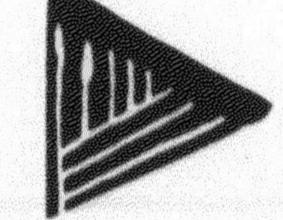
The UN, which most observers feel has been notably weak in performing any monitoring function, has called for a cease fire and has been trying to arrange meetings between MPLA and UNITA, so far unsuccessfully. UN observers, systematically attacked by UNITA, have been driven out of most of their outstations. UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has recommended that the UN scale back its monitoring mission from 700 to 64 personnel and withdraw completely by the end of April if renewed peace talks are not underway by then. The most recent deadline for resumed talks, March 1, passed with UNITA failing to show up. Clearly, with the rebels having seized 75% of the country, a UN withdrawal would leave Angolans at the mercy of UNITA, its forces poised to take military control.

Recently, Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos, in a letter to President Clinton, has personally appealed to the United States to recognize his government. Last October, Herman Cohen, then U.S. Assistant of State for Africa, told Congress that once the United Nations certified the Angolan elections the U.S. government would recognize the government of Angola. The UN accepted the elections as "free and fair," but the United States remains, with South Africa, the only country in the world not recognizing Angola. President Dos Santos explained in his letter to Clinton that the Bush administration's silence over recognition had encouraged Savimbi to pursue a military solution. "To maintain a position which does not recognize Angola means to favor UNITA," Dos Santos said. Certainly, after 16 years of backing UNITA, U.S. influence and responsibility cannot be understated.

Many observers were concerned when Warren Christopher, U. S. Secretary of State, in his confirmation hearings, suggested taking a cautious "wait and see" attitude towards recognition. President Dos Santos has clearly stated that he needs the help of the international community and that diplomatic recognition for the Luanda government would signal a resounding setback for Savimbi and his rebels and hasten their international isolation. After UNITA's failure to show for renewed peace talks March 1st, diplomats said that the U.S., Russia and Portugal were "weighing" tougher action against UNITA. Even a Washington Post editorial (February 10, 1993) concluded that it was "Time at Last to Recognize Angola".

(Main Sources: Washington Office on Africa; Boabab Notes, Dec./Jan.; The Guardian, Jan. 21; Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 25, March 2).

What can you do?



ANGOLANS CAN'T WAIT, they are dying. What can you do?

The Washington Office on Africa recently sent a letter asking people to respond to the current crisis in Angola.

We urge you to take the following actions:

Write: Warren Christopher, Secretary of State,
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington, D.C., 20520.

Call the Department of State comment line. Register your concern and recommendations. The phone number is (202) 647-6575

Request that the Clinton administration:

*Immediately recognize the recently elected Angolan government and establish full diplomatic relations.

*Isolate Savimbi and UNITA until there is a definitive renunciation of violence and a commitment to peaceful political competition.

*Support funding for a continued and expanded U.N. presence in Angola, adequate to facilitate full implementation of the peace process and run off elections.

*Investigate South African and Zairean intervention.

*Appropriate aid to the Angolan government for economic reconstruction.

TIMES UNION

FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 1993

Activist to lead workshop

BY PATRICK KURP Staff writer

TROY - Malcolm X -- demonized and beatified, commodity and martyr, subject of T-shirts and films - remains elusive even to his admirers.

"I think Spike Lee did the best he could with his movie. But for me, in terms of learning who Malcolm actually was, the movie was a great disappointment. It lingered too long on the hustler routine, and it wasn't as political as it needs to be," said Merton Simpson, co-chairman of the upital District Coalition Against Aparthied and Racism.

On Saturday, Simpson will lead a workshop on Malcolm X as part of the third annual "Realizing the Dream" conference on race and racism. Held in Ricketts Hall on Congress Street, between First and Secand streets, the conference is sponsored by the Troy Human Rights Commission, Troy Area United Ministries, Council for Citizenship Education at Russell Sage College, and the Sage Colleges.

"There's so much misinformation and disinformation about Malcolm. I'd like to give a better appreciation of his basic ideas. Young people need models today, and nobody's really filled the vacuum since Martin (Luther King Jr.) and Malcolm were killed," Simpson said.

He will seek to portray Malcolm as a complex, always-changing personality, not an inflexible ideologue.

"The conventional picture of Malcolm, especially in the media, is a radical hate-monger. That's not true to the reality. Only when he belonged to the Nation of Islam did he believe that white people were universally demonic. He changed," Simpson

Despite his dissatisfaction with Lee's portrayal, Simpson said he was pleased that Americans have resumed their study of Malcolm's life and ideas.

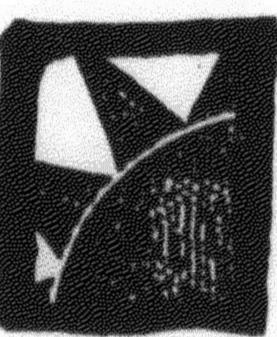
"The fact is, the movie's out, and it's catapaulted Malcolm back into people's consciousness. The net result is positive," he said.

Another workshop, titled "New Anti-Semitism: Fourth Reich to Jewish Students Under Seige," will be conducted by Harvey Strum, chairman of the social science division at Sage Junior College of Albany.

On one hand, Strum will examine the emergence of ethnic nationalism. especially in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, since the collapse of communism, and its relation to increased anti-Semitism.

which reported an overall drop in

on



anti-Semitic incidents in the United States, but an increase in such incidents on college campuses. Strum relates the upsurge to the increased emphasis on multiculturalism and cultural diversity.

"Often, it hides a hidden agenda. Jews are perceived as part of Eurocentrism," Strum said, citing the pseudo-scholarship of Leonard Jef-

"It has become more socially acceptable to express anti-Semitic ideas, but to use other words for it. Sometimes they're hiding behind anti-Zionism," he said, citing the revival of the "Shylock image that all Jews are rich. Jews contol the banks. Jews control the media."

The keynote address of Saturday's conference, "State-of-the-art Racism in the U.S.," will be delivered by Vivian Gordon, professor with the Africana studies department at the State University at Albany.

On the other, Strum will discuss a recent study published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Malcolm

TROY HOUSING AUTHORITY (THA) UPDATE...(last month we ran an article about racism in the THA by housing advocate Brian O'Shaughnessy)

Although snow still covers much of the ground, it is beginning to look like spring. This is especially true for tenants who live under the rule of the THA. That is because the Troy paper. The Record, ran a four-day, front page expose in March of the THA which brings to surface the nepotism, racism, patronage and favoritism that tightly controls the Authority. Now is the time to ke advantage of these revelations by calling for a thorough investigation. Please write to the AUD Inspector General requesting an investigation of the Troy Housing Authority. (Whether you live in Troy or not this appeal applies to you because the THA is supported by your Federal tax dollars.)

Write: Mr. Lee Isdell, Office of the Inspector General Department of HUD, Room 3430 26 Federal Plaza New York, N.Y. 10278-0068 What has happened around here...



Barry Walston, Tyra Ferrell Jackson, Alice Green, Don Jackson and Vera Michelson

"Racism, Law Enforcement and Violence" sponsored by the Center for Law and Justice, Inc. (CD-CAAR and the Graduate School of Criminal Justice of the Rockefeller College co -sponsored) Don's visit to Albany was long awaited and over 100 people turned out to hear him speak. Getting his wife, Tyra Ferrell Jackson, to come with him was a bonus for the Capital District.

Back from out of town...Welcome back to our friends Elombe Brath, Paula Bower, Cleve Robinson, Nesbitt Crutchfield and all the others who attended the international Solidarity Conference in Johannesburg, South Africa in February. CD-CAAR was not able to send a representative but we know there'll be good information coming from the conference.

At Siena College...CD-CAAR members Vera Michelson and Eileen Kawola presented a slide show "The Effect of Apartheid on the Southern Africa Region" at Siena College on Wednesday, Mar. 3rd. The program was arranged through Siena Professor, CD -CAAR member Nii Nartey who hosted the event. It was sponsored by Siena's Women and Minorities Committee, President's Office for Diversity, History Club and Phi Alpha Theta.

At Junior College of Albany and Doane Stuart School... In January CD-CAAR member Eileen Kawola presented a slide show at both of these schools on Southern Africa as part of the Mocatini, Mozambique School Material Aid Project. CD-CAAR has now raised almost \$1,000 for the "school without walls" in Mozambique - money which will be used to buy critically needed materials such as portable blackboards, paper, pencils and books. If you would like to contribute to this project, send a check (CD-CAAR, Mocatini Project) to CD-CAAR, Box 3002 Pine Hills Station, Albany, New York 12203.

Merton Simpton on Malcolm X...see article in this newsletter.

What's Happening?

In Amsterdam...Sat. April 10 - 8 p.m. to 2 a.m. Paradise Productions and Moverlo Promotions presents Juan Merengue y su Orquesta Giencia Latina at the Spanish American Club, 59 Milton Avenue in Amsterdam. Tickets are \$10 in advance and \$12 at the door. For more information, call (518) 842-8142.

Every other Thursday... Watch for Latin night at Parc V in Albany. It runs from 6 p.m. to 11 p.m and there is no charge. D.J.'s are spinning lots of Salsas and Merengues. Calf.' Parc V for more information. (518) 869-9976.

Wednesday, April 21, 1993...Film showing: "The Meeting" - Discussion "Malcolm and Martin - the Debate Continues" at SUNYA Campus Center, Conference Room 105 at 7 p.m. No Charge. For information call Office of Minority Services (518) 454-5128.

24 Hour Peace Performance... The tenth annual "Readings Against the End of the World" will be held on Saturday, April 24 at The 8th Step (upstairs) at 14 Willett St. in Albany. This is a community cultural project of the Albany Peace and Energy Council. The performance begins at midnight Friday (4/23) and continues until midnight Saturday. This year's "Readings" are an area Earth Day/Week event. For more information, call (518) 438-6314.

Pinksterfest Weekend, May 8-9... The Capital District Gay and Lesbian Community Council will hold an Open House the weekend of Albany's Pinkesterfest. A Coffeehouse will be staffed during the weekend and an art show will be held on the thrid floor. The Center is located at 332 Hudson Avenue, Albany. For information call (518) 462-6138.

Peace Offerings...Peace Offerings, "the store with a social conscience," is a not-for profit venture designed to support the activities of the Social Justice Center. Products sold at the Center are purchased from collectives, cooperatives, local craftspeople and wholesalers committed to non-exploitation. The store is located at the Center, 33 Central Avenue, Albany.

Oral History on the Civil Rights Movement...The New York State Martin Luther King, Jr. Commission and Institute for NonViolence has begun a project to create an oral history of New Yorkers in the Civil Rights Movement. "Hundreds, if not thousands, of New Yorker contributed significantly to the American civil rights movement, said Virgil H. Hodges, executive director of the King organization. Many of their experiences have never been recorded. Tapes of conversations with people who were involved in the movement will be stored in the Institute's archives where they will be available to researchers, educators, educators, and the general public. If you were active in the Civil Rights, contact the Institute.

National Alliance Against Racist & Political Oppression...April 30 to May 2, 1993 in Detroit, Michigan, the NAARP will hold a national strategy session on "Stopping Police Crimes." For more information about the conference, call (212) 406-3330.

Capital District Coalition

Against Apartheid and Racism

A project of the Social Justice Center

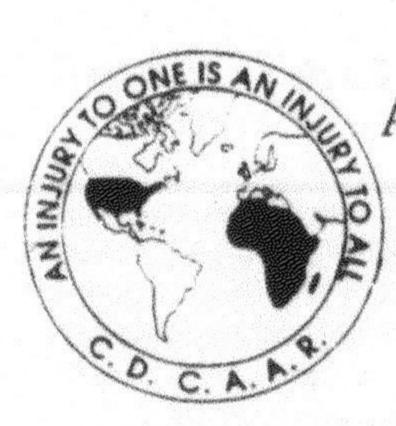
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Albany, New York 12210

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SAVE THE DATE: SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 1993 (details inside)



Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism

Box 3002 Pine Hills Station Albany, New York 12203 A project of the Social Justice Center

August - September 1993 Newsletter

Important CD-CAAR Fall Business Meeting Wednesday, Oct. 6, 1993 at 7:00 p.m.

Come and hear an update of CD-CAAR activities, plans for the coming year and a special educational program

"the new world Sorder"

and its impact on Africa, the Caribbean and the Americas

with Samori Marksman Program Director, WBAI Radio, New York City

St. John Church of God in Christ
94 Herkimer Street, Albany, New York
(in the Pastures, 2 blocks below Madison Ave. off S. Pearl)

Please spread the word about CD-CAAR's first fall program

There is a flyer enclosed - copy it, post it, get it around town!

IS AFRICA OFF THE AGENDA?

WHAT CAN I DO ABOUT IT ANYWAY?

Imani Countess, of the Washington Office on Africa (WOA), has told us many times how important it is that the people in grassroots movements make their opinions known to the lawmakers in Washington. When WOA goes to lobby for just policies in Africa, their work is much easier if the legislators have hear their constituents' concerns about the issues. In this newsletter we have printed information on Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Haiti and Cuba. Washington needs to know what you believe U.S. policy should be toward these countries. Take the time to write a letter, make a phone call. We have printed below the addresses you need.

Make your voice heard!

Write: Warren Christopher, Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington D.C. 20520

Call: The Department of State comment line and register your concern and recommendations.

(202) 647-6575

Write: House Africa Subcommittee 817 O'Neill House Office Building Washington, D.C. 20515

> Senate African Affairs Subcommittee 226 Dirksen Senate Office Building Washington, D.C. 20510



Malangacana (1984)

Angola Tragedy-where is U.S. government and media?

Have your heard that war is raging in Angola? Since the fall of 1992, 100,000 Angolans have died in the fighting which resumed when Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA forces rejected an election defeat and resumed a full scale war. The U.N. special envoy to Angola, Alouine Beye, said up to 1,000 people were dying daily from fighting and war-induced famine. Relief workers are predicting that 2 million Angolans, out of a population of about 10 million, face starvation if no peace settlement is found. (Associated Press, 8/25/93)

U.S. recognizes Angola. On May 19th of this year, the Clinton administration announced the long-delayed U.S. decision to grant diplomatic recognition to the Republic of Angola (which since independence in 1975 has been recognized by every country in the world except the U.S. and South Africa) This recognition cleared the way for U.S. involvement in addressing the humanitarian and development needs of Angola but no rebuilding can begin until the war ends. Even UN relief planes are fired upon by UNITA forces. UNITA refused to sign a new cease-fire agreement which was endorsed by the UN, the US, Portugal, Russia and the Angolan government. Most observors believe that UNITA will talk peace only when its military prospects no longer are viable. UNITA is still receiving supplies through Zaire and South Africa.

What exactly does the U.S. recognize? Secretary of State Warren Christopher, in a May 1993 meeting with delegates from the Washington Office on Africa and the NAACP, stated that the administration wants to work with the Angolan government and to pressure UNITA to stop the war. But, it is now September and what sign is there that the U.S. has been able to put pressure on the UNITA supply lines in order to get negotiations resumed? How successful is the U.S. or the U.N. in supplying relief in the midst of this war?

And how would we know anyway? More people have been killed in Angola in five months than in the former Yugoslavia in two years! Not only are we seeing few initiatives on the part of the U.S. government toward the Angola; the war in Angola with its staggering death toll is almost never even mentioned by the U.S. media. The press and the electronic media have bombarded us with news of the horrifying war in the Balkans and almost nightly debates about what the world should do to try to stop it. We have seen the pictures and heard the stories of children killed and maimed by that war. Yes, all agree that the break up of Yugoslavia has brought tragic results. But why the shameful silence and inaction on Angola?

What can you do about it anyway? Again we are asking you to put pressure on the U.S. government to help stop this war. Request that the Clinton administration and the U.S. Congress: Isolate Jonas Savimbi and UNITA until there is a ceasefire and a return to negotiations. Investigate South African and Zairean intervention, supporting effective action to bar the supply of arms, fuel and other critical supplies to UNITA, including monitoring of flights and sanctions 'against countries, companies, individuals or groups violating the ban. Support funding for a continued and expanded U.N. presence in Angola.

Peace stalls in Mozambique 'As I write, Mozambique is "marking time," still waiting for the promising steps toward peace to become more than words on paper. Or perhaps the better metaphor is "treading water" because treading water is more dangerous. If you stop you may drown because you are in over your head. And although people determinedly move ahead trying to reconstruct their lives here, everybody knows these are still very dangerous times. The "ceasefire" - which is all we have had since October 1992 - could be broken and the terror could return." (Ruth Minter, Missionary Correspondence Program, June 1993)

Joseph Handlon, who has written several books on Mozambique, is putting out a Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin. It is being published irregularly until the first multi-party elections in

Mozambique. The following information on the peace process comes from that bulletin. Although the cease fire continues to hold and UN troops are finally arriving, in general the peace process is stalled. "There has been little progress" in moving the two sides' forces to assembly points, and in demobilisation, although this is "crucial" to the peace accord, UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in a report to the Security Council on 3 April. Publicly, officials of ONUMOZ, the UN Operation in Mozambique, say the delays are not serious. In private, however, ONUMOZ officials talk of "paralysis," a "boycott," and "impasse," and "hitting a brick wall."

There had been general acceptance of Afonso Dhlakama's (of Renamo) repeated statements that he will not return to war but the Frelimo Party President of Mozambique, Chissano, has accused Renamo of bringing in arms via Malawi and of resuming tary training. Fears are growing that even if the fighting does not resume, the peace

process could drag on for years.

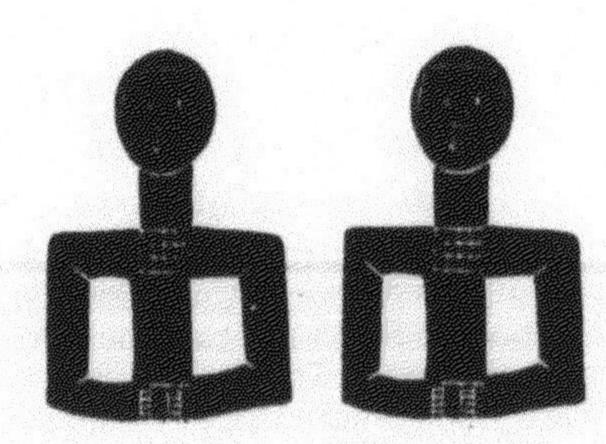
UN troops have begun to arrive but both money and staff has been delayed for MOZ, resulting from both internal UN and international problems. Mozambique is a * priority compared to Yugoslavia and Somalia, which means it gets pushed to the This delay is seen as the single most important factor in the paralysis of the precess because UN delays mean the parties to the accord are not under pressure to move forward.

At the time of the signing of the peace accord, Renamo and its backers pushed to the treatment equal to the government and a tight timescale calling for elections in just one have the emphasis is being put on Renamo's weaknesses and need to develop from a gueralla force largely involved in destruction into a political party capable of winning an Most observors agree that delays tend to benefit Renamo. As one government The part it: "to some people an effective transition to democracy only takes place when the governing party loses the election. When those people say they want to learn the Angola, they mean that they want to ensure the opposition wins. But beating because will take time, so they are slowing down the process."

Opdate... At the end of August, Dhlakama and Chissano held an eight hour meeting at which they came to agreement on two of three critical points which were in dispute before a date for elections could be set. The issue still to be resolved concerns Renamo's the frelimo government controls much of the information that is carried in the Mozambican press. Continued talks were scheduled.

U.S. Southern African activists need to keep reminding Washington to keep up full support for the peace in Mozambique - support for the UN forces, encouragement for construction and resettlement of refugees, humanitarian assistance for the victims of the war. The tragedy of Angola must not be repeated in Mariassary W.

Waiting for justice in the Carribbean



Haiti

On August 27, 1993 the UN Security Council lifted an oil embargo and a freeze on Haitian assets overseas after the parliament approved a transitional government backed by ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Under a UN mediated plan approved by the army, military commander Gen. Raoul Cedras is to step down and Aristide, the country's first freely elected leader, is scheduled to return by October 30.

An Inter-American Human Rights Commission reported that 300,000 Haitians have been driven into hiding and 1,500 killed since the bloody army coup which forced Arisited out of power in 1991. The Commission reported that the army has created a climate of terror for the people of Haiti.

Again, we need to make clear to the Clinton administration and Congress that we expect the U.S. to give full support to the return to democracy in Haiti.

Cuba

(from the desk of Neshit Crutchfield, Coordinator Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network) Dear Colleagues in the Anti-Apartheid Movement,

"Please reflect for a moment on these words of the ANC President Nelson Mandela, made during his speech to the people of Cuba when he visited their island in 1991:

"We have come here feeling a great debt to the people of Cuba. What other country can show a history of greater selflessness that Cuba has demonstrated in its relations with Africa? How many countries in the world benefit from the work of Cuban health workers and educators? How many are these in Africa? What country has asked for Cuba's held and been turned down?"...

... The U.S. government is attempting to starve the Cuban people into submission by tightening the criminal blockade at a time when Cuba is already staggered by the dissolution of the Soviet block, and the storm of the century which hit the island in mid-March leaving more than \$1 billion in damage, including major food crops wiped out and 40 thousand homes destroyed.

...It is time to challenge Washington's hostile policies toward Cuba and its inhumane blockade of the island. It's time to challenge the laws that violate our own constitutional rights as U.S. citizens to know what's going on in the world, to travel in pursuit of that knowledge and meet with Cubans both at home and on the island to learn about Cutter ality first hand..."

It for you to let your Congressmen and the administration know that you oppose the intinuing blockade against the Cuban people. To get involved locally in work in support of Cuba, contact: Ad hoc Committee on Cuba, c/o Committees of Correspondence, P.O. Box 6811, Fort Orange Station, Albany, New York 12206.

Africa South

South Africa's first one-person, one-vote scheduled to be held on April 27, 1994. what about voter education?

What about the violence; The American Committee on Africa has initiated a campaign to support free and fair elections in South Africa, "South African Democracy." In a letter this past May, ACOA's project director, Dumisani Kumalo, reminded us that the tragic death by assassination of Chris Hani, South African Communist Party leader, should be a wake-up call to those who had doubts about the threat of apartheid's violence to the democratic process. On apartheid's violence, he writes: "The pre-election control and accountability of the police and military is a very touchy subject. There is ample evidence available, including from Judge Richard Goldstone and his commission on violence, that the police and military officers have been directly involved in fomenting apartheid's violence. There is fear throughout the country that this will not change and the same forces that continue to terrorize people will be standing at the doors of the polling stations on election day."

The question of violence in South Africa comes up again and again. In this newsletter we are reprinting a column on the violence by Schenectady Gazette writer, Carl Strock, which included one conclusion that went "whatever the dynamic is." We are also reprinting a response to the Gazette by CD-CAAR Co-chair, Vera Michelson, and an article by Allister Sparks which appeared in The Washington Post on August 16, 1993, both of

which help to explain just what the dynamic really is. Another problem on the difficult road to real democracy in South Africa is the question of voter education and voter registration. Kumalo writes of the problems of 5,000,000 people living in the apartheid created homelands - no go areas. These are KwaZulu, led by Gatsha Buthelezi (see Allister Sparks piece); Bophutatswana, led by Lucas Mangope; and Ciskei, ruled by Oupa Gqozo. These are the people who continue to be denied their fundamental right to hear the views of the ANC and its allies before voting. In addition, it is possible that there will be no voter registration before the election. Instead, identity cards will be required at the polls. The ANC estimates that there are at least 5,000,000 black people who the government still has to issue with identity

documents. The King Center in Atlanta, Special Note: Georgia has been asked by a number of South African organizations to coordinate a national non -partisan voter education project to support the process of democracy in South Africa. The King Center is recruiting college and university students nationally to take part in this history making effort. Sessions will be four weeks long; participants will be actively involved in preparing and disseminating voter education materials, convening community meetings, and briefing South Africans on democratization issues. For additional information contact: Dr. Marcia Turner, South Africa Non-Partisan Voter Education Internship, 449 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30312 (404)524-1956 - FAX (404)526-8969.



South African Spoiler

It is time Chief Magosuthu Buth-

elezi's admirers and financial support-

ers in the United States wised up to

the spoiling role he is playing in South

Africa's difficult transition from apart-

For years Buthelezi has managed

to project himself in the United

States as the moderate alternative to

the radical African National Con-

gress, the champion of nonviolent

struggle wrapped in the mantle of the

Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the

committed democrat wedded to

American-style federalism and free-

market capitalism as against the

He has also been projected as "the

Zulu leader"-implying that he is the

undisputed leader of South Africa's

largest black tribe, and therefore a

player ranking equally with Nelson

Mandela and President F. W. de

None of this is true. The latest

opinion polls give Buthelezi's Inkatha

Freedom Party 3 percent support

nationally and 31 percent in its

stronghold province of Natal. The

ANC, meanwhile, is given more than

But the most serious misjudgment

relates to the nature of the man and

the role he is playing. As South Africa

enters the critical last phase of trying

to agree on an interim constitution to

supplant the apartheid charter and

enable the country's first one-person-

one-vote election to be held next

April 27. Buthelezi has launched a

furious campaign to try to block

Klerk.

percent in Natal.

ANC's alliance with Communists.

heid to nonracial democracy.

a conspiracy aimed at "obliterating the Zulu nation" and that "now more than ever the Zulu nation must stick together . . . for mere survival." It is a reckless attempt to light an ethnic fire in a highly combustible country.

Buthelezi's behavior has so alarmed the local media that several major newspapers have urged de Klerk to cut the government subsidies that keep him funded in his tribal "homeland" of KwaZulu, which was established under the apartheid system.

An Afrikaans-language newsmagazine. Vrye Weekblad, recently described Buthelezi as "the Jonas Savimbi of South Africa," likening him to the Angolan rebel who was supported

"It seems clear Buthelezi's main concern is to avoid an election that would reveal his

democratic bulwark against commu nism in his country, but who refused to accept defeat in United Nationssupervised elections last year, plunging his country instead back into a civil war-while an embarrassed United States stands helplessly by.

It seems clear Buthelezi's main concern is to avoid an election that would reveal his essential weakness He wants South Africa's final constitution to be agreed in pre-election negotiations in which Inkatha would have a veto, rather than in an elected constituent assembly where it will be reduced to a minor player.

There is also the suspicion that, while he clauns to be a federalist. Buthelezi's real aim in teaming up with the Afrikaner secessionists is to achieve ething fragmentation so that

by Allister Sparks

WASHINGTON POST MUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1993

he can head a breakaway Zulu nation in Natal province. The suspicion is strengthened by the fact that the draft constitution now before the negotiating council is a federal one that would establish Natal as a U.S.-style

Elections are all-Inkatha affairs, with most candidates elected unopposed. Of the estimated 3 million people living in KwaZulu, 780,000 are registered voters. Only 12,000 actually voted in the last election in

He claims to be a federalist, yet with the help of two conservative American advisers he has presented a constitutional plan for KwaZulu/Natal that appears to set the province. up for secession. Stephen Ellmann, a New York Law School professor, has likened the plan to America's preunion Articles of Confederation and warned that it would "debilitate the central government of a future South

Africa." Buthelezi's commitment to nonviolence is likewise suspect. There is mounting evidence that Inkatha "warlords" are among the prime instigators of the political violence that has racked Natal for the past three years. although the ANC is clearly culpable as well in what has become a battle over turf in that divided province

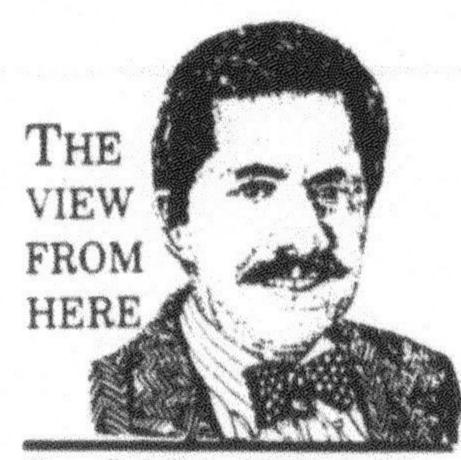
Buthelezi accuses the ANC of having a private army although it has suspended its guerrilla struggle. while he himself has an official militia in the shape of the KwaZulu Police Force, which plays a highly partisan role in the Natal violence

But it is Buthelezi's links with the tar-rightists and suspect elements of the military-security establishment that arouse most concern. In a major scandal known as Inkathagate, it was revealed two years ago that lukatha was secretly subsidized from police funds; for years the KwaZulu Police Force was headed by a seconded officer of the National Intelligence Service, and there have been press disclusiones of lokatha members recoving guerrilla framing at a secret base in Samitica

60 percent national support and 40 essential weakness. by the United States as the supposed

adoption of the constitution, stop the election and recast the negotiations. He has withdrawn his negotiators from the multiparty talks, formed an alliance with white extremist parties demanding a secessionist Afrikaner state and threatened to launch a breakaway constitutional convention with them if he does not get his way-warning that this could be a

first step toward civil war. He is stomping the country in the company of a pliant Zulu king, warning that the present negotiations are AUGUST 8, 1993 THE SUNDAY GAZETTE



By CARL STROCK

No protests over violence in S. Africa

I have been dismayed by the reports of violence coming out of South Africa. Zulu workers storm out of a hostel and massacre Xhosa people in the streets of some township in revenge for the Xhosas having backed to death a Zulu peddler the day before. Number of people killed: 30.

That was last weekend. The previous weekend, 70 people were killed in similar street massacres

I am not talking about the white rulers now; I am just talking about black people being murdered in the streets and in their homes by other black people — partisans of Inkatha attacking or being attacked by partisans of the African National Congress, or whatever the dynamic is.

It struck me I have not heard of any demonstrations in this country protesting this violence. A few years ago people of good will who were concerned for the plight of black South Africans were besied by government buildings and college campuses from one and of the country to the other.

In this area, the Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism put up a shantytown outside the Capitol building in Albany and regularly mounted demonstrations.

I wondered, where are they now, and what do they think about these massacres? So I called Vera Michelson, co-chairwoman of the coalition, and asked her.

keep in mind one profoundly ironic fact: more black South Africans are being killed now, as their country moves toward democracy, than were killed in the darkest days of apartheid. I looked it up: at Sharpeville, which was a watershed in South African history, when the police opened fire on a Pan-Africanist Congress demonstration, 69 people were killed.

At the Crossroads squatter camp, in 1985, police shot and killed 18 people.

On one day in 1986, at two different townships, the police shot and killed 30-some people.

During a rent strike in 1986, the police opened fire and killed 20 people.

On the 25th anniversary of Sharpeville, in 1985, the police shot and killed 19 funeral marchers.

Those were the bloodlest single incidents in the history of apartheid, and by the standards of today's maybem they were small potatoes. In the first five days of last week, 130 people were killed — an average of 26 a day.

In the 3½ years since Nelson Mandela was released from prison, some 10,000 people—ordinary, everyday black people—have been backed, stabbed, shot and burned to death in South Africa. Think of it:

Explaining it

Wera Michelson, who has spent much of her adult life campaigning for justice for black South Africans, makes of this just what I guessed she would make of it; she labels it "apartheid violence" and blames it on the government. The government could stop it and doesn't. The government surreptitiously supports the inkaths Freedom Party and encourages attacks. This is not tribal violence, she assured me, "not black-on-black violence, not rival groups; it's political violence."

In other words, it can be explained! "You have to look at the source of the violence," she insisted, and of course the source lies outside of the people who are doing the killing.

She cannot entertain the thought, and I bet most campaigners for justice cannot entertain the thought, that black South Africans are killing each other simply because they are as cruel and murderous as other human beings. If they are killing each other, first, it is best not to pay too much attention, and second, it must be someone else's fault.

So the Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism is not demonstrating in the streets, and no one else is, either. There are no sanctimonious shantytowns being built on college campuses and no sanctimonious hunger strikes being conducted in front of embassies. Among the perpetually morally indignant, all is quiet.

SCHENECTADY COLUMNIST, CARL STROCK, WRITES OF "BLACK ON BLACK" VIOLENCE... OR "WHATEVER"

VERA MICHELSON OF CD-CAAR RESPONDS TO STROCK'S LACK OF ANALYSIS

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR GAZETTE, August 29, 1993

Strock ignores white role in S. African violence

Carl Strock does two things in his column of Aug. 8. He presents black South Africans as murderous, cruel and self-destructive, and he portrays anti-apartheid activists as selectively sanctimonious and morally indignant.

He does this by misrepresenting the South African situation, creating the impression that black people are just going around killing each other because the thought of freedom is just too much to handle. He would also reduce the current violence to the common media descriptions such as black on black violence, tribal violence etc., ignoring any deeper analysis of what is at the root of the violence.

When it is explained to him he brushes it off, preferring his own simplistic description of the problem.

The system of apartheid declares black people as less human than whites, simply because of the color of their skin. This system has led to the destruction and dislocation of entire communities. It has justified the stealing of land and all other forms of wealth from black people. It has justified mass murder, assassinations, subversion of courts of law, of education, of health care, all in the inter-

ests of serving the white minority. By creating a massive majority population of dislocated and dispossessed people, the white benefactors have also created conditions which have led to much of the violence in South Africa.

Carl Strock does not mention that apartheid also created a small number of black people who have served apartheid's aims and who have definitely benefited from it. Among those who have gained is Inkatha Freedom Party chief, Gatsha Buthelezi. Buthelezi is using all means at his disposal to protect his ill-gotten gains.

Strock fails to mention that the

apartheid government has repeatedly been forced to admit its collusion in training soldiers loyal to Buthelezi. They have financed Buthelezi's activities and participated in acts of violence intended to stir up factional fighting.

The involvement of South African security forces in township violence has been documented by several international human rights groups. Mercenaries from other countries have also been observed in Inkatha training camps in South Africa.

The deliberate use of the indigenous population to create havoc at

the dawn of freedom is not new. It happened in Namibia. It happened in Angola. It happened in Mozambique and it's happening in South Africa. Parts of South Africa are being torn apart by this violence which intensifies in direct correlation to profess in negotiations. This is not happening by

Mr. Strock does not see any of this; takes no responsibility for any analysis; and, with paternalistic myopia, spreads disinformation with vicious and unfounded sarcasm.

Like a leech, he feeds on the suffering and strife of the very painful South African struggle for democracy. In the process he does all of us a grave disservice.

VERA MICHELSON Albany

The writer is co-chairperson for the Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism.

Namibia gets back Walvis Bay...In mid-August, 1993 the South African government decided to hand back the strategic port of Walvis Bay to Namibia. This port is the only deep-water harbor between Cape Town, South Africa and Angola. UN Security Council Resoltion 432 in 1978 had declared Walvis Bay as the sole property of Namibia. But when Namibia (formerly South West Africa) gained independence from South Africa in 1989, the Pretoria government refused to relinquish its claim to Walvis Bay. Now the bay, which belongs to Namibia by nature and constitution, is finally under the legitimate control of the Namibian people. (Report from the City Sun, 8/27/93)

This isn't Los Angeles?

Upadate on civil rights cases in Albany

The following two articles which outline the victory of James Lunday in his civil rights lawsuit against the City of Albany and Albany police detectives and the long time case of the death of Jesse Davis at the hands of Albany police are from the Advocate, Summer1993, the newsletter for the Center for Law and Justice, Inc.

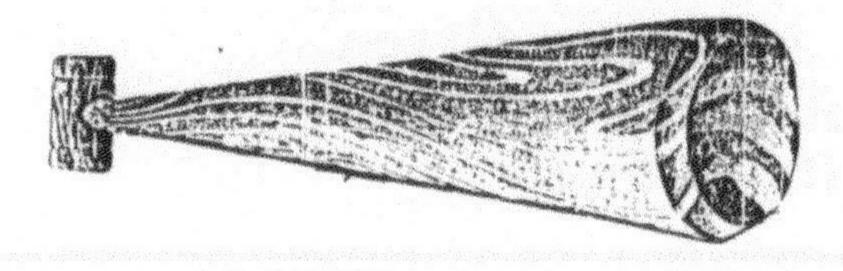
Victim of Police Brutality Wins in Court

On May 28, Black police victim, James F. Lunday of Albany was awarded \$35,000 by a federal district court jury. In a civil rights lawsuit, Mr. Lunday accused the City of Albany, three police detectives, Kenneth Sutton, John Tanchak, and Thomas Shillinger and police officer, Martha Sidoti of false arrest, using excessive force during his 1989 arrest, and malicious prosecution. However, the jury found that only Kenneth Sutton used excessive force and rejected the other claims.

During the trial, both James Lunday and ex-police officer Sidoti thestified that Mr. Lunday who was simply standing on Elizabeth Street, was approached on May 13, 1989 by the four officers in an unmarked car. Detective Sutton asked Mr. Lunday to identify himself. When Mr. Lunday refused and used profanity, Sutton and Tanchak threw him against their car and arrested him. While on the way to the police station, Sutton and Tanchak beat Mr. Lunday and Sutton called him a "nigger" and "jungle bunny." Once at the station, Sutton "rammed" Mr. Lunday's head against metal lockers. Sidoti also testified that Detective Tanchak kicked Mr. Lunday.

While it is not illegal to refuse to identify oneself to the police or use profanity towards them, the jury did not accept Mr. Lunday's charge that he was illegally arrested. Also, it did not accept his claim of malicious prosecution although Sutton charged Mr. Lunday with resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, and assault, all charges that were thrown out of court.

Mr. Lunday was represented by attorney Terrence Kindlon and Martha Sidoti was represented by Mark Mishler.



Jesse Davis Trial September 16th Moved to Syracuse

(Note: Since the publication of this article, the Davis trial has been postponed from Sept. 16 to later in the fall.)

The family of Jesse Davis, who was killed by police in 1984, has made an urgent appeal to the community for help to bring the civil rights case to court. For the past year, family members and community residents have worked to raise over \$20,000 needed to pay expert witnesses and other costs associated with the case. Louise Thornton, Mr. Davis' sister and plaintiff in the case, said that "Justice demands that we have our day in court. The police officers involved will have all their expenses paid by the City, but we have no one to help us."

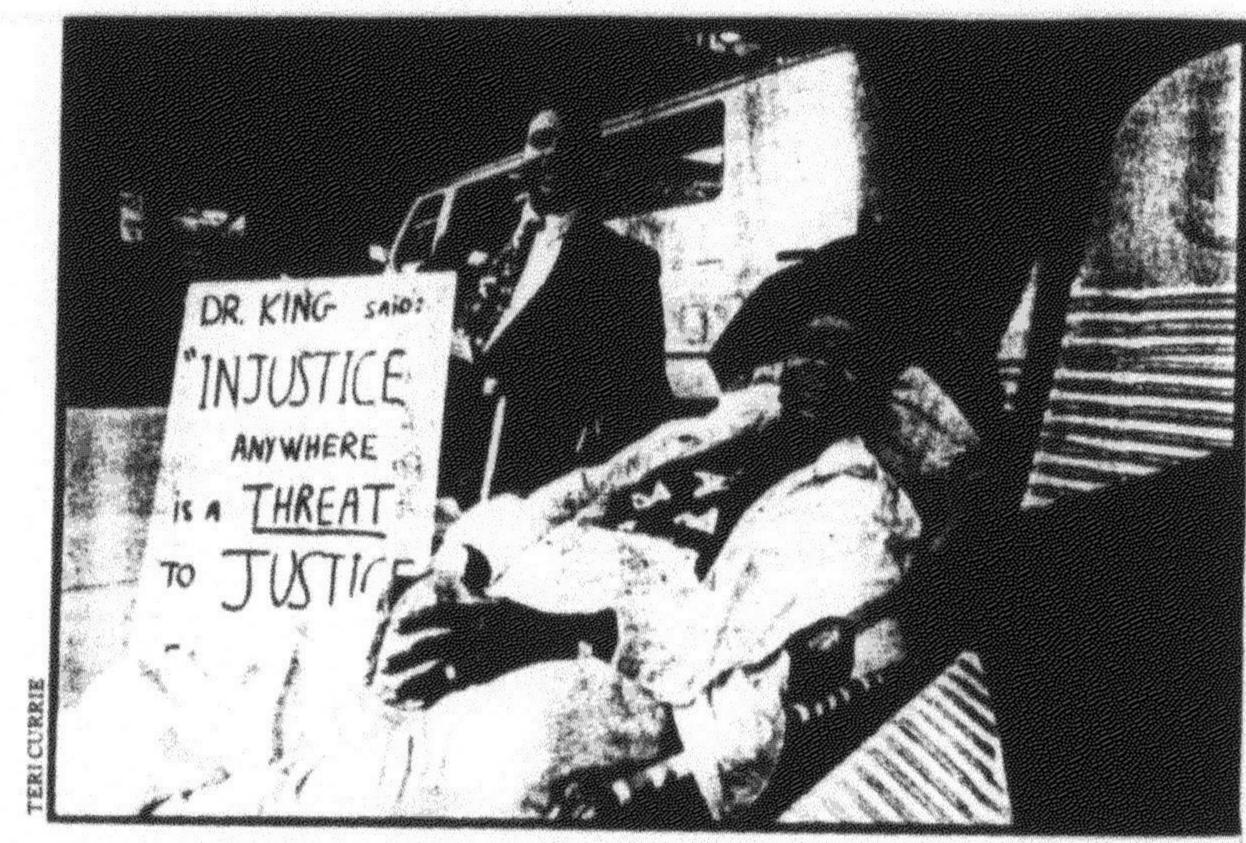
Recently released photographs reveal that Jesse Davis was clutching a toy truck and key case in his hands as he lay dying. Nowhere is there a knife and fork visible, raising questions about police contentions that Davis was shot when he lunged at them with a fork and knife.

case, a local community fund was established to receive and manage monies for the Davis lawsuit. Donations have been made to purchase photographs, obtain records, pay fees, and obtain the services of pathologists. Other fees and expert witness costs must be paid soon. Because the trial will be located in Syracuse, it will pose even more hardships on the plaintiff, Louise Thornton. Additional monies will be needed for housing, food, transportation, and other costs. It also means that many of those in the Albany community who have followed this case for nearly a decade will not get an opportunity to be present in the court.

All donations go directly to pay court expenses, none is used for administrative costs. Those able and willing to contribute any amount of money are encouraged to send their donation to: The Jesse Davis Memorial Fund, c/o The Center for Law and Justice, Inc., Pine West Plaza, Building #2, Washington Avenue Extension, Albany, New York 12205.

(See next page for details on the Jesse Davis Fund)

Merton Simpson and Alice Green Fasting in Front of Omni Hotel for Jesse Davis Fund



HUNGRY FOR MONEY: Many of the guests who arrived at Albany's Omni Hotel Tuesday came to attend a fund-raiser for the Martin Luther King Memorial Committee and eat dinner. But to get in, they had to pass three of the area's leading civil rights activists, Merton Simpson (left), Alice Green (right) and Gail Byrnes (not pictured), who were fasting overnight in front of the building. The trio hoped to persuade the committee to donate part of the money it receives to a federal civil rights lawsuit filed by the family of Jesse Davis, who was killed by Albany police in 1984. Last week the case was transferred to Syracuse, greatly raising the expenses of the Davis family.

At the end of the first Rodney King trial in Los Angeles, a Jesse Davis fund was established to help assist in the raising of funds for the Davis lawsuit. The Center for Law and Justice has raised significant funds; the Albany NAACP has donated and raised over \$1500 and has also arranged for the services of a stenographer to help with the many pretrial depostions necessary in preparing this case. However, much more is needed.

Currently a monument to Dr. Martin Luther King is being erected in Albany's Lincoln Park and community donations are being solicited by a Memorial Committee. The monument will be a visible reminder of the contributions of Dr. King and the civil rights movement.

Alice Green, Executive Director of the Center for Law and Justice, on the eve of a vigil and fast to call attention to the need for funds, wrote: "Although we strongly endorse this (the King Memorial) effort, we have asked "The Martin Luther King Jr. Mememorial" Committee to expand its tribute by including a living component that would address a current and recognized injustice in our community - something that we believe Martin Luther King would be involved in if he were here with us. It is our strong belief that the Jesse Davis lawsuit is such a cause. Therefore, we have asked the Committee to financially support the case by contributing a portion of the funds it raises to the Davis case so that Mr. Davis' family can gain full access to the courts and justice."

Both Green and Merton Simpson, Co-chair of CD-CAAR, expressed the importance of calling attention to the urgency for funds in the Davis case. On the fast, Simpson said: "We feel if Martin Luther King were here today he'd be with us." Green said: "The Davis family is poor and we believe this request is in keeping with Martin Luther King's principles that urge us to seek justice."

King memorial funds won't go for lawsuit

By JOHN MORAN

Gazette Reporter 6-23-93

ALBANY — The head of the Martin Luther King Memorial Committee said a hunger strike would not move him to expand the memorial fund-raising drive to include legal fees for a civil rights lawsuit.

The Rev. Robert Dixon said the King committee, which held a fundraising dinner at the Omni Hotel Tuesday, was generating funds for the memorial being built in Lincoln Park and the money shouldn't be diverted to other things.

On Monday, three activists started a vigil outside the Omni to bring attention to the pending \$40 million lawsuit against five Albany police officers for the shooting death of Jessie Davis. The activists, led by Alice Green, are trying to raise money for legal fees and other expenses Davis' family is incurring in order to bring their case to trial.

Davis was shot by police after they responded to a report of a man going berserk at a Clinton Avenue apartment. Police said Davis attacked them with a knife and fork. A grand jury found it a justifiable shooting and brought no charges against po-

"I'm not against the Jessie Davis fund, but I'm not going to take money for the King memorial and dish it out to some place else," Dixon said. "We are raising money for the monument. Alice Green hasn't put a cent into it, and none of the people she's working with have put a cent into it."

Dixon said Green's request was "way off base."

When Dixon arrived at the Omni Tuesday night for the dinner he told one of the demonstrators handing out fliers on the Davis case: "You're not going to give me one of those things, are you?"

Dixon added that his church had a collection for the Davis fund that raised \$150.

Green, director of the Center for Law and Justice, said she was disappointed with Dixon's reaction.

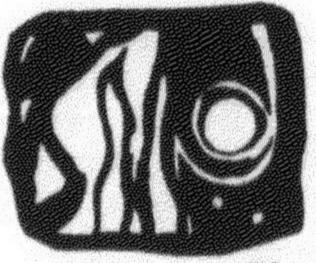
"It shows they don't understand what is inscribed on the monument, 'Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.' Are they just hollow words?" she said.

"We are saying Martin Luther King Jr. would not want a bust of himself. He would want to help people fight injustice." said Merton Simpson, another protester and cochairman of the Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Rac-

"It raises the question of whether they are using his name for their own

aggrandizement," Simpson added.

Green said many people going into the dinner agreed that the fund-raising should be broadened to include the Davis legal fund.



Community Good News!

Merton Simpson Wins "Frederick Douglass Struggle for Justice"Award

Long time community activist and CD-CAAR Co-Chair Merton Simpson was awarded the "Frederick Douglass Struggle for Justice" award given by the Center for Law and Justice. The award, made at the Center's annual conference on April 24th, recognizes those in the community who follow the example of Frederick Douglass. Douglass was born into slavery and spent his life working for abolition of slavery and for racial justice. Victor Brown also was a recipient of the 1993 award.

Merton has dedicated a lifetime to working for global justice. With CD-CAAR and with the Center for Law and Justice, he has been an outspoken and consistent opponent against issues of racism in the criminal justice system. Congratulations, Merton! You truly follow Douglass' s words: "If there is no struggle, there is not progress."

Bill Ritchie elected president of Albany Public School Teachers Association

Congratulations to Bill Ritchie, CD-CAAR member and union liason person, on his June election to head up the Albany school teachers union. His overriding concern for the education of all youth has been evidenced by the commitment he has made to many progressive changes in the Albany School district. And his continuous recognition that the struggle for justice for workers is not just a local concern has translated into numerous concrete actions in the Albany union, the New York State United Teachers union and the national American Federation of Teachers. Bill has successfully introduced resolutions backing the democracy movement in South Africa and calling for peace in Mozambique at national meetings of the American Federation of Teachers. We wish you the best of luck -Amandla, Brother!

"Holding Talks by Himself"

A play in two-acts, "Holding Talks by Himself," written and directed by Katey Assem was held on Thursday, August 12, 1993 at the Capital District Psychiatric Center Auditorium. The play, featuring Greg Owens, Leonard Comithier, Barry Walston, Darryle Martin, Terry Owens and Justin Dinkins, was sponsored by the Macedonia Baptist

Church Men's Group and CD-CAAR. Proceeds from the play went to CD-CAAR to help sponsor CD-CAAR member Barry Walston as a member of a US Delegation to the ANC Youth Conference in Johannesburg, South Africa. Barry has been doing invaluable work with CD-CAAR youth projects. The conference was originally scheduled for August but has been postponed until late fall. Thanks to all who gave their support to the play and have made donations for Barry to represent us at this conference.

Good news continued...

The Community Chronicle

They're back! Former community newspaper, "South End Scene" staffers Roseanne Campbell, Shirley Freeman, Irv Landa, Paul Stewart, Eleanor Billmeyer and Clarence Parker have regrouped with Editor, Art Mitchell, and are publishing a new community newspaper, The Community Chronicle." The paper publishes news of the community which is generally not covered in the mainstream press.

CD-CAAR urges readers to support this effort by sending news and articles, taking out ads, donating time and money, and subscribing. Art and his staff can be reached by writing or calling: Community News of the Albany District, Inc., P.O. Box 503, Albany, N.Y. 12201 (518) 459-3076.

Nubian Pathways Bookstore and Cultural Emporium Opens

Nathaniel Bracey, Neal Currier and their families have opened a new bookstore at 215 Central Avenue, Albany. Nubian Pathways specializes in books by and about Black people, Afrocentric greeting cards, audio and video tapes by top scholars, original art and jewelry and Afrocentric clothing and accessories. The store also carries used books.

Hours are Monday through Saturdays - 11:00 am to 7:00 pm. Browsers always welcome!

100 Black Men Forms Group in Albany

100 Black Men of Albany, N.Y. Capital Region has been formed under the leadership of President Richard Harris. Other Officers are 2nd Vice President, Elmer Green; Secretary, Woody Fulton; Assistant Secretary, Douglas Williams; Treasurer, Azzaam Taukeed Hameed; Parliamentarian, J. Marc Hannibal, Esq. and George a. Yanhthis, Esq.

The group has organized several committees which will help "utilize the talents and skills of Black Men in the Capital Region as a force for positive change in the Black community." 100 Black Men can be reached by writing to P.O. Box 708, Albany, New

York 12201

ServAlbany

Help Raise Money for the Albany Service Corps ServAlbany is a new event that gathers citizens to celebrate community service and volunteerism through action. Set for October 23, 1993 at 7:45 am, the event will assemble thousands of friends and neighbors who will do many service tasks for the community (restore local parks and school grounds, sort and collect food at emergency distribution sights, paint walls at neighborhood centers and much more!). ServAlbany is also a fund raiser. On October 23, participants will work in teams and each of the members will have solicited sponsors to support their work, in much the same manner as a bowl-a-thon or walk-a-thon.

All funds raised from ServAlbany will be granted as training and educational scholarships to future graduates of the Albany Service Corps, a three year old city

-sponsored program that involves youth in service projects throughout the city. CD-CAAR urges your participation in this event. Albany Service Corps is definitely serving youth. SERVE THE CORPS! Call Paul Winkeller (434-5204) or Jose Schramm (434-5128) for applications and more information.

Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism Fall Membership Meeting presents

(dis) "the new world forder"

and its impact on Africa, the Caribbean and the Americas

with Samori Marksman Program Director, WBAI Radio, New York City Founding Member, Patrice Lumumba Coalition Expert on African and Caribbean Affairs

Wednesday, October 6, 1993 -7:00 p.m. St. John Church of God in Christ 94 Herkimer Street, Albany, N.Y. (In Pastures, 2 blocks below Madison Ave. off S. Pearl)

free and open to the public (for more information call 438-0309)



Capital District Coalition

Against Apartheid and Racism
a project of the Social Justice Center

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Albany, New York 12210

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Wednesday, October 6, 1993 - 7:00 p.m "the new world (dis)order" (details inside)



Spike Lee

Philip Agee Ror

Ronald Takaki

Urban Bush Women

MYTH, MEDIA AND TEXTS:
Social Interpretation and Implication
Fall Lecture Series at Siena College

Hold these dates!

September 28, 1993 - Spike Lee, producer, director, writer and actor
Topic: His Books and Movies (Alumni Recreation Center)

October 28, 1993 - Philip Agee, former CIA agent, now its harsh critic
Topic: The CIA and US Foreign Policy (Roger Bacon Hall, Room 202)

November 11, 1993 - Ronald Takaki, Professor of Ethnic Studies, Berkley
Topic: Multicultural American History (Roger Bacon Hall, Room 202)

December 1, 1993 - Urban Bush Women. Using movement, music, a
cappella vocalizations, and drama, UBW creates and produces a mult-disciplinary
work rooted in popular African-American cultural traditions. (Foy Campus Center)

All events are at 8:00 pm., are free and open to the public
(CD-CAAR is proud to be one of the sponsors of this series)



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 1994

We are asking you to walk the final mile...

Some of you have been members of CD-CAAR since 1981 when the South African rugby team came to Albany. All of you, in so many ways, have supported the struggle for justice in South Africa over the years. And now, what seemed like ch a distant possibility back in 1981, is about to happen. The first election ever in which all South Africans will vote as equals is scheduled for April 27, 1994. As South Africa approaches this most important election, once again show your support for justice and peace by making a contribution toward the South African election process. Inside this newsletter there is an appeal from Nelson Mandela.

Please read all the information carefully and then make as generous a contribution as you are able.



Your support is as important now as it ever was over all the years of protest. Walk this final mile for a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

The Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism a project of the Social Justice Center, Albany, New York

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Enclosed find my contribution of (circle one) \$50 \$25 \$10 \$____ to aid the election process in South Africa.

Make checks out to: Fund for Democratic Elections in South Africa mail to: 729 Boylston Street, Suite 520, Boston, Massachusetts 02116.

(This Fund has been established by a group of long time anti-apartheid workers in the U.S. as a way to assist in the upcoming elections. CD-CAAR will be informed of all contributions from our readership.)

A PERSONAL APPEAL FROM NELSON MANDELA (reprinted from: the Fund for Democratic Elections in South Africa appeal)

THIS IS THE MOST URGENT APPEAL I HAVE EVER MADE FOR SUPPORT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE ARE AT A DECISIVE POINT IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE.

After decades of selfless sacrifices, we have succeeded in creating the climate in which a democratic general election is imminent.

This will be the first time ever that all South Africans will vote as equals for a government of their choice.

Having said that, however, we remain fully aware of the obstacles that stand in the way of free and fair elections. Amongst these is the horrific and senseless violence that continues to plague our country.



Of equal concern, because it could prevent the achievement of democracy, is the fact that we go into these elections under an enormous handicap. The fact that the entire eligible African population like myself has never voted and possess no experience about the voting process is an obstacle. Another is the overwhelming disparity of resources that exists between the Pretoria government and the democratic movement. The legacy of apartheid has left our society in complete disarray...

Our first and most important task, therefore, will be to ensure that all our people, black and white, vote knowingly and willingly. This responsibility of providing non-partisan voter education will entirely on the democratic movement since the government does not have the credibility to carry it out. Neither is it in their interest.

The size of the task takes on daunting dimensions when you consider that of the 20 million eligible voters, 18 million will be voting for the first time and 9 million are illiterate. Many of the regions in which our people live are inaccessible, without election facilities and any other public service worth mentioning. We also need to reach out to the approximately 6 or 7 million people living in makeshift or corrugated squatter camps bordering most metropolitan areas.

The Pretoria government has already begun its election campaign. At this very moment, it is making approaches to the very communities it has until now refused even to acknowledge.

The Pretoria government is making full use of public and state facilities worth billions of dollars to support their own interests. The Pretoria government will continue to finance its campaign with taxpayers' money as well as with funds that flow freely from many sources including the private sector, industry, and big business. It will continue to carry its propaganda efforts to every corner of South Africa and beyond, via the national electronic media which have remained fully under its control.

We, on the other hand, still have to create a national electoral infrastructure, put in place essential facilities, train and educate electoral workers and volunteers, establish offices throughout the country. Additionally, we have to reach out and communicate to inaccessible communities and counter the propaganda efforts of the government in the national media.

Our organization was unbanned a mere three years Ago. We have never fought an election and will have to acquire the skills that under normal conditions require decades to put in place.

The cost of acquiring the necessary infrastructure and providing the essential training and education to ensure that the elections will be free and fair will not be less than US \$100 million. But what is the cost when one compares that to the price of failure and the result in human suffering?

Another Yugoslavia? Angola or Somalia? Civil war? Bloodshed? Famine?

... This is not an election merely to be contested between different organizations; it is a contest between freedom and oppression, and its outcome will affect over 100 million peoplethroughout Southern Africa. As I said, this is the most urgent appeal I have ever made for support. Let us ensure that our country's children never know the suffering and humiliation of previous generations.

Nothing can be allowed to stand in the way of democracy; not ignorance, not illiteracy, and most certainly not the advantageous resources of those who wish to preserve their privileged positions. With your help and support we cannot fail.

Nelson R. Mandela

Only a

democratically
elected government
that reflects the real
will of the majority
can realistically
answer the cry for
peace, jobs, and
justice



THAT IS THE DAY THAT THE FIRST FREE, TOTALLY OPEN, MULTIRACIAL ELECTION IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY (left) ANC election will BE HELD.

(left) ANC election
poster stresses the
importance of proper
identity documents.

April 27th will shape the future of the people of South Africa for years to come. But there are still many obstacles to the democratic exercise of rights by all of South Africa's people. Some of the obstacles that may hinder full electoral participation are the following:

- *18 million people have never voted in an election before; they have no knowledge of voting laws or procedures.
- *Voters will not be pre-registered. They will show their identity documents at the polls. It is estimated that 5 million Blacks do not have any identity documents whatsoever.
- *There will be 7,400 voting stations and one day of voting. Approximately 3,000 people will vote at each station (3 per minute) this includes time for clearing identity documents.
- *One half of the Black electorate live in rural areas controlled by conservative whites and Neo Nazis. Campaigning here is very difficult is not impossible. Traditional trespass rule ("no go" laws) allow farmers, mineowners, etc. to control access to their property.
- *A poor public transportation system, and the paucity of private transportation, may severely inhibit voters' actual access to polling places.
- •7 million Blacks live in squatter camps with no electricity and no running water.
- •50% of the Black population is illiterate; 50% of the Black population is unemployed.
- *The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) has 23 parties. There are 23 parties in the elections including the ANC and the Nationalist Party. The TEC has set up subcouncils on media, election laws and security; they are now operational. There is a fundamental disagreement between the government and the TEC over the nature and scope of the TEC's powers. According to the government, the TEC is an advisory body only and does not have the power to issue directives. The TEC believes that it has concurrent executive powers.
- •This difference is of serious consequence the government would maintain that the TEC does not have the authority to order the deployment of South African security forces into Mangosuthu Buthelezi's violence-torn KwaZulu homeland.

•The right wing Freedom Alliance which includes the Afrikaner Volksfront, the Bophuthatswana government, the Conservative Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu government are not members of the TEC. Ciskei, a member of the Freedom Alliance, has joined the TEC.

*The single greatest threat to the conduct of free and fair elections is political violence. Over 10,000 people have died in state sponsored political violence, the great majority being Black supporters of the African National Congress, since Mandela's release from jail in 1990. The South African Human Rights Commission reported that "the violence is being fueled by elements who perceive their interests, privileges and power to be threated by a negotiated and democratic settlement. Increased incidences of violence in the country exacerbate fear of voting among the electorate - especially those who are first-time voters. Unless effective action is taken to reduce bloodshed, many thousands of Black voters may be too frightened to participate.

Groups both within and without of South Africa are working to make sure that the election will be as free and as fair as possible. Some of the actions being taken are as follows:

•The United Nations has promised to send between 2,000 and 4,000 observers. The Commonwealth will deploy 70; Japan, 100; the European Union, 312; and NGO's from Europe, the U.S. and the Far East and pledged substantial obervers.

 Voter education (the importance of participation, education and training of new voters, holding mock elections) and monitoring the violence which is wracking the country are of critical importance.

•Within the country, Matla Trust is a non-partisan organization set up to provide voter education for Black South Africans. The Institute for Contextual Theology is another non-partisan group doing voter education. EMPSA is a joint effort by the South African Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the World Council of Church to bring an international presenece to the grassroots level and to monitor the violence, the negotiations process, and the run-up to elections. This program places teams of monitors in violence torn-communities where they serve four to six weeks. (Contact for more inforamtion: Willis Logan, National Council of Churches, Africa Office, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y.N.Y. 10115 (212)870-2645 or Robert Dumas, U.S. Catholic Conference, 3211 4th Street, NE, Washington, D.C. 20017 (202)541-3382. In the U.S., the Africa Fund is enlisting people to be Election Watchers to inform people in the U.S. of threats to a free and fair election. (Contact for more information: Dumisani Kumalo, The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, N.Y.N.Y. 10038 (212)961-1210.

"Passing the Torch to a New Generation: Celebrating our Youth and Preparing Leaders for the 21st Century." Albany Branch NAACP Annual Freedom Fund Dinner, Empire State Plaza, March 4, 1994, 7:00 p.m.

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano Visits U.S. ...to U.S. Activists: "Don't get tired!"

The state of the s

On September 26, 1994 at a reception at Sylvia's Also on Malcom X Boulevard in Harlem, and on September 28, 1994 to about 200 U.S. activists at a breakfast meeting organized by the American Committee on Africa at the New York Theological Seminary, President Joaquim Chissano greeted and spoke to friends of Mozambique. As the conditions in Mozambique change in this new time of peace, and as development issues become critical, this meeting provided the opportunity for President Chissano to discuss new directions for those who worked with, and for, Mozambique through the years of struggle.

"Our main weapon has always been to be able to mobilize people and mobilize public opinion outside of Mozambique...Continue to do what you are doing. Continue to support consolidation of freedom. Continue to share experiences with new generations so that we can continue the friendships we have built. Continue to transmit information. Help us to destroy bad and build good," Chissano told the audience as he expressed several times how encouraging it is to experience the commitment of the solidarity movement.

Jennifer Davis, Exec. Director, the Africa Fund, with Mozambican President, Joachim Chissano at Harlem reception, September 28, 1994.



Photo: Vera Michel

The reconstruction of Mozambique is under way... Pastor Jamisse in front of new Methodist

Church/community center being built to serve the people of Liberdade, Mozambique.



On both occasions, Chissano outlined the peace progress and the work being done, as well as what needs to be done, as Mozambique moves toward national reconstruction. It will be necessary to rebuild destroyed infrastructures and destroyed lives. It is a country of displaced and orphans, traumitzed children; a country where schools and hospitals have been destroyed. It is a country where millions of its people have been living as internal and external refugees attempting to escape the war; refugees now beginning to return to their homes.

In addition to reconstruction, he addressed the issue of reconciliation, noting that "...reconciliation - the word is misused. RENAMO broke not from Frelimo but from the whole family of Mozambique." He pointed out that the Mozambicans who fought with RENAMO did so first for the Rhodesians and then, for sixteen years, for the South Africans. That brutal war of destabilization cost Mozambique horrendous human and economic costs. Yet, with mixed emotions and despite continuing RENAMO demands, violations and delays, Chissano expressed hope for a new Mozambique. He called on U.S. activists to keep working for Mozambique by continuing to give support in many ways: people-to people projects, strengthening U.S. government and Mozambique government ties, calling for clear U.S. policy on Mozambique. "Mozambique has potential. It is now one of the poorest countries but can be turned into one of the richest and become a partner of the United States ... Don't get tired!"

(Note: It is very difficult to find up-to-date and accurate information on Mozambique. An excellent source of news can be found in the Baobob Notes, put out by the Mozambique Solidarity Office. Boabob Notes is a Celiable and easy-to-read newsletter aimed at providing alternative and often inaccessible information to people in the U.S. about events in Mozambique and Southern Africa. For a yearly subscription (6 bi-monthly issues) send \$20 to MSO, 6 Goodrich Rd. #2, Jamaica Plain, MA. 02130-2005. Telephone: (617)983-2239.)

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Noting Brutal Hypocrisy: Haiti and Angola

CD-CAAR notes here that the hypocrisy of the U.S. government, with all its noise making over free and fair elections for democracy in the world, continues under the Clinton administration and becomes very clear when we look at two cases in point - Haiti and Angola.

IIAITI - Haiti's President, Jean Bertrand Aristide, was democratically elected by the overwhelming majority of the Haitian people. In September 1991 he was overthrown by a gang of thugs who were on guess whose payroll? No surprise - the CICADA. This is the same CIA which is trying to make us believe that President Aristide is mentally unbalanced!! And since the coup in Haiti, thousands of Haitians have been killed, arrested and tortured, and "disappeared."

An Americas Watch /National Coalition on Haitian Refugees report entitled "Silencing a People: the Destruction of Civil Society in Haiti" describes the army's actions as "systematically repressing virtually all forms of independent association." The army's aim, according to the report, is to "return Haiti to the atomized and fearful society of the Duvalier era so that even if international pressure secures the return of Arisitide, he would have difficulty transforming his personal popularity into the organized support needed to exert civilian authority over a violent and recalcitrant army." (from Peace and Democracy News, Summer 1993).

A Witness for Peace delegation which visited Haiti in the Fall found that there was widespread suspicion among the Haitian people that even if the U.S. government does exercise the power to get Arisitide back in office, it would only be as a figurehead, with a compromised ability to govern. In the Governor's Island accords, Arisitide was forced to make many concessions but to what avail? It is now the winter of 1994 and Arisitide has still not been returned to power, the army has a firm control over the country, and new gangs are being formed, with army backing, to intimidate the people from showing any support for Aristide. The years tick away on Aristide's six year term.

The Clinton administration will not support real democracy in Haiti unless pressured to do so. Just consider Clinton's promises before the election and now his continuing failure to establish a just political refugee policy. The Administration mouthes platitudes about democracy and shamefully lets the military continue to rule. There is no political will to resolve the crisis. And the Haitian people continue to suffer.

Please do not let this intolerable U.S. policy toward Haiti stand.

Contact your elected representatives and:

stress that the U.S. exert the necessary pressure to return Aristide to power. 2. oppose any plan for making Pres. Aristide "expand" his government to include promilitary forces.

3. demand an investigation into the role of the CIA and other government agencies in supporting anti-democratic forces in Haiti, drug trafficking and disinformation. 4. ask your Representative to co-sponsor Carrie Meek's bill supporting Haitian refugees. ANGOLA - Just as corrupt as U.S. policy in Haiti is the stand the U.S. is taking toward Angola. The government party in Angola (the MPLA) won internationally declared fair and free elections in September of 1992. Since then Jonas Savimbi and UNITA (long backed by the CIA and South Africa) have plunged Angola into a virtual hell. Savimbi refused to accept the democratic election results and has resumed his brutal war against the Angolan people. The country barely functions, the infrastructure has been destroyed. A recent U.N. report cites the Angolan war as resulting in the highest fatality rate of any conflict in the world. Other experts call it the worst war in the world. One thousand people a day are dying. How do you bury 1,000 people a day...?

The U.S., which both overtly and covertly armed and aided Savimbi over the years, is largely responsible for the carnage. And now the U.S. is guilty of a conspiracy of silence. Indeed, the silence is deafening... There are no loud condemnations of Savimbi. The U.S. is not leading the fight to implement a mandatory U.N. embargo on arms, fuel, etc., to UNITA. In fact, the U.S. is doing very little to insure that the winners of the

democratically held election are allowed to rule.

Foreign Minister Venacio de Moura said the U.S. has special responsibility to revive the 1991 peace accord because of its past history of support for UNITA. It is our special responsible to let our representatives know that what is happening in Angola is intolerable and that we expect them to be doing everything possible to see that the U.S. takes the lead in stopping the war, in denouncing Savimbi for the destructive role he is playing and in forcing the UNITA leadership to negotiate in good faith.

The Washington Office on Africa proposes a list of specific ways the U.S. could work to restrain its former client and bring an end to the carnage in Angola:

1. allocate intelligence resources to identify states, companies, individuals who are involved in arms supplies to UNITA;

2. put pressure on diamond merchants who are purchasing diamonds being sold by UNITA to fund the war;

3. insist that South Africa stops flights with supplies, including those originating in Bophuthatswana;

4. issue strong warning to stop any attacks on U.S. (or other) on and off shore oil installations.

WRITE LETTERS ON HAITI AND ANGOLA a list of our representatives and senators is included on the next page. Take the time to write!

COMBAT MEDIA DISINFORMATION demand accurate information from you local news outlets. Write op-eds, letters to the editor and meet with the editorial boards of your newspapers to set the record straight on Haiti and Angola.

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If you want to read more about Haiti...

"After the Coup" (Still in the Hands of the Thugs) - a report of the Special Delegation of the National Labor Committee which is an excellent book describing conditions as they really are in Haiti and the true role of USAID. This can be purchased by contacting: National Labor Committee, 15 Union Square West, New York, New York 10003-3377 (212)242-0700. Cost \$5.00.

We also suggest that interested readers subscribe to "liaiti Reborn." Project of the Quixote Center, P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, Md. 20782. (301)699-0042. (The Quixote Center has long been a source of valuable information on Haiti.)

Another good resource on Haiti: "Teaching About Haiti."
This is an updated and expanded 40 page edition of the teaching
guide prepared for last year's Haiti Solidarity Week. For more
information, contact Network of Educators in the Americas (NECA),
118 22nd Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037 (202)429-0137.

And about South Africa...

Voting in the Shadow of Apartheid - This pamphlet answers questions about the coming elections in South Africa - the purpose, who can vote, the problems. It also contains a section about the Namibia elections of 1989.

The Struggle Continues: South African Women and the Vote - This pamphlet addresses some of the issues affecting Black South African women as they prepare to participate in that country's first national democratic election. It should serve as a valuable resource to anyone interested in the South African women's movement, voter education, democracy;, and the position of women in that country's current political transition.

(The above pamphlets are available from: The Africa Fund 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (212)962-1210. The cost is 35 cents each, 20 cents for 20 or more. Minimum order is \$1.00)

Corporate Responsibility from the Ground Up: The South African Council of Churches "Code of Business Conduct" - This valuable report by Donna Katzin addresses the questions of responsible reinvestment in South Africa. (Available from: Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, 475 Riverside Drive, Rm 566, N.Y., N.Y 10115 (212) 870-2295. Cost \$2.50 single issue; \$1.50 ea. for 20.)

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Congressional Addresses:

Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan 464 Russell Senate Office Bldg. Washington, D.C. 20510 Phone (202)224-4451 214 Main St. Oneonta, New York Phone: (607)433-2310

Rep. Michael R. McNulty (21st Congressional District) 217 Cannon House Office Bldg. Washington, D.C. 20515 Phone: (202)225-5076 827 O'Brien Federal Bldg. Albany, New York 12207 Phone: (518)465-0700

Rep. Sherwood Boehlert (23rd Congressional District) 1127 Longworth House Office Bldg. Washington, D.C. 20515 Phone: (202225-1655 10 Broad Street Utica, New York 13501 Phone: (315)793-8146

Sen. Alphonse M.D'Amato 520 Hart Senate Office Bldg. Washington, D.C. 20510 Phone: (202)224-6542 420 O'Brien Federal Bldg. Albany, New York 12207 Phone: (518)463-2244

Rep. Gerald B. Solomon (22nd Congressional District) 2265 Rayburn House Office Bldg. Washington, D.C. 20515 Phone: (202)225-5614 Gaslight Square Saratoga Springs, New York 12866 Phone: (518)587-9800

> Read about Haiti, Angola, Cuba. Write Congress, Tell them what you think!



Note: (provided by Susan DuBois) People from the U.S. have been providing a nonviolent presence in Haiti as international observers. "Cry for Justice" has sent observers throughout the Fall in anticipation of President Aristide's return. The Washington Office on Haiti has been coordinating these efforts. WOH can be reached at 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Suite 310, Washington, C.C. 20002, (202)543-7095.

Witness for Peace has also been in Haiti throughout the Fall. At a conference in the U.S. in October, two of the participants from this delegation reported on their observations. They had encountered a grassroots network of Haitian human rights observers working in rural areas who bring back reports which are then transmitted out of the country. Some of the Haitians with whom the delegation spoke said that although they wanted President Aristide to return, even if he did not return the democratic movement could not be stopped over the long

Work to end the cold war against



CUBA CUBA CUBA

(News from the Cuba Information Project (212)227-3422, 198 Broadway, Suite 800, New York, N.Y.)



Introduced by Rep Charles Rangel (D-NY) on April 29, 1993, this bill would remove all restrictions on trade and investments, travel, as well as telephone and mail communications with Cuba. It would life the embargo on trade by foreign subsidiaries of U.S. owned companies (one of the provisions of the Torricelli Act passed last year) and clear the way for unrestricted sales and donations of foods and medicines to and from Cuba. Also, this bill would call upon the President to open negotiations with the Cuban government to settle outstanding claims by U.S. companies whose properties were nationalized in 1959. The bill has been referred to four House committees: Foreign Affairs, Energy and Commerce, and Post Office and Civil Service, and Ways and Means which has agreed to a hearing on the bill sometime in Feb. 1994. (While there is little chance this bill will pass

hearing on the bill sometime in Feb. 1994. (While there is little chance this bill will pass as it is written, we are encouraging grassroots support for it. Contact your Representative now about becoming a co-sponsor of HR 2229. The longer the list of sponsors, the more seriously the call for a new U.S. policy will be taken. See list of Capital District area representatives and N.Y.S. Senators in this newsletter)

REVIEW OF U.S. TRAVEL POLICY TO CUBA

It is important to make sure the State Department knows there is a growing constituency calling for an end to all travel restrictions to Cuba. The phone number for Secretary of State Warren Christopher is (202) 647-5298.

THIRD U.S-CUBA PRIENDSHIPMENT CARAVAN 2/25/94 - 3/25/94
Building on the victories of the two Caravans this year, this third Friendshipment will travel on 13 routes stopping in 130 cities picking up humanitarian aid for the people of Cuba. For more info: (612) 378-0062.

ORDER. While the U.S. government restricts who can travel to Cuba, peace and justice activists may visit the island for the purpose of gathering news for a local newsletter, radio program or organization. Three trips have been planned for the winter of 1994. (Jan 21-30, Feb. 18-27, Mar.25-Apr.3) The overall theme will be getting to know the real Cuba by exploring the many facets of the island's life. There will be visits to hospitals, schools and a day care center, meeting with women's organizations and neighborhood block associations. It is an opportunity to lean about Cuba's strategy for survival and how people there are bearing up under Washington's trade ban. If you are interested or would like more information, call the CUBA INFORMATION PROJECT (212) 227-3422.

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From The Center for Law and Justice. Inc. Jessie Davis Update..."it's not about money."

The sister of Jessie Davis, the Albany man shot to death by Albany police in 1984, turned down an offer of \$350,000 made by the City of Albany to settle her civil right cases against the city and against five police officers involved in the shooting death of her brother. As a result, Judge Neal P. McCurn ordered a federal trial to be held on June 20th in Utica, moving the site from Syracuse where it was scheduled originally.

Corporation Counsel, Vincent McArdle, Jr., and the attorneys representing the police defendants in the case expressed surprise over Ms. Thornton's rejection of the offer. They have been unable to understand why Jessie Davis' family is compelled to learn the truth surrounding his death. Louise Thornton has said, "It is not about money, it's about

truth and justice."

In an open letter to the community on December 23, 1993, Louise Thornton made a request for help on an emergency basis to help fund the civil rights litigation in this case. \$6,000 is urgently needed to pay for two expert pathologists to testify at the trial. Lewis Oliver, lawyer for the family, has said that this testimony is very important for success at trial. Louise Thornton: "This trial is the only way that the truth about what happened to my brother will ever see the light of day." Please send contributions which will bring this important testimony to court to: Alice Green/Jessie Davis Fund, c/o Center for Law and Justice

Pine West Plaza, Building #2, Washington Ave. Extension Albany, New York 12205

Community Conference on Youth and the Law

The Fourth Annual Community Conference on Crime and Criminal Justice will take place on Saturday April 16, 1994. The all-day gathering will address "Youth and the Law: Problems and Solutions." Area youth are involved in the planning and organizing of the conference. Tentative workshop topics include: legal rights, survival skills, crime prevention programs that work, and the state of juvenile justice.

The Conference is being presented by The Center for Law and Justice and the New York State Division for Youth. Over 50 other community groups and agencies are expected to co-sponsor the Conference. For more information, contact the Center at (518) 427-8361.

Applications for Program Director - Youth Crime Prevention and Legal

Rights Education The Center for Law and Justice is seeking applications for the position of Program Director for a youth crime prevention and legal rights education program. Applicants should have superior writing, communicartion, analytical, and organizational skills and be able to work with youth from diverse cultural and economic backgrounds. The Director will assist a devel oping workshop programs and materials, teach mouals, do community outreach, and evaluate programs. Those interested should send resumes to The Center for Law and Justice (see address above)

Last January we ran an article by Brian O'Shaugnessy, Troy Housing advocate and CD-CAAR member, who has been working to reveal the pattern of racism, the injustice and the and nepostism that has existed in the Troy Housing Authroity for years. Just one year later incredible progress has been made in changing the "business as usual" THA-due to the persistant hard work of many in the Troy community.

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Update on efforts to reform Troy Housing Authority: 1993 - A Watershed Year

In August of 1993, a motion was put on the Troy Housing Authority (THA) Board of Commissioners agenda to "completely reorganize" the Housing Authority. The resolution passed by a 4 to 3 vote.

The resolution and the vote were unthinkable a year earlier. But within that time frame, thanks to some well-timed organizing, three of the old-guard THA Commissioners had been "replaced."

One of the priorities of those advocating reorganization will be to have THA adopt

and implement a serious affirmative action.

At the same August meeting, a vote was taken to limit the runaway powers of the Executive Director. As the newspapers wrote, Bob Hayes can no longer manipulate civil service; he can no longer turn his back on persons of color when employment opportunities arise; he can no longer give huge raises to favorite employees while overlooking the needs of the residents.

Then on October 21, 1993, the U.S. Attorney's office in Albany appeared at the THA front desk with subpoenas for volumes of Troy Housing Authority records. According to the Troy "Record," the Federal authorities will be using the information to investigate manipulation of civil service, nepotism in hiring and promotion, a lack of minority hiring and harassment of authority commissioners who voted to strip the executive of his powers.

Also in Octover, the abuses at THA became a campaign issue for the Republican City Council challengers. ...the THA was a "vote-able issue." On election day, the Democrats

were swept out of City Hall and the City Manager resigned.

Predictably, THA has tried, in 1993, to retaliate against its most vocal critic, Brian O'Shaughnessy. All attempts failed, but the last was very notable: they used the Troy Police (26 of whom are also employed by THA as security guards!) to investigate Maureen Casey (Brian's wife and co-worker) on politically-motivated charges of aggrevated harassment. The attempt failed when Maureen went public with an illegal subpeona (issued by an Assistant DA who works closely with the police) for Maureen's employee personnel file. As the deeds came to light, an apology was immediately given by the D.A. and it appears the incident is over.

All of this suggests that 1994 will bear much fruit for the residents of the Housing Authority from the seeds that began to be sowed in 1992. Cautious optimism, a watchful eye, and thanks to all who helped along the way, will be the hallmarks of the New Year.