with President Tambo were Ned Mnumzana, Chief Representative of the ANC for the Observer Mission to the United Nations, John Makathini, Director of the International Office of the ANC, Barbara Masakela, sister to musician Hugh Masakela, Jomo Asong aide to Mr. Tambo, Edward Mcau aide to Mr. Tambo, and Cassius Make, Director of Information for the ANC. Mr. Mnumzana, Mr. Makathini and Mr. Make are, along with President Tambo, members of the ANC National Executive Council.

Text of Oliver Tambo’s address to Anti-Apartheid activists at the Center for Inner City Studies on January 24, 1987

Comrades, future activists, friends, you inspire us. We welcome the opportunity to be here now and to say to you, personally, to each one of you, how very much we appreciate the support you have given us with such great enthusiasm; to assure you that with your support you have given us strength, determination, and the certainty of knowledge that we are on the winning side.

We feel, in southern Africa, that however huge may be the armories that those who are keeping themselves in power with the barrel of the gun, it is we the people who must in the final analysis determine the destiny of our country, and we have the power to do so because you are there. With your various activities, and by your individual participation, you have given us the impression that the level of support in the United States among the people, among the black people especially, has grown so much that not even Reagan can stop the will of the people anymore. We think that is how we came to have the sanctions bill adopted by Congress; because congressmen and senators reflected on the bill at the desire and demand of their constituents; it was you.

These are great days in southern Africa, because we feel we have reached the point when we know the goals for which we are fighting have truly come in sight. And morale is high, the morale is good. Resolve is mighty. And the end result, those who have sought to perpetuate themselves in power, now understand that their days are numbered. We believe it's not going to be long before we can talk about the destruction of apartheid as an accomplished fact; but we believe that in that brief period which stands between now and the collapse of that brutal system— in that brief period—there's going to be a most vicious confrontation between those who seek freedom and peace and those who live by violence upon blacks and other oppressed people. We are on the threshold of a gigantic struggle and we invite you to warn you to gear yourselves for that moment. We shall need your support more than we have done up to now. And with that support, confrontation cannot last.

So it is important that the various strategems that we are adopting which are aimed at divestment, and sanctions and all sorts of pressure directed against the regime-those strategems should be followed and implemented with great vigor.

Once again, I should like to say that we are most happy to be able to see you, meet you, and know who it is, physically, personally, who has given us support which has brought us so near to the end of a long struggle which for the ANC has been going on for the past 75 years. Thank you.
1. Gatscha Buthelezi and his brand of assassins have declared war on the ANC and the UDF. We see that they've murdered children as young as two years old. Do you think that he's sincerely misguided or is he a manipulated willing traitor of the struggle and the African people?

TAMBO: It is a very good question. In a sense he is a puzzle to us. Because he studied so very well. He was a loyal militant member of the youth league of the ANC in his youth. He followed the guidance of the leadership. We even put the idea to him that he should form Inkatha, which he did; and he launched it with the colors of the ANC-black, green, gold—he sang the anthem of the ANC, and slogans of the ANC, and we thought he was going to turn the bantustan over which he was put in charge into a force for liberation. When he started it looked as if this was going to be the case. And so, we maintained contact with him. We had discussions with him and met him in different parts of the world—Europe, Africa—and consulted with advice and commented.

And then at some point something went totally wrong, and he saw himself as a great soldier, fighting in defense of the racist regime—fighting the ANC—a campaigner against the ANC. That has become his preoccupation, opposed the UDF, because the UDF relates correctly to the ANC. That has become his preoccupation, opposed the UDF, because the UDF relates correctly to the ANC. Anything hat has to do with the struggle of the people, he has opposed, actively. And, when argument did not help, he has resorted to great violence. He preaches nonviolence when he is talking about relations between the oppressed and the oppressor; between the violence of the apartheid regime and the people that it has persecuted. His attitude toward the regime is one of pacifism; it is non-violent. But when he relates to the opponents of that regime, his own black brothers, his violence knows no bounds. Lawyers have been killed, members of these groups, many children have been killed, and this latest was just one more instance in a long string of killings perpetrated by people over whom he has control, and whom he can order to his needs.

As seen from South Africa, he has lost all prospects of the national leadership he has aspired to, in earlier years. And he is associated, fully and completely, with the enemies of the people.

Is he misguided? He is very intelligent. Has he simply decided to be a traitor? We think his great love of power, the vision of himself as the greatest leader in South Africa, towering above all and sundry, has drawn him into the arms and the clutches of the enemy who is now using him against, and tantalizing him with this power. He has a personal weakness of hypersensitivity to criticism and opposition, so opponents must not only be opposed in words, they must be destroyed physically. All this serves the enemy. Well, I don't think that your perceptions of his role fall far off the point. It's a matter of how precisely, but I think you are talking a language that makes sense to all of us in South Africa today.

2. Continuing with Buthelezi, it is really puzzling that the West would consider him a “freedom fighter” and consider ANC and all of the rest of the liberation groups as terrorists. Especially with this latest atrocity committed by his people. Why, then, is one man considered a “terrorist” and another considered a “freedom fighter”?

TAMBO: The general position of what was called the West—let me relate this specifically to the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, the United States administration—at any given time, they are looking for a puppet that they can use against the interests of the liberation struggle; at any given time. And, if they can find one, who is responsive, they train him, they use him. It's not that they believe he's a leader of South Africa, because they know—after their own research and intelligence tells them—that he has reduced himself to a local, at best tribal, leader—not a national leader. But he serves a useful set of purposes. He serves the purposes of dividing us, for purposes of divide and rule. And this is why they have taken an interest in him.

The ANC is committed to the total destruction of the apartheid system. We seek power for all our people. The west does not like this. They think they're going to lose everything if that happens. They can't trust the blacks to exercise power intelligently. And therefore they don't approve of the line that the ANC is taking. Gatscha Buthelezi makes himself available as one who is prepared to compromise the interests and future of our people. And, they are building him because he is usable. They could destroy him overnight if they though he had become dangerous to them.

3. We here have experience with government intelligence against blacks, such as the COINTELPRO program run by J. Edgar Hoover. To what extent is counterintelligence and informants used to attempt to destroy the black struggle in South Africa?

TAMBO: You see, our enemies have means. They bribe poor people on the one hand; they can give you a fortune—and they say, 'If you serve our purpose, if you work for us, we'll give you a fortune. But if you don't, we'll kill you.' This is what they call giving a person an offer they cannot refuse. So these agents are people who have been given an offer they could not refuse; and they are used as provocateurs, to create conflict from among ourselves, and it's done with great intelligence, subtleness. Much of the conflict, for example, that you hear about, is engineered, is organized. We will overcome it, because our cause rises above the machinations of the enemy. We will overcome it; and it's going to be a constant feature that appears from time to time, in various degrees of intensity. At the moment we are seized of this problem, it is there in South Africa. They are setting black against black, in order to divert the struggle from concentrating on them, and dispersing from among the victims of their own domination.

Thank you. These groups assembled here reminded me of the United Democratic Front, which is an assembly of numerous organizations, and I begin to feel as if I am in South Africa with members of the UDF. Thank you for these gifts.
BLACK PRESS INSTITUTE HOLDS MEDIA DIALOGUE ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Chicago-based Black Press Institute held a Media Dialogue on South Africa, 6 November 1986, at Howard University. Participants discussed strategies and made recommendations to keep the issue of South Africa before the American public and to prod the news media to avoid language and interpretation biases in reporting on the accelerating liberation struggle there.

The session opened with a series of background talks on South Africa news reporting, from there and in the U.S., and updates on the situation in front-line states.

In his opening remarks, BPI President Edward Palmer reminded the group that media coverage helped the civil rights movement in the 1960's. "It is in the interests of fairness and the liberation movement in South Africa that we keep South Africa on the television and in the newspapers in America," said Palmer.

Speakers at this one-day working session included Daniel Schechter, ABC-TV producer of "20/20;" Joe Davidson, a Wall Street Journal reporter who covered South Africa; and Kenneth Longmyer, U.S. State Dept. Legislative Management Officer for European Affairs.

Schechter, who helped produce the record "Sun City," said he is more concerned about "the press ban in the U.S. and what U.S. people believe than about the one in South Africa." He thinks American audiences only see personalities such as Bishop Tutu, Winnie Mandela, and Alan Boesak, but do not hear about grassroots movements.

"How many people know about COSATU (Coalition of African Trade Unions), ANC (African National Congress), UDF (United Democratic Front)"? Schechter asked. When these organizations are reported on, Schechter maintains the descriptions are "never free from jargon." He contends it is typical to hear the ANC referred to as "Moscow-based."

Other speakers were Damu Smith, Executive Director of the Washington Office on Africa; Cecilie Counts, TransAfrica; Mark August, a Black South African reporter for the Dallas Times-Herald; Jan Carew, chairman of the BPI Executive Committee and visiting Professor at Hampshire College; Jacqueline Williams, former Youth Director, South African Council of Churches; and Gabu Tugwana, a Black South African reporter for the alternative newspaper New Nation in Johannesburg.

Tugwana, who is in this country to meet with the press, was enthusiastic about the Dialogue. He said, "I have been all over meeting with different press people, but this is the group I was looking for."

After the morning background talks, participants met to prepare their recommendations, which were of two types. One set enjoined the U.S. press to cover the liberation movement in South Africa fairly. Typical of this category was the recommendation to the U.S. press to interview ANC and U.S. anti-apartheid representatives on any story in which South African government officials are interviewed.

Another in this category said U.S. journalists stationed in South Africa should be based where they have access to information from anti-apartheid sources as well as to South African government sources. A third said the U.S. press should investigate any sanction-busting activities and look into the rumor that South African intelligence agencies are operating in the U.S.

The second type of recommendation called on the BPI to initiate a number of monitoring and resource-sharing activities on South Africa, linking them to issues of concern to African-Americans. It was suggested that information and speakers on South Africa and foreign policy generally, from the Black community, should be used more widely.

Commenting on the purpose of the Dialogue, Prof. Jan Carew said, "It was an important small conference to deal with the overt and voluntary suppression of information on South Africa. What made it so important were the positive suggestions that were made, which bode well for follow-up activities."

The working groups and their chairmen were: "Gathering News Under Censorship," Mikel Holt (Editor, Milwaukee Community Journal and representative of the NNPA) and John Woodford (BPI Board), "Disseminating News on South Africa," Dennis Schatzman (Executive Director of the NABJ) and Prof. Carew; "How Does This Relate to Us?" Prof. Robert Starks (Black Political Scientists Assoc.), Dr. Frank Morris (U. of Md.), and Dwight Kirk (CBTU).

All the working groups agreed that it was important to develop independent sources of information on South Africa.

Earlier in the day, Kenneth Longmyer told the group that Black Americans have a duty to help determine how the U.S. behaves in foreign communities. "One of the greatest contributions Black Americans can make," Longmyer said, "is to get U.S. foreign policy on the right track."

Co-sponsors of the Media Dialogue held in Howard University's Blackburn Center were The Nation Institute, the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, Citizens Action, the Black Political Scientists Association, and the National Council for Black Studies.

CIDSA Changes Meeting Place

CIDSA's monthly meeting general membership meeting is now located at Access Living, 815 West Van Buren, Chicago, Illinois. Access Living is a social service agency for disabled individuals and is located in a building which is accessible to everyone. The CIDSA Steering Committee changed the meeting location so that anyone who wishes to participate in divestment and anti-apartheid work would be able to attend CIDSA meetings without the barrier of a non-accessible building. Further, CIDSA will make interpreters available at meetings for the hearing impaired if one requests the service.

CIDSA is very grateful for the consideration and cooperation shown us over the years by Frank Rosen and others at U.E. Hall, the former CIDSA meeting location.
CIDSA Changes Focus

In May 1986, CIDSA had a major victory when the city of Chicago passed a substantive anti-apartheid ordinance. On January 13, 1987, the Illinois legislature voted to divest Illinois pension funds from South Africa-related businesses. In light of these developments, CIDSA must now decide the future direction of the organization.

This will probably be one of the most important decisions that we make. In order to make it truly representative of our membership we need everyone's input. We all realize the need to continue to work for a free South Africa. Please join us at the March general membership meeting of CIDSA on Sunday, March 8, 1987, 6 p.m. at 815 West Van Buren, Chicago, Illinois. Call the CIDSA office with your comments if you cannot attend that meeting. The Steering Committee will present a proposal for the future direction of CIDSA at the March meeting.

Illinois State Legislature Passes Bill (con't)

direction. We must and will continue to push forward—in new and stronger ways—to make sure that the people struggling for freedom and justice in southern Africa know that the people of Illinois are on their side. In the long run, their side is the same side as those struggling for racial and economic justice in this country.

Text of Legislation

(4) Make any loan or investment in its individual nonfiduciary capacity after January 1, 1987 to a prohibited entity, or invest any employee or employer contributions received under such retirement system or pension fund after January 1, 1987 in any (i) stocks, bonds, notes, units of beneficial ownership, certificates of deposit or other similar obligations, securities or evidences of indebtedness or ownership of any firm, corporation, entity, agency, association or unit, group or collective trust, partnership or joint venture, which invests in, has any ownership interest in property of, or has any outstanding loan to a prohibited entity, or (ii) real or tangible property located in the Republic of South Africa, until such time as the United Nations certifies that the system of racial discrimination, commonly known as apartheid, is abolished. This paragraph (4), however, shall not require the liquidation of any investment in existence on January 1, 1987 of any such retirement system or pension fund or abrogate, or require the acceleration of principal payments under, any contract for a loan in existence on January 1, 1987 to a prohibited entity. For purposes of this paragraph (4), “loan” shall mean any transfer or extension of funds or credit on the basis of an obligation to repay, or any assumption or guarantee of the obligation of another to repay an extension of funds or credit; “the Republic of South Africa” shall mean the Republic of South Africa or any territory under the administration of the Republic of South Africa; and “prohibited entity” shall mean (a) the Republic of South Africa, (b) a national corporation of or any other corporation organized under the laws of the Republic of South Africa, or (c) a company, firm, corporation, entity, agency, association or unit, group or collective trust, partnership or joint venture which makes new investments in the Republic of South Africa and of which the fiduciary has knowledge.