November 22, 1982

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is issue #9 of SAMRAF news & notes. We view it as a special issue because it highlights two specific anti-apartheid activities that are occurring in New York City.

The first is a campaign for South Africa's cultural isolation, trying to prevent U.S. entertainers from collaborating with apartheid. To explain this issue, we felt that the Village Voice did a very good job. So we have reprinted it and added some further information including a letter which SAMRAF wrote in response to this article.

The second activity is one which SAMRAF is initiating. It is a demonstration at the South African Airways' New York office to coincide with the annual draft of thousands of young white men for the South African army. The demonstration is in support of the liberation struggle in southern Africa and is specifically calling for support of South African military resisters. SAMRAF has held similar actions in previous years.

This issue of "news & notes" contains the call for people to support and participate in this protest. We are seeking endorsements from a wide range of organizations and individuals. If you feel you would like to assist us in our organizing efforts, please contact us. We need to publicize this action as widely as possible. A good turnout on January 22, '83 at South African Airways will aid military resistance against the racist apartheid war machine and support the freedom struggle. It will likely be reported and talked about widely in South Africa.
Finally, we would again like to encourage those of you who find this newsletter informative to subscribe. We are asking $10 per year. In return you will receive six issues of SAMRAF news & notes. We hope you find this issue interesting reading.

In struggle,

New York SAMRAF

**SAMRAF DEMONSTRATION INFORMATION**

**DATE:**
SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1983

**TIME:**
11AM TO 4PM

**PLACE:**
SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS OFFICE
605 FIFTH AVENUE
(BETWEEN 48th & 49th STREETS)
NY, NY

**Fleeing Apartheid's Draft**

Dominic Holzhaus is on the run. And he's not alone. Every year an estimated 1,000 South African whites like him flee the country to avoid mandatory service in police or military units. Holzhaus holds the dubious distinction of being the first South African military resister to seek political asylum in this country since nine were admitted during the Carter administration.

The all-white draft, says Holzhaus, "is one of the more abhorrent ways in which the apartheid system operates." The 24-year-old former Witwatersrand University activist, who automatically became a political dissident by refusing to serve, fled his country in January 1981. "I felt I could be more effective in speaking out against that system from abroad," he says.

After arriving in the United States, Holzhaus contacted the South African Military Refugee Aid Fund (SAMRAF), a Brooklyn-based organization that assists South African draft resisters seeking political asylum. Holzhaus' application, which was filed with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in April 1981, is now awaiting an advisory opinion from the Department of State.

But SAMRAF is afraid Holzhaus may wait forever. Since the Reagan administration launched its "constructive engagement" policy toward Pretoria, no South African military refugees have been granted political asylum in the United States.

In response, SAMRAF is stepping up its campaign to convince U.S. city councils to pass resolutions that welcome South African military resisters into their communities and recommend they be granted asylum. The SAMRAF initiative, which welcomes "those refugees from South Africa who have been forced to flee to the United States because of their refusal to participate or fight in the military forces of apartheid," has been passed in several California cities, including San Francisco and Oakland. SAMRAF's Steven Feeback says similar campaigns will be waged in Atlanta, Minneapolis and Washington, D.C., during the upcoming year.

Meanwhile, back in Pretoria, Parliament is doubling the size of its military by upping the time limit for regular post-service call-ups from eight years to 12, and requiring, beyond that, additional service every year for white men up to the age of 55. The result could be a new influx of South African draft resisters into SAMRAF offices. "Coupled with the city resolutions," says Feeback, "a positive decision on Dominic's case could see the mere trickle of ten inquiries a month turn into a steady stream."

—Kathryn Oney
In Defense of Pop Culture

In Praise of Love & Death in the American Supermarketplace

THIS CALLS FOR VENGEANCE!

Help Disarm Apartheid’s Racist War Machine

a call to demonstrate
and participate on Jan. 22, ’83

coinciding with the mass draft of white youth into the outlaw South African military

demonstration at South African Airways “the wings of apartheid”

(Continued on Page 2)

Singing for Apartheid

American Artists in South Africa

By Michael Beaubien

Millie Jackson and Frank Sinatra have probably done more to strengthen the international cultural boycott of South Africa than any of its advocates. Their widely publicized visits helped to launch a boycott movement within South Africa and prompted increased activity by U.S. organizations to enforce the boycott. (Continued on Page 2)
Singing for Apartheid
American Artists in South Africa

No dance with them.
Don't trade with them.
For them there should be no tomorrow.
This race problem.
Their apartheid system must not be allowed to grow.
The world is suffering tremendously
as a result of South African slavery...
If I was a freedom fighter in this
world like America,
I would see that my guest was under duress and do my best to isolate South Africa.

— The Mighty Sparrow

Frank Sinatra

By Michael Beaubien
(Continued from page one)
During a 1980 visit to South Africa, Millie Jackson met with representatives of the Music, Drama, Art and Literature Institute (MDALI), a cultural and professional organization working for improvement of the opportunities for black South African artists. When MDALI representatives asked her to cancel her performances and to support the United Nations-sanctioned cultural boycott, Jackson is reported to have said, "I am not a politician and I am not going to mix my career with politics. All I want is the money." Jackson has subsequently argued that her statements were intentionally distorted by the group.

Nevertheless, Millie Jackson's apparent insensitivity angered both MDALI and the American People's Organization (AZAPO), a Black South African political group. They issued a joint call for a domestic boycott of all foreign artists and, the compilation of a boycott list for international circulation of all entertainers who visit South Africa. Thus, the growth of a boycott movement within South Africa and the cooperative effort between AZAPO and the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid to distribute a list that can be described as "Millie's contributions."

Frank Sinatra's 1981 summer engagement at the controversial Sun City Hotel Casino and Country Club in Bophuthatswana was Pretoria's most ambitious effort to undermine the cultural boycott. Sinatra received $1.79 million for a series of nine concerts; the spectacular fees have started a stampede of American artists eager to perform at the resort modeled after Las Vegas. Pretoria made use of Sinatra's performance in the newly-released "independent" territory to bluster a PR legitimacy on South Africa's Bantustan policy, the foundation of the apartheid system. The myth of the "tribal homeland" as a separate and independent country was echoed in the empowerment from Sinatra's press agent, Lee Solters.

“We think the establishment of Bophuthatswana as an independent country is the right for their [Black South Africans] future development,” Solters said.

Sinatra and the other American artists who have followed his lead have prompted a number of organizations here to undertake actions to put some muscle into the boycott. Organizations which have recently begun activity include Trans Africa, the American Committee on Africa, the Black Music Association, the National Association of Black Owned Broadcasters, the Patricia Lumumba Coalition, the Black United Front, Operation PUSH and the Contractual Committee of the October Solidarity Conference. Their subsequent demonstrations, meetings, and resolutions to broaden the movement could be called "Frank's" contribution.

The cultural boycott is one part of the international campaign to impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. The United Nations first sought to impose a cultural boycott of South Africa in December 1988. The resolution (2396) adopted by the General Assembly requested "All Member States to suspend cultural, educational, sporting, and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations and institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid."

Over the years, the wording of similar resolutions has undergone an interesting metamorphosis. In 1972 the General Assembly invited "all organizations, institutions, and information media to organize a boycott of South Africa is sports and in cultural matters." Resolution 3324 of 1974 added scientific exchanges to the list. Yet by 1980, the General Assembly was appealing directly to artists, musicians, and other personalities to boycott South Africa.

The 1980 Resolution (35/206E) also requested that the Special Committee Against Apartheid issue a list for the total isolation of South Africa. The Special Committee proposed a number of actions in support of the General Assembly resolution and dictated by the UN General Assembly designation of 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions Against South Africa. In the Special Committee's 1981 report to the General Assembly, the committee proposed "to initiate a register of cultural contacts with South Africa in order to promote an effective boycott." In addition, the committee plans to organize an international conference to mobilize artists for action against apartheid.

The official UN boycott list will soon be published and distributed to organizations around the world. Artists who travel to South Africa will be faced with the possibility of being blacklisted or even banned from any number of countries and being picketed by domestic boycott supporters. For black American artists the decision to go to South Africa has always presented some special problems due to the intensity of feeling such a decision can provoke among the fans both here and in South Africa.

As Eric Rosenthal wrote in Stars and Stripes in Africa, "South Africans are very familiar with the American showman, more widely known as Yankee Medicine Man, Yankee Circus Artist, Yankee Actor and Lecturer..." In a recent visit, the first of its kind by an American artist, the decision to go to South Africa has always presented some special problems due to the intensity of feeling such a decision can provoke among the fans both here and in South Africa.

Mark Twain was perhaps the most notable among U.S. artists to visit South Africa by 1986. Upon observing that African Africans, he stated, "These sandhill creatures, together with the proper lounging, fishing, good country, and cheap, and easy laugh, make the precise counterparts of our American Blacks.

Artistic relations between South Africa and South Africa were not limited merely to the exchange of individual artists. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer built a shopping center with over 2000 seats in Johannesburg in 1982. They were soon joined by 20th Century Fox and Columbia, which dominated most of the region's entertainment industry.

In an article reported for Rolling Stone, Christopher Connelly reported that during 1980 "U.S. companies exported $3.8

did not.

card.

continued on page 4
Help Disarm Apartheid’s Racist War Machine

Apartheid and Militarism

White power in South Africa is a hideous open sore. The system known as apartheid has been judged by the world to be “a crime against humanity.”

The reasons for this indictment are clear. Only 16% of the population (whites) own the land and control the lives of the overwhelming black majority. Black people in South Africa have been forcibly removed from their land, denied the right to vote for their own leaders, relegated to the most menial rungs of the economic ladder, and stripped of their basic human rights such as freedom of movement and of expression. White domination means hunger, poverty, servile education, poor health care, migrant labor, separation of families, and a thousand injustices for Black people.

This system can only be maintained through brute force such as torture and detention. All forms of political dissent are severely restricted or crushed. Black resistance is outlawed as soon as any open organizing gains momentum. The resistance must battle apartheid from underground and from exile.

The mainstay of apartheid’s military apparatus is the South African army, the largest mobilizable offensive force in Africa. This army is officially 96% white. All white males are forced to do military service—most from the age of 17. As of June, 1982, virtually a life-long military obligation stretches out before the white youth of South Africa.

The South African army could put 500,000 troops into the field to fight on behalf of apartheid. Presently an occupying army of 100,000 soldiers maintains South Africa’s illegal colonial control over Namibia (South West Africa). These occupation forces are waging an unjust and racist war against the Namibian people, represented by their liberation movement, SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organization), and against the people of Angola. Cross-border invasions have become regular occurrences, with massacres and massive devastation aimed at Angola and the other Frontline States.

Generations of black South Africans and Namibians have fought valiantly against this oppressive system. Today the national liberation movements are inflicting heavier casualties and damage in their struggle with the apartheid regime. The pressure is mounting on South Africa’s embattled white minority and their rulers. It is only a matter of time before the inevitable overthrow of apartheid. Yet, despite the certainty of such change, the struggle remains a bloody and protracted one.

Namibia and South Africa will be liberated. Black people will one day determine the future of their countries with full control over the governing of their lives. Nothing in the world can stop the struggle for that change. White power will be buried, as slavery was buried before it. But, this process demands the complete disarming of the racist South African military.

United States Support for Apartheid

Over the years, the build up of the South African war machine has been dramatically assisted by the U.S., Britain, and Israel, among others. The apartheid armed forces have received sophisticated weaponry, exchanges of technology, and economic aid to construct a vast weapons industry in South Africa. United States support has been key to the development of nuclear weapons as well as very deadly conventional weapons like the 155 mm. artillery.

Since Reagan entered the White House, U.S. policy has stepped backward to embrace the South African government under the banner of “constructive engagement.” This policy has come to mean that what South Africa wants, they get. Criticism is deflected by the myth of U.S. dependence on South Africa’s minerals.

The South African government is called a friend and ally in the international fight against “Communism” as well as a reliable trading partner. So, the United States sells shock batons to the South African Police and buys gold stained with the blood of black mineworkers. Both ways, South Africa’s Black people suffer, and apartheid rules with the support of the White House, U.S. corporations, the Pentagon, the International Monetary Fund, and plenty of American racists.

Turn the Guns Around

The overwhelmingly white South African army represents white unity with apartheid in the fight against genuine black majority rule. The opposite is also true. White military resisters represent a break in the ranks of white unity. Despite government censorship, it is known that from 3,000 to 5,000 young white men refuse to answer the call-up for military service each year. This is still a small percentage, but it represents a crucial blow to white loyalty.

Military resistance is viewed by the apartheid regime as a grave danger to “national security.” Conscientious objection, like all forms of draft resistance or even the advocacy of draft resistance, is illegal in South Africa. Conscientious objectors and resisters receive mandatory jail sentences of 1 to 3 years. In early 1982, there were 520 resisters locked up in detention barracks, including conscientious objectors on religious and political grounds, like Charles Yeats, Mike Vivieros, Neil Mitchell, and William Paddock. They have been recognized by Amnesty International as prisoners of conscience. Thousands of other resisters have fled South Africa to avoid military service. At least 300 of them have applied for and received political asylum in Great Britain, Holland, Canada, Australia, Norway, Botswana, and the United States (under the Carter administration).

Military resistance opens a whole new front in the overall battle against apartheid. The generals and military strategists must worry about a crucial factor in the battle plans—the loyalty of their troops. It creates a manpower problem. It effects the morale of the army by questioning its right to exist from within its own ranks. It is a break from the historical role of white people in
continued from page 2

million worth of J.L.'s, singles and performances " back to " South Africa. In addition, Consely noted that the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) "paid more than $262,000 in royalties to its member artists for performances in South Africa over the same period.

In fact, there have been so many American artists traveling to South Africa recently that international cultural boycott seemed nonexistent. Among the 30 or more American entertainers to have performed in South Africa during 1981 and 1982 are Candida Staton, Joe Henderson, Isaac Hayes, Curtis Mayfield, Dorothea Dixson, Ann-Margret, Olivia Newton-John, Paul Anka, Dakotas Staton, Tina Turner, Lou Rawls, Andrae Crouch, B.B. King, Aretha Franklin, Campbel, She Na Na, the Beach Boys, Brook Benton, and Heidi Reddy. On May 16 of this year Steffie Mills and Neil Sadakas opened at the Sun City resort in Bophutshatswana.

An impressive list of artists have also refused to perform in South Africa. Ben Vereen, Van Dyke Knight and the Pipes, the Four Tops, the Supremes, John P. Robarts Flack, and Phyllis Hyman have all declined to entertain apartheid. White American entertainers have declined to perform at least $250,000 for a tour, Roberta Flack with an estimated $411 million in revenue. "I can not tour South Africa under any circumstances," she said. A more valid reason that supersedes entertainment.

The decision by George Wein to tour the Newport Jazz Festival to Bophutshatswana was particularly good news for the antiapartheid movement. George Wein told the Times he was "sympathetic to the operators of apartheid and supportive of the cultural boycott." Some South Africa tourism officials, producer for Wein, said "George had some initial confusion over Sun City and Bophutshatswana was my fault, it's an old African kingdom. Yet he was sensitive to the feelings of jazz musicians on the tour. By this time, he had been applied, George had already canceled. No group or individual can claim to have turned George around on this issue," he added. "I admire and respect George's decision on this. It was the cancellation of a multimillion-dollar tour."

The confusion regarding Bophutshatswana is understandable. After all, it does seem odd-Bophutshatana an independent country located to the north of South Africa. In reality, Bophutshatswana is part of a more far-reaching scheme of assigning the black majority on the basis of tribal affiliations to 10 arbitrarily drawn "Bantu" homelands declared around the country so 13 percent of its most barren land. Once made citizens of the quintessence they forfeited South African citizenship, a significant detail in the politics.

Under the 1913 and 1936 South African Land Acts, 10 percent of the country's territory, which includes all the main mines and prime farmland, has been reserved for whites, who constitute only 20 percent of the total population. The remaining 13 percent of the country has been designated as tribal homelands for the remaining 80 percent of the population. These white areas and may not remain in white areas without a permit. Indians and Colored (South Africa's mixed ancestry) are restricted to segregated areas in the territory reserved for whites.

African leaders have estimated that some two million Africans in one of the largest forced relocations Africa has ever witnessed. The government of the Bantu - the Bophutshatswana the so-called home - is to participate in reorganizing the final plan for the racial segregation. The Bantu government will be "the beneficiary of the benefits of division from the Central African population."

Among the foremost proponents of the movement against the Bophutshatana independence is Southern Sun's managing director, Soi Kermer, and Southern Sun's general manager, David Bacon. Kermer and Bacon have been the close relationship between the two companies and problem for supporters of the cultural boycott. Elome Brath, a Harlem-based activist and coordinator of the Patrons

budget. The civil service of each territory is made up on almost entirely of white South Africans. Americans need only experience of the American Indian and the African domestic versions of severes (reservations) to get the general idea.

The United Nations General Assembly described South Africa's Bantu homelands as a policy, in particular "to consolidate the independence of the African minority of the country, to perpetuate white minority domination throughout the country, and to defend the Afrikaner; the South Africans of its insalubrious rights and privileges." Consequently, some of the territories are underdeveloped in comparison with the same country in the world. Only American artists and athletes seem to have failed to go to South Africa to deliver lectures and readings based on their work. In these instances the writer is more accurately seen as a performer.

"Afro-americano, which the Sun City Hilton Hotel and Country Club, which provides much more housing, and features tables and picture entertainment.

"The Sun City is not much by Vegas standards. However, in a country such as South Africa where gambling is legal, cinemas are closed on Sundays, and its Calvinists preachers warn about the evils of exposed female flesh, Sun City is the only modern-day gambling and entertainment center. Sun City also offers another attraction that receives for less publicity but for the opportunity for white's to engage in South Africa's 'forbidden fruit' of interracial sex.

"Under South African law, sexual relations between blacks and whites is criminal offenses punishable by up to five years imprisonment. Yet visitors to Sun City are not subject to South Africa's immorality Act. According to a report prepared by the Johannesburg Sunday Times, the Human Science Research Council's "Most Afrikaner is the kissing for sale at the hotel is Blaacks, but white, colored and Indian prostitutes are available. Twice as many alcohol is of prostitutes are usually sought by white visitors with hotel staff occasionally accepting offers of prostitution. They noted that Sun City had brought to the indigenous African population in South Africa, transvestism, tramway to the black community, and a loss of earnings through gambling.

The Southern Sun Development Corporation announced this spring that three additional large hotel complexes are to be built in the territory. A hotel with casino facilities will go up near Thabana- jopp between Bloemfontein and the 10 percent of the South African land area. The Southern Sun Organization will cooperate in this venture and Israeli investors. The territory is not covered by the act of discrimination against the indigenous African population... is to participate in reorganizing the final plan for the racial segregation. The Bantu government will be "the beneficiary of the benefits of division from the Central African population."

Among the foremost proponents of the movement against the Bophutshatana independence is Southern Sun's managing director, Soi Kermer, and Southern Sun's general manager, David Bacon. Kermer and Bacon have been the close relationship between the two companies and problem for supporters of the cultural boycott. Elome Brath, a Harlem-based activist and coordinator of the Patrons

Who is the primary practitioner of censorship in the world today? South Africa has the strictest laws in the world. The censorship and maintains, as Jonathan Spivak reported in the Wall Street Journal, the writers who are not "censored" can petition the government to ban a book on the grounds that it is obscene, pornographic, or morally offensive.

American writers should be embarrassed by the government's failure to issue visas to a number of their best writers. As some of their most esteemed colleagues, the American writers who refuse to travel to South Africa are "censorship critics of the world, who speak for the world."

"Writers and the Cultural Boycott"

Despite the prevailing misconception that the UN-sponsored cultural boycott of South Africa extends to all writers, it was never intended to include writers who function as journalists. Creative writers working as performers, however, are a different question.

The American National Congress (ANC) in 1962, the principal liberation movement in South Africa, has always made an exception for journalists since the beginning of the sanctions in 1963. The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity share the ANC belief that international journalists working in South Africa will assist the antiapartheid struggle. This boycott, however, was not intended to apply to journalists who report on events in South Africa. After all, how could one gauge the potential impact on world public opinion of a Jew and a Spanish writer, Pauline Kauffman, if they write about South Africa for the New York Times and a writer from Bophutshatana. The controversy at the 1976 Congress would seem to suggest that there is a real need to reissue this initiative. The problem is that many being written, they are not "censorship critics of the world, who speak for the world."

"Writers and the Cultural Boycott"

Concerning the controversy was the issue of censorship in the efforts of Black American writers and journalists to work in South Africa. During the late 60's, a number of Black American writers, such as John O. McHale, Earl L. Willey, Fred Lott, Audre Lorde, Will Demby, Mari Evans, Fayre Cotter, Quincy Troupe, Sherrill Messinger, David Bell, and Paul A. Marshall, and Carol Gregory, formed Black Consciousness, an organization which was essentially an analogy with South Africa. . . and for the continuation of the boycott of South Africa see also the works of V.S. Naipaul, and others. The controversy at the 1976 Congress would seem to suggest that there is a real need to reissue this initiative. The problem is that many being written, they are not "censorship critics of the world, who speak for the world."

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Arista who do travel to South Africa tread on dangerous ground. Such a warn
were Winter in his
sensation novel 'Inside Boss.' South Af
is a way to be high voltage publicity
potentially a political eyewash.
Apartheid but when a famous star does it reality TV hits
in newspapers all over the world.

If anyone has any doubts about the effectivity of the Arts Call for an inter-
boycott, they should look at the O'Jay's. The American black vocal trio,
arrived in Johannesburg on April 6, 1983, for a seven-concert tour. The
O'Jay's Call for a boycott, the O'Jay's tour col-
lapsed, arrests made, and
to go on strike. The late
during the tour to the Black economic crisis and
Strength, a major newspaper, that she had never heard of Soetoe and she was
in the impression that blacks and whites were not treating each other the same.
Likewise, Lee Vannie, the late editor of the Daily Variations, is quoted as saying
AZAPO as "opportunistically without a body." During an interview with the
Sunday Times, Vannie stated, "This is a political game. These people are on an ego trip
trying to further their political personal ends. We are not going
anyone to tell us where we must go and what we must do.

These comments and a host of others prompted one columnist for the Sowetan
to write that the black conscience of Sowetan is basically晴
with the same story given by various black American artists who per-
sonally feel that there is no racial barrier. The government is to set
for artists to come out straight with the truth. They
have come here for the money."

There are also other factors at work, in the form of"outside interference and other cultural political
activities."

AZAPO's answer to this is:"We are the black community in the U.S."

A problem of long-standing with the various black Americans to South Africa is
the acceptance of "honorvry white" status
in order to perform there. It is a valuable symbol to black Americans
and black Americans. As Ethel B. Braitz puts it, "In 1981, someone who becomes a "honorvry while"
will surely be known as a dishonorable black.

Antiapartheid activists, however, have been slow to recognize that Africa holds a
special emotional and psychological appeal
for black Americans. Published in-
terviews with those artists who have trav-
elled to South Africa have been few and far between. It is still an open
question to what extent they have been able to recognize the importance of their
influence on the African American music scene. Joe Henderson, who took six months to
decide to go to South Africa, still has mixed feelings about the trip. "As far as I am con-
tact with feeling so comfortable while I was there," he says. Henderson did not think about the music until he got home. He
and thought blacks were happy to have him perform for them. Activists will
come out in support of the boycott. He was aware of the impression that black artists, despite
the political significance of their visit, are still seen as "outside interfer-
ence and other cultural political activities."

Even Max Roach, whose 1960 record-
"Tea for Johannesburg" was banned in South Africa, has been quoted as saying that he would like to go to the vocal. He asked, "Is this part of this idea to avoid
carcinoid leukemia?" He didn't think it would help to kill off black artists.

Well known jazz musician Archie

Stephanie Mills has helped convince anti-
apartheid activists in the U.S. of the ne-
necessity for the boycott. Several hours before her scheduled departure to
Bophuthatswana, a group of activists was successful in reaching Stephanie
Mills. After an emotional confrontation Stephanie assured her visitors that she
would cancel her engagement. Imagine their surprise, when several days later,
official word had been received that she had decided to go ahead with her perf-
mance.

AZAPO has clearly played a lead-
ing role, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Social!
community of nations, and the Nordic countries remain steadfast sup-
porters of the boycott. Ambassador B.
Dietz, chairman of the UN Special
Committee Against Apartheid, reiter-
ed an Atlanta audience of the depth of Africa's commit-
tment to this effort. He stated, "Africa is
totality of the struggle in South Africa as it is the last and crucial
stage of the continent's struggle for emanci-
pation. "To us in Africa, this is the matter of life and death..."

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American artists must not under-
estimate the support that AZAPO's call
for a boycott of foreign artists endure
American artists perform in South Africa. The
large number of black American artists
traveling to South Africa has posed

AZAPO and MDAL have been more
willing to compromise and to reach some
kind of agreement with foreign artists in-
volving the cause of black promoters, on the other hand, have been more
adamant rates for local black artists and donations to face charities. Despite the
lack of any unanimity of opinion within South Africa, the international
community is convinced of the necessity for the total isolation of South Africa.
First and foremost, among the char-
acters who have spoken out in support of the boycott, have been the
Organization of African Unity, the African Union, the United Nations, the
Permanent Representative of the Republic of Uganda to the UN, and the present chair-
man of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, reminded an Atlanta
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American artists who travel to South
Africa must now confront the possibility of international blacklisting, demonstra-
tions from domestic supporters of the
boycott, as well as physical threats while on
tour. All of this will certainly force them to reconsider if it is profitable to
travel to South Africa.
Dear Editor,

Michael Beaubien's article was brilliant. His attention to "American Artists in South Africa" shows the leading vision of black activists and the resonance that the campaign against performing for apartheid has in the black community. What is the corollary activity for progressive whites, among white people in general?

First, we can pay special attention to the white artists flocking to Sin City (as they call it in South Africa). Blue-eyed gangsters like Sinatra will go where the dollars are flowing. Perhaps Glenn Campbell didn't know whether he was in Galveston or Pretoria. Ann Margaret always was more befuddled than bewitched. But someone like Dolly Parton can and should be talked out of going. Actually, she should be convinced to join many entertainers (mostly black) pledging not to tour South Africa until apartheid is completely destroyed. Here is a chance for Jane Fonda and Lily Tomlin to help Dolly understand that sisterly solidarity extends beyond the 9 to 5 grind in the office. It extends across the ocean to Winnie Mandela, banished to a remote area of South Africa, and to 25 million black South Africans. We, as whites who care, cannot fail to apply the necessary influence on our performing artists.

Also, white performers and bands like Pink Floyd, the British rock 'n' rollers, have been banned in South Africa. "Another Brick in the Wall" became an anthem for the militant Black student movement against apartheid schools that took place in 1980. The South African government censored "The Wall," refusing to allow the album into the country during a period of student boycotts and demonstrations.

The other obvious activity suggested is the bipartite of a white American contribution to apartheid's cultural isolation. It is an effort to encourage detections among white South Africans. For South Africa's white youth, the same apartheid government which makes the country a cultural wasteland also demands a life-long military obligation in defense of these policies. Most white kids would rather listen to Pink Floyd than fight an unjust war. But South Africa's young whites have no choice. The whites-only draft is compulsory for young men 17 years old up, with service required until the age of 55. There is no right to conscientious objection, only 1 to 3 year recurring jail sentences.

Singing for apartheid is bad enough, but fighting for apartheid is a thousand times worse. Doing that fighting against the aspirations and the drive for freedom of black people is a South African Defense Force that is officially 96% white. The United Nations has passed two resolutions urging all countries to welcome South Africa's draft resisters and grant them asylum. So have the city governments of San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland, and Santa Cruz. White Americans can and should assist white South Africans taking a stand of conscience against fighting for apartheid. When white military resisters fleeing South Africa arrive here, as they already do, we can nurture their resistance and make it an example of what whites can do to support blacks in their struggle to bury apartheid and achieve their freedom—after over 4 centuries of white domination that has been described as a (white) crime against humanity.

Dolly Parton is scheduled to go to South Africa on December 2. Her manager is justifying the tour with the myth that Sun City and the tribal bantustan of Bophuthatswana are not in South Africa. "Dolly is not going to South Africa. She would never go to South Africa. She's going to Sun City," claims her manager.

The Bophuthatswana "homeland" scattered in six pieces around South Africa has been recognized as independent since 1977, but only by the apartheid government of South Africa. No other country in the world would agree that this area is no longer South Africa.

People who seek freedom and racial justice in South Africa have always viewed the entire "homeland" scheme as an integral part of apartheid. It is a strategy for preserving white power by depriving Blacks of their birthrights and citizenship in South Africa. Over and over again, the "independent homelands" have been proven to be a cynical exercise, totally under the control of the apartheid authorities in Pretoria. Does the opening of a multi-million dollar casino change fiction into reality?

The campaign to end cultural collaboration with South Africa was revitalized recently in New York City with radio appearances by Johnny Mahkatini, the ANC's Chief United Nations Representative, and a demonstration at a Ray Charles concert. The demonstration was called by a coalition of black organizations led by the Black United Front and the Patrice Lumumba Coalition. It proved to be very effective in educating people, turning some folk away, gaining publicity for the cultural boycott, and embarrassing Ray Charles. Then the preceding article appeared in the Village Voice.

SAMRAF has submitted the letter reprinted above as a "letter to the editor." We're hoping the Village Voice will print it. We have also joined with other concerned whites in a sub-committee, under the direction of the black coalition, called Stop Performing for Apartheid. We intend working with white entertainers and with the white community to build support for further isolating apartheid South Africa.
South Africa in that it defies fighting in support of white racial superiority, as our ancestors have done.

We want to nurture a segment of whites in South Africa who not only refuse to become cannon fodder for the apartheid regime, but also actively support the aspirations of Black people and their right to freedom. SAMRAF has consciously built itself as an organization which supports the liberation process by encouraging white military resistance. We believe this is a form of direct solidarity with Black people’s struggle in Southern Africa.

These young men should be encouraged by all people of conscience and should be made welcome when they seek asylum here in the U.S. They are making the right decision. It is a crime to fight for apartheid, and it is humane to refuse.

The U.S. government would rather recognize the generals, the diplomats and the businessmen of apartheid as the welcome guests here. We believe these people should be recognized as defenders of white supremacy and refused entry. We say that freedom fighters should be welcomed and supported here, and that white South African war resisters are our friends.

It is a very positive sign internationally that young whites in South Africa are saying no to racism. They need to be nurtured and made into an example of what whites can do to support a black struggle for freedom. In a most significant way they are resisting the very life-line of racism. Their ability to resist and to turn their guns around on the real enemy is a hopeful message to black freedom fighters in Southern Africa and will speed the inevitable: the creation of a free, non-racist South Africa.

### South African Airways: They Don’t Fly Our Way

Many of apartheid South Africa’s overseas offices are shielded from public view. Here in New York City, the South African Consultate and the unseated Mission to the United Nations are both located anonymously in mid-town skyscrapers. South African Airways, however, is at ground floor level on Fifth Avenue, replete with full-size replicas and large full color photographs of wild animals, the main image apartheid South Africa wants to create in order to entice tourists to a nation at war. The colors of the apartheid flag—blue, white & orange—are everywhere.

South African Airways is not an independent commercial body. It was nationalized by the South African government in 1934. The official yearbook of the so-called Republic of South Africa, in referring to this period of history, writes that by making the airlines state-owned they were able to create more white jobs and therefore eliminate the “poor white problem.” The state also sought to expand beyond South Africa’s borders, making SAA an international carrier, even though today it is not allowed to land anywhere in Africa.

People in Houston, Texas are currently struggling to prevent South African Airways from gaining landing rights at their international airport. The South African government estimates that attaining landing rights in Houston would mean $10 million in additional earnings per year.

South African Airways is thoroughly integrated into the apartheid state. It represents South Africa’s direct connection with the outside world at a time when apartheid should be increasingly isolated.

The advertising slogan of South African Airways is “We Fly Your Way... SAA” Our response is that SAA will never fly our way until South Africa itself belongs to the people.

### A Call for Support

It will probably be pretty cold in New York City on January 22. Yet, we hope to have a thunderous demonstration outside the South African Airways office, calling on everyone to help disarm apartheid’s racist military machine.

We are asking organizations from all over the United States to endorse and support this demonstration. Please let us know as soon as possible. Spread the word. Tell your friends and co-workers to come out January 22, in support of the liberation of South Africa and Namibia.

There are other ways in which people can actively participate. One is letter-writing:

- **Write to the South African Embassy, 3051 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington D.C. 20008**—Protest the oppression of Black people under the apartheid system and the drafting of white youth to fight in defense of apartheid.
- **Write to General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defense, Private Bag X427, Pretoria 0001, Rep. of South Africa**—Protest the invasions into neighboring countries along with the imprisonment of conscientious objectors and military resisters who refuse to carry out such crimes.

Another way to participate on January 22 is to call South African Airways and make reservations for flights from New York to Johannesburg. This will tie the South African pass laws. White police fired into the demonstration. When the firing ceased 69 Africans
lay dead and 186 were wounded.

- June 16, 1983—anniversary of the 1976 Soweto rebellion, a day on which more than 20,000 black students protested against “bantu education” and ignited demonstrations throughout the country lasting for a year and a half. At least 25 black students were killed by police and military forces on June 16, with around 1,000 killed in the demonstrations thereafter. These protests were spearheaded by the organizations of the Black Consciousness Movement.

- August 8, 1983—closest flight to the anniversary of the August 9, 1956 march on Pretoria, organized by the South African Women’s Federation and the African National Congress, against the extension of the pass system to African women. Over 20,000 took part in the protest, and the date is now recognized as South African Women’s Day. It was one of the largest peaceful demonstrations ever held in South Africa. With the outlawing of peaceful protest in 1960, the ANC was forced to take up arms.

- August 26, 1983—anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle to free Namibia, in 1966. The South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO of Namibia) was founded in 1960 as a liberation movement embracing all Namibians and dedicated to ending South Africa’s colonial domination. The date is now celebrated as Namibia Day throughout the world. Inside Namibia, rallies are held even under the guns of South Africa’s occupying army.

The telephone number for SAA reservations is 826-1245, if you’re calling locally. From outside New York City, use the toll free numbers: 800-442-5983 for New York State and 800-223-1160 for calls from anywhere else in the United States.

Reserve seats for parties of two to six people, thereby swelling their reservations for those four dates. They may very well find out about our protest, but will be unable to know how many reservations are for real and how many are made in solidarity with the actions of January 22. You can call as many times and use as many names as you like. Be creative. If they run out of seats on that date, just book the next available flight. But don’t tip them off that your reservation is part of the protest. Make it real. The protest is in our collective actions.

**SAMRAF and Our Programme**

SAMRAF is a political organisation and a network of supporters. It is composed of white South African exiles, especially military resisters, as well as American activists. We began organizing work in the USA in late 1977, the first overseas group to form in support of the war resistance movement inside South Africa.

SAMRAF believes that is is a necessity to build support among white South Africans and white Americans for the national liberation struggle which will free South Africa and bring the destruction of the apartheid system. Since the South African military has become the dominant force within the whites-only regime of Botha, Malan & Co., and because a thoroughly militarised Total Strategy has been developed to preserve apartheid, SAMRAF believes that we can and should foster white resistance through encouraging military resistance.

SAMRAF publishes “an uncensored resistance magazine for white South African soldiers and draftees,” called *Omkeer* (in English, the military command: about face). This call for resistance is distributed to white youth currently facing military obligations. Inside South Africa, military resistance takes many forms. Some active-duty soldiers distribute *Omkeer*. Some have organised mass walk-outs from base. Some conscientious objectors to apartheid military service are locked up in Detention Barracks, often under solitary confinement. Some draft resisters and deserters disappear within South Africa, while others take a big step into forced exile. Resistance has even reached into the high schools where white students are forced to undergo military training. This entire movement is still small, but is growing in importance.

We have established a base of support for this work in the USA. For those military resisters who are exiled in this country, we can help with legal counsel, especially for those seeking political asylum. We also provide general guidance and orientation for resettlement. We have found that we can be particularly helpful in New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Boston. We also campaign for U.S. government acceptance of the right to political asylum in the case of genuine South African military resisters and political exiles.

SAMRAF is investigating the moves by the apartheid regime toward greater mobilisation of white women in support of the military. This is done through research, active recruitment of women to our work, and fostering the development of a women and war project designed to counter the enemy’s propaganda toward white women.

Educating the American public about the South African military as a threat to world peace, a nuclear menace, and a festering sore of violent racism against Black people is one of our primary goals. SAMRAF participates in the broader U.S. movement to support the liberation struggles of Southern Africa. In this we have raised funds and other material aid for SWAPO, the liberation movement of Namibia. We also participate in other progressive movements in this country and take part in numerous coalitions.

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