ECSA

25th anniversary issue

summer 1981
P.W. Botha; Ms Zinzi Mandela, younger daughter of Ms Winnie Mandela and ANC leader Nelson Mandela; (inset) Joseph Mavi of the Black Municipal Workers Union; Ms Florence Mkhize, long-time ANC activist, now banned for the third time; South African Police brigadier Theuns Swanepoel; Wantu Zenzile, president, Congress of South African Students (COSAS); Andrew Boraine, president of NUSAS, the National Union of South African Students; Zwelakhe Sisulu, president of MWASA, the Media Workers Association of South Africa; a street in Johannesburg.
Extract from a BBC Panorama program, aired 15 June 1981, the eve of the fifth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising, entitled 'South Africa: To the Last Drop of Blood' - brief interview with South African Foreign Minister Roelof (Pik) Botha:

BBC: 'In the end, Minister, won’t you be forced to talk with Nelson Mandela?'
Botha: 'Why is that question important to you? We are at this present moment, more than any other government before us, continuously talking with black leaders in this country. Black leaders have a right to criticise us - a right which they do not have in black Africa.'

BBC: 'Nelson Mandela appears to be the black leader whom most black people support....'
Botha: 'It appears to be to you, at this special juncture....'

Botha: 'I’ve given you my answer. If it’s not good enough for you, that’s up to you.'

Botha: 'Will there ever be one man, one vote in South Africa?'
Botha: 'No.'

Botha: 'Isn’t that why you are almost certain to be faced with a bloody war?'

Botha: 'There’s not one man, one vote anywhere in Africa.'

Botha: 'Twenty million black people in your country....'

Botha: 'Your problem is...it’s no use arguing about twenty million blacks. You do not understand the situation.'

Botha: 'That isn’t how the blacks see it, Minister.'

Botha: 'Now I tell you - I’m giving you the facts - what concept have you got of Africa and the struggle of the Africans? What have you done for Africa? What have you done to Ghana, your glittering example of independence? Where is it today? Where is there freedom in Africa? Do you want this whole southern part to be overrun by this kind of thing - no newspapers, no freedom of expression? Why do you think things would develop differently here under a one man, one vote system than it did in the rest of Africa? What gives you the right to be intellectually dishonest?'

Botha: 'Why don’t you ask the black people to whom you have spoken how they would compose their state - to be frank and honest from public platforms as we do in this country?'

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker said on 2 June that South Africa was making 'a serious and honest effort to move away from apartheid' and 'We....consider that South Africa is a friend of the US.' Both foreign minister and secretary are at the very least deceiving themselves about South Africa. The country is ablaze from one end to the other. Strikes erupt, some get settled for the time being, some result in mass firings. Students march, stay-at-home, sit in; parents and teachers support them. Academics and churchmen call for changes in the system; business executives exhibit unease and propose ameliorations. High-falutin' studies pour off the presses, laggard to what is needed - and inevitable.

Pretoria reacts in its customary manner - sending in the riot police and the security police, baton charging, gassing, sjambokking (with a newly-devised plastic whip), midnight visiting, detaining, banning, torture. Old time 'interrogator' Theuns Swanepoel charges around the brick and concrete canyons of Johannesburg in camouflage uniform. Pretoria strikes at leaders and crowds alike. Zwelakhe Sisulu, award-winning journalist, is held under the Terrorism Act. Trade union chief Joseph Mavi, having won a court case, is detained. Over a thousand black squatters outside Cape Town are arrested. COCAS' Wantu Zenzile is arrested; another president takes his place. Andrew Boraine of NUSAS is arrested, held incommunicado, then banned; another leader takes his place. Black and white students are fast coming together to act cooperatively. Soldiers of the African National Congress, well armed, enter the country; sabotage is on the increase. There is movement in South Africa which contradicts the rote utterances of politicians and government functionaries both in that country and in the USA.
The Right Reverend James Hamupanda Kauluma was on 2 July 1981 unanimously elected to be the Bishop of the Anglican diocese of Namibia. An elective assembly of the diocese, which encompasses all the huge International Territory of Namibia, made the decision while meeting at the Paulinum Lutheran Seminary in the provincial town of Otjimbingwe.

Bishop Kauluma succeeds the Right Reverend Colin O'Brien Winter who had been elected Bishop of Namibia in 1968 after the expulsion of Bishop Robert H. Mize, an American citizen, by the South African regime which illegally occupies the Territory. Bishop Winter was himself deported by the South Africans in 1972 and had maintained his position as Bishop-in-Exile from his headquarters in London. After another serious heart attack in January, and following discussions with Bishop Kauluma, the diocesan clergy and medical advisers, Bishop Winter resigned. James Kauluma had been elected Suffragan Bishop and consecrated in January 1978. He has acted as vicar general of the diocese in Windhoek where he lives with his wife, Ms Sally Kauluma, an American, and their daughter, Nangula Tuapeua, now going on four.

James Kauluma assumes the leadership of the Anglican Church in Namibia at an excruciatingly perilous juncture in the long and agonizing struggle of the Namibian people for independence and self-determination. The statements of the Council of Churches in Namibia (of which Bishop Kauluma is president) and of SWAPO, both reproduced in this issue of the ECSA newsletter, speak vividly, and, in the case of the SWAPO declaration, in detail, of the suffering of the people of Namibia at the hands of South Africa's army and police and of the urgent need for a settlement under the supervision and control of the lawful authority over the Territory, the United Nations. '...the only practical peaceful solution lies in the hands of the United Nations', say the churches.

The churches and SWAPO speak for the overwhelming majority of Namibians. Both have been consistent in standing for a free Namibia - each active in its own way; SWAPO politically, militarily and diplomatically; the churches voicing the cry of an oppressed people in a way and setting rare for religious bodies in the world today. It should not go unnoticed that the SWAPO delegation which met the US Deputy Secretary of State in Windhoek in June consisted of churchpersons, lay and ordained. But what SWAPO and the churches are expressing directly with the aims and policies of the two external powers most immediately affecting the future of Namibia: Pretoria and Washington. Both believe that SWAPO is under the sway of the Soviet Union. Both are determined that SWAPO shall not become the government of an independent Namibia. Washington ignores the churches. Pretoria makes war against them. The firebombing of the Anglican mission and the destruction two times of the Lutheran press are part of the overall pattern of assault upon the Namibian nation - the everyday detention, torture, murder visited upon Namibians by the South African Defence Force, the South African Police and all the other instruments of an occupying power.

In mid-July, a thousand people demonstrated in Katutura township outside Windhoek. They were parents of young Namibians conscripted by Pretoria for what it expects to be seen as an independent 60,000-man army, the South West Africa Territory Force. Thirty men in basic training at Okahandja had declared they were SWAPO supporters. They were arrested and have disappeared. South African military authorities and Pretoria's locally-selected supporters told the parents: 'SWAPO is the enemy'. The parents fear for the safety of their missing sons. At their demonstration they called for an immediate end to military conscription. They asserted that the Pretoria-installed National Assembly did not represent the people of Namibia. They declared that SWAPO was not the enemy. Is Washington listening?
STATEMENT TO THE U.S. DELEGATION ON ITS VISIT TO NAMIBIA

12 June 1981

The Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN), representing more than 75 percent of Christians in this country, is continuously committed to work for justice, peace and reconciliation.

It is out of this commitment and firm desire to see peace that the Council of Churches in Namibia has been especially concerned over the years about a peaceful and just solution of the political problems of our country and through various actions has supported the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978).

We have appealed on numerous occasions to the United Nations, South Africa, and the five Western countries (USA, West Germany, Britain, France and Canada) for an immediate implementation of the U.N. plan. It is our conviction that this would prevent the escalation and bloodshed and the growing hatred amongst the people of Namibia.

While there are now talks about the protection of the rights (privileges) of minorities, we are dumbfounded to learn that the long overdue right of the majority of the nation to determine their own future and to become independent seems to be a secondary matter for some Western governments. Thus, the Council of Churches in Namibia believes in the same rights for all Namibians as declared in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.

It is in the interests of all our people, therefore, that every effort be made to immediately resume discussions aiming for a cease-fire date and a start of implementation in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). We reiterate that it is our continued conviction and confidence that the only practical peaceful solution lies in the hands of the United Nations.

We feel that any party involved in the negotiations who does not have the faith to cooperate in the national interest and who is insensitive to the suffering of our people should be held responsible for any failure of a peaceful solution.

We therefore again appeal to our congregations and all Christians throughout the world to pray without ceasing for the peace of Namibia. (Col. 4:2)

This statement was presented to the United States delegation - Deputy Secretary of State William Clark, Assistant Secretary for Africa Chester Crocker and Assistant Secretary for International Organizations Elliot Abrams - on their visit to Windhoek. The CCN was represented by its president, Anglican Bishop James H. Kauluma; Lutheran Bishop Kleopas Dumeni; Roman Catholic Father H. Henning; and CCN general secretary, Lutheran pastor Dr Albertus Maasdorp. They learned from the Americans that the purpose of their visit was merely to collect information and to make an assessment of the situation.
Mr Chester A. Crocker  
Assistant Secretary of State for Africa  
Department of State  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr Crocker:

Shortly after 1 am last Thursday, 18 June, the Anglican mission station at Odibo in Northern Namibia was firebombed and the entire seminary complex - including chapel, classrooms, dormitories, library and office - was destroyed. The seminary had been closed because of the war and because the mission has been a frequent target of raids by the South African Defence Force which occupies the International Territory. Thankfully there were no casualties and other parts of the mission station - St Mary's church, the schools, the closed-down hospital, dwellings - escaped the conflagration. Residents at the mission could not go out at night because of a strict curfew imposed by the South Africans. In the morning it was discovered that both explosives and an inflammable liquid, possibly petrol, had been used in blowing up the buildings. The Venerable Philip Shilongo, archdeacon of that area, reported the matter to the police at 10 am; they arrived at the scene at 3:45 pm, looked around, took a statement from Father Shilongo and said they would relate their findings to him. They took with them a flare the people found at the site, a device commonly used by the South African army.

This latest terror attack on the churches in Namibia closely resembles the night bombing last 19 November of the Lutheran Church press at Oniipa not far distant from Odibo. The South African Police have never explained that incident though they have every facility at their command and South African soldiers were seen at Oniipa at the time. The Lutheran newspaper OMUKWEU is controlled neither by the South African occupation nor its bantustan chiefs and is therefore considered a threat to the regime. Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, the Lutheran leader in the North, has repeatedly been harassed by occupation officials. His name heads a death list used by a hit squad organized by the South Africans to commit murders and spread terror in Namibia. Father Shilongo has been detained incommunicado by the South Africans - in 1979 and again last year.

You met Bishop Dumeni and Anglican Bishop James Kauluma and other church leaders in Windhoek the week before last. You know what kind of people they are and that they represent the overwhelming majority of the people of Namibia. You know that they firmly believe the only peaceful solution in Namibia lies in the hands of the United Nations. You must know as well that the churches in Namibia are targeted because of their adherence to the lawful authority over the Territory and because they are a principal element in opposition to the South African regime and its accomplices. How can you proceed with your 'constructive engagement' with Pretoria while the lives of the Namibian people and the fabric of their society continues to be shattered?

Very sincerely yours,

William Johnston  
President
The South African occupation has not yet dared to ban SWAPO as a political entity inside the International Territory of Namibia. On 12 June 1981 a SWAPO delegation was among those calling on US Deputy Secretary of State William Clark when he visited Windhoek. It included: Mr J. Hoebeb; Mr 'Pepe' Matongo; Dr T. Ihuhua; Pastor Ernest Tjirimuje and Pastor Bartholomew Karwaera. Mr Hoebeb is vice-principal of the Martin Luther High School and president of the synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia. Pastors Tjirimuje and Karwaera are ministers of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr Ihuhua was superintendent of a Lutheran hospital in Northern Namibia and is now restricted near Windhoek. He was released briefly to be part of this delegation. This is its statement to Secretary Clark:

Your Excellency,

While welcoming any attempt at speeding the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 that would lead Namibia to genuine independence and national sovereignty, SWAPO believes that your government's attempt to stage a constitutional conference before any such elections is aimed at renegotiating things that were already agreed upon by the different interested parties. The majority of people in this country have for decades lived without any constitutional guarantees given to them by any of the colonial powers, as well as South Africa whereas it is obvious that the constituent assembly to be constituted after UN-supervised and controlled elections would look after the question of constitutional guarantees.

Your Excellency, you have come here to Namibia in the hope that you would acquire credibility to take your so far unknown and amorphous proposals further afield. But your recent veto in the Security Council on Mandatory Sanctions against South Africa has already ruined your credibility, if ever you had any, with the Namibian people who see you collaborating with racist South Africa. In casting your veto in the Security Council, you have clearly shown yourself as being an ally of the racist South African regime, your demanding of constitutional guarantees for the white minority (under the guise of 'minorities') again shows your pre-occupation with the interests of a racialistic state. Thus, Your Excellency, the policy of your Administration shows disregard, if not outright contempt and rejection, for the suffering Namibians under racist South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, which your government wants to legalize, contrary to UN Resolutions and pronouncements of the International Court of Justice. This we reject in toto.

While your Administration is indulging in ventures to secure constitutional guarantees for the white minority, the situation in Namibia is rapidly deteriorating with no constitutional guarantees for the majority of the Namibian population. The USA Administration is doing nothing about this. Despite repeated propaganda about freedom and changes in Namibia there is in fact no political freedom for the majority of Namibians in this country which is presently being run by a South African sponsored government. The following are some of the actions taking place almost daily which are perpetrated against opponents of the status quo, notably SWAPO members and supporters:

1 - Arbitrary detentions without trial for indefinite periods under Proclamations AG 26, AG9 and Section Six of the Terrorism Act, by politically motivated police.
2 - Arbitrary banning of SWAPO leaders, activists and supporters to house arrests from dawn to dusk with constant harassment, intimidation and abuses through regular police visits.
3 - The indefinite detention of the Cassinga survivors at Hardap near Mariental, whose numbers are shrinking fast, according to reports. This leaves room for speculation as to whether these Namibians are not subjected to systematic torture and elimination, as nobody has contact with them except the South African military authorities. Our estimate is that close to 200 prisoners, among them women and old people, are detained at Hardap. No prisoner of war status has been accorded to them in accordance with the Geneva Conventions. These survivors have now completed their third year of captivity and the champion of constitutional rights and guarantees - the USA - and the international community have done nothing about the prisoners at this concentration camp.
4 - Systematic torture of detainees with a special torture chamber around Windhoek and elsewhere in the country, is an integral and institutionalized practice of the illegal regime in Namibia.

(continued, over)
5 - Forced military conscription of Namibian youth as from the age of 16: Hundreds of Namibian youngsters have been drafted into the South African army against their will and many have been taken to unknown destinations for 'orientation'. Many parents fear that these young men are subjected to brutal physical ill-treatment.

6 - In Northern Namibia (Ovamboland, Kavango, Kaokoveld and Caprivi) people's properties - mostly of SWAPO supporters - are destroyed at random by South African army and police. Police and army have been given wide powers to intimidate, to arrest, detain, and even shoot at any person who allegedly violates regulations imposed upon the people in these areas. This is how South Africa has 'protected' our basic human rights through the years of her illegal occupation of our country, Namibia.

7 - Also in Northern Namibia many people, like John Nakawa and Mathias Ashipembe, have disappeared from sight, just to mention a few.

8 - As a legitimate political movement in Namibia, SWAPO cannot open offices in Windhoek without these being closed by the security police and subsequent arrest of all those who man the offices. Where are our constitutional rights?

These are but a few indications of the present situation in Namibia, something which your government needs to pressurize the racist South African regime into desisting from implementing daily if at all the credibility of your Administration is to be restored. Your Excellency, the shift of your Administration's policy towards South Africa 'as a new friend' is encouraging and strengthening South Africa into perpetrating their facet and diabolic actions against Namibians and against neighbouring countries. Your Excellency, your government policies are contradictory. While condemning the use of force for attaining political goals, your government is supporting a group of bandits to destabilize our northern neighbours. These bandits are respectfully called a 'liberation movement' by your Administration and by South Africa, while legitimate national liberation movements are referred to as 'terrorist organisations'. Our conclusion is thus: Any group supported by your government and/or South Africa are 'liberation movements' and all the others are 'terrorist organisations'. In your supporting of UNITA, you are allowing Namibia to be used as a springboard for aggression against our neighbours, especially the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia, thus violating their territorial integrity against all accepted norms and values of international law. SWAPO denounces the US Administration's support for bandits' destabilization of frontline states, particularly Angola and Zambia. We reject with the utmost condemnation any slander against our liberation movement being tagged a 'terrorist organisation'.

Your Excellency, we wish to register in the strongest terms our:
- Rejection of any attempts to impose a foreign-drafted constitution for Namibia, including constitutional talks, upon the Namibian people.
- Rejection of any prescription as to how Namibia should be ruled or with whom it should align itself, by foreigners. (The Namibian people would choose their own friends and allies!)
- Denunciation of the US Administration's support for bandits' destabilization of frontline states, particularly Angola and Zambia.

It is the prerogative of the Namibian people to draw up their own constitution through their own democratically elected representatives and not the right of any foreign government or governments, however 'big and powerful' they may be, nor by any so-called 'constitutional experts' imposed on the Namibian people by outsiders. Namibians, in fact Africa, do not wish to usurp the rights and properties of others. Requests for Constitutional guarantees are, thus, superfluous! Any Constitution for Namibia will be drafted by those elected to the Constituent Assembly through UN supervised and controlled elections on the basis of Resolution 435 of the Security Council (1978). On the basis of this, we wish to reiterate our unshakeable commitment to the speedy implementation of Resolution 435 in its definitive form. We plead for the implementation of Resolution 435 without any further delay, by way of tactical clarifications as has been the case, including new demands, and we want to emphasize this, ALL PROVISIONS OF RESOLUTION 435 HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED BY ALL PARTIES CONCERNED EXCEPT THE HERSTIGTE NASIONALE PARTY. We demand lastly, Your Excellency, to be given the opportunity to exercise our democratic will through free and fair elections under UN supervision and control.

Your Excellency, time is running out, and therewith our patience. Our people are being butchered daily by racist South African terrorists. SWAPO may not avail herself for any further prolonged and futile talks!

Respectfully submitted,

SWAPO of NAMIBIA Windhoek 12-06-81
On 13 July 1980, Ms Ida Jimmi, a 35-year-old SWAPO activist, made an impassioned speech at a SWAPO meeting held in the Namibian fishing village of Luderitz. Hereewith is a translation of that speech. In October 1980, a South African court sitting in the occupied International Territory sentenced Ms. Jimmi to seven years imprisonment for inciting the people gathered to support armed liberation struggle. At the time of her trial, she was seven months pregnant. Ms Jimmi was detained in solitary confinement for several months in 1979, together with her baby. At that time she joined other SWAPO detainees in a protest hunger strike.

I greet you in the name of our President, Comrade Sam Nujoma, and we salute our President. POWER! POWER! Very weak, comrades, I do not gain any strength. POWER! POWER! Thank you, comrades!

Actually my address is on the occurrences in Northern Namibia during the past months from May to June, regarding the propaganda put out by the South Africans and their concealment of the true facts. When we speak of Northern Namibia we get cold chills down our spines because we know what the South African government did in the North. This South African government that calls itself christian and says that it is the protector of the people of Northern Namibia. On 18 May the South African Defence Force met with SWAPO freedom fighters. In the first clash the SADF had some casualties but concealed this and said that they had only lost four. They named well-known boys from Namibia. Amongst those were casualties by the name of David van Keetmans, Goliath van Keetmans and two more. They only named four, but the ambulances travelled back and forth 18 times that morning. Now if there were only four corpses why did the ambulances travel to and from Ukwanjama and Oshakati 18 times that morning? What was the reason and where are the other bodies?

That night something else happened that was very strange. At about 3 o'clock a so-called soldier came there shouting 'please help me, please help me, I am from the SADF!' This boer could not do otherwise, SWAPO was on his tail. Things are hot. He had to say, I am going to die far from home, please save my life. This was not reported on Radio Puppet, nor in the lying South African press. All was quiet. But what happened to van der Merwe? Van der Merwe wandered around the whole night until he returned to SWAPO on the same road that he came. So, my fellow comrades, countrymen/women, and friends, you who give thought and pay attention to the South African press, those are lies. That is not always true. Vorster wanted to conceal the truth. Do not believe what the South African press tells you.

I continue. On the 26 May 1980, SWAPO freedom fighters met at the kraal of one of the headmen, a wellknown headman called Victor. The night they went to a shop and started shooting there. But they said that they did not want to hurt anyone there, this was only a warning against the high prices the shopkeeper was charging the people. In this headman's yard was a kraal belonging to the SADF to protect this old headman. But that night when these soldiers heard the bazookas, they fled from this kraal and left the owner and his house just like that. During all this shooting, the freedom fighters shot an inquisitive South African soldier, a Namibian who was being used, and gave him a few facial wounds because he did not deserve to live. That soldier lay there until the next morning. Actually the shooting continued from 8 o'clock that evening until 1.30 that morning. So, when any of their soldiers are injured or killed, the SADF denies that these are their people. Then they say that it is a SWAPO terrorist lying there, while it is one of the SADF's soldiers.

The next day at 2 in the afternoon the SADF started shooting, after the freedom fighters had finished. They started shooting in the bushes without warning the people occupying that land. This is how the SADF shoots innocent people who are looking after their cattle, and turn around and say that it is the work of the SWAPO terrorists. Where were the so-called terrorists? They were all over.
After six days the SADF returned and people who were transported in that ambulance to Oshakati grabbed a young man out. A patient suffering from TB who was very ill had to account, he had to tell where SWAPO was. The SADF that is protecting people in Northern Namibia does not care about sick patients. Neither about old people. They intimidate those people and torture them until they are mad.

I am going back again to March when we read in the papers that a ship which arrived in Durban was caught by the South African government. This ship was en route to Angola with a load of ammunition for SWAPO that the South Africans took. Now the South African government made a failure of what it said was a plan. It took the ammunition from the ship and showed it to the world. They said that this was the ammunition of SWAPO. That SWAPO had no more bases in the country. That SWAPO had now been destroyed. The masses of SWAPO do not depend on ammunition. From 1960, from '66, SWAPO of Namibia fought without any ammunition, without any lorries, the freedom fighters of SWAPO do not fight with lorries. They walk with their feet from Angola to Namibia. So what difference does it make to Namibians when they see lorries advertised in the South African papers which are supposed to belong to SWAPO? Meanwhile the freedom fighters walk from corner to corner on foot. Here in Luderitz we are always told not to accept the freedom fighters. As the boers say, terrorists. We do not accept this. I do not know who is a terrorist. So-called terrorists must not be given food. Or if you give a terrorist sleeping place then you must suffer for that action.

There is no terrorist. A thing like a terrorist does not exist. These are our sons that leave the country. I will give you an example. If my son David leaves the country and he returns, must I reject him? Must I just look at him and say you were in Angola, go back, you can't come into my house? What must I do because he is my child? So fellow comrades, South Africa is playing with the mass of the Namibian people. So give the freedom fighters food. Give him sleeping place so that they can go forward and carry out their tasks. They are not terrorists, they are your children. They do not come to murder you, but to save you from the oppression of the South African boer regime.

Here is a security policeman stationed here in Luderitz, namely Blaauw, and his cronies, who arrest innocent young girls and question them about the members of SWAPO. Now these young girls have had a tough time under the South African regime. Last month they locked her up, knocked/bumped her head against the wall to force her to speak about SWAPO - what SWAPO is. Why don't they come to us? SWAPO is not something separate. It is not Thomas, it is not Miriam, it is the masses of Namibia. SWAPO of Namibia, the leader of our people will exist in Namibia and will fight until the last boer hands over his farm and sheds his blood here in Namibia.

Before I finish my address I want to draw your attention to something. We have a so-called doctor here, who is busy intimidating the people. This man sells his milk to us and then wants us to support him. But he is still busy torturing workers who are working for him. I want Blaauw to take a message to this friend of his and he must tell him that those people that he is hitting with irons are not puppets. Those are humans with blood. That milk that he is selling, if he is involved in torturing our people, we will boycott him and no Namibians will support him. And one more thing - he comes to the hospital to operate on people. He says that the Kaffir hospital in Oshakati has many instruments, while there are no instruments there. What is the difference between the hospital in Oshakati and the one in Luderitz? It is an administrative hospital. Which Kaffirs are in Oshakati Hospital? The masses of Namibia are dissatisfied with the work of Dr. Coetzee. We have had our doctors like Dr. .........., but he has been expelled by the South Africans because he was just. Because he had time for the black people in Luderitz. We are standing together in an independent Namibia while there are still doctors who are supposed to be nursing us, but who oppress us. We do not see a chance to stand with them. SWAPO rejects that and so do the masses of Namibia.

So my dearest comrades, I have come to the end of my address. Sorry that I quoted personal things here, but the masses come to us for help. They do not know to whom they should go because there is no leader here who can help them.
Charles Yeats, a 25-year-old South African conscientious objector was sentenced on 14 May 1981 to a year in detention barracks for refusing to serve either in combatant or non-combatant status in the South African Defence Force. Confined to the dread Voortrekkerhoogte detention center, he has further refused to wear military garb. The military had taken away his civilian clothing and Charles Yeats had to bear for a time the chill high veldt winter with only physical training shorts. He had now temporarily been allowed to wear the distinctive blue overalls issued to those Pretoria recognizes as conscientious objectors - only members of the so-called 'peace churches', like Jehovah's Witnesses. A court application to have his civilian clothing returned comes up on 4 August.

Charles Yeats was an outstanding student at his prep school and captain of Natal Province's schools rugby team. He won a scholarship to the elite British school, Harrow. He earned university degrees in commerce and business administration. But there were other influences in his life. He grew up in a multi-racial rural community in the tiny country of Lesotho which is completely surrounded by South Africa. During his university days in England he was one of a Bible study group in London. There he read of other young white South Africans who had gone to prison rather than serve in the Defence Force which enforces apartheid and white minority domination - Peter Moll and Richard Steele, both Baptists, each of whom spent a year at Voortrekkerhoogte, often in solitary confinement.

Upon his return to South Africa, Yeats, an Anglican, announced that he was a conscientious objector on religious grounds and applied for alternative service to the military. He had been accepted for the job of secretary-treasurer of the Diocese of Namibia. Just as he was about to leave for Windhoek he was arrested by military police at a prayer service in an ecumenical center in Durban - on his birthday, 18 February 1981. At his court martial, the president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Denis Hurley, gave evidence in Yeats' defense. 'No man is required to submit his conscience to the State, because to do so is to accept that the State is authoritarian. It would be sinful for any individual to subject his conscience to the State.'

All white South African males from 18 to 65 years of age are subject to military conscription. Draft exemptions can be granted to university students, but once graduated call-up is inevitable. Those with degrees in the sciences, engineering and the like are frequently seconded to South Africa's many parastatal industrial and technological corporations, such as the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (ARMSCOR), where they contribute their expertise to Pretoria's total strategy war machine. It's better than going to the war zone in Namibia or even serving to repress the uprising people of South Africa itself, but this system is a form of cheap conscript labor to sustain the Pretoria regime.

WRITE TO CHARLES YEATS:

Detention Barracks
Voortrekkerhoogte
Pretoria, South Africa

International Defence & Aid of London gives these statistics on the expansion of the South African armed forces over the past 20 years:

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<th>Military Spending</th>
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<td>1961</td>
<td>South African Police 79,000</td>
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<td>South African Defence Force 515,000</td>
<td>Rand 3,000 million</td>
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<td>Standing Operational Force (under arms) 255,000</td>
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<td>1981</td>
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A Service of Thanksgiving and Dedication
to mark the 25th anniversary of the founding on 12 June 1956 of
Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa
6 pm, Thursday, 11 June 1981
UN Church Center Chapel
44th Street and UN Plaza
New York City

Celebrant: Sipo Mzimela
Reading: from Toivo ja Toivo
Reading: from Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela
The Gospel: Matthew 10: 32-42
Messages
Intercessions
The Eucharist
The Communions
Blessing and Dismissal

Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika
Lord, give your blessing to Africa.
Let her glory rise up high.
Hear our prayers
And hear our pleas.
Lord, give your blessing
To us, her sons and daughters.
Come spirit, come spirit,
Come spirit, Holy Spirit.
Lord, give your blessing
To us, her sons and daughters.
THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA: 20 YEARS OF INCREASING REPRESSION

The minority regime in South Africa declared a republic in May 1961. The 20th anniversary of this event was celebrated by a minority in May 1981. The majority did not mark the anniversary or with widespread counter-demonstrations. This record of the Pretoria regime tells starkly many reasons for opposition.

This document was compiled by the International Defence and Aid Fund, London, from information from the South African Institute of Race Relations, official South African statistics and answers to questions in Parliament in Cape Town, and other sources:

PEOPLE KILLED BY POLICE

Even without counting the many hundreds of people killed by the police during the uprising of 1976, the regime has admitted that its police have killed more than 1,350 people in the 10 years alone between 1969 and 1979, and wounded 3,820 people. Fifty people died while being held under security laws between 1963 and 1978.

PASS LAWS

Eight million African men and women, at least, have been arrested or prosecuted under the pass laws since 1961, and one million 'endorsed out' of urban areas (that is, deported to bantustans). Since 1948, 12.5 million have been arrested or prosecuted, according to a recent study at the University of Cape Town (S 8.4.81).

REMOVALS

Information about the numbers of people forced by apartheid to move from their homes or the area they work in is not easily obtainable. Without taking into account the many Africans who have been moved within the bantustans, from one part of the bantustans to another, available figures indicate that, at a conservative estimate, over three and a half million people have been forced to move since 1948.

- 116,272 families (about 590,000 people), almost all Coloured and Indian, were forced to move under the Group Areas Act between 1957 and 1980. 20,000 families (about 100,000 people) are still due to be moved.

- 439,329 Africans were removed between 1948 and 1979 from 'black spots', according to official statistics. ('Black spots' are areas in which African people have lived and worked but which the apartheid regime has declared 'white', forcing the people into the bantustans.

- 1.4 million Africans are estimated to have been forcibly moved off white-owned farms between 1960 and 1974. Africans used to be able to live and use land on white farms in return for labour for half the year or for rent (labour tenants and squatters both). This was abolished and between 1960 and 1974 it is estimated that 740,500 labour tenants and dependants, and 650,000 squatters were moved off white farms, many into resettlement camps.

- 1.3 million people at least have been 'endorsed out' of 'white' urban areas since 1956, that is, deported to bantustans, according to official figures.

POLITICAL TRIALS

Over 4,400 people have been convicted since 1961 under the Suppression of Communism Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act, the Public Safety Act, the Terrorism Act, the General Law Amendment Act and the Internal Security Act. Many more people have been convicted in the courts as a result of participating in mass protests and demonstrations against apartheid. In only three years, from June 1976 to July 1979, 44,300 people (8,200 of them under 18 years old) were convicted of charges of Riotous Assembly, Public Violence, Sabotage, Inciting or Promoting Unrest, Arson, or Malicious Damage to Property.

A succession of laws relating to state security have been created, each new law being enacted to deal with successive stages of the struggle against apartheid:
1961 There already existed the Public Safety Act (1933), the Suppression of Communism Act (1950) and the Unlawful Organisations Act (1960).

1962 A General Law Amendment Act created the offence of Sabotage.

1967 The Terrorism Act was introduced following action by SWAPO guerrillas in Namibia.

1976 The Internal Security Act made it an offence to endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of order and incorporated the Suppression of Communism Act which had always been widely used against non-Communists.

DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

Official (incomplete) figures and unofficial estimates by the South African Institute of Race Relations (certainly underestimates) indicate that at least 5,000 people have been detained without trial since the introduction of the 90-day detention law in 1963. Laws to hold people without trial for increasingly longer periods have been introduced since 1961 (before which date the law required arrested people to be charged within 48 hours):

1961 12-day detention was introduced by a General Law Amendment Act in response to anti-Republic demonstrations and stay-at-homes.

1963 90-day detention was introduced by a General Law Amendment Act in the wake of an upsurge of sabotage activity (1,095 detained by 1965).

1965 180-day detention was introduced by a Criminal Procedure Amendment Act (461 at least detained by 1971).

1966 14-day detention was introduced by a General Law Amendment Act (section 22).

1967 Indefinite detention was introduced under the Terrorism Act (at least 570 detained 1976-1979).

1976 Indefinite 'preventive' detention was introduced by the Internal Security Act (at least 500 detained since).

1977 Powers to detain people without trial were given to bantustans, namely Transkei (Public Security Act), Ciskei (Emergency Proclamation R 252), Venda (Emergency Proclamation R 276) and, in 1979, Bophuthatswana (Internal Security Act).

BANNING OF INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANISATIONS

Over 1,400 people have been banned or banished since 1961. Powers to ban people and restrict their activities without trial have grown:

1961 Powers to ban or banish people already existed under the Native Administration Act (156 people banished between 1948 and 1967) and the Suppression of Communism Act.

1962 A General Law Amendment Act meant people could be banned from attending social gatherings (being in the company of more than one person at a time), prevented from holding office in any named organisation or being quoted, or be put under house arrest.

1976 The Internal Security Act gave the regime powers to act against anyone it thinks endangers the security of the state or the maintenance of order by prohibiting them from attending any kind of gathering or from being in or out of any specified area.

Successive laws have been introduced giving powers to ban organisations resisting apartheid:

1960 The Unlawful Organisations Act was enacted and used to ban the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in the 1960s. This Act was used, along with the Suppression of Communism Act, to ban other organisations, including the Congress of Democrats (1962), Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo (1963), African Resistance Movement (1964) and the Defence and Aid Fund (1966).

1974 The Affected Organisations Act allowed the regime to prevent an organisation from receiving funds from outside the country. It was used against the National Union of South African Students and the Christian Institute in 1977.

1976 The Internal Security Act, incorporating and extending the Suppression of Communism Act, allowed banning of any organisation thought to endanger state security or maintenance of order. In 1977, the Act was used to ban 18 Black Consciousness Organisations.

1978 The Fundraising Act gave further powers to prevent organisations receiving funds from outside. It has been used against the Federation of South African Trade Unions.

ADDENDUM: South African studies published in 1981 state that 2 million offences are reported among South Africa's 25 million population. In South Africa, 440 people of every 100,000 of the population are in prison. The equivalent figure for the USA - the next highest rate country - is 189.
MESSAGE TO THE WOMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA ON AUGUST 9, 1981

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia and the 25th anniversary of the historic march by the women of South Africa on the Union Buildings in Pretoria against the pass laws, we declare our solidarity with the oppressed women of South Africa and Namibia, and all those struggling to destroy the inhuman system of apartheid.

We assure you and your national liberation movement of our support in your righteous and heroic struggle so as to promote its speedy triumph.

NAME:

TITLE:

ADDRESS: 

ORGANIZATION:

SIGNATURE: 

(If you wish to add a further message, please do so:

When completed, please mail to: Ms Maria Lourdes Ramiro Lopez
Chairperson, Task Force on Women and Children
Special Committee Against Apartheid
United Nations, NY 10017
THEY MARCHED TO PRETORIA

It was 9 August 1956. Twenty thousand women from all over South Africa, of all races, backgrounds, economic conditions, converged on the country's administrative capital of Pretoria. They went to tell the prime minister of the opposition of African women to South Africa's pass laws about to be extended to them and to call for the end of the pass system for everybody. 'We are totally refusing!', they declared.

The Federation of South African Women organized this astonishing event. Women came from the cities, the small towns, the back country. In Port Elizabeth, ever a strong center of African resistance, impoverished people of the black townships collected £700 to hire a railway coach to send 70 women. Others drove, rode, walked to the foot of the hill up which sat the seat of South Africa's government, the Union Buildings.

Lilian Ngoyi, president of the Federation, answered the question 'What if the leaders are all arrested?' with the simple response 'There will be others to take our places.' Lilian Ngoyi's words were a prophecy and a directive vibrantly meaningful 25 years later as a hard-beset Pretoria regime arrests, detains, tries in court, tortures, kills those who lead the opposition only to find their ranks filled again and again and again.

Helen Joseph describes the landmark occasion in 1956 in her book TOMORROW'S SUN. The women marched up the hill singing 'Strydom, you have struck a rock!' The leaders continued into Union Buildings carrying a 'mountain of protests', written statements to present to Prime Minister Johannes G. Strydom, 'the Lion of the North'. But the lion had fled his den. His secretary answered the door and the women piled desks and chairs high with their protest documents. They returned to the waiting thousands outside. All stood in silent vigil for thirty minutes, then sang 'Nkosi Sikelel 'I Afrika'.

REMEMBER THESE BRAVE WOMEN AND ALL WHO FOLLOW THEM, SUNDAY, 9 AUGUST 1981

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EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

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Address Correction Requested

---For A Free Southern Africa---

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