

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

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—For A Free Southern Africa—

JULY

N A M I B I A

1984

'...no peace or reconciliation built upon the unsure foundation of injustice and inequality can ever succeed.'

The Council of Churches in Namibia on the eve of South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha's tour of Western Europe addressed an open letter to Christian Churches in Europe and North America. The CCN's executive committee - representing all major churches except the Dutch Reformed - spoke for over 80% of the total population of the Territory of Namibia.

The churchmen give a stark picture of their occupied country and the basic reason for its political, economic and social despair - South African rule. 'Namibia has become a kind of "military camp"...With the failure of the Lusaka talks, the continued linkage of the "Cuban issue", and the recent incredible denial of recourse to justice for those held in detention at Mariental since the Cassinga raid into Angola in 1978, it is hard to perceive good intentions being made by South Africa for an honest and serious search for peace.'

They speak of refusal of visas for visitors and passports for Namibian church people and of the shallow support for Pretoria's chosen instrument, the Multi-Party Conference. They address the continuing pillage of Namibia's natural resources by foreign companies and taxation for Pretoria's benefit; the underpayment of workers; the unemployed. 'The result has been that the ordinary Namibian citizen has been denied his rightful share in the wealth of his own land....This system maintains a serious situation of underdevelopment throughout the country which will take years to redress, added to which the perpetuation of the ethnic governments, with all the corruption which has gone with them, leads to increasing waste and misuse of national money.'

The religious leaders of Namibia warn of widening polarization in the community, at a time when national reconciliation is needed. 'A particularly significant and, we believe dangerous trend, is that presently being employed in some of our so-called white schools. Here a growing paranoia is being instilled by the increasing use of military tactics aimed at encouraging "security"...which....brings.....an increasing fear of fellow black citizens, hampering any present efforts being made to bring unity and undermining future hopes for nation-building.' This on top of the ongoing war in the North.

They reaffirm their loyalties: 'United Nations Resolution 435 of 1978 still remains the political basis upon which, in our estimation, independence for this country can best be achieved and any watering-down of this internationally accepted formula would spell disaster.'

Anglican, Lutheran and Roman Catholic bishops in Namibia have joined family in court action for the release of Namibian men and women held captive at the Mariental army camp since their seizure in Cassinga in Angola in 1978. The text of a Sense of the Congress resolution is in this bulletin. Demand your legislators support it.

ECSA is changing its name to: EPISCOPAL CHURCHPEOPLE FOR A
FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA

South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha played his early June tour of Western Europe as a triumphal procession and was treated to rave reviews in the South African press and by his political stalwarts upon his return. His governmental hosts overseas maintained public attitudes of cool rectitude, all insisting they expressed to their guest their abhorrence of apartheid, condemning the massive relocations of black South Africans; all berating Pretoria for its obstinacy in not getting out of Namibia; all vowing allegiance to the United Nations plan incorporated in Security Council resolution 435 for the independence of that Territory. Despite these protestations the heads of government of Portugal, Britain, West Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Italy and the Vatican received Botha and his entourage. Clearly the Pretoria regime is firmly back in the bosom of the family.

There was widespread outrage in the countries the Master of Apartheid visited, and his travels were dogged by demonstrations, most strongly in Bonn and London. Thousands of protestors marched through central London while Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher lunched with the South African premier at her official country residence, Chequers. Debate raged in Parliament over her meeting with Botha. Maggie described the discussions as 'comprehensive and candid', ranging from removals to the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela to Namibia. She defended the get-together, remarking South Africa had 'enormous strategic importance to this country', whereupon a Labour MP exclaimed: 'You let the cat out of the bag - it is the strategic importance of South Africa which matters far more than the rights of working people, black or any other colour, in that country.' There has been from the foreign office no confirmation or denial of permission for Pretoria to purchase eight British Aerospace aircraft for air and sea surveillance.

Namibia was a prominent item on the agenda of the two prime ministers at their four and a half hour meeting (excluding lunch) at Chequers on 2 June. The Western Summit met in London the following week; the Thatcher-Botha confab provided a neat channel for discussion among leaders of those nations most directly concerned with the economic, military and political value of Namibia, including Ronald Reagan who was not scheduled to visit with Botha. Britain's GUARDIAN reported, with few details, about a new United States - South African plan for a Namibian settlement. The Thatcher government's support for the scheme 'is the significance of the talks at Chequers.....The outline of the plan is so confidential that the principal figures concerned' - Botha, Reagan, Thatcher and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl - 'have limited themselves to proximity talks rather than the quadri-partite summit they might well prefer. It was this plan, rather than arguments about apartheid and the harbouring of the ANC and other political groups here, which dominated the talks at Chequers.'

The Pretoria people, emboldened by the West European reception (and the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique and a ceasefire with Angola) are exhibiting a new sense of confidence. The government-leaning CITIZEN of Johannesburg writes: 'Following the Prime Minister, Mr. P.W.Botha's, highly successful 28,000 km round-trip Euro-trek, a similar excursion into Africa is in the advanced planning stage while an extensive visit to the United States is on the drawing board.' Over and over Pretorian officials and others boast of South Africa having emerged as the regional power in southern Africa. It should not escape notice that for all the talk of peace and diplomacy the South African defense budget is being increased 21%. This is the reality behind treaties, trips and ceasefires.

There lies a deeper reality beneath Pretoria's bravado. South Africa is in serious financial difficulty. Inflation has leapt so far this year to a 14.8% annual rate; the price of gold, the country's chief overseas earner, lingers far below yesteryear's bounty; the Rand has dropped a third in relation to the dollar; a once healthy balance of payments is threatened, with international sanctions and the divestment movement clouding the future; government continues to spend heavily, on defense and the topheavy maintenance of apartheid. Resistance within South Africa spreads among all kinds of people and significantly across racial lines. Pretoria pursues the myth of a racially-compartmented society, uprooting millions of black men, women and children and dumping them in out of the way swamps, one day to explode.

Whereas, the Government and the people of the United States have recognized that refugees, prisoners of war, and civilians in war are entitled to due process and other internationally recognized human rights;

Whereas, violations of these rights within or outside the United States are considered a flagrant abuse of basic norms governing the conduct of civilized societies and cannot be condoned by the people or the Government of the United States;

Whereas, thirteen years ago the International Court of Justice declared that the international community as a whole has a duty to take steps to secure an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia;

Whereas, the South African Government has blatantly disregarded the mandate of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Geneva Conventions of 1949 concerning both prisoners of war and civilians in war;

Whereas, more than 17 years after the United Nations terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia, South Africa still occupies that territory by force and has found it necessary to secure its illegal control of Namibia at times by occupying substantial portions of southern Angola as well;

Whereas, the Government of South Africa has admitted that it is holding survivors of a May 1978 raid on the Cassinga refugee settlement approximately 150 miles within the Angolan border;

Whereas, during that military attack on the Cassinga refugee camp over 600 persons were killed, including women and children, and more than 100 survivors were forcibly abducted from Angola and taken by South African military forces to a South African military camp near Mariental, Namibia, where they are still being held;

Whereas, the State Department cited the arbitrary detention of the Mariental prisoners in its 1983 report to the Congress on human rights:

Whereas, an application was filed on March 5, 1984, in the Supreme Court of Namibia (South West Africa) to free these prisoners, charging that these survivors of the attack on the Cassinga refugee camp have been held illegally and incommunicado for at least six years, without charge or trial, by the South African Defense Forces at the Mariental camp;

Whereas, attorneys filing the application charge that the captives were 'unlawfully seized by the South African Defense Forces outside the Territory of South West Africa across an international frontier in the sovereign state of Angola...that such seizure was ultra vires the functions and powers of the SADF...and contrary to international law and to the laws of (Namibia)';

Whereas, an order issued on Friday, April 27, 1984, by the South African Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, under the order of South African State President Marais Viljoen, terminated the court proceedings; and

Whereas, this unilateral action, taken for the first time in Namibian and South African legal history, repudiates any notion of an independent judiciary or a commitment to the rule of law: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),

That it is the sense of the Congress that - -

- 1) the United States should reaffirm and continue its policy of not recognizing South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia;
- 2) the Republic of South Africa should comply with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Geneva Conventions of 1949, the sole bases upon which South Africa, as an illegal occupying force in Namibia, may detain individuals;
- 3) the Republic of South Africa should move quickly to release all detainees at the Mariental camp, or revoke the order that terminated the court proceedings instituted on March 5, 1984, and permit a full hearing to proceed on the lawfulness of the continuing detention of the Cassinga detainees; and
- 4) the President and his representatives should convey to the Republic of South Africa the concerns of the Congress expressed in this resolution at every opportunity, including at any negotiations between the United States and the Republic of South Africa on the independence of Namibia, on regional issues, and on agreements relating to trade, commerce, science, and technology.

Sec. 2. The President is requested to transmit a copy of this resolution to the Ambassador from the Republic of South Africa to the United States and to the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa.

The Namibian people have for a century endured foreign rule of a most repressive nature. For the past six and a half decades they and their land have been a matter of international responsibility, since 1946 a center of controversy at the United Nations, from 1977 the focus of intense diplomatic and political maneuvering by forces aiming to thwart the will both of Namibia's lawful guardian, the United Nations, and that of the people of Namibia. Another chapter in the endless palaver was racked up in mid-May 1984 at a conference in Lusaka which did not bring the results its planners hoped for. Instead, Lusaka became the locale of an historic manifestation of Namibian unity and determination.

The conference's host, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, emerging as a key figure in the current period of Namibian negotiations, and South African representative Administrator-General Willem van Niekerk - who was elevated to conference co-chairman, submitted a draft statement to the delegations of the South Africa-backed Multi-Party Conference of six political groupings in Namibia and of SWAPO of Namibia, led by President Sam Nujoma, consisting of Namibians in exile and from inside the country and joined by allies from a wide range of Namibian opinion and political organization. The Americans who have been stage managing so many recent events in southern Africa kept well in the background.

The conference broke down and no declaration was issued because of two fundamental reasons. The MPC would not agree that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola supporting that government's struggle against South African Defence Force invasions and military assaults of the UNITA group should be dropped as a precondition to a Namibia settlement. United Nations Security Council resolution 435 makes no mention of the Cubans. Both the Reagan administration and Pretoria insist the Cubans must leave before the implementation of the UN plan can proceed. The other basic disagreement was over implementation and a SWAPO-Pretoria ceasefire in their 18-year-old war. SWAPO's Sam Nujoma came to Lusaka stating his movement was ready to sign a ceasefire forthwith provided it was followed immediately by implementation of the UN plan. Van Niekerk and his MPC refused. Pretoria wants a ceasefire well enough, but it wants a disarmed SWAPO to become part of its controlled political scramble inside Namibia. The South African regime is chipping away at SWAPO, trying to undermine it as the leading force of Namibian nationhood. Pretoria puts up the MPC as a counterweight, a forlorn proposition as any of the South African regime's creations for the past 11 years. At the same time Pretoria is trying to undercut 435, striving to avoid altogether any UN presence in Namibia if and when any electoral process commences. This corrosive trend is reflected in recent statements by a UN official and others that 435 is clumsy, not the final word, that it could be changed in order to effect a Namibian settlement, one of course that meets the requirements of Pretoria and Washington.

What was demonstrated at Lusaka for any who cared to look beyond the tired political manipulations was a coming together on an unprecedented scale of Namibians intent on achieving independence for their nation. There have been coalitions and conventions and teamings up over the last dozen years, but this was a landmark event. SWAPO President Sam Nujoma and members of his executive living in exile and the movement's leadership from inside Namibia, including Vice-President the Rev Hendrik Witbooi, and Andimba Toivo ja Toivo - freed after 18 years in South African prisons, enjoyed a reunion which underscored once again the unity of the organization.

Allied with SWAPO and included by SWAPO in its delegation were Namibians representing traditional groups, entities fitting into Pretoria's view of how Namibia ought to be parcelled out, parties overleaping that same view, individuals. Most damaging to van Niekerk and his Multi-Party Conference were parties which had left the MPC in disgust, the Damara Council and the Namibian Christian Democratic Party, plus the Mbanderu Council which had resisted enticement into Pretoria's front. Even more galling, a group of members of one of the MPC's leading components, SWANU, sat with SWAPO. The SWANU president was frantic. The progressives withdrew in the interest of the conference continuing. SWAPO left their seats unfilled. Furthermore, a trio of Namibian businessmen of German descent conferred with SWAPO to the consternation of the race-burdened South African contingent. To top it all, a prominent white Namibian lawyer returned to Windhoek and announced he had become a member of SWAPO, urging his fellow whites to do likewise. The meeting in Lusaka turned out to be a triumph for the Namibian people, one more stage in their agonizing journey toward freedom.

THE RELEASE OF A PATRIOT



SWAPO President Sam Nujoma welcomes Andimba Toivo ja Toivo in Lusaka.

The sudden release on 1 March 1984 of Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, a founding member of SWAPO of Namibia and Pretoria's foremost political prisoner second only to Nelson Mandela of the South African African National Congress, sent an earthquake shock throughout occupied Namibia and across southern Africa and into the world. It was immediately apparent that the results of the freeing of ja Toivo after 18 years in South African detention and imprisonment are not to be what Pretoria and its allies so fervently and so foolishly expected. Mr ja Toivo at once dispelled any notion that he would attempt to split SWAPO, the inside Namibia from the outside, or produce a leadership contest within the liberation movement. He declared himself to be an 'obedient servant' of SWAPO prepared to do whatever he was called upon to do to further Namibian freedom. His return to active political life has reinvigorated the thrust for that liberation and proved once again that SWAPO - in Namibia and in diaspora - is a seamless robe.

The Multi-Party Conference, Pretoria's latest attempt in an 11-year-old effort to set up a counterweight to SWAPO in Namibia, has suffered a crippling blow. The MPC had averred that it was instrumental in achieving ja Toivo's release. Allister Sparks wrote in THE WASHINGTON POST that Mr ja Toivo scornfully dismissed the claim as a 'blatant propaganda ploy', a belief shared by the Namibian people who have endured decades of repression and connivance from the Pretorians and their local figurines.

Why was ja Toivo freed at this time? Pretoria has for years sent onto Robben Island Namibians who had made their peace with the oppressor to sound out ja Toivo and try to persuade him to join the set-up in Windhoek. Pretoria knew he had not broken, that, as THE WINDHOEK OBSERVER political editor Gwen Lister wrote, ja Toivo is 'probably more strongly committed to the SWAPO cause.' Equally the South African masters must realize that their MPC creation has no substance. Now the Americans are on the scene, busy stage-managing a ceasefire and solutions and talking of 'windows of opportunities' and 'deals', with an embryo embassy in Windhoek and thereby coming close to defying Namibia's lawful authority, the United Nations - as Pretoria has been doing for decades. What is the 'deal'? What happens when the South African Defence Force and the South African Police in Namibia retort in their usual manner to the effects of the Toivo release? People inside Namibia say with one voice that nothing has changed with Pretorian rule. And they say that United Nations Security Council resolution 435 will not be implemented. How will the UN respond?

The 60-year-old Andimba Toivo ja Toivo (he has relinquished his earlier name of Herman) enters a new phase of his life. Early in March he was permitted to travel to Lusaka, Zambia, to meet with SWAPO President Sam Nujoma and the external wing of the party, a trip which turned into a grand tour of African countries. Back in Windhoek as a member of SWAPO's central committee, ja Toivo visited parts of his vast country in company with the Rev Hendrik Witbooi, SWAPO Vice-President, and other officials. He returned with the others to Lusaka for the inconclusive May conference.

Anglican Bishop of Namibia James Hamupanda Kauluma came back to his Windhoek home from a visitation in northern Namibia late on Thursday, 1 March, the day ja Toivo was released. Next morning the bishop answered his phone and heard: 'This is Mr MacDonald from Zimbabwe.' As the bishop was puzzling, the caller broke into a laugh. It was ja Toivo. His 84-year-old mother with whom he now lives in Windhoek recalls that on her rare visits to Robben Island her imprisoned son was always able to crack jokes. His resilience after years of harassment and 18 years in confinement is legend. He came out of prison fully up-to-date on current events. His political sapience is enhanced. Perhaps ja Toivo's most important message is: 'We will not be free as long as our brothers and sisters are living in oppression in South Africa.'

ANTI-APARTHEID ZONE

The Greater London Council, with jurisdiction over the City, wider London and environs, has declared Greater London to be an 'Anti-Apartheid Zone'. The GLC expressed its abhorrence of South African racism and the Pretoria regime's illegal occupation of Namibia. It aims to end all links with the apartheid state that its legal authority can enforce. The GLC will forbid purchase by its departments and offices of South African goods, withdraw investments in companies linked to South Africa, deny facilities to South African sportspeople and entertainers and discourage advertizing of South African products in public places. There are plans to ban British entertainers and athletes and those of other countries who have performed in South Africa from such public centers as the Crystal Palace and the Festival Hall. There will be a campaign to increase public understanding of apartheid and the situation in southern Africa and to encourage naming streets and buildings after outstanding leaders of the struggle against apartheid. Already there is a Mandela Street in north London called for the imprisoned African National Congress patriot Nelson Mandela.

The Labour Party-controlled GLC is a target of the Thatcher government which wants to abolish the London entity for a system of borough councils and joint boards. The Tory government's policy toward South Africa strongly advocates maintaining ties with the Pretoria regime and is diametrically opposed to what the GLC is engaged in. The British Labour Party has stated that when it comes to power it will carry out a program of economic disengagement with South Africa and to support comprehensive mandatory sanctions at the United Nations. The LP has pledged financial and material support for liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia.

BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION WITHDRAWS FROM WORLD MEDICAL BODY

Chiefly because of the readmittance of South Africa to the World Medical Association, the British Medical Association has resigned from the WMA. This is the latest withdrawal. All the black African countries excepting Lesotho and the Transkei bantustan - to which the WMA has accorded membership though no government but Pretoria recognizes it; the Scandinavian countries; and Holland have resigned. The World Health Organization has withdrawn consultative status from the WMA. Once with membership from 60 nations, the WMA is now down to 39. Another reason for the resignations is WMA's weighted scheme of voting which gives each country votes for the number of members it pays for. The USA, West Germany and Japan have more than all the African countries did.

The BMA's secretary, Dr John Havard, said: 'This decision is the culmination of a series of events which have eroded the confidence of United Kingdom doctors in the ability and willingness of the WMA to provide an international representative forum for the resolution of important medical, professional and ethical issues. In 1981, as a result of the undemocratic block voting system in WMA, the Medical Association of South Africa was immediately re-admitted to membership against the wishes of the majority of countries belonging to WMA, even though certain important issues affecting its application for re-admission had not at that time been resolved. These issues included the failure of the Medical Association of South Africa to investigate adequately the conduct of certain doctors who had examined Steve Biko before his death in police custody.'

Six South African doctors have brought suit in a supreme court to force the South African Medical and Dental Council to re-open the inquiry into the murder of Steve Biko.

The World Medical Association meeting in Vienna in July 1983 announced that its next meeting in 1985 would take place in Cape Town. Dr John Sammons, chief executive officer of the American Medical Association, stated at a press conference in Cape Town that South Africa's Medical Association had done a 'superb job' with an ad hoc report on treatment of prisoners and detainees and went on to say he was sure the South African government had done what it thought was correct.

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MURDER, INCORPORATED. Accords and ceasefires notwithstanding, the apartheid regime's hand reaches out beyond its borders to cut down its opponents. On 28 June, two white South Africans in exile - a 35-year-old mother and her six-year-old daughter - were destroyed by a parcel bomb in the south-central Angolan city of Lubango.

Jeanette Schoon and her husband, Marius, left their native South Africa in 1977 following his release from serving a 12-year prison term for political offenses. They settled in Gaborone, Botswana, and worked for the International Voluntary Service helping other refugees from South Africa. IVS, partly funded by the British government, cancelled their contract after the British pressed warnings that the exile couple were in serious danger. The Schoons publicly supported the African National Congress of South Africa. Last year they moved on to Angola where both were given posts teaching in the University of Luanda extension in Lubango.

On the morning of 28 June, Jeanette drove her husband to catch a plane for Luanda, dropped off their two-year-old son, Fritz, at a creche, returned home with six-year-old Katryn and began to open the parcel. Both mother and little girl were killed instantly.

Jeanette's parents, Joyce and Jack Curtis, live in Johannesburg. Over the past few years they have been targets of attack: death threats over the telephone, auto windows smashed, their house fired into by a small calibre gun, a shotgun, an AK-47. The Curtis's and the Schoons were planning a reunion in London in a few weeks time; they would have been joined by Jeanette's brother, Neville Curtis, former president of the National Union of South African Students, who lives in exile in Australia.

Pretoria's assassination operations have long accompanied its mass repression within South Africa and Namibia and its military aggression against its neighbors. In 1974, the exiled former secretary of the South African Students Organization, Abraham Tiro, was killed by a parcel bomb near Gaborone. Booby traps, assaults along roadsides, kidnappings have been frequent. In 1979, Anglican priest Father John Osmers lost his right hand from a parcel bomb in Maseru, Lesotho, and Ms Phyllis Naidoo and three other South African refugees were injured. All were working with the ANC aiding refugees from South Africa. In 1981, Mr Joe Gqabi, chief ANC representative in Zimbabwe, was shot to death outside his home in Harare. Two years ago, Ruth First, one of Pretoria's most forceful academic and activist opponents, was killed by a parcel bomb at her university office in Maputo, Mozambique. The package originated in the USA and went by diplomatic pouch to Maputo where it was posted.

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NAMIBIA - The Dumping Ground. An official of the all-white National Party of South West Africa says he and the chairman of the executive committee of the white Legislative Assembly (one of the 11 tribal sub-governments in the Territory) were approached by South African businessmen representing 'a major foreign business group' with a proposal to set up a nuclear waste dump in Namibia. The office of South Africa's administrator-general in Windhoek denies it will get involved in any such plan. The AG's office also vigorously denies it tried to suppress the story.

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The scheme: For one billion Rand/(about \$700 million these days) wastes from foreign nuclear installations would be unloaded on the hapless Namibian people. The country is suffering from a serious economic slump. Should it ever gain independence or some form of self-government Namibia would if this plan materializes be a focal site for putting away the mountains of highly-contaminated international nuclear detritus - far from the industrial powers' land and population. Said to be negotiating this deal: West Germany and the United States of America.

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A PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: The Lancaster House Conference on Rhodesia, 1979. Jeffrey Davidow.

Westview Press, Inc., Frederick A. Praeger,
President and Publisher.

The author of this slim volume is the American foreign service officer who was posted as an observer to then Rhodesia by President Carter in 1979, a few months before the Lancaster House Conference brought a new era to what is now independent Zimbabwe.

When the author was sent to Rhodesia, the colony was legally in a state of rebellion, following a 'unilateral declaration of independence' by the white minority in 1965. The black majority, under ZANU and ZAPU (which were weakly linked in the Patriotic Front) was in turn engaged in bitter armed struggle - which spilled over into neighboring states - against the white-dominated Smith/Muzorewa regime.

Within a year the Lancaster House Conference resolved both problems through an agreement to hold elections for a government to which the British would yield full sovereignty.

Davidow's announced purpose in writing this book is to discover how such a success was achieved against all the odds and the predictions of the experts. To do this, he first recapitulates the Lancaster House negotiations from inception to conclusion, devoting seven chapters to this current history.

In the penultimate chapter, Davidow seeks to determine the factors leading to the success of Lancaster House. In the end he attributes it primarily to the negotiating skills and dominance of Lord Carrington, who is clearly the hero of the book. The author even suggests that Carrington's 'perceived partiality' in favor of Muzorewa was a bargaining plus!

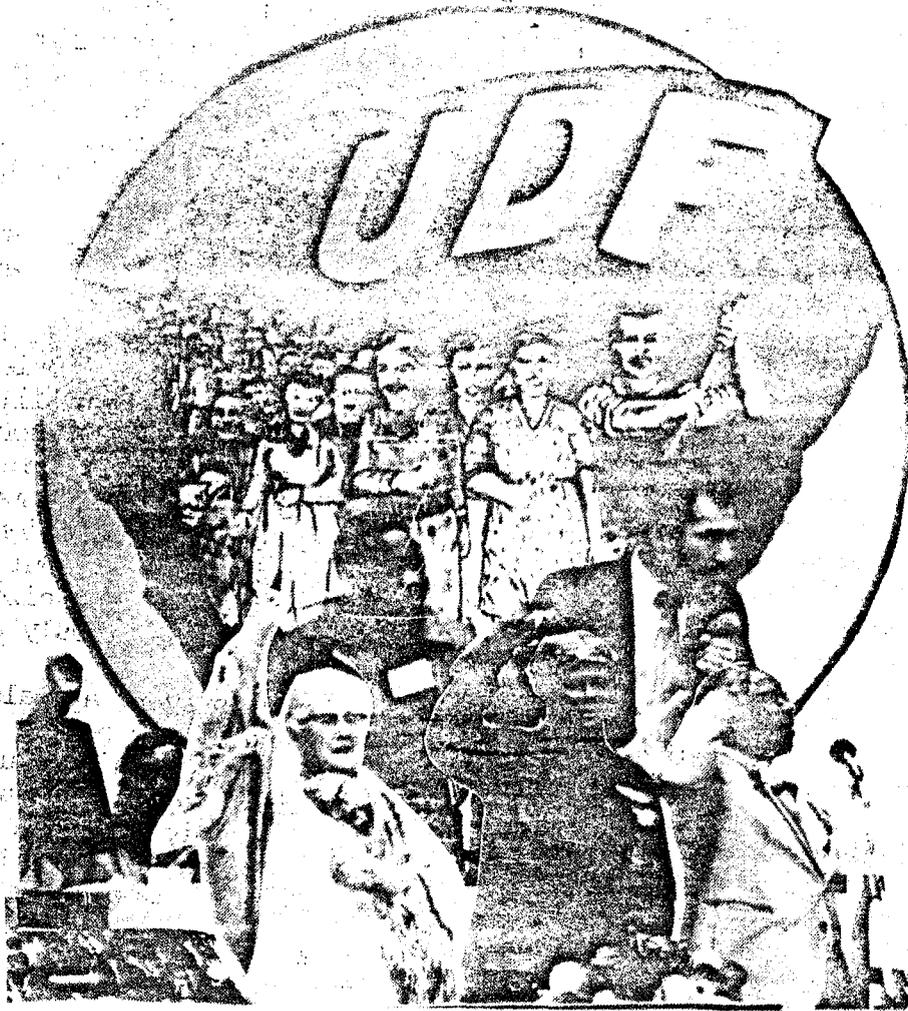
Suggesting some broader hypotheses for conflict resolution in his final chapter, Davidow concludes that Carrington's formula for success may be aptly termed 'dominant third-party mediation'. Similar in many respects to Kissinger's tactics in the Middle East, such intervention lies, he says, between 'mediation with muscle and dictation': It requires highly intrusive manipulation of issues and actors by the mediator; consuming concern on the part of the mediator in the outcome of the situation; and extreme power, with the mediator's position being stronger than that of any of the more directly affected principals.

The last chapter then suggests, for the first time, the existence of a second, unstated object of Davidow's study: the search for a formula by which the United States can intervene effectively in disputes throughout the world, resolving them to American satisfaction, if not necessarily to that of the participants. Indeed, Davidow concludes with a quotation from another American diplomat (Stephen Low) that -

As long as the United States continues to maintain its position of enormous world influence in the eyes of others, as it certainly will for the foreseeable future, it is condemned to act in the role of mediator almost steadily. It simply has no choice but to offer peace plans....and follow them up....

Third World leaders had better read this book to learn what one American diplomat - whose book was cleared by the State Department -- foresees for them.

So should Americans.



The United Democratic Front - a coalition of South African community, church, trade union and educational organizations formed in August 1983 - has begun a campaign to collect one million signatures to a Declaration opposing apartheid and the newly imposed constitution approved by the whites-only electorate. The Declaration reads:

'We, the freedom-loving South Africans, declare for the whole world to know that:

'We reject apartheid. We support the struggle and unity of our people against the evils of apartheid. We stand for the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa, free of oppression, economic exploitation and racism.

'We say 'No' to the new constitution because it will further entrench apartheid and white domination; 'No' to the Koornhof laws which will deprive more and more South Africans of their birthright; and 'Yes' to the United Democratic Front and give it our full support in its efforts to unite our people in their fight against the constitution and the Koornhof bills.'

The UDF launched the Declaration on 20 January 1984. The first to sign was the Rev. Dr. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, followed by UDF president Archie Gumede, veteran trade union leader now appealing a conviction on allegations of inciting to riot, and Helen Joseph, long-time struggler for human rights.

You are urged to support the UDF campaign with your messages to:

United Democratic Front
P O Box 10366
Johannesburg 2000 South Africa

INTERFAITH COLLOQUIUM ON APARTHEID

During the first week of March 1984 representatives from the major world religions met in London to draw up a common stand against apartheid. Participants included leading members and theologians from Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh and traditional faiths. South African and Namibian churchpeople provided testimony on the present situation in those countries. The colloquium was organized by the Most Rev. Trevor Huddleston, CR, former Anglican archbishop of the Indian Ocean, now in England as president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the International Defence and Aid Fund, in cooperation with the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid.

Noting that the newly adopted South African constitution professes 'humble submission to Almighty God' and that Pretoria avers a national goal 'to uphold Christian values and civilized norms', the colloquium's declaration addressed the 'central question of the sacredness of human dignity and its total defamation in the doctrine and practice of apartheid'. 'We recognize in penitence that in our own religious histories circumstances and institutions have been created - and in all too many cases still continue - which have been oppressive and destructive of opportunity, freedom and resources for some people. But religions have also evoked, among their own adherents, protest against those failures from individuals who know the truth of their religion as a matter of experience and conviction, and find in the prevailing practice a contradiction of that truth and experience - and of the very demands of the religion itself. Out of that moral struggle, people have learnt, through pain and suffering, to recognize more clearly what is wrong. They know that apartheid is evil - deeply, disastrously evil.'

The participants in the colloquium called for action through prayer; appeals to religious leaders, assemblies and individuals to governments and to the public for respect for justice and equality; educational, medical and social services aid; counteracting apartheid propaganda; active solidarity with those struggling in Namibia and South Africa for self-determination and political freedom; support for boycotts in cultural and sporting activities, tourism, emigration, trade and finance; and opposition to that 'most sinister form of collaboration with the apartheid regime, namely the supply of military and nuclear resources'.

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