

## Reflections on the past few weeks...Rodney King, Haiti, and South Africa... by Vera Michelson, co-chair On Rodney King

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the members and friends of CD-CAAR for your rapid response to the emergency created by the verdicts in the trials of the officers charged with beating Rodney King.

We got news of the verdicts on Wednesday night, April 29, 1992, at the close of the CD-CAAR program on Haiti. We were as stunned as anyone. **The Tonton Macoutes in Los Angeles had been acquitted.**

By 8:00 p.m. Thursday morning it had been decided that CD-CAAR and the NAACP would join forces to organize an emergency response demonstration the following day. It was set for 5:30 p.m. on Friday, May 1st at the Federal Building in Albany.

You can imagine that things went into motion pretty quickly and within 32 hours between 500 and 700 people assembled at the federal site to demonstrate their outrage at the Los Angeles verdict.

The ability to mobilize so quickly was due in large part to the immediate response of countless individuals and supporters. In particular we'd like to thank Suzy Pessuti, Mark Emanation, Jamie Denard, James Mosley and Mel Compos.

In addition, we feel that the collaboration between CD-CAAR and the NAACP paid off in that it provided a vehicle for a large number of community residents to respond to the crisis. We are pleased to have worked with the NAACP in the effort.

It is also important at this time to examine what the King verdict means to us locally.

Some of the recent statements by Albany's Mayor and Chief of Police regarding the Rodney King incident were provocative and irresponsible. Shortly after the verdicts were announced, they flatly stated that it could never happen here!!!

Mayor Whalen went so far as to say that "During my administration, no citizen of this city will be subject to the type of violation of human and civil rights which has troubled us all." (Times Union 5/2/92)

Approximately one month ago James White, an African American male, who is disabled, was attacked by the police as he walked out of his apartment door. Three officers threw him up against the wall, down on the floor and then stepped on and broke his back brace. Next he was taken into another apartment where a drug raid was going on, threw him over a sink and finally handcuffed him tightly.

Mr. White was involved in no crime, he was not charged with a crime and he is not a criminal. As a result of this brutal act, Mr. White has been in excruciating pain for which he has been receiving treatment. He also has to deal with the recurring nightmare of the attack.

**Cannot happen here??? Has not happened here??? The only difference between here and there is...no video.**

It is easy for the Mayor to make pronouncements about an incident 3,000 miles away. His past history on this issue has proven that **these utterances mean nothing.**

Let the "All American" Mayor show that he wants to address police abuse in Albany by doing something meaningful. A police civilian review board with investigative powers would mean more than his hypocritical words of indignation.

## On Haiti

On Wednesday evening, April 29, 1992, CD-CAAR sponsored a special program at the College of St. Rose in Albany on Haiti called "Haiti - Deny It No More." A very diverse audience of over 150 people were in attendance for an informative, provocative evening. This was our effort to bring to the Capital District the most up-to-date information regarding the current and continuing crises in Haiti. We see in Haiti yet another example of the racism that guides U.S. foreign policy. We believe that U.S. complicity with dictators and thugs is a national disgrace. So too is the obvious disdain with which the U.S. Government is treating the Haitian people. That is why we ask Americans to DENY IT NO MORE. We call for the return of President Jean Bertrand Aristide to Haiti and the restoration of democratic rule. **Fok sa change - Things must change!!**

**Thanks to the CD-CAAR Haitian Program Committee:** Carl Swidorsky, Carl Marseille, Celia Bess Cotton, Bonnie Howell, Merton Simpson, Anne Frazier, Sue DuBois, Barbara Allen, Dennis Nelson, Samantha Sampson, Vera Michelson.

**Special Thanks to:** The College of St. Rose: Arts and Humanities School, Math and Science School, Student Association, Spectrum, Education Media Department and Carl Swidorsky; Deejays at: WVCR, WRPI, WCBD; Jane Pattison of Pax Christi, who did more than her share; Guy Rouchan, for his time and ideas; Jill Ives for being there; and, the Haitian Student Association at SUNYA for general support and enthusiasm.

**Program Endorsers:** The College of St. Rose History and Political Science Department; Telos Society; ASUBA, SCAAR, Fuerza Latino, Haitian Student Association, and the Pan Caribbean Association at SUNYA; Center for Law and Justice, Inc.; ALARM; Pledge of Resistance; Albany Branch NAACP; Pax Christi USA, Albany Chapter; Black and Latino Student Alliance SCC; Pastor Ware and the Capital City Seventh Day Adventist Church; SUNY; National Lawyers Guild (Albany Law School Chapter).

We encourage CD-CAAR supporters to call for the return of President Jean Bertrand Aristide to Haiti by calling or writing:

Assistant Secretary of State Bernard Aronson  
U.S. Department of State  
2201 C Street NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
State Department Public Affairs Comment Line: 202-647-6575.

Rep. Michael McNulty  
U.S. House of Representative  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Senator Daniel P. Moynihan  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Capitol Hill switchboard: 202-224-3121

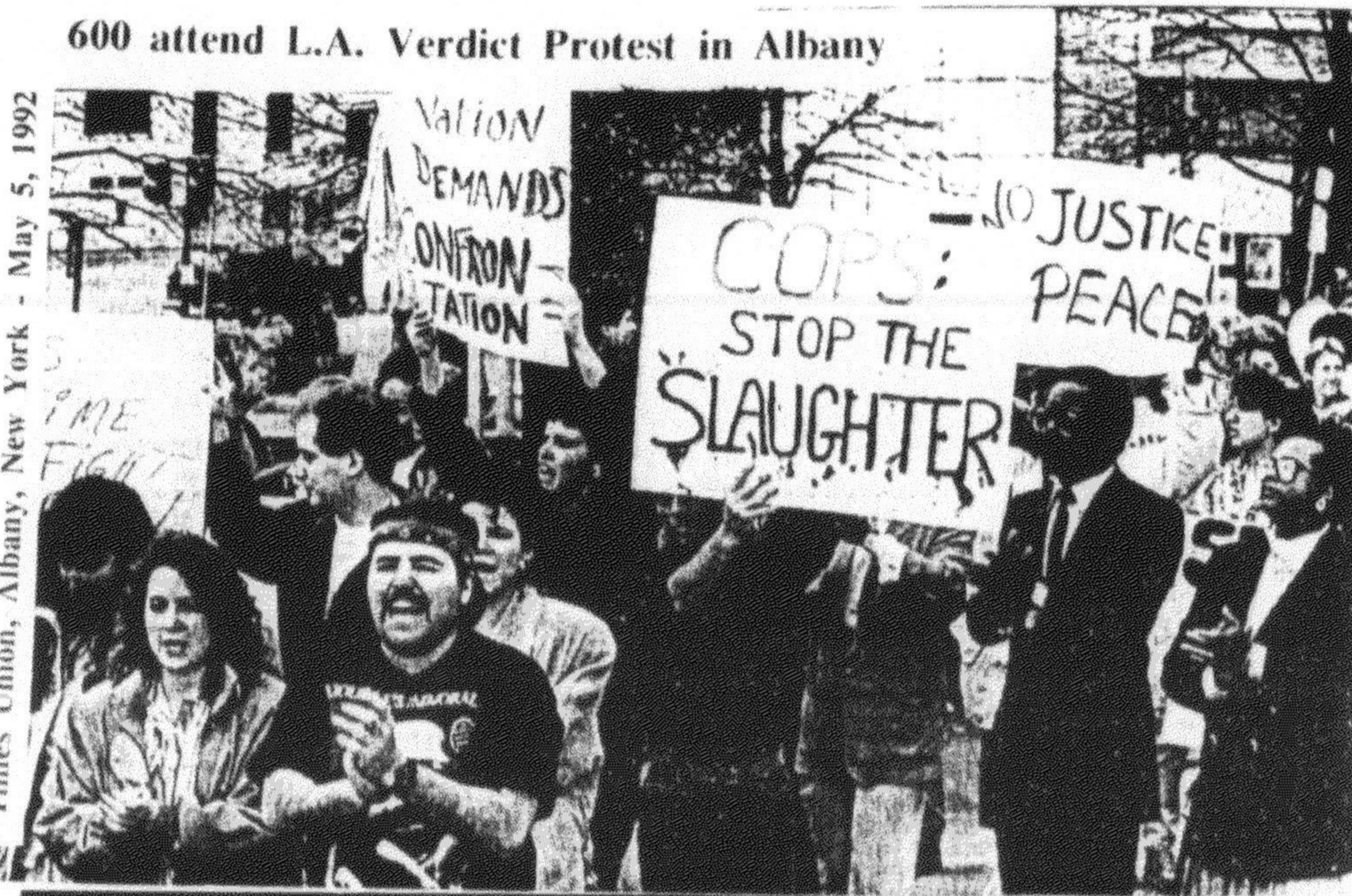
## On South Africa

We ask CD-CAAR members to stand by us as the struggle in South Africa continues. As we have said many times in this newsletter "It ain't over 'til it's over."

The American Committee on Africa has put together a campaign to "STOP THE VIOLENCE" in South Africa. The organizing package for this campaign comes with educational sheets and a video which shows clearly how the South African government is behind the violence and what we in the United States can do about it. Any organization which would like more information about this campaign or can utilize this video should call Mabel Leon at (518) 372-1531.

### 600 attend L.A. Verdict Protest in Albany

Times Union, Albany, New York - May 5, 1992



### And a struggle for justice on another front continues - Redistricting in Albany County...

Excerpts from testimony given by Anita Thayer on behalf of CD-CAAR to the Albany County Legislature, April 30, 1992.

...The Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism has decided to address the County Legislature tonight on the issue of redistricting because we believe that the decision the County Legislature makes will be one of a small handful of events that will set the tone for race relations in the Capital District for the next decade. The County Legislature at this time has an unique opportunity to show respect for the Black and minority people of this City and County and to set an example of how people of different backgrounds can come together with mutual respect and a spirit of cooperation to create a more democratic society...

...Although the Coalition usually does not involve itself in electoral-related issues, we have made an exception in this case because we feel strongly that the NAACP proposal for 3 intact minority majority districts should be included in any final re-districting plans. Because race and racial relations are such central issues to the future of this country and the expansion of democracy and because the Albany Branch NAACP and their lawsuit represents the political empowerment of the Black community, we feel that particular deference should be paid to their proposal - it also appears to us that the 3 NAACP proposed districts are geographically intact and preserve as best as possible the integrity of the Black and minority neighborhood of the City. The Voting Rights Act was enacted to further electoral democracy after years of agitation, protest and litigation by the civil rights movement of the late 50's and 60's. We ask our County Legislature to join in the spirit of that legislation and join in the spirit of the civil rights movement and not just hide behind a shield of alleged nominal compliance while ignoring the real meaning of the Voting Rights Act...

### Upcoming Events of Interest in New York City

On June 7, 1992, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (a national group with which CD-CAAR is affiliated) is having its annual Human Rights Awards Luncheon at 12:00 noon at Loews New York Hotel in New York City. The event will honor Angela Davis on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the victory of her historic case. Special presentations will be made by Sonia Sanchez and Pete Seeger. Tickets are \$45.00. Interested in have a Capital District table? Call Stephanie Perez at (518) 427-8647.

On June 16, 1976, South African police in Soweto killed hundred of Black children who were peacefully protesting the imposition of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in their schools. Today violence sponsored by the regime continues to be a growing obstacle to democracy in South Africa. Since March of this year, more than 700 Black South Africans, including children, have been killed. There will be a rally to commemorate Soweto Day and to call for an end to violence and racism - in South Africa and the United States - on Tuesday, June 16, 1992 from 4 to 6 p.m. at the Federal Building in Manhattan (Broadway and Worth Streets).

### A letter from Cuba

(Mabel Leon, CD-CAAR Steering Committee Member has just returned from the Venceremos Brigade trip to Cuba. The following letter was given to her by three young women she met at a school there.)

Dear Mabel,

I ask that if it within your possibilities to send us your address so as not to lose correspondence between us about the beautiful friendship that has emerged today, April 30, 1992, a date that we will never forget and we wish to keep so as to communicate and interchange our ideas.

We, the young people of the school keep ourselves very happy and willing to be together forever but unfortunately it can't be because we all have tasks to do.

We want to express, once again, our great solidarity and this fraternal love that we feel. We want you to know that we will never surrender. Not even with only one of us left because after 34 years of revolution, we won't permit any stranger to step on our land.

Here we give you the three names of the girls that shared a while with you - Malinka, Rochalie and Akemy.

Long live Cuba and all the countries fighting for freedom and independence. Long live the the venceremos brigade. Socialism or death. Our slogan is to save our homeland, our revolution, our society.

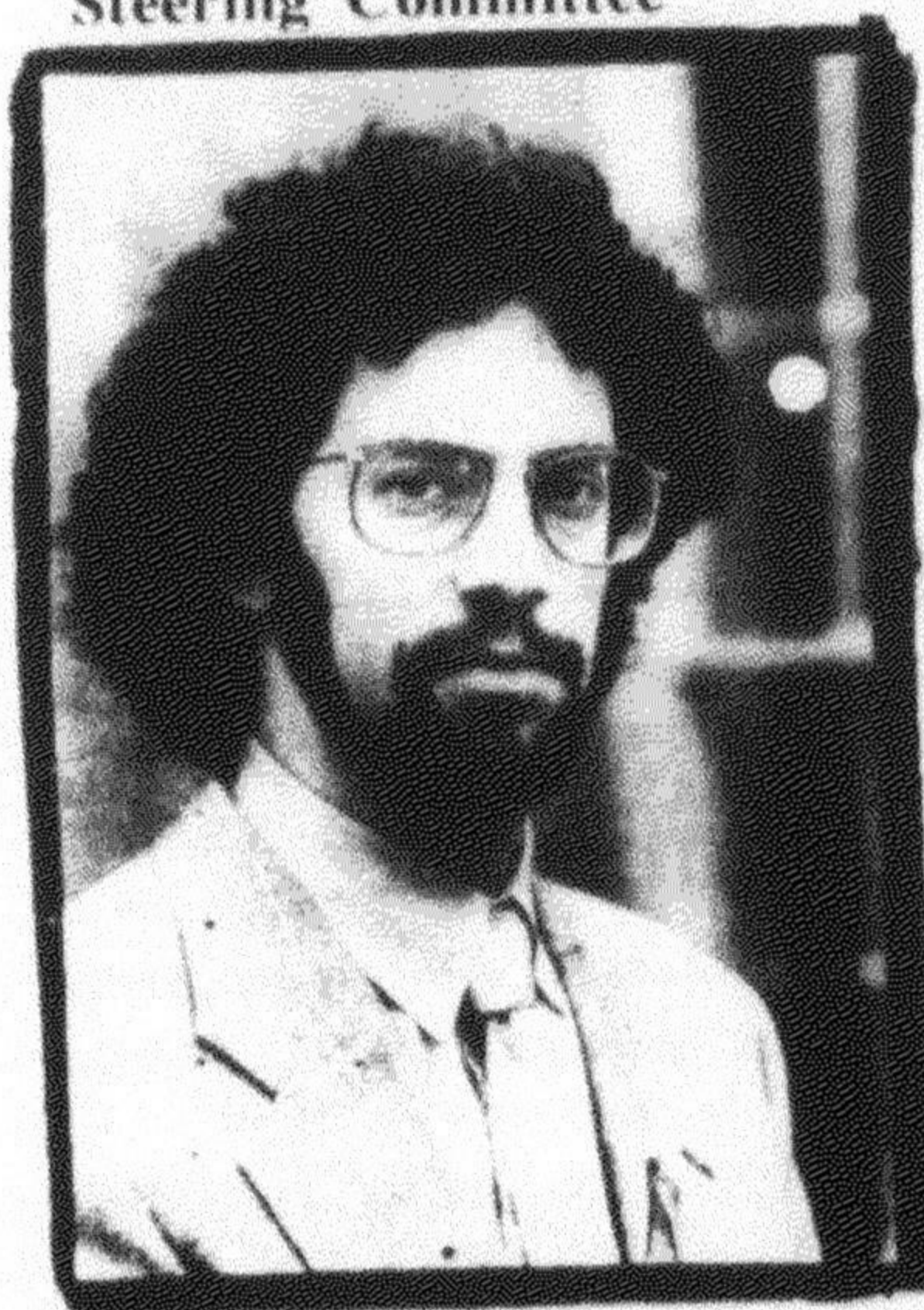
We greet you lovingly and respectfully. Write to us and send us your address this very night. Take good care of yourself and keep in the struggle to the very end.

We love you. So long.

## What are the real messages sent by the Rodney King verdict and the civil disorder that followed?

Metroland (May 7-13 edition) carried several responses to this question. We've reprinted those of Mark Mishler and Merton Simpson.

**MARK S. MISHLER**  
Civil Rights Attorney and  
Member of CD-CAAR  
Steering Committee



### Is the Criminal-Justice system racist?

I recently (pre-Rodney King verdict) asked prospective jurors from an all-white jury pool whether they agreed that white people sometimes act differently toward an African-American person than they would to another white person. My client, a young African-American man, was charged with assaulting a white police officer. Our position was that he had been attacked by the officer. The prospective jurors were uncomfortable responding to this question. I asked shy. The following exchange occurred:

**Juror:** I don't know why you deep trying to make a racial issue out of this case. There is nothing racial here. To me, your client is as white as the rest of us.

**MSM:** Do you mean that my client is as good as the rest of us?

**Juror:** Yes, that is exactly what I mean.

**MSM:** Do you understand that you have just said something prejudiced?

**Juror:** No, I work with colored people all the time.

**MSM:** Do you know that most African-Americans view being called "colored" as derogatory?

**Juror:** No, I didn't. You can call them anything and you know how they are, they just laugh and call you something back.

### Is the criminal-justice system racist?

This prospective juror-who happened to be a cousin of the police chief in the community where this case occurred - did not think of himself as a racist. Yet, he knew without hearing any testimony that the trial did not involve any racial issues.

How many racist assumptions are embedded in this brief conversation?

**Assumption #1.** Racism is not a problem in our society any more.

**Assumption #2.** African-Americans always blame their problems on racism.

**Assumption #3.** Problems experienced by individual African-Americans stem not from racism but from other sources, e.g., their own individual defects.

**Assumption #4.** "White" equals good, "black" equals bad.

**Assumption #5.** The juror and I, as white people, share certain views about African-Americans, e.g. "you know how they are."

**Assumption #6.** All African-Americans act in the same manner.

**Assumption #7.** It is appropriate to ignore clearly expressed preferences of an ethnic group as to the manner in which they wish to be addressed.

**Assumption #8.** Despite all of the above, the juror is not racist, and, if selected, would make sure that my client received a fair trial.

### Is the criminal justice system racist?

In a post-Rodney King verdict conversation with "Mr. X," a prominent local white trial attorney, I asserted that racism was the only explanation for the acquittals of the police officers who beat Rodney King. Mr. X responded, "Perhaps everything that has happened since the verdict proved that the verdict was correct. As the conversation continued, Mr. X clarified his position. In substance, he said that African-Americans are violent and have no respect for the law.

Mr. X does not consider himself racist.

### Is the criminal justice system racist?

In a suburban community populated by law-enforcement officers and others who have moved away from the nearby large city, a jury with no African-Americans members engaged in an act of civil disobedience. A choice had to be made. The jury could reaffirm the right of African-Americans to be free from the use of excessive force by government officials. Or, they could support the desire of the police to engage in an unrestrained and brutal war against the African-American community.

The choice was easy to make. The jury refused to fulfill their obligation to base the verdict on the law and the evidence. Instead, they acted as the "conscience" of their community. The members of this jury did not consider themselves racist.

### Is the criminal justice system racist?

A federal agency responsible for enforcing criminal laws learned in early March 1991 of irrefutable evidence that an African-American man had been subjected to a deprivation of his civil rights by a group of police officers. No one seriously disputes that this conduct constitutes a federal crime. Legally, a prosecution could have commenced immediately. Yet, more than a year passed before the agency decided to *consider* prosecuting the officers.

### Is the criminal justice system racist?

One more story. An "All America" mayor expressed his dismay at an injustice that occurred in another city, assuring his constituents that no citizen of his city would be subject to the kind of violation of human and civil rights that had taken place 3,000 miles away.

The people who lived in his city had trouble understanding what the mayor meant. They knew, for example, that a white police officer had been promoted after having been found to have unlawfully beaten a small, middle-aged African-American woman with a flashlight. The same officer was later found to have illegally searched the home of an African-American family. The citizens knew that this officer was never disciplined by the city for her involvement in these incidents. The citizens also knew that brutality, use of racial slurs and fabrication of criminal charges by police officers occurred frequently, yet during a 10-year period only six citizen complaints had been sustained in the police department's public affairs unit.

### Is the criminal justice system racist?

The real question is, What can be done to rid our criminal justice system of the layer upon layer of racism that infects its every aspect?

**MERTON SIMPSON JR.**  
Co-Chair, CD-CAAR



TERU KUBAYAMA

"When all else fails to organize the people - conditions will." This quote by Marcus Garvey portends one of the potential outcomes of the Rodney King verdict. There have been very few events in recent times that have so graphically illustrated the nature and scope of white supremacy in America.

As a student of history, sociology and psychology of white supremacy and institutional racism, it has taken me all of my adult life to begin to understand the complexity of racism.

As the oldest son of an African art dealer and a mother who spent 36 years teaching, primarily in Brooklyn, it was predetermined that my early world view would be Afrocentric. However, it was not until my college days at Long Island University, where I majored in social studies education and philosophy that I began to appreciate the complexity of white supremacy. What we see in Rodney King's beating was nothing more than a modern, high-tech version of the lynching of a black man. This ritual, which was born of chattel slavery in the Americas, is symbolic of the fear that white people have of people of color. Most people, whether they are classified as white or of color, do not understand the historical distinction between prejudice and white supremacy.

Prejudice, according to *Random House Dictionary*, is the "unfavorable opinion or feeling formed beforehand without knowledge, thought or reason." Racism is "any attitude, action of institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of their color...racism is not just a matter of attitudes: actions and institutional structures can also be a form of racism." (*Racism in America and Now to Combat It*, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1970).

It needs to be understood that "racism is different from racial prejudice, hatred, or discrimination. Racism involves having the power to carry out systematic discriminatory practices through the major institutions of our society." (*What Curriculum Leaders Can Do About Racism*, by Delmo Della-Dora, New Detroit, 1970).

In understanding the difference between prejudice and racism, we observe that moving the King trial to not just an all-white community, but an all-white community with more than 2,000 "police families," and the subsequent not-guilty verdicts in the face of overwhelming evidence in the video and other documentary records, is a case of white supremacy, or racism. While the act of rage and frustration by the Black people who attacked the white truck driver was an act that partially characterized by prejudice, any of the perpetrators who; are caught will no doubt suffer to the full extent of the law!

The point is that without institutional racist power the trial could never have been moved and it is clear why it should not have been moved. While no responsible black leader condones the attack of innocent bystanders, the fact is that a level of justice will be extracted from the attack on the truck driver that did not occur for the white police - who, after all, are paid to protect the rights of the Rodney Kings of the world!

**A report from the Center for Law and Justice**  
by Alice Green

By all accounts the "Second Annual Capital District Community Conference on Crime and Criminal Justice" was successful. The theme of the Conference, "Separate and Unequal, Racial Bias in Policing and the Courts" proved to be a timely and popular topic. Close to 200 people attended.

Unfortunately, Don Carlos Jackson, scheduled to be the morning session's keynote speaker, was unable to attend due to the death of his mother on the day of the conference. However, a video tape was presented that showed his unprovoked beating by a white police officer in Long Beach, California and demonstrated his strong commitment to a campaign to expose racist police violence in police departments across the country. Mr. Jackson has offered to come to Albany at a later date.

In response to the panelists, a number of participants asked questions and gave comments on the problems of police brutality and other policing issues of Police Commissioner Charles Mills, Attorney Mark Mishler of Albany and Human Right Director Nan Goldsberry of Troy. Of note, James Tuffy, President of the Albany Police Union attended and began the community meeting segment of the morning session. Later, he agreed to open a dialogue with community groups on the issue of racism in policing.

After the lunch break, a brief award ceremony was held to honor the first recipients of the "Frederick Douglass Struggle for Justice Award." Award were given to attorneys Ralph E. Powe and Mark Mishler for their contributions in the area of civil rights. Both recipients are members of the National Lawyer's Guild. Mark is a member of the Steering Committee of the Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism.

The afternoon session on racial bias in the courts had as its keynote speaker Judge Nicholas Figueroa, Vice-Chairman of the Franklin H. Williams Commission on Minorities. The response panel included Judge Karen Peters of the Ulster County Family Court and local attorney, Randy Treece. General participant reaction was somewhat negative toward Judge Figueroa's presentation on the work of the Commission and his thoughts on the existence of racial bias in the courts. Some found his message confusing, because he acknowledged the existence of bias in his personal experience, yet did not strongly support the Commission's Report that found the courts to be infested with racism and the existence of two court systems in New York State, one for whites and another for people of color and the poor.

Participant evaluation of the overall conference was extremely favorable. Important suggestions and recommendations were offered for an "action agenda." They included the need for:

1. racial sensitivity training for police and judges.
2. citizen oversight of policing.
3. minority representation juries.
4. increased use of alternatives to incarceration programs.
5. a court room monitoring program
6. networking with other communities.

The Conference planned a community strategy meeting to discuss and action agenda to be planned and carried out in the Capital District Community. (Results of that meeting will be on the agenda of the CD-CAAR meeting on May 28, 1992)





### Center for Law and Justice Files Formal Complaint Against Lt. Robert Wolfgang by Alice Green

In its April 1, 1992 edition, the *Albany Times Union* reported that Lt. Robert Wolfgang of the Albany Police Department was critical of the Center's brochure announcing the "Second Annual Capital District Community Conference on Crime and Criminal Justice" whose theme was racial bias in policing and the courts. He charged that in the brochure the Center had accused the Albany Police Department of misconduct in the deaths of two Black males. However, Lt. Wolfgang never informed the center of his dissatisfaction or concerns.

A few days later, Harold Rubin, President of the Council of Albany Neighborhood Associations contacted the Center office making the same charge after speaking with Lt. Wolfgang.

After several Conference sponsors reported to the Center that Lt. Wolfgang had contacted them regarding their sponsorship of the Conference, Alice Green called Police Chief John Dale and demanded that the contacts be stopped. Failing to hear from Chief Dale, the Center decided to file a formal complaint against Lt. Wolfgang. A complaint was filed on April 6, 1992.

The complaint charged that Lt. Wolfgang, by contacting Conference sponsors, exceeded and abused his authority as a police official. It was further charged that the contacts were made to coerce sponsors into dropping their support of the Conference.

In a letter dated April 20, 1992, Police Chief Dale claimed that a thorough police investigation was made and the Department determined that coercion did not take place and that the officers acted lawfully. Alice Green appealed that decision to Albany Mayor Thomas Whalen.

In the appeal letter she charged that a thorough investigation had not been done because neither she, the complainant, nor all Conference sponsors had been contacted for an interview which is customary practice by the Department. She also expressed concern that the decisions did not address the main issues of why Lt. Wolfgang made the contacts in the first place and whether his actions were proper in light of his duties, responsibilities and authority as a police official.

In a letter dated April 29, 1992, Mayor Thomas Whalen referred Alice Green back to chief Dale for the purpose of discussing the contents of the appeal letter. He also indicated that he would discuss the matter with Alice Green after she had contacted Chief Dale.

At this point Alice Green and the Center are prepared to pursue a fair and agreeable resolution to the matter.

### The Zenzeleni Community Centre Fund

A Project of the Albany Friends Meeting  
727 Madison Avenue  
Albany, New York 12208  
(518) 439-0297 / 462-1507

May 1, 1992

Dear Friend,

Three years ago, many of you responded generously to our request for money to support the Zenzeleni Community Centre in Winterveldt, South Africa. The center, which opened in 1985, now occupies two brightly painted trailers and serves 100 children between the ages of two and six. Last spring, one of us (I.B.) visited Zenzeleni, met again with its founder Frances Baard, and saw the refrigerator and stove that were purchased with our donations.

Frances Baard and others working at the creche are hopeful about the promise of a formal end to apartheid in South Africa. But its demise will leave a brutal legacy of poverty, unemployment, and landlessness. The shortage of child care facilities will remain a particularly acute problem for black women, whose income is critical for family survival. Jobs are especially hard to find in Winterveldt, a barren rural slum located over an hour from Pretoria.

Frances Baard was a trade union activist and leader of the women's campaign against passes in the 1950s. Imprisoned during the 1960s, she was banished upon release to Winterveldt, far from her home in Port Elizabeth. Though now over eighty years old and in ill-health, she continues to organize around the needs of the local community and to work for an end to racial injustice and exploitation. But her spirit alone cannot provide the center with funds for teachers' salaries or food for the children.

Your continued support of this project can help the women of Winterveldt in their daily struggle for survival and can contribute to building the community solidarity necessary to empower people on a grassroots level.

Contributions are tax deductible. Checks should be made out to the Albany Friends Meeting and designated for the Zenzeleni Centre.

Thank you once again for your assistance.



Sincerely yours, *Joe Levinger*  
Joe Levinger

*Iris Berger*  
Iris Berger

This letter was printed in our March newsletter but due to computer difficulties it was difficult to read. Please take time to read it this month.

**Capital District Coalition  
Against Apartheid and Racism**  
A Project of the Social Justice Center  
33 Central Avenue  
Albany, New York 12210

Non-Profit  
Organization  
US POSTAGE  
**PAID**  
PERMIT NO. 509  
Albany, NY

**Important Notice:**  
The next meeting of CD-CAAR will  
be at the Albany Public Library on  
Thursday, May 28, 1992 at 7:00 p.m.

**Note:** Our regular meetings are the 4th Thursday of every month. There are no regular meetings during the summer months. You will receive notification of any special meetings - and on-going committees will continue to meet. If you are interested in working with CD-CAAR, or for more information, call 432-4623.

### **Justice**

That Justice is a blind goddess  
Is a thing to which we black are wise:  
Her bandage hides two festering sores  
That once perhaps were eyes.

**Langston Hughes**



**Capital District Coalition  
Against Apartheid  
and Racism**

Box 3002 - Pine Hills Station  
Albany, New York 12202  
A Project of the Social Justice Center

Thursday, September 24, 1992, 7:00-9:00 p.m.  
Albany Public Library  
Washington Avenue, Albany, New York

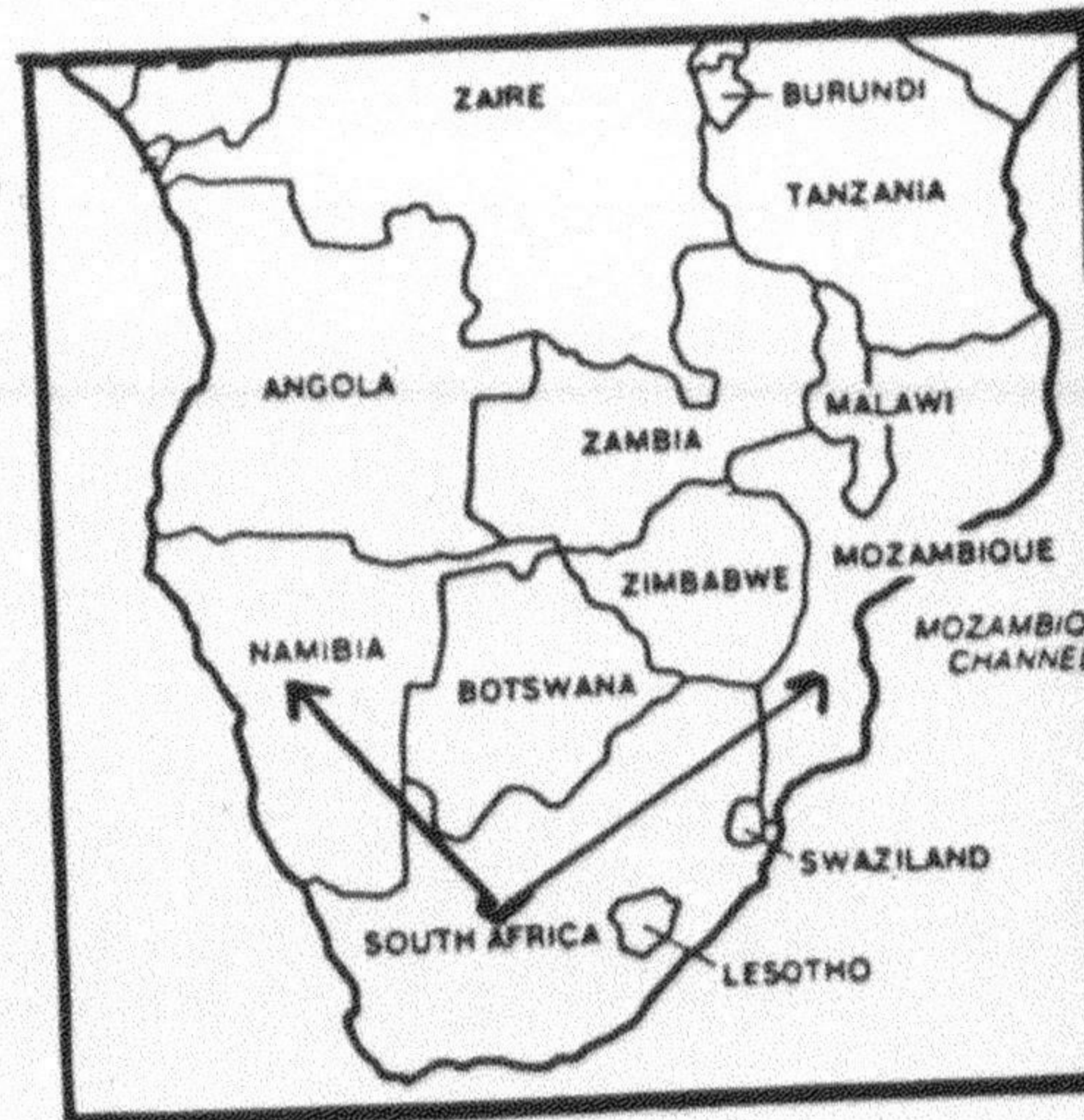
**APARTHEID  
IS NOT DEAD**  
**AN EYEWITNESS REPORT**

**SLIDE SHOW AND DISCUSSION**

CD-CAAR Members Vera Michelson & Eileen Kawola visited Southern Africa this past July with Prexy Nesbitt of the Mozambique Solidarity Office. The delegation met with government officials in Mozambique and Namibia and ANC officials in South Africa. They spoke to people on the ground everywhere they went - including former RENAMO boy "bandits" and families whose lives have been terrorized by RENAMO violence in Mozambique; former SWAPO exiles and Cuban solidarity workers in Namibia; people who have lost their homes to Inkatha violence, former Robben Island prisoners, and squatter camp dwellers in South Africa. They also had the opportunity to visit with families and old friends in South Africa.

At this September forum, Vera Michelson and Eileen Kawola will give a report on what's happening in:  
**NAMIBIA, MOZAMBIQUE  
and SOUTH AFRICA**

(for more information, call 438-0309)



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Albany, New York 12210

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Albany, NY

**"APARTHEID IS NOT DEAD"**

Thursday, September 24, 1992

Details inside, please read and post.

**A FEW ANNOUNCEMENTS...**

The National Conference in Support of the ANC and Other Democratic Forces for a New South Africa is scheduled for the weekend of November 13-15, 1992 in New York City. If you are interested in attending or for more information about the Conference, call 436-0562.

The Social Justice Center of Albany Peace and Justice Awards Celebration - "People Building Bridges for Justice" - is scheduled for November 8, 1992 at 6:00 p.m. at the Westminster Presbyterian Church, 265 State Street, Albany, N.Y. Save the date! For more information, call 434-4052.

National Mobilization for Survival has published a new and unique resource for the Columbus quincennial: 1492-1992: New Visions, New Alliances. This work focuses on Columbus' impact on North America offering a more realistic portrayal of North American history following the European invasion and the modern battles that Native Americans are still forced to wage to protect their lives, land and sovereignty. It is available for \$4.00 from National Mobilization for Survival, Suite 155, 328 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11238 (718)788-6071.

Congratulations to CD-CAAR member, Iris Berger, on the publication of her latest book: **Threads of Solidarity - Women in South African Industry, 1900-1980**, Indiana University Press. It will be available at the Book House, Stuyvesant Plaza, Albany in October.

**In memoriam - Ralph Cooper, founder of the Original Harlem Amateur Night. Mr. Cooper helped launch the careers of thousands of jazz, blues and soul performers including Sarah Vaughn and the Jackson Five. As the marquee of the Apollo read at a memorial service:  
Goodbye Ralph Cooper - We will mourn and miss you.**

A thank you to all who donated generously and at the last minute for the material aid that Eileen Kawola and Vera Michelson took to Mozambique. With the approximately \$450 that was raised, they were able to fill a huge duffel bag with some basic medical supplies, pencils, pens, paper, soccer balls, t-shirts, caps, sewing materials. All the materials were distributed at a school for children who have been dislocated by the war. It is the school they have identified for an ongoing material aid project so you'll be hearing more about it in





**Capital District Coalition  
Against Apartheid and Racism**

Box 3002 Pine Hills Station  
Albany, New York 12203

A project of the Social Justice Center  
October - November 1992

**Tuesday, November 10, 1992, 7:30 p.m.**  
College of St. Rose, St. Joseph's Auditorium  
985 Madison Avenue, Albany, N.Y.

**South Africa: Stop the Violence**

with Bernard Magubane, African National Congress member  
and

**Mozambique: Promote the Peace**

with Prexy Nesbitt, Senior Consultant to Mozambique Government

sponsored by CD-CAAR and Specturm, the Black Student Union at the College of St. Rose  
assisted by the History and Political Science Depts. and the Peace and Social Justice Club of St. Rose

*On September 26, 1992, CD-CAAR members Vera Michelson and Eileen Kawola presented a slide show and question and answer session to a gathering of about 150 people at the Albany Public Library on the topic "Apartheid is not dead" where they discussed the violence in Southern Africa and the long term effects of apartheid on other countries in the region, especially in Mozambique and Namibia. In July of '92 Michelson and Kawola visited Southern Africa and the slide show is based on things they saw and people they talked to while there. An article on Southern Africa and some of their experiences there appeared in the October 15th edition of Metroland and is reprinted in this newsletter. The November event, outlined above and in a flyer in this newsletter, will offer a further chance to gain information and understanding about what is happening in Southern Africa from two nationally recognized experts.*

**(Note:** Instead of monthly meetings, CD-CAAR will offer bi-monthly programs this year aimed at reaching a broader base of community people. Regular CD-CAAR business will be conducted by subcommittees which meet on a monthly basis. If you are interested in working with a subcommittee on Southern Africa or racism issues, call 436-0562).

**Oversight:** The editor apologizes for an oversight in the mailing and flyer which announced the September program. The book by CD-CAAR member, Iris Berger, entitled **Threads of Solidarity - Women in South African Industry, 1900-1980**, is available at the Boulevard Book Store, 15 Central Avenue, Albany, N.Y.

## Police Abuse - Racial Violence - Update...

CD-CAAR working with two new coalitions to address issues.

### SAFE

CD-CAAR members Merton Simpson, Mark Mishler and Gail Byrnes are working with the SAFE (Safety, Accountability and Fair Enforcement) Coalition which has been organized by the Capital Region Chapter of the NYCLU. The aim of the coalition is to promote police accountability in the City of Albany by creating an effective, independent investigation and review process for allegations of police misconduct. The group plans a long term campaign to implement a permanent, autonomous body to:

- \*receive complaints against individual police officers...
- \*employ independent investigators - with no allegiance to the police...
- \*have power to issue subpoenas to compel testimony and the production of documents...
- \*hold hearings with procedural safeguards...
- \*determine discipline for police officers found responsible for misconduct...
- \*reinstate community confidence in the police department.

The group maintains that police accountability to the public is sacrificed when police are put in the position of policing themselves through internal review of police misconduct. For more information call 436-8594.



### CAARV

Merton Simpson, CD-CAAR Co-chair, and Deborah Williams-Muhammad are the Co-ordinators of a Center for Law and Justice\* program, CAARV (Capital District Community Action Against Racism and Violence). This coalition, born out of community outrage over the Rodney King decision, seeks to put anti-racist activism on the criminal justice agenda and to give a voice to community people.

CAARV projects include: Youth Violence Prevention; Criminal Justice Sensitivity Training; Child Care in the Courts; Court Monitoring; and studies of alternatives to incarceration programs, jury selection; and community/police relations. Volunteers are still needed to work on these and other projects. As Deborah Williams-Muhammad said at one of CAARV's general meetings, "There are things that we can all do. If we want to see a change we must become change agents."

\*The Center for Law and Justice, Inc., headed by Alice Green, is a non-profit community based criminal justice program funded in 1985 to effectively address discriminatory treatment of poor people, people of color, and other powerless groups. The Center sees to involve a diverse community population in working for change in criminal justice policy.

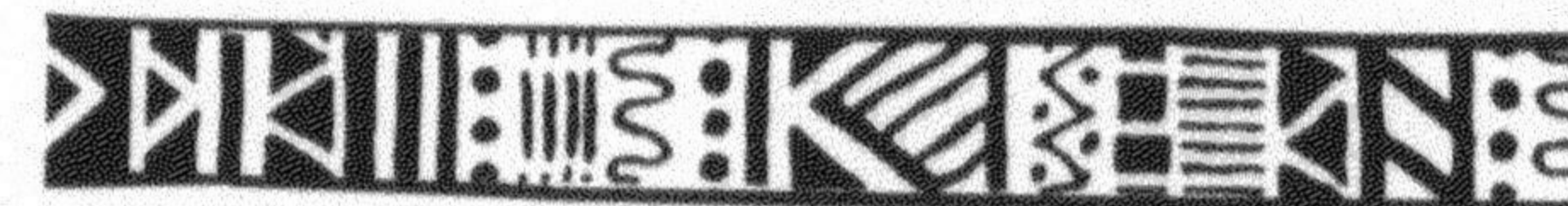
This Fall, a new publication was introduced to the Capital District Community. "The Advocate," the official newsletter of the Center for Law and Justice will be published quarterly and will deal with a variety of criminal justice issues for the purpose of informing and educating. To contribute articles or other materials to "The Advocate," please submit to: Editor, "The Advocate"; The Center for Law and Justice; Pine West Plaza #2; Washington Ave. Ext. Albany, N.Y. 12205

## Mozambique Work - Update...

The CD-CAAR Mozambique Support Committee congratulates Bill Ritchie, CD-CAAR member and Vice President of the Albany Public School Teachers Association, for the wonderful work he has been doing for Mozambique. At the June meeting of APSTA he arranged for Eileen Kawola, CD-CAAR member and also an Albany public school teacher to speak to the Albany building representatives at a meeting, informing them of her trip to Mozambique, requesting a letter of greeting to the teachers of Mozambique and a token gift. As a result of her report, a letter and 1,000 pencils were given to Kawola to take on the trip. (He also arranged for Kawola to receive letters of greeting to Mozambican trade unionists from the Central Labor Federation of the AFL-CIO and the Solidarity Committee of the Capital District.)

Upon return, Ritchie also arranged for her to give a report on her meetings with members of the Teachers Organization of Mozambique and on a visit with teachers and school children at a school for children dislocated by the war.

Also in June, Ritchie presented the APSTA Advisory Council with a resolution which they passed, entitled "Mozambique Support," for presentation at the seventy-second convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), held in Pittsburg August 11-15. The resolution supported the ending of violence and the holding of democratic elections with international observers, an increase in humanitarian aid and it expressed solidarity with teacher unionists in Mozambique. It was passed by the body. This resolution has been signed by AFT President Albert Shanker and sent to both Executive and Legislative branches of the U.S. government. Ritchie is continuing to do Mozambique work, along with his pressing teaching and union duties, by publishing facts in the APSTA newsletter about conditions in Mozambique and seeking support for the Mocatini School project. (The CD-CAAR plan to help this school, the Mocatini School Project, is described elsewhere in this newsletter)



## South Africa - Stop the Violence Update...

At the June meeting of CD-CAAR a video entitled "Stop the Violence," produced by the Africa Fund of the American Committee on Africa was shown. The Stop the Violence Committee of CD-CAAR has made the video and speakers available to the community to explain what is behind the violence in South Africa.

While in South Africa this past summer, CD-CAAR member Vera Michelson was able to speak to people who have been affected by the violence and witness some of homes that have been destroyed by Inkatha in Soweto and in Inanda Newtown townships. A slide show entitled "Apartheid is not dead" and the "Stop the Violence" video are available, along with speakers, to interested groups. For more information, call 436-0562.

We have reprinted in this newsletter a copy of an address given to the Committees of Correspondence National Convention held in Berkely, California, July 17-19, 1992 by Hlatshwayo Madoda, Deputy Head of the African National Congress mission to the United States. Madoda's "We shall end minority rule and apartheid in any guise" addresses the question of "who is behind the violence in South Africa?"

# INTO AFRICA

By Jeff Jones

Two Capital Region activists report on the continuing struggle against apartheid



Boys recently freed from forced military service.

Vera Michelson

The bride wore white. The groom, in an elegant black tuxedo, was well-dressed too. And the sun reflected brightly off the bridesmaids' purple satin dresses.

For Vera Michelson and Eileen C. Kawola, it was a joyous, if incongruous, moment during a remarkable July fact-finding trip to southern Africa. During their monthlong visit, the two activists from the Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism traveled to Mozambique, South Africa and Namibia. They visited squatter camps and tribal homelands, saw elegant cities hard by grinding poverty. They caught up with old friends who had spent years in exile and welcomed political prisoners who had just been released from jail.

But for all that, there was something special about the invitation to join a wedding party in Ovamboland, an eight-hour drive north from Windhoek, Namibia's capital city. The groom was a cousin of Helmut Angula, Namibia's Minister of Fisheries and Marine Resources. Like many other southern Africans Michelson and Kawola visited, Angula was an old friend. While an exiled official of the South West Africa People's Organization, he came to Albany to rally support for his nation's independence fight against South Africa's apartheid government.

"It's a great honor to be invited to an African family's wedding," says Prexy Nesbitt, founder and executive director of the Mozambique Solidarity Office. Nesbitt, an African-American who lives in Chicago, helped organize the trip and traveled with Michelson and Kawola in Mozambique and Namibia. Nesbitt was making his 37th visit to the region.

"One of the exciting things to me was to watch the kind of international link that exists because people in Albany showed hospitality and support to people from Namibia and South Africa for so many years," Nesbitt says, "and to see the joy with which people received Vera and Eileen." Namibia, where the activists spent seven days, is on Africa's west coast between South Africa and Angola. It was a South African colony until 1989.

"The wedding was a combination of customs," Michelson recalls. The bride and groom dressed in their best Western, but many of the guests wore traditional clothes. It was a Christian ceremony, performed outside a small church. Afterward, women in traditional dress led the procession across the dry, Namibian desert to the bride's *kraal*, the enclosed family compound typical of rural southern Africa. There the couple received gifts and congratulations before setting off on a 10-mile journey to the groom's home, which, in accordance with tradition, the bride had never seen.

On their long drive across the dry landscape, which is currently facing the worst drought in years, Michelson and Kawola saw the efforts Namibians must make to survive. "We saw water holes that are drying up, and we saw people walking for miles looking for water and tending cattle," Michelson says. "We sometimes saw people having to get water from the same water hole the cattle were drinking from."

Back in Windhoek, which has the flavor and style of a modern European city, the activists visited Katatura, a black township on the outskirts of town. "It was as oppressive as any township or squatter camp we saw in South Africa," Kawola recalls.

"After two years of independence, why does this still exist?" Michelson asks rhetorically.

National elections were held in 1990, she explains, with SWAPO the winner. But the towns have yet to hold local elections. So, much of the country is still under the control of the same government and civil service that ruled during colonial days. As part of the United Nations-negotiated agreement that led to South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia, the country's whites will retain their government jobs for life. And South Africa still controls Walvis Bay, the country's main South Atlantic port.

So SWAPO looks to the future. "They are focused on educating the young people to expect their new constitutional rights," Michelson says. The youth will have learned to claim all the rights their parents fought for.

The travelers began their African sojourn July 2 in Johannesburg, South Africa's largest city, but left almost immediately for Mozambique. "Enjoy your visit, or whatever you're doing," the pilot said ominously as the

commercial airliner descended to land at the airport in Mozambique's capital, Maputo. The country, which won its independence 17 years ago, has been devastated by war and internal political conflict.

Like Nicaragua's Sandinistas, whose dreams for independence were crushed by war with the U.S.-backed contras, the Mozambique Liberation Front, known as FRELIMO, had to defer its vision while it fought a civil war against South African-backed rebels. In 1975, along with Angola and Guinea Bissau, Mozambique won its freedom from Portugal. In the early years after independence, FRELIMO, the Mozambique Resistance Movement, set out to bring education to a population that was 93 percent illiterate. The country's 1,300 public schools soon grew to some 7,600.

"Mozambique had this wonderful socialist dream," says Kawola, "which got crushed by the South Africans and anyone in the world community who didn't want to see it exist."

Today, after a decade of civil war with a South Africa-backed group called the Mozambique Resistance Movement (RENAMO), there are fewer than 600 schools left. The country, like Somalia and Namibia, is gripped by the worst drought of the century. Without help, millions more lives will be lost.

"The drought in Somalia and Mozambique is not the result of God, African personality traits or accident," says Nesbitt. "It's the product of specific policies and practices that have left Africa unable to cope. The Mozambican drought and famine would be manageable if not for the war with South Africa."

Mozambique was once one of the most productive agricultural regions in all of central and southern Africa. Now it's not only the poorest, but the most foreign-aid-dependent country in the world. It is deep in debt to the United States, Italy, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. "One of the things we are pressing for now is forgiveness of debts," says Nesbitt. "Mozambique will be paying until 2085 on just the interest of its World Bank loans."

Author Joseph Hanlon, in *Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots?*, his landmark study of foreign aid, says that the West's largesse has been used to "subjugate Mozambique to its pre-1975 status." Donors insist on setting up their own channels for administering the aid, circumventing existing government structures, "thereby lowering the confidence, responsibility and sovereignty of the Mozambican government."

"What struck me in Maputo," recalls Kawola, "is that two blocks away from downtown, you see a squatters' settlement being set up. There are people all over selling whatever they can to get some

money; charcoal, a couple of oranges." Meanwhile, the country's former exploiters are coming back. For example, in Maputo, FRELIMO had to sell its future party headquarters, a former hotel, to South African businessmen. And most of the waterfront property along the city's Indian Ocean coastline has been bought by South Africans or Portuguese.

"Now the people who destroyed it are back reaping the benefits," says Kawola.

Our most chilling memory, the one that will never go away," says Kawola, came the afternoon the three activists met with six ragged teenage boys who had been forced to serve with RENAMO, the Mozambique Resistance Movement. "The atrocities these children had seen or even committed were told in their eyes—eyes so sad or devoid of feeling."

RENAMO was created by the Rhodesian intelligence agency to patrol and harass Mozambique's borders when Rhodesia's white government was trying to defeat its own liberation movement. Rhodesia failed, and today the country is called Zimbabwe. But the South African Defense Force took over RENAMO, with the goal of using it to destroy independent Mozambique.

The organization became a darling of right-wingers in the United States, too, who saw it as a vehicle to disrupt another socialist experiment. In that, it has succeeded. But RENAMO has fought one of the most violent wars in modern history, killing and torturing more than a million of its fellow citizens. Nesbitt calls it "a war of mutilation." Teachers and rural medical workers are favorite targets.

RENAMO also has become known for taking young boys, like the six who spoke with Kawola and had been recaptured by the Mozambican military, and forcing them into service. Sometimes, the boys are made to commit an atrocity against their family or village to ensure that their home ties will be severed.

"We asked them what they would like to do now," Kawola says. "They answered that they would like to go to school and be reunited with their families." But one of the boys isn't welcome at home. He had been forced to tell RENAMO where his mother was hiding. They found her and she was abducted. She survived, but is afraid that if her son comes home, she will be kidnapped again. Another of the boys explained that he had once killed someone with a machete.

"I wanted to ask hard questions about how they felt," says Kawola. But they looked so wounded, she didn't have the heart. "I never asked, did you do something to your family?"

But Kawola did ask if they were ever afraid. Zamito, one of the boys, answered that he had been "immunized" against fear. "He told us that the boys would take

razor blades, slice a cut in their legs, and put some kind of powder they were given into the open wound. When the sore healed over, they would prick the scar with a pin whenever they felt fear—or hunger or cold—and those feelings would go away." Zamito couldn't say what type of powder, or drug, it was.

"Those kids, who should be going to school and playing with their friends, were learning how to terrorize and kill," says Kawola, an Albany public school teacher. "The boys have been reclaimed, she says, 'but their childhoods are long gone.'"

Other Mozambican children have been relatively fortunate. On a visit to the Ricatla region outside Maputo, Michelson and Kawola visited the Mocatina Primary School, where some 600 children, about 200 of them orphans, are taught by nine teachers earning the equivalent of \$25 a month. It's a school without walls, since RENAMO would destroy it. The Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism plans to begin a fund-raising project for the school.

Nesbitt, back in Chicago, reflected on the recent U.N. decision to consider war-crimes trials for those who commit atrocities in the name of "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia. "Why can't they put on trial those who have been responsible for the killing of over 1 million people in Mozambique?" he asked bitterly. "Kill a bunch of white folks in Europe, it's like playing with fire. Kill some black folks in Africa, it's like swatting flies."

After five days in Mozambique, Michelson, Kawola and Nesbitt flew back to South Africa. "I just sat on the plane and quietly cried," says Kawola. "And we certainly did not see the worst of Mozambique."

Over the years, Soweto, the community of 3 million black South Africans near Johannesburg, has become synonymous with apartheid.

"There's a clear division," says Kawola. "Johannesburg is such a big, industrial city. And then you drive 10 miles, and you see a green highway sign that says Soweto, and the grass is all gone. It's dirt all over."

During a tour of the township, the women saw two funeral processions within a half-hour. Even though the South African government has legalized the African National Congress and released the organization's president, Nelson Mandela, from jail, violence is still a fact of life in the country's black townships, squatter camps and workers' hostels. Townships like Soweto were created to be reservoirs of cheap black labor to serve the white cities.

Then Michelson and Kawola went to visit Albertina "Mama" Sisulu, a heroic figure in the anti-apartheid struggle and the wife of Walter Sisulu, an ANC leader who was jailed with Mandela. Their son, a journalist, arrived shortly thereafter,

coming from yet another funeral. Much of the killing in recent years is due to fighting between ANC supporters and Zulus loyal to Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Kawola stayed in a middle-class Soweto house—it had electricity and a bathroom—with the family of Yolande Chirwa, a student who attends Hamilton College in upstate New York. Chirwa often spends her weekends in Albany, staying with Kawola or other coalition members.

Later, in Cape Town, Michelson and Kawola stayed with the families of two students who had lived with them in Albany while the ANC was still a banned political organization. Today, Sean Lewis is getting his doctorate at the University of Pittsburgh in applied linguistics, and Shobhna Gopal is a research biologist at Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York City. But in 1989, this writer was asked not to publish the students' names in a *METROLAND* article, for fear of retaliation against their families.

In Cape Town, Michelson and Kawola participated in an ANC "human chain" demonstration. Thousands of activists held hands and surrounded the downtown business district. It was a prelude to a planned stay-away, an ANC show of strength, that took place in August, shortly after the women returned to Albany: More than 4 million black and white South Africans stayed away from work or school for two days. It was a peaceful protest that shook up both South African President F. W. de Klerk and Buthelezi.

And in Durban, the women stayed in Kwamashu Township with Nathi Ncobo and his family. Ncobo lived in Albany in 1990 and 1991 with coalition members.

It was in Durban, a port city on the Indian Ocean, that Michelson and Kawola saw some of the most desperate living conditions in a squatter camp.

"You think of [the camps] as temporary," Kawola says. But people can live there for years. In Kwamashu, there was no electricity, so there were no lights at night and the people lived in fear of crime.

"Water is a concern every day," Kawola adds. They saw several hundred families using a single outhouse. They saw one water tap for 3,000 families, and it was turned off each weekday at 5 P.M. "People spend hours getting to work," she says, then they have to come home and find water.

"It's a very dangerous time," says Michelson of South Africa after returning to Albany. "There is an obvious danger because the state-sponsored violence has disrupted the negotiating process. It's dangerous because of the frustrations that build when negotiations don't happen the way people had hoped. It's dangerous because the eye of the international community is not on South Africa any more, like it once was."

The Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism is certainly one group that will keep watching southern Africa. Formed in 1981 to lead demonstrations against the South African Springboks, a rugby team invited to play in the Albany area that year, the coalition's efforts have earned it an international reputation.

"We find many people doing solidarity work all over the country," says Nesbitt, whose own efforts have taken him to 48 states. "But [the coalition] stands out because we don't find people doing it at the same level for so many years."

In 1990, the coalition presented SWAPO with a check for \$1,500, part of the city of Albany's settlement with Michelson and two others who were illegally arrested during the anti-Springboks protests. In Namibia, Michelson learned the coalition's money had helped purchase a computer SWAPO used to keep track of the 1990 elections. And a \$1,000 contribution, raised during the coalition's 10th anniversary celebration last year, was used by the ANC to set up a rural radio network in South Africa.

Once negotiations started between the ANC and the South African government, however, worldwide pressure to boycott South Africa faded. The country's athletes, for example, were allowed back into the Olympics this year. In fact, efforts to create a new South African government where whites and blacks will have equal votes have stalled. In late September, Zulu leader Buthelezi withdrew his Inkatha party from the talks.

According to a recent *New York Times* story, Buthelezi has allied with the rulers of two other black South African homelands. And the *Times* reports that he has been "flirting" with conservative whites "who would rather see South Africa fragmented into ethnic principalities than handed over to Mr. Mandela." The most ominous scenario, the *Times* imagined, is that the Zulu chief would lead a separatist bloc aimed at shattering South Africa like Yugoslavia.

"Our task," says Michelson, "is to get South Africa back on the agenda and support the ongoing struggle there."

Instead of forgetting about South Africa, Michelson wants to talk about the "interconnectedness of the violence in the whole southern Africa region." As long as Mozambique remains in turmoil, Namibia fails to prosper and Angola totters on the brink of a return to civil war, pressure on the apartheid government to reform is weakened.

"We're talking about the violence in South Africa that is sponsored by apartheid," Michelson concludes, "and the violence apartheid has organized across its borders."

Michelson and Kawola saw little, if any, actual violence. During their nights in Maputo, they heard gunfire in the streets,

and a visit to Mozambique's western border area was impossible because of the fighting.

But they saw the day-to-day pain of life under apartheid in three different countries. "You realize how long its going to take for that to disappear," Michelson says. "The struggle there will continue until the people have freedom. They make that very clear. That is not in question." ■



Eileen Kawola and Vera Michelson in Mozambique.



Wedding guests in Ovamboland, Namibia.



Eileen Kawola

### Mocatini School Material Aid Project

Before going to Mozambique, Eileen Kawola, an Albany Public School teacher, was given a letter of greeting to the school children of Mozambique from the Albany Board of Education, signed by the President of the Board, Mr. Ward DeWitt. She presented this letter to Graca Machel, former Minister of Education and widow of Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel. Graca Machel now heads up the National Organization of Children of Mozambique, an organization set up to help deal with the devastation caused by the war on the children of the country. In a meeting with Michelson and Kawola, Mrs. Machel told them of her great concern for the children of her country who have suffered from war, atrocities, dislocation, and malnutrition. One of the objectives of the trip to Mozambique was to identify a material aid project for the Mozambique Support Committee of CD-CAAR. After talking with Mrs. Machel, and after visiting a school for dislocated children, the Committee made a commitment to raising funds for the children of the Mocatini school. A description of this project is included in this newsletter (on brightly colored flyer). For more information call Debbie Maxwell at 393-4002.

## SOUTH AFRICA

# We shall end minority rule and apartheid in any guise

by Hlatshwayo Madoda

In 1990-91, at a conference called CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa), both the ANC and the government and other groupings committed themselves to a new constitution that would be adopted on the basis of unity, democracy, nonracialism and nonsexism that would create a new South Africa. The process started at CODESA has now been deadlocked. The problem, fundamentally, is with the ruling white minority party, which continues to seek ways to guarantee itself continued power regardless of its electoral support. The regime insists that the political majority, no matter how large, should be subjected to a veto by minority political parties - in the main, white political parties. Unless the government comes forth with a firm commitment to full democracy based on internationally-recognized principles and acceptance of sovereignty, the process cannot move forward.

After many years the struggle inside and outside South Africa was brought to a point where we all generally accepted that it could be peaceably resolved. The ANC went to the General Assembly [of the United Nations] and put forward the conditions under which it was prepared to enter into negotiations with the de Klerk government. Among the most important was that the negotiations must be undertaken only in an atmosphere free of violence. The General Assembly was in full agreement. Indeed, the South African government itself adopted this position - free discussions without intimidation, a clear, easy political atmosphere in the country, and no violence. However, as we all know, the violence has continued and the ANC feels it cannot continue negotiations as long as the people are being slaughtered.

It is not only the ANC which is pressing the issue of violence. Other, non-political, independent organizations have pointed out the de Klerk regime's involvement in the violence. An independent organization, Community Agency for Social Equity, has issued reports which found that the violence appears to be switched on and off at strategic moments. "Behind the scale of brutality is the clear evidence that the violence erupts at points when it most weakens the ANC and its alliance and dies down dramatically when it would most harm the government of F. W. de Klerk."

The report notes that two political parties clearly seem to be benefiting from this violence: the National Party, which is running the government, and the Inkatha Freedom Party of Mr. Buthelezi. To the ANC, it is definitely beyond a reasonable doubt that the violence in South Africa is both organized and orchestrated. It is specifically directed at the democratic movement, whose activists, members and supporters make up the overwhelming majority of its victims. This constitutes a cold-blooded strategy of state terrorism intended to create conditions

under which the forces responsible for introducing and entrenching the system of apartheid would also have the possibility of imposing their will on a weakened democratic movement.

It is widely acknowledged that agreements the ANC has reached in the past with the de Klerk government, particularly those aimed at curbing violence, have not been carried out. For instance, the government has made no effort to implement agreements reached bilaterally between Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela [President of the African National Congress] on cultural weapons and hostels - areas over which it clearly has control. And it continues to blame the ANC for the violence. Faced with the horrendous escalation of violence, as evidenced in the Boipatong massacre and taking place in the context of the negotiations deadlock, the ANC has been forced to withdraw from the multilateral negotiations process. From the ANC's point of view, the blame lies squarely with the regime. Only the regime has the law-enforcement personnel and legal authority to stop the violence and act against the perpetrators. The government has an obligation to protect the lives and property of all the people. It has failed to do so.

The central thrust of the violence is to weaken the ANC and the democratic movement as a whole. The ANC maintains that the government is responsible for the violence, both by acts of omission - such as failing to enforce the agreements - and acts of commission, particularly the role played by its security structures. International organizations such as the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International have also charged the government with failing to act against violence and failing to bring to justice the individuals involved in the violence.

No action has been taken in a number of situations where policemen were involved and Inkatha was involved. Nonetheless, Mr. de Klerk consistently points the finger at the ANC. The ANC believes that de Klerk may, on the one hand, be committed to a new dispensation against apartheid in South Africa, but perhaps, on the other hand, may not actually have control over the security apparatus. The ANC would like to assist de Klerk, not only in terms of the self-interest of the mass democratic movement, but also in his own interests, by having the United Nations involved in monitoring the violence. With the U.N. physically in the country, monitoring the police and the so-called violence from the ANC, de Klerk could indeed be free to carry on legitimate negotiations at CODESA, based on internationally accepted principles of democracy. We have in South Africa in 1992 an awkward situation where the vote of Africans is supposed to count for about three-quarters of the vote of someone who is white. This is what they are pushing at CODESA. The government wants everything to pass parliament on the basis of a 75 percent plurality, which would mean totally weakening the vote of the victims of apartheid. In U.S. history, Black people were once counted as three-fifths of a person in apportioning representation. In South Africa, in 1992, our vote is supposed to be worth three-quarters. Obviously, this is unacceptable.

This is one of the fundamental problems here. Their perception of the African people is as less than human. In spite of the so-called new era and the so-called new regime, they still

hold their fascistic fantasies dearly. Although the ANC is prepared to negotiate for a dispensation that will accommodate all South Africans, including the reactionary whites, it is dealing with people who are still wearing cold war blinkers. De Klerk does not see our struggle for freedom as being legitimate. He cannot see the ANC leading the people of South Africa - all of them, Black, white, Colored, Indian. To the contrary, he acts as if the fascist whites have the right to bring in a new South Africa. But, they have no capacity to change the country. Even as we are speaking today, they are engaging in covert anti-democratic actions. They do not compete openly, democratically, with the ANC's new ideas. To the contrary, they murder: not just ANC people but so-called sympathizers of the ANC.

Apartheid is alive and well in South Africa. Last year, after Mr. de Klerk declared that apartheid was history, President Bush rushed to lift the sanctions. We need the sanctions now, more so than ever. Apartheid will not wither away and it will not be dismantled by de Klerk or Bush. We have to keep the pressure on.

Toward this end, the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and other democratic forces in the Black communities, such as Azanian Peoples Organizations and the Pan-African Congress of South Africa, are all going to be involved in a general strike on Aug. 3. We are asking for solidarity. The ANC views the international community and its solidarity efforts as essential to our struggle. Let's keep the faith.

Today's situation is new for everybody, not only for the left movement in the United States. The situation that is in transition in South Africa is new both for South Africans and for the solidarity movement. Recognizing this, the ANC National Executive Council, meeting at the end of May, called on the ANC to organize international solidarity conferences in the areas where it has been operating most effectively: the Pacific Basin, Europe and North America. At these solidarity conferences, the ANC will present to the movement its reading of the new situation, and the solidarity movement will present to the ANC its reading on new developments. This conference is planned in November in New York City. These conferences can only be a success if the grassroots are involved. The comprehensive Anti-

Apartheid Act of 1986 was enacted because of the pressure from the grassroots. Mr. Reagan vetoed it thrice, but Congress overruled him. So it's very, very important that the grassroots be mobilized, that they hear directly from the people who are involved on the ground on the new situation that has arisen and how the ties, based on equality, should be enhanced.

We share the situation the left finds itself in in this country today. The ANC itself, as an organization, is still reeling from the new situation it is confronted with. Not only does it have to fight against the apartheid monstrosity, but the ANC has to rebuild organized structures within the country, working through at least three different traditions that have arisen in the course of the struggle. The ANC has a tradition of struggle from the UDF [United Democratic Front - a coalition of legal mass organizations - Ed.]. The second stream is the people who participated in the struggle by spending most of their lives in prison. And that's a large number of people - not only in the leadership but also among the rank and file. The third stream in the ANC today is composed of people like me, people who have spent 29 plus years in exile and struggled in exile. This indicates some of the tasks that the ANC is confronted with. Thank you for the support. *A luta continua! Amandla!*

Address of Hlatshwayo Madoda, deputy head of the African National Congress mission to the United States.

This address was given by Mr. Madoda at the National Conference of the Committees of Correspondence, in Berkeley, California, July 17-19, 1992.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1992

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1992

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1992

On the next page you will find a full page flyer describing the National Conference in Support of the African National Congress and other Democratic Forces for a New South Africa November 13-15, 1992 at Riverside Church, New York City

If you have any questions, call the number listed, or locally, call 438-0309.

There've been lots of shows on T.V. in the last few weeks about the Cuban missile crisis and the almost unbelievable mistakes and misunderstandings that surrounded that event. Now, thirty years later, the U.S. continues a mistaken and misguided Cuba policy and continues to enforce a punitive embargo on Cuba. This places incredible hardships on our Caribbean neighbors. And, normalized relations would benefit not just Cuba but also the U.S. If the embargo were lifted, our right to travel freely between the U.S. and Cuba would be restored and trade between the U.S. and Cuba could account for up to \$3 billion annually, creating jobs here. It's time the misunderstandings stop. Promote



### U.S. Cuba Friendship

An exciting new project - U.S. Cuba Friendshipment - is being organized throughout the country by Pastors for Peace, with the endorsement of many organizations including the Venceremos Brigade. On November 6th, caravans of trucks, vans and cars will begin traveling on eight different routes through the U.S., meeting in Texas before crossing the border into Mexico. Once in Mexico, the convoy will travel to a port city to be met by a Cuban boat which will take the donations to Havana. Caravan participants will fly to Cuba, where they will deliver the aid and tour the island for a week. The plan also calls for bringing Cuban products back into the U.S. as the caravans return to their home cities.

There is no way to know how the U.S. government will respond to this initiative, although they may consider it a violation of their embargo. They could prosecute in court and people convicted of a crime under the embargo statutes are liable for fines of up to \$250,000 and prison sentences of up to 10 years.

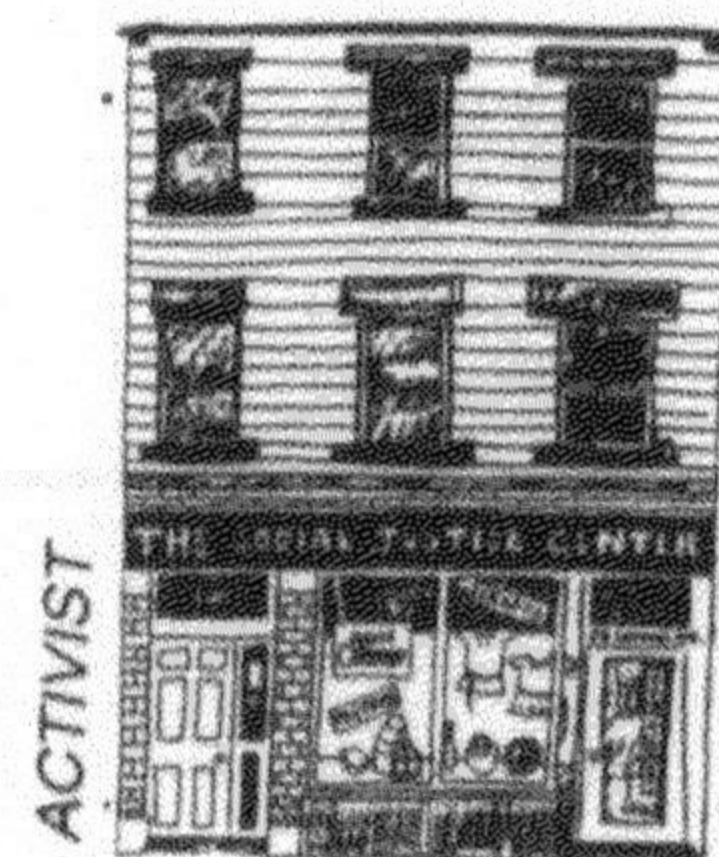
At a July 8th press conference announcing the Friendshipment, Rev. Lucius Walker said, "The U.S. government may view this humanitarian project as a challenge to its embargo. In this case the U.S. government will have to decide how it chooses to view the donation of food, medicine, Bibles and bicycles to people who are not our enemy, who are no threat to the U.S. and with whom we are not at war. Nevertheless, if our government decides to block this shipment, we will not back down."

Locally, we are accepting donations to send to Pastors for Peace to purchase medical supplies, dry milk and bicycles. Make checks or money orders payable to IFCO - Pastors for Peace and send to The Committees of Correspondence, P.O. Box 6811, Fort Orange Station, Albany, N.Y. 12206. Anyone interested in hosting a slide show presentation by individuals recently returned from Cuba, please contact Mabel Leon at 372-1531.

### A Friendship Renewed ... a letter from Nathi Ncobo

It's 11 pm. on the 20th of July 1992 and I am sitting at my desk writing this note. It's still hard to believe that I have Mike (Vera Michelson) and Eileen (Kawola) with me in my house in Kwa Mash township. Anyway, they are here. They have had a hectic day touring the townships and squatter camps with a my friend, Emmanuel (Mthinkhulu) who has been an excellent tour guide for them. They have had an opportunity to pass solidarity messages to the striking MWASA (Media Workers Association of South Africa) members who are on strike against the South African Broadcasting Corporation. All of today's events have made me remember the CD-CAAR - a fine organization with people who really care.

The fight against apartheid is not over yet but the spirit of the people is still as resilient as ever. We are sons and daughters of heroes of Africa. We are not going to give up the fight - not when we know we have people like you on our side. Amandla!



## Social Justice Center

The Social Justice Center, formed in 1981, is an umbrella organization for peace and social justice groups in the Capital District. The Center's purpose is to increase the effectiveness of the progressive movement by sharing resources, equipment, organizing ideas and skills, and expenses whenever possible. The Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism is one of twenty one groups which belong to the Center.

### We urge you to support the Center. How?

1. The Center publishes a quarterly newsletter, the "Activist," which includes articles on peace and justice issues. The October, 1992 issue focuses on multi-cultural coalition building. To **subscribe** to the "Activist," send \$10 to the Social Justice Center, 33 Central Avenue, Albany, New York 12210.

2. You can also support the Center is you **shop** at **Peace Offerings**, the store set up by the Center to benefit Third World craftspeople and local peace and justice activism. The store has a huge selection of beautiful hand made crafts from around the world, cards and note paper, jewelry, clothing - it is the most interesting store in the Capital District, selling goods from cooperatives and other sources of nonexploited labor. Peace Offerings is located in the Center building at 33 Central Avenue, Albany - just a few doors down from Henry Johnson Boulevard. From September 11th to October 15th, Peace Offerings sponsored a unique and eye-opening exhibit - The Indigenous Cultures of the Americas. The exhibit united art and politics through a series of events which blended discussions of issues relevant to indigenous American people with craft displays. On Friday, November 27, Peace Offerings invites you to a **Post Thanksgiving Celebration** - with food, music and a chance to see the goods available for holiday shopping.

3. **attend..the Social Justice Center's**

### Annual Awards Celebration

Sunday, November 8th -5:30

Westminster Presbyterian Church

262 State Street, Albany, NY

Indian-Pakistani Cuisine by Shalimar - Desserts and Appetizers

#### Tickets:

\$15 in advance \$6 limited income and children  
\$20 at the door \$40 sponsor

Child care available  
Please call in advance

Information and reservations, call 434-4037

This annual fundraising celebration is held to recognize individuals who have made outstanding contributions to the movement for social change in the Capital District. This year's celebration is entitled "People Building Bridges for Justice" and the winners include: Deborah Williams-Muhammad, Bonita Davis, Matilda Arias, Vera Michelson (CD-CAAR co-chair), Rev. Carl Taylor and Gwen Wright.

**Capital District Coalition  
Against Apartheid and Racism**  
A project of the Social Justice Center  
33 Central Avenue  
Albany, New York 12210

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Save the date!!! Tuesday, November 10, 1992  
CD-CAAR program:  
"South Africa: Stop the Violence; Mozambique: Promote the peace"

#### Quick Updates...

Elections were held in Angola at the end of September. Jonas Savimbi, leader of the South-African/U.S.- backed rebel group Unita which has been terrorizing the Angolan people and destabilizing the country since the time of independence in 1975, had agreed to accept election results. Now that it appears he has lost the election, he is threatening to resume his war. Pik Botha of South Africa, Savimbi's old friend, has made visits to Savimbi to try to dissuade him from resuming the fighting but as of the time of this newsletter printing, the ominous threat of war hangs over Angola.

The Frelimo government of Mozambique and the South African-backed terrorist army, Renamo, signed a cease fire in Rome on October 4, 1992. As of this printing the cease fire seems to be holding and elections are planned for twelve months from now. The cessation of fighting will make it easier for food relief to reach Mozambique which is now being ravaged by the worst drought of the 20th century. The drought threatens approximately 3 million Mozambicans with starvation.

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**Important Date..**The Albany Branch NAACP will hold its 57th Anniversary Celebration at the Annual Freedom Fund Dinner, Friday, November 20, 1992. The dinner will be at the Empire State Convention Center. The theme for this year's dinner is "Linking the Progress of the Past with the Prospect of the Future." The goal is to create an awareness and appreciation for the contributions of traditional institutions and organizations within the African American culture. For tickets or information, call the NAACP at 462-1823.



**Capital District Coalition  
Against Apartheid and Racism**

Box 3002 Pine Hills Station  
Albany, New York 12203

A project of the Social Justice Center  
January - February 1993  
Newsletter

**Coming Up...and still going on**

**February 19, 1993 - " Racism, Law Enforcement and Violence"** with Don Jackson and Tyra Ferrell Jackson at the College of St. Rose (see enclosed flyer)

**"STOP the violence - South Africa"** - campaign.

**Mozambique Support Committee** - work.

(Note: The STOP the violence campaign and the Mozambique support work have been ongoing projects of CD-CAAR. Information on both projects are included in this newsletter.)

**Time to Party** - CD-CAAR is planning another fantastic party and we need your help. Anyone who would like to work on this event, call 432-4623 immediately - leave message.

**A CD-CAAR public program** in the Spring on the issue of **violence in South Africa and in the U.S.** with particular emphasis on Albany and the Capital District. If you are interested in working on this program or want more information, call 432-4623.

The Center for Law and Justice **Third Annual Community Conference on Crime and Criminal Justice, 4/24/93**

(enclosed flyer)

**Wasted Talents or Wasted Resources?**

Unlimited Minds is a not-for-profit organization founded to increase the educational, economic and leadership opportunities of economically disadvantaged students with a primary emphasis on students of color in the Capital District.

Unlimited Minds invites you to our debut reception/fundraiser on Thursday, February 18th, 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. at the Rockefeller Institute, 411 State Street, Albany, keynote speaker - Patrick Swygert. For further information, 434-8933, Victoria Santos.



## Mozambique Update

In the last newsletter we included information about the CD-CAAR Mozambique Support Committee. As a result of contacts made by CD-CAAR members who visited Mozambique last summer, the Mozambique Support Committee set three priorities:

1. **To find support for a Methodist Church outside of Maputo.** This church was holding services in a borrowed Catholic Church while trying to raise funds for a church/community center which serves many needs of the congregation. Pastor Jamisse of the church stressed how the congregation is especially focused on working with children, many who have been orphaned by the war.
2. **To find support for the Mocatini school** - a school in the bush for over 900 children who have been dislocated by the war. The school has virtually nothing - no building, no supplies - but it does have teachers and students interested in learning.
3. **To establish relations between teacher unions in the United States and the Teachers Union of Mozambique.**

All of these ventures are meeting with success.

1. The General Board of Global Ministries of the Methodist Church has informed us that the Liberdade Church is on their list of recommended projects for second mile giving. They have written about the church in the newsletter and advised churches that CD-CAAR members are available to give slide shows and talk about the situation in Mozambique.

2. Different groups have expressed interest in raising funds for the Mocatini School. We have already sent \$250.00, half of which was raised at a collection at our November public forum on South Africa and Mozambique. That first installment is being used by the teachers to buy portable blackboards. Our contact person in Mozambique for the Mocatini School project is a respected community person, Mr. Simiao Manhica. In this newsletter we have reprinted a letter he has sent us, acknowledging receipt of the funds and also giving us some idea of what the peace agreement in Mozambique is meaning to the people.

3. A meeting was held between CD-CAAR teacher union members, Bill Ritchie and Eileen Kawola, and the Executive Vice President of NYSUT, Mr. Herb Magidson. Mr. Magidson advised them to contact David Dorn of the AFT International Committee. As a result of the meeting CD-CAAR sent a letter to The Organization of Teachers of Mozambique advising them that the AFT international office will be getting in touch with them about establishing a mutually beneficial relationship. Suggestions were made at the meeting about ways in which teachers in the U.S. might be of assistance to teachers in war-torn Mozambique - including training and exchanges.

We are hopeful that progress will continue in all of these projects. CD-CAAR has a slide show and speakers available if your group is interested in learning more about Mozambique. If you would like to work with this committee or if you would like more information, call Debbie Maxwell at 393-4002.



Children at site of Methodist church in progress, Liberdade, Mozambique

Eileen Kawola

## "Breathing other air..."

Maputo, Mozambique  
December 24, 1992



Dear CD-CAAR,

Greetings from Mozambique at this Christmas time 1992. I trust that you are well and that the holiday season will be a happy one for you and yours.

Prexy Nesbitt is here for a few days and brought me an envelope from you containing a check for \$250.00 also the pamphlet concerning the Mocatini school. The director feels that the first need is blackboards then I will be in contact with him to see what is next most important. I will try and keep in touch with you so that you will know how the money is being spent. In the name of all the children who will benefit from these gifts I want to thank you and the others who remember these people who live in great difficulties but are interested in learning.

I know you must accompany the news from Mozambique knowing that a general peace accord was signed on Oct. 4th. We are breathing other air after so many years of war and destruction. Some of the children will return to their home areas but as you know there are many orphans there who have no place to go and will need support for a long time.

Two weeks ago I was able to go by bus and car to Inhambane for our Annual Conference of the Church. This is the first time in more than 10 years. Can you imagine the joy of the people to see friends and families again?!

I will try and keep in touch with you. May you have a good year in 1993 with health and joy and PEACE.

Sincerity yours,  
*Simiao Manhica*  
Simiao Manhica

CD-CAAR has determined to raise funds for the Mocatini school during 1993. Funds will be used for portable blackboards, chalk, notebooks, textbooks, pencils and other basic school supplies. If you would like to donate toward this school, send a check to CD-CAAR, noted Mocatini School project.

In this newsletter we are reprinting some information about the peace process in Mozambique. The information has been taken from: Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin, Issue 1, January, 1993 (a bulletin written and edited by Joseph Hanlon and to be published irregularly until the first multi-party elections in Mozambique)



Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo president Afonso Dhlakama signed a general peace agreement in Rome on 4 October, 1992. It came into force on the cease-fire day, 15 October. The accord includes seven protocols and four related documents.

After a few initial violations (four towns were taken in October by Renamo but then taken back by the government) Mozambique's 15 October cease fire is holding. Most main roads are open and there is regular bus service between Maputo and Beira for the first time in a decade.

The U.N. Security Council determined to put much more money into Mozambique than it put into Angola in order to monitor the cease fire and elections and to avoid a replay of the Angolan fiasco. A force of more than 8,000 has been approved for Mozambique (15 times the number of people it put into Angola)

Aldo Ajello has been named interim special representative of the U.N. Secretary General, with responsibility for monitoring the cease fire and elections and also for humanitarian assistance. Ajello spent a month in New York lobbying for a strong U.N. presence. On December 16, the Security Council established the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali stressed that it will have four interlinked components:

**Political:** to facilitate implementation of the agreement and chair the CSC (Control and Supervision Commission).

**Military:** to monitor and verify the cease fire, concentration of forces and demobilization; to authorize security arrangements for vital infrastructures; and to provide security for United Nations and other international activities.

**Electoral:** to provide technical assistance and monitor the entire electoral process

**Humanitarian:** to coordinate and monitor all humanitarian assistance operations.

The UN is in Mozambique as observers and not as a peace keeping force. However, the U.N. has been given the role of both "monitoring and guaranteeing the implementation of the general peace agreement." This leads officials in the government to warn that the U.N. could become "a state within a state" and many feel that there will be much jockeying for power between the U.N., the government and Renamo.

More than 100,000 or more soldiers, many with wives and children, are to be demobilized. This will require a major logistic and political effort at an estimated cost of \$83.5 million.

Renamo continues to deny that it has child soldiers. But widespread reports, including from foreign non-governmental organizations as well as on local t.v., tell of armed children in Renamo units. Some estimates put the number of such children as one third the Renamo fighters. The continuing denial makes it difficult for NGOs to set up rehabilitation programs for the children. There is also concern that children with no other experience than war, secretly sent home without any proper reintegration program, could form armed bands wandering the countryside.

A draft election law is to be circulated early in 1993 and then there could be meetings of parties to agree to the law. An electoral commission, media access, financial assistance to parties and foreign observers are all issues that have to be discussed.

There is cautious optimism that the peace process will work. Officials say both publicly and privately that they want to learn the lessons of Angola.

## "Walk the remaining distance..."

### National Conference in Support of the African National Congress and Other Democratic Forces for a New South Africa

On the weekend of November 13-15, 1992, in New York City, over 1,000 delegates from diverse national and regional organizations throughout the U.S. and Canada met in New York City. The ANC and its allies in the struggle for a New South Africa sent a high level delegation and these South African delegates, representing various interests and constituencies, joined in the workshops which focused on 14 areas of concern.

A 50 page Program of Action came out of the Conference and it included resolves to:

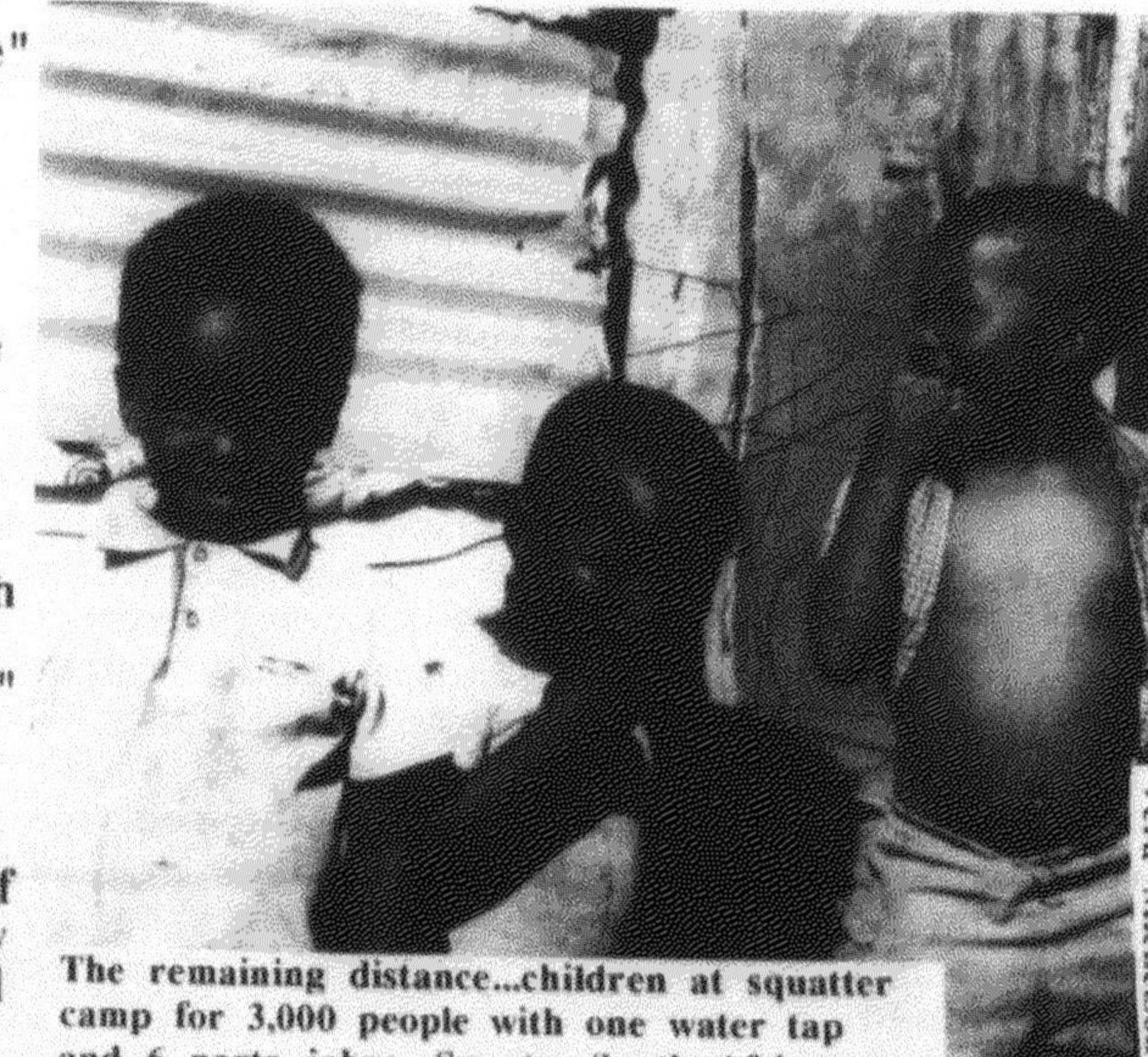
1. maintain the effective pressure of sanctions until democratic forces call for their ending.
2. demand the U.S. government exert the maximum public pressure on the South African regime to end its campaign of violence.
3. provide support and cooperation to the democratic movement to strengthen its capacity to carry out the process of transformation. The ANC and other democratic forces preparing for a New South Africa face immediate concerns. They must prepare a population, which has been denied the vote, for elections. The expectations for the ANC and a new government are very high and they are asking the international community to assist with development plans in the areas of health, education, housing, corporate investment, culture and art, to name a few.

Probably the most important thing to come out of the Conference was the commitment by the anti-apartheid movement to "walk the remaining distance with the people of South Africa" (as Lindiwe Mabuzo, ANC Chief Representative to the U.S. put it in a thank you letter to Conference participants)

The "remaining distance" includes a black majority still denied political rights including the right to vote (Mandela is free but he still can't vote).

The "remaining distance" includes a destabilizing violence campaign emanating from the structures of apartheid. At least ten people die from political violence each day.

The "remaining distance" includes massive inequalities, created by years of apartheid, in education, housing, employment and health, etc. If you have specific skills in any of these development areas, call Vera Michelson at 518 432-4623 for more information.



The remaining distance...children at squatter camp for 3,000 people with one water tap and 6 porta johns, Soweto, South Africa.

Vera Michelson

Several members of CD-CAAR attended the National Conference and CD-CAAR has made the "Stop the Violence" campaign of the American Committee on Africa one of the priority projects for 1992-1993. If you are interested in working with this committee, would like to show the "Stop the Violence" video, or would like more information on this issue, call 432-4623. The Committee is now planning a forum to be held in the Spring dealing with the issues of violence.

Special mention goes out to the Albany Service Corps for its dynamic participation in a study group on apartheid violence. CD-CAAR looks to further collaboration with the Corps as both organizations begin planning for a Spring forum on violence.

### Some updates on the violence in South Africa...

Nelson Mandela was released from jail on February 11, 1990. In the three years since his release more than 5,000 people have been killed in violence in South Africa. For the same three years, Mandela has been charging that apartheid security forces have been behind the violence. On December 19, 1992, in a virtual admission that members of the South African military had sought to establish a covert "third force" to thwart racial conciliation, President F. W. de Klerk announced... the dismissal or suspension of 23 officers, including six generals, suspected of activities including political assassinations." Upon de Klerk's announcement, the ANC issued a statement; "The steps announced by President de Klerk are a step in the right direction, but are not nearly enough. There should be full public disclosure of all criminal activities and attempts at destination. The current revelations are clearly only the tip of the iceberg." (New York Times, Sunday, Dec. 20, 1992)

In November, the government appointed Goldstone commission confirmed that South African Police and Defense Forces were involved in fomenting violence.

Another aspect of the violence was addressed in an interview with United Nations Radio on December 1, 1992 with Popo Molefe, Head of the Elections Commission of the African National Congress. "Mr. Molefe said the issue of violence in the hostels was supposed to be addressed urgently according to the Vance Report to the Security Council last summer. The Goldstone Commission, he continued, had recommended to the Government, among other things, that dangerous weapons be outlawed, that hostels be fenced and searched regularly. None of these recommendations had been carried out, he said." (U.N. Radio Broadcast: Special Committee Against Apartheid Holds Consultations With European NGOS and Anti-Apartheid Movements, December, 1992)

One step you can take to "walk the remaining distance" with the people of South Africa is to circulate (feel free to make copies) of the petition on the next page.

It is a message to President Clinton that the people of the U.S. want their government to pressure the South African government to end the violence which is impeding South Africa's progress toward democracy.

## A giant has passed... but the words will carry us on.

New York Times, January 25, 1993

### Marshall: Liberal voice in conservative times

Thurgood Marshall is remembered as a lawyer who never ran from a fight and as a justice whose liberal voice sometimes echoed alone in the waning years of his service on an increasingly conservative Supreme Court:

■ **ON SEGREGATION:** "The trouble with the doctrine of separate but equal (is that it) assumes that two things are equal."

Argument before the Supreme Court in *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954)

■ **ON FREE SPEECH:** "The mere fact that speech is accompanied by conduct does not mean that the speech can be suppressed under the guise of prohibiting the conduct."

*Amalgamated Food Employees vs. Logan Valley Plaza* (1968)

■ **ON PRIVACY:** "If the First Amendment means anything, it means that a state has no busi-

ness telling a man, sitting alone in his own house, what books he may read or what films he may watch. Our whole constitutional heritage rebels at the thought of giving government the power to control men's minds."

*Stanley vs. Georgia* (1969)

■ **ON DESEGREGATION:**

"Today's holding, I fear, is more a perceived reflection of a public mood that we have gone far enough in insuring the Constitution's guarantee of equal justice than it is a product of neutral principles of law. . . . It may be the easier course to allow our great metropolitan areas to be divided up into two cities — one white, the other black — but it is a course, I predict, our people will ultimately regret."

Dissent in *Milliken vs. Bradley* (1974)

■ **ON THE RIGHT TO COUNSEL:** "The majority con-

tends that the Sixth Amendment is not violated when a manifestly guilty defendant is convicted after a trial in which he was represented by a manifestly ineffective attorney. I cannot agree. Every defendant is entitled to a trial in which his interests are vigorously and conscientiously advocated by an able lawyer."

Dissent in *Stickland vs. Washington* (1983)

■ **ON PRECEDENT:** "Power, not reason, is the new currency of this court's decision making. . . . The implications of this radical new exception to the doctrine of *stare decisis* are staggering. The majority today sends a clear signal that scores of established constitutional liberties are now ripe for reconsideration, thereby inviting the very type of open defiance of our precedents that the majority rewards in this case."

Dissent in *Payne vs. Tennessee* (1991)



The Center for Law and Justice with co-sponsors  
the Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism and  
the Graduate School of Criminal Justice of the Rockefeller College  
present a program

## "Racism, Law Enforcement and Violence"

**Don Jackson** has been involved in a long and courageous battle against racism in policing in California. A former police officer, Don set out to expose police brutality and racism in the Long Beach Police Department by orchestrating a sting operation in which his own arrest and vicious beating were filmed by the Today Show (NBC). Don is currently pursuing his doctoral degree in Criminal Justice at State College, Pa. He continues to be an activist against injustice and police abuse.



**Tyra Ferrell Jackson** is an actress (some of her roles have been as the African American woman who lived in Bensonhurst in "Jungle Fever;" the mother of Doughboy and Rickie in "Boyz 'N The Hood;" Wesley Snipes' wife in "White Men Can't Jump.") She is also an activist against racism and strives to promote positive portrayals of African American women on screen.

Friday, February 19, 1993  
7:00 p.m.

The College of St. Rose  
St. Joseph's Hall Auditorium  
Madison Avenue, Albany, N.Y.

For additional information, call The Center at 427-8361.

The Third Annual Capital District Community Conference on Crime and Criminal Justice will be a three-part conference that will have as its theme: "By Any Means Necessary: The Fight Against Racism, Police Abuse and Imprisonment." Individual programs include:

1. "Racism, Law Enforcement, and Violence" - a program presented by Don Jackson and Tyra Ferrell Jackson, February 19, 1993 at 7:00 p.m. at the College of St. Rose. (see above for details)
2. "The Direct Relationship Between Prisons and Communities" - a meeting of Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus members, prisoners, correctional administrators and community representatives at Greenhaven Correctional Facility. It is tentatively set for Thursday, February 25, 1993 from 10:00 a.m. - 3:00 p.m.
3. "The Effect of Prisons on Communities: Issues and Alternatives" - a day long conference to be held at the Empire State Plaza Convention Center in Albany on Saturday, April 24, 1993. This year's conference will again be sponsored by a number of community residents, organizations and groups. Assistance is needed in all areas of the conference planning and execution. Those with skills in writing, graphics, telephoning, research, fundraising, registration and planning are especially needed.

For more information about any of the above, or to co-sponsor or volunteer for the Center conference, call 518-427-8361.



## Racism in Troy Housing...



## Moving for Change

The following facts about the Troy Housing Authority have been uncovered by housing advocate and CD-CAAR member, Brian O'Shaughnessy. The pattern of racism they reveal has moved him to take action in order to change the appalling situation that exists in the Troy Authority. (It also exists in the City of Troy, in general, which employs only one African American police person and no firefighters of color!). He is beginning to call low-income Troy residents together, hoping initial steps will lead to a campaign to address the injustice within the Housing Authority. CD-CAAR strongly supports Brian and this movement for change in Troy. If you would like more information or are interested in working with him, call 272-8275.

### Facts regarding the Troy Housing Authority

During the 23 year tenure of the present Executive Director, not one African American or Hispanic American has been hired to a management position; the tenant population is 40-45% minority.

Five "favored families," holding a total of seventeen THA jobs, were paid over \$738,000 in salaries and benefits in 1992.

The Executive Director says he cannot find qualified minorities to take the civil service exams. Yet of the 41 fulltime jobs at the Authority that do not require an exam, only one is filled with a black and one with an Hispanic employee.

In 1989, When one member of the "favored families" finished 9th out of 12th on his civil service exam for Superintendent of Buildings he was not let go. He was kept on and paid as Superintendent along with the person who finished first on the exam. When this fact became known in 1992, he was promoted and given a \$12,500 annual raise. When the only black security guard did not pass the civil service exam for this position, he was let go. The need for qualified people seems to apply more to blacks and Hispanics than to whites at the THA!

The costs of racism cannot be measured only in terms of this exclusion from employment. How can anyone calculate exactly how destructive it has been for minority youth to grow up in THA sites without ever seeing a person of color in a management role? How has almost total exclusion from THA maintenance positions contributed to the weakened economic state of black family life?

*(The facts and commentary are from an editorial by Brian O'Shaughnessy which appeared in The Record, Troy, N.Y. January 16, 1992)*

From the editor, Bileen Zawola...

### IN MEMORIAM - LORRAINE FREEMAN

Several years ago I shared a room with Lorraine Freeman in Washington, D.C. CD-CAAR had sent a van with about ten people to attend a Martin Luther King Conference sponsored by the Washington Office on Africa which focused on South and Southern Africa issues. The conference was very interesting and very useful for those of us working in the anti-apartheid movement. We also took time to do a little sightseeing in Washington and eat at some wonderful ethnic restaurants. Whenever I remember that weekend, though, I remember Lorraine. Up until that time I only knew her as someone I would exchange greetings with at a meeting or see at a march or demonstration. In this chance pairing for rooms, I had the incredible good fortune to get to know Lorraine a little. We discovered that we shared some unlikely experiences - including time spent with the Catholic Worker movement. Lorraine had lived at their farm on the Hudson River for several years and knew Dorothy Day well. And we learned that we shared a common love of poetry, especially by African American authors; Lorraine also wrote poetry herself.

We spent hours talking that weekend and I came to realize that I was with someone who had spent her entire life in struggle for justice. Her own life was a difficult struggle in many ways but she remained firm in her beliefs about the need for social change and her commitment to working for that change.

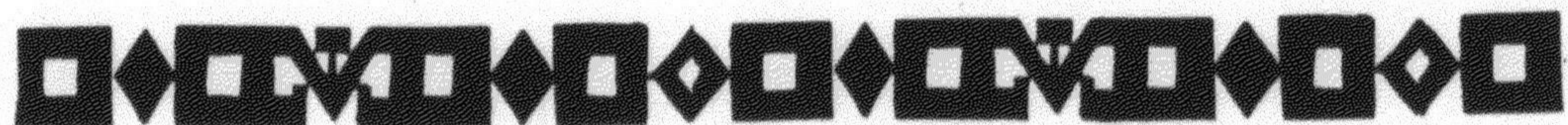
Lorraine Freeman died of cancer at the end of 1992. To Lorraine, one of the unsung heroines, rest in peace.

**A very sincere thank you...** to Joyce Rose and the newsletter mailing committee: Martin Manley, Sandy Gerrish, Peter Looker, Terri Robin, and Caitlin. For the past two years they have done all of the grunt/gopher work that goes with putting out this mailing - stapling, labeling, and sorting. In addition, Joyce has picked it up from the printer, delivered it to the post office and kept our account straight with the Social Justice Center. Due to other commitments, Joyce will not be able to continue the work and David Aube has volunteered to take over. A most sincere thank you to Joyce and committee for an invaluable service and a thank you to David for stepping in.

**Some more thanks...** to Peter Balint for assuming the CD-CAAR position on the Social Justice Center Steering Committee. The Social Justice Center is Albany's umbrella organization for many groups working on peace and social justice issues. As a member, CD-CAAR accepts certain responsibilities, including Steering Committee representation. Peter will represent us well.

...to Naomi Jaffee for printing up CD-CAAR's 1993 jazzy membership cards!

**Lincoln Park Shelter Wish List** The Homeless Action Committee, Inc. has compiled a list of things that would be of great use at the homeless shelter this winter. The list includes: sheets, blankets, towels, washcloths, iron, t.v., vcr, dishes, pots and pans, ironing board, silverware, food storage containers, pajamas and robes, men's winter outdoor clothing, a safe, cordless phone, garbage bags, laundry detergent, cleaning supplies, personal hygiene supplies (soap, shampoo, deodorant, toothbrushes, toothpaste, shaving cream, razors.) Please drop off at the Social Justice Center, 33 Central Avenue, Albany, New York or call Donna or Stu at 434-4037 for more information.



## And speaking of violence...what about Haiti?

by Vera Michelson

Anyone looking for examples of racism in U.S. foreign policy does not have to look very far. The images of Haitians being washed up on U.S. shores, being intercepted at sea in rickety boats, being held at Guantanamo Bay (approximately 275 remain, forgotten by the world and living in unbearable conditions) and others being forcibly returned to a cruel and illegal government never seem to fade.

The U.S. government tells us that Haitians are fleeing for economic and not political reasons. Let them tell that to:

**Aurelien Toussaint** who was beaten and imprisoned after soldiers found a picture of President Aristide in his home in Cite Soleil.

**Albert Clotaire, 24,** and his cousin who were arrested by soldiers in the Cite Soleil neighborhood of Port-au-Prince. Soldiers stopped the two, telling them they did not have the right to be out so late. Clotaire told the soldiers they were on their way to visit a sick friend and that the soldiers could accompany them on the visit to verify that information. Instead, the soldiers questioned the young men, demanding the names of neighborhood youths who are members of local popular organizations. They then took Clotaire and his cousin to an unknown destination.

**Father Ednard Devalein,** of the Saintard Parish, who was arrested by soldiers in Arcahaie. He was driving in his car when soldiers stopped him, arrested and beat him and searched his car. He was accused of being an Aristide supporter. They detained him for several hours.

**Joanis Pericles,** a hairdresser in his 50's who was shot to death in the Canape Vert neighborhood of Port-au-Prince. The victim was known to be an outspoken opponent of the de facto government and a supporter of President Aristide.

The general population which lives in constant fear and terror of political repression by the illegitimate government and police force.

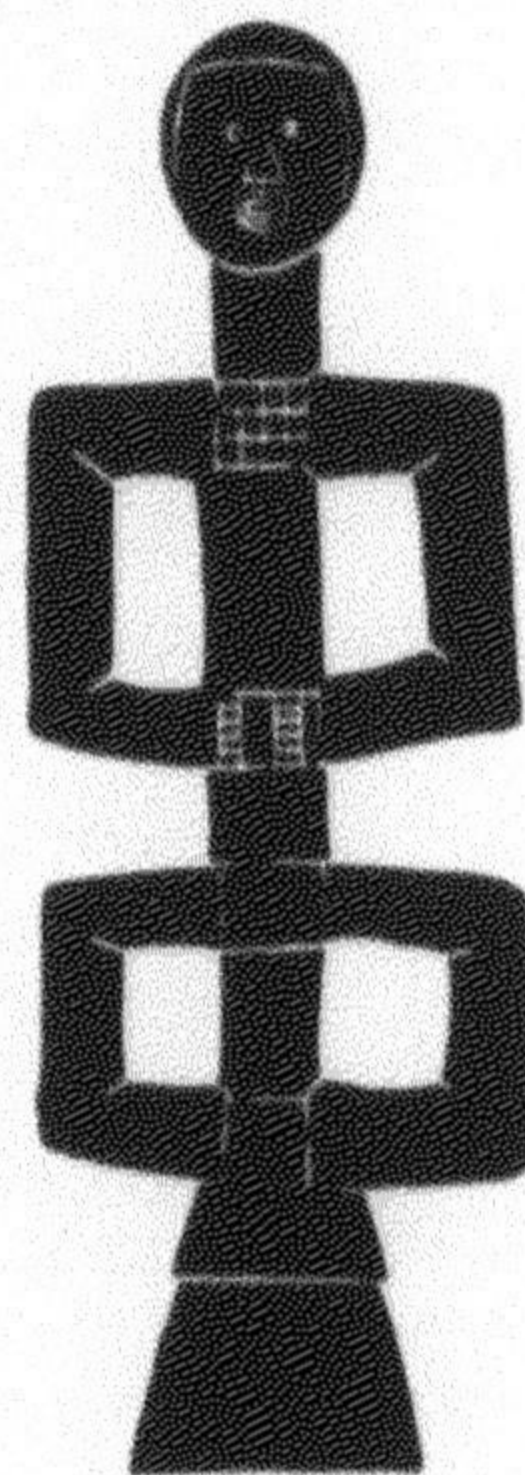
During the U.S. presidential election campaign, President Clinton called the Bush policy toward Haiti "inhuman". During the campaign, Clinton also promised to:

1. Intensify direct U.S. pressure to help restore the democratically elected government of Jean Bertrand Aristide to Haiti;

2. Seek tightening of the Organization of American States' embargo on Haiti and urge our European allies to observe it, particularly with regard to oil;

3. Provide safe haven for Haitian refugees until democracy is restored.

As this newsletter goes to press, Clinton has been accused of reneging on these promises. Pressure from the grassroots is the only way to insure justice for the Haitians. CD-CAAR urges all readers to write to President Clinton at the White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20500 and tell him to keep his promises.



### Cuba is Not Our Enemy

An ad-hoc committee on Cuba has come together to work to change the United States government's policy toward Cuba. It is the goal of this group to pressure the government of the United States to end the economic blockade of Cuba, normalize relations, and begin an era of cooperation. In late February the committee is going to run an ad in *Metroland*, the text of which is below. Among the organizations that have so far endorsed this ad are: the Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism, the Committee for Palestinian Rights, the Albany Peace and Energy Council, and the Capital District Committees of Correspondence. Please join us in creating a new and rational policy toward Cuba - return the coupon below. For more info call Mabel at 372-1531

#### Dear President Clinton:

We, residents of the Capital District, want you to know that Cuba and its 11 million people are not our enemy. Cuba is a poor nation that has eliminated illiteracy, produced the finest health care in Latin America and eliminated homelessness.

On November 24, 1992, the United Nations General Assembly overwhelmingly passed a resolution on the need to put an end to the economic, commercial, and financial blockade against Cuba, imposed by the United States. Only two other nations voted with the U.S. against this resolution.

#### We believe that:

- the embargo has no moral basis and prevents critical medicine and food from reaching a nation that in no way threatens the people of the United States;
- the United States government's pressure on the world's nations to stop trade with Cuba constitutes a blockade and an attempt to strangle Cuba economically and to starve the Cuban people;
- the United States blockade against Cuba is a violation of the rights of Cuba's people and the people of the United States. The blockade and travel restrictions against Cuba have prevented the people of the United States from seeing an accurate picture of Cuban society.

We urge you and Hillary to visit the island to see for yourself the Cuban reality.

#### We ask you and your administration to:

- End the blockade against Cuba
- Normalize relations with Cuba
- Begin an era of cooperation and friendship with the beleaguered Island

Yes, please include my name as a signatory to the "Cuba is Not Our Enemy" advertisement.

I want my name to appear as follows: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ City: \_\_\_\_\_

Organization/job/title: \_\_\_\_\_ (optional, for identification only)

Yes, I want to make a donation, as indicated below, to help defray the cost of the ad.

I do not want my name in the ad, but I have enclosed a donation, as indicated below.

Donation:  \$15  \$25  \$50  Other \_\_\_\_\_

Please make checks or money orders out to: Committees of Correspondence - Ad  
Mail to: Cuba Ad Committee, a Project of the Social Justice Center, 33 Central Ave, Albany, NY 12210

**Capital District Coalition  
Against Apartheid and Racism**  
A Project of the Social Justice Center  
33 Central Avenue  
Albany, New York 12210

Non-Profit  
Organization  
U.S. Postage  
Paid  
Permit No. 509  
Albany, N.Y.

**"Racism, Law Enforcement and Violence"**  
February 19, 1993 at the College of St. Rose (details inside)

**In Memoriam - Dizzy Gillespie and Thurgood Marshall**  
**We remember...with thanks for all they were, and all they did.**  
(Inside this newsletter you will find a poem called "Dizzy" by Abiodun Oyowole, reprinted from the Amsterdam News and some quotes from Thurgood Marshall)

**1993 Membership Reminder** - Thanks to the many who have already responded to the CD-CAAR membership letter which went out in January. If you haven't done so yet, please take the time and money to respond - we need your continued support if we are to continue.  
**3002?, 2003?, 12203? No, just \$10.00!** An apology is in order to all our readers for the confusion over what is our real box number. On the membership/fundraiser letter which went out in the middle of January our box number is listed differently, three different times! The return envelope which was included is correct so that, at least, is a relief. If you don't have a return envelope, our correct address is: Box 3002, Pine Hills Station, Albany, New York 12203. Sorry for any inconvenience.

**Somalia...** If you haven't been reading the Amsterdam News you missed an excellent three part series on Somalia written by WBAI journalist Samori Marksman. These articles entitled "Why have Black Leaders rushed to support the invasion of Somalia?" "Somalia: Warlords, Cold Warriors and Global Warriors" and "Somalia: The White Man's Burden." If you would like copies of these articles, please send a stamped self addressed envelope with a note to CD-CAAR, P.O. Box 3002, Pine Hills Station, Albany, New York 12203.

CD-CAAR reminds members that the Amsterdam News often carries interesting articles and reports not found in the mainstream press. The paper is delivered from New York City on Mondays and is sold in Albany at Coulsons, Finnigans, some Stewarts stores and several neighborhood grocery stores.





## Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism

Box 3002 Pine Hills Station  
Albany, New York 12203  
A project of the Social Justice Center  
March-April 1993  
Newsletter

### New Attitude - New Attitude - New Attitude

You may have noticed that CD-CAAR has not been holding regular monthly meetings in the library anymore. This decision was made after assessing our work, our resources, our goals and the general state of affairs in the organization. Many of us felt that, while for twelve years CD-CAAR has been a successful and consistently active organization in the Capital District, it has become absolutely necessary to reach out to a broader and larger sector of the community. We also wanted to assess the goals of our political work, internationally and domestically, in these changing and volatile times.

We have begun this review in an active way by focusing our energies on holding community centered educational events throughout the year and involving more people in the planning and staging of these events. This process has been dynamic and exciting. We have many new members in the organization who have worked hard on these events and have been instrumental in the ongoing process of reshaping and assessing the programmatic goals of the organization. This process does not happen overnight. And it requires commitment and a positive outlook. We cannot afford the luxury of becoming paralyzed because the injustices in the world, and down the street, seem to increase.

So we keep going. On the next page you will find a listing of some of the events we have held in the last year...

**SAVE THE DATE: SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 1993 (details inside)**  
The third annual Capital District Conference on Crime and Criminal Justice  
**"The Effect of Prisons on Communities: Issues and Alternatives"**

## **New Attitude** (continued)

a public forum on Haiti: **Haiti - Deny it No More**, featuring the video, "Haiti Under the Gun."  
a slide show and discussion: **"The Effects of Apartheid on Southern Africa."**

a forum entitled **"South Africa: Stop the Violence; Mozambique: Promote the Peace"**  
with Bernard Magubane of the African National Congress (ANC) and Prexy Nesbitt Senior Consultant to the  
Mozambique Government

with the Center for Law and Justice, **"Racism, Law Enforcement and Violence"** with Donald  
Jackson and Tyra Ferrell Jackson.

in March we had scheduled an event (cancelled because of the blizzard of '93) with New York State  
Assemblyman Roger Green and Dumisani Kumalo of the American Committee on Africa. That event,  
**"Promote the Peace; Stop the Violence"** was to address the issues of peace in U.S. communities,  
especially with youth, and peace in South Africa. We have rescheduled a special event for April 1st - **Going  
the Last Miles: From Apartheid to Freedom** with Miungisi (Lulu) Johnson, Deputy President of  
the ANC Youth League.

We have emphasized the same theme throughout - the need  
for an end to violence if there is to be enduring peace, both  
in the U.S. and in Southern Africa.

As we continue to try to figure out new CD-CAAR strategies  
we need your support. We encourage you to call us at 432-4623  
to get involved. The struggle for peace and justice is long  
and protracted and we aren't even close. But the struggle  
continues!



**And THANKS...** On the back page of this newsletter is a form  
for those of you who haven't sent in your membership yet and a  
thank you to those who have. We would like to make special  
mention to some "special contributors" - both local and far  
away. You have really given us something to remember.  
Gloria DeSole, Prexy Nesbitt, Sue McDermott and Torin Spellman, E.J. Josey, Tony Young, Alice  
Green and Charles Touhey, Arlena Adams, Joe Levinger, Bob Cohen and Ruth Foster, Sara and Brian  
McGraw, Renee Hariton and Mark Mishler, Maud and David Easter, Art Kamell, Carl and Theresa Swidorski,  
Barbara Allen, Susan J. DuBois, Vijay and Arlene Macwan, Dick Melita, Christine Connell, Larry Peters,  
Margaret and James Cunningham, Carol Hausen.

The Center for Law and Justice, Inc. presents  
The Third Annual Capital District Conference on Crime and Criminal Justice  
**The Effect of Prisons on Communities:  
Issues and Alternatives**

**Schedule:**

**8:30-9:45 a.m.**

Registration, Refreshments and  
"Prisoners Speak" on video

**Session I**

**10:00-12:30**

-Keynote Address: Eddie Ellis\*,  
Warren Harry and George Prendes,  
Activist Prisoners and Former Prisoners  
-Community Speakout \*\*

**12:30-1:30**

Lunch, Information Booths, Entertainment

**Session II**

**1:30-2:00**

-Awards Ceremony - Presentation of the  
"Frederick Douglass Struggle for Justice  
Award"

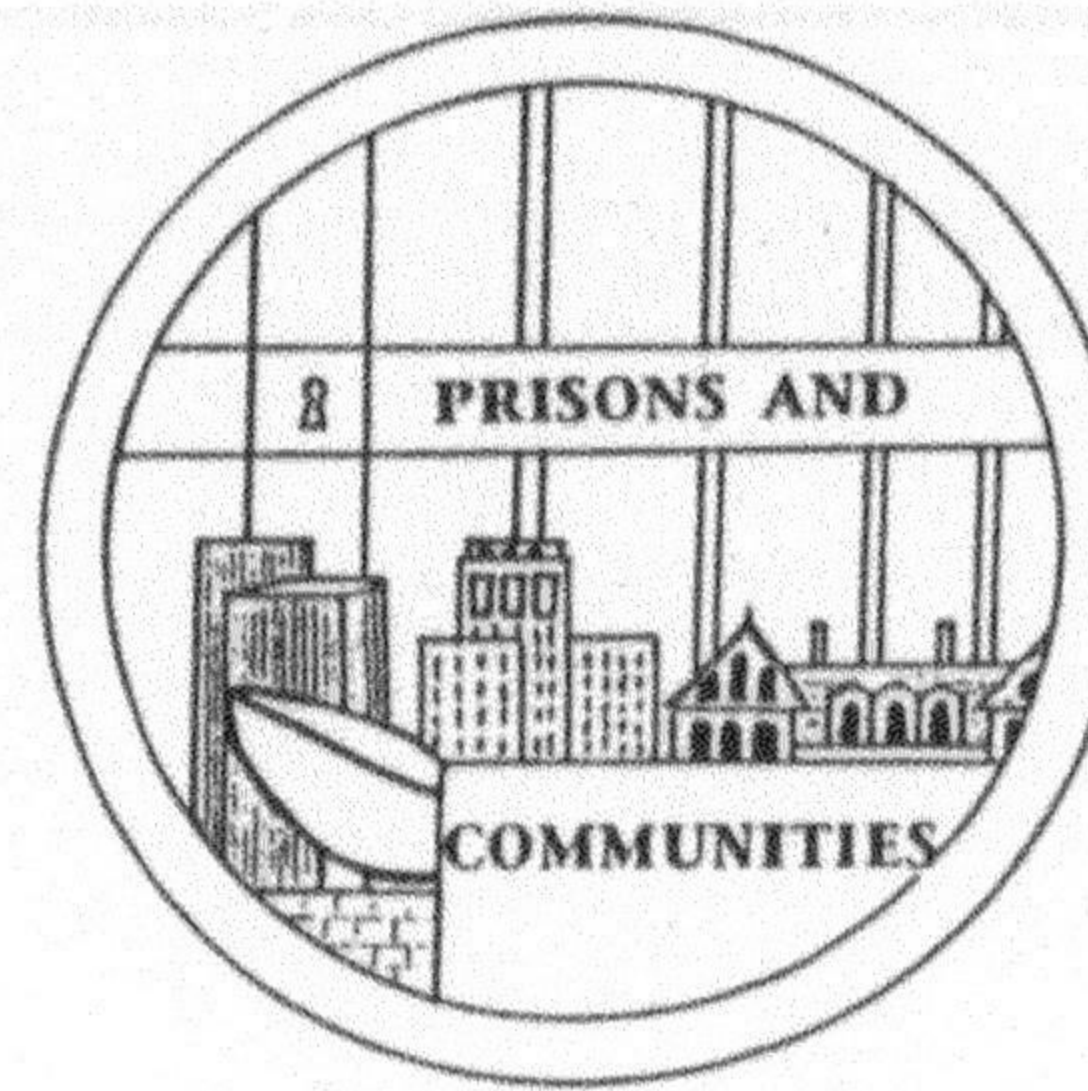
**2:00-3:30**

3 Roundtables\*\* - One each focused on Albany,  
Rensselaer, and Schenectady counties.

**4:00**

-Coalition Against Racism and Violence (CAARV)  
-Reports and Summary  
-Development of a Community Action Agenda  
-Closing

Empire State Plaza  
Convention Center  
Albany, New York  
Saturday, April 24, 1993  
8:30 a.m. - 4:30 p.m.  
Free admission - donations accepted



\*Eddie Ellis, keynote speaker, is a former Black Panther, Activist prisoner and community worker for the Harlem Neighborhood Defender Services.

\*\*Community Speakout and Roundtable Discussions on Racism, Law Enforcement and Drugs, Prisons and Alternatives, and more.

Registration: Capital District Community Conference on Crime and Criminal  
Justice "Effects of Prisons on Communities: Issues and Alternatives"

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Organization \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

(There is no charge for this conference. However, a donation of \$5.00 would be appreciated. All donations are tax deductible.)

Please return this form to: Center for Law and Justice, Inc. Pine West Plaza, Building 2  
Washington Avenue Extension, Albany, New York 12205. Phone (518)427-8361.

## the next step

By NELSON R. MANDELA  
JOHANNESBURG (IPS)

**B**y early next year at the latest — more likely by the end of 1993 — South Africa's first truly democratic elections will be held.

A constituent assembly will be elected, which will draw up the basis for the first democratic government.

The chapter of White minority rule will finally come to a close. In the context of South Africa today, this is a phenomenal achievement.

Despite the deadlocks and numerous difficulties of the last year, progress has been made: bans on progressive organizations have been lifted, political prisoners released, and exiles have returned.

Repressive legislation has been either amended or repealed, while freedom of political activity has been introduced to most of South Africa. In addition, we have a declaration of intention from the multilateral talks — Congress for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) — which laid the basis for a united, democratic, non-sexist society in a new South Africa.

I do not like to boast, but it is necessary to point out that it was the African National Congress (ANC) which initiated this peace process in July 1986, when, in prison, I asked to meet with the then-President P.W. Botha to propose that the ANC and the government sit down together to resolve our problems.

Those who appreciate the realities of the South African situation must agree that the progress made so far is satisfactory. But there were, of course, far greater and very widespread expectations, many of which were naive and romantic. There was the hope that a messiah would step forth and magically resolve all problems.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is  
president of the African National  
Congress of South Africa.

I know that I was the subject of such expectations when I came out of jail. Many people, both at home and abroad, seemed to forget that I was coming back to a South Africa which had been ruled by the National Party for 40 years. Yet not only did I not have magic powers, my fellow prisoners and I do not think that a single individual is responsible for solving problems.

We are products of a tradition of belief in collective effort.

There is not one of us who is above others in position or ability. If anyone is made the focus around which our efforts revolve, this is the result of a team decision; and without the support of that team, I or any other individual would be useless.

Fortunately, the myths have largely dissipated, and we are seen today as ordinary human beings, subject to all the usual frailties. This is just as well, because there are very harsh realities to confront, and there are no easy solutions.

We must now adapt to the situation in which we find ourselves and overcome the handicap of our background as members of a resistance movement. Previously we opposed on principle anything coming from the government. This was a correct strategy for its time, but new conditions require new responses. We should not leave the initiative for problem solving to the government.

Because of our history, we are the custodians of justice and fair play in South Africa, and we should continue to lead the government.

Whether we like it or not, the ANC and the National Party government are the major political players in the present transition,

# South

and cooperation is essential. Without the involvement of the National Party and the government, there can be no effective change in our country. Similarly, without the involvement of the ANC, there can be no forward movement.

The ANC on one side and the government and National Party on the other side must meet to discuss each national issue and come to an agreement which both must honor in practice. We have no less than 10 allies in the multilateral forum, and we have given the assurance that we will be able to carry them with us in any decision we take.

If the government is unable to carry its allies — and it seems they are in disarray — we must do what we can to help them. The process must not become bogged down.

Though I am optimistic that the process will continue and that the ANC will win the future democratic election, winning political power will be more difficult. To win political power, we will have

to gain control of the civil service, defence force, police and judiciary as well as the support of business. This will take some time.

We will also have to guard against potential destabilization and counter-revolutionary backlash. The best way of preventing such a problem will be to present a united front by forming a voluntary government of national unity.

The newly-elected democratic government will have to invite other political parties with significant followings to join the government. The problems facing us are so grave that I think such a step will be difficult to avoid.

We must assure peace and stability in South Africa. Only when that is done can we begin the crucial task of rebuilding its shattered economy.

# Africa

THE NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS  
Saturday, January 30, 1993

## South Africa

"You have touched the women, you have struck a rock."

In September, 1991 the Women's League of the African National Congress invited national organizations to discuss a campaign for equal rights of men and women in the new South African constitution. Out of this meeting, the Women's National Coalition (WNC) was formed, as a non-party political body open to all organizations interested in furthering the agenda of women's rights. Following the formation, a National Workshop was held in April 1992, attended by over 509 national organizations, ranging from the ANC, the Nationalist Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Democratic Party, the Rural Women's Movement,

CODESA Gender Committee, to a wide range of service groups and church organizations. As a result of the workshop and a national survey to determine what are the priorities of South African women in regard to the new dispensation, a campaign has begun to incorporate a South African Women's Charter in the "new" South African constitution.



Here in the U.S., the Africa Fund of the American Committee on Africa, in February, announced the creation of a Women's Project. The project will support the women of South Africa in this campaign for inclusion of a Women's Charter. The Africa Fund is looking for endorsers of the Women's Project from U.S. Women's and Anti-Apartheid organizations: the Project was launched on March 8, in conjunction with International Women's History Month.

CD-CAAR has joined the Project in "...applauding current attempts by South Africa's women to ensure their rights and equality will be protected in a democratic South Africa. In order to secure the birth of a truly representative and just society in South Africa, women will need to mobilize on their own behalf. Therefore, we support the grassroots organizing undertaken by South African women on all issues which determine the quality of their lives, from political organizing and economic policy to health care, education and violence. We salute the efforts of rural and trade union women, whose struggles have encompassed all the harsh realities of apartheid South Africa. We pledge to educate our constituencies about the position of South African women, and to stand in solidarity with their struggle."

If your organization is interested in endorsing the Project, contact Rachael Kagan at the Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, New York 10038, phone (212) 962-1210. For those who are interested in working with CD-CAAR on setting up a committee to work with the Africa Fund Project, please call Iris Berger at 439-0297 or Eileen Kawola at 438-0309.

## Angola In Crisis

by Debbie Maxwell

As intense fighting continues in Angola, it is clear the peace process has suffered a severe setback. In elections last fall, the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) won a decisive victory in the vote for parliament and President Eduardo Dos Santos barely missed the needed 50% to win the presidency. But Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), has renewed fighting rather than accept the electoral loss and face a runoff election for president, an election he was expected to lose.

The fighting is described as more intense than at any time during the 16 year civil war that ended in May, 1991. Bombings of public buildings and assassinations inside UNITA-held territory are among the terrorist acts being reported. **More than 16,000 people have been killed. Thousands have fled UNITA-held areas, and more than 1.4 million people currently face starvation.** Most recently, UNITA has seized much of Angola's northern diamond and oil rich areas, putting a stranglehold on the economy as oil accounts for 90% of Angola's revenue. Currently, UNITA controls about 75% of the country.

Explanations of the failure of the peace process include several factors. First, in their haste to get the election process moving, the United Nations and other international monitors chose to ignore warning signs that Savimbi would not abide by the election process should his party, UNITA, fail to win. Also ignored was evidence discovered as early as July that large numbers of weapons were being cached by UNITA. The failure to disarm both UNITA and government troops before the actual elections has been heavily criticized. Another reason for the failure of the peace process was that military monitors of the UN Angolan Verification Mission II were far too few for a country as large as Angola.

It is widely accepted that UNITA's current military offensive is being heavily assisted by South Africans and Zairians as well as white mercenaries. The frontline States called an emergency meeting in December to protest South African destabilization tactics, and Namibian authorities seized three South African planes attempting to ferry supplies to Unita from the northern town of Rundu. Meanwhile, a UN ban on military aid to Angola is still in effect. Without immediate help defending its people and territory, the Angolan government may have no alternative to breaking this ban in order to survive.