



EPISCOPAL CHURCHPEOPLE for a FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA

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6 March 1989

NOT BY BREAD ALONE

*'The hunger strike is an organised and coordinated attempt to cast the authorities in a bad light and to blackmail them. The state cannot allow itself to be threatened by means of hunger strikes.'*

- Adriaan Vlok, South African Minister of Law and Order.

The struggle for freedom in South Africa is centered on a countrywide hunger strike by the hundreds of people held in detention under Pretorian ukase which does not allow them recourse to any court of law. Adriaan Vlok has been forced to agree to release some hunger strikers lest they die on his hands, but the Detainees' Aid Centre in Johannesburg reports that of the 118 prisoners let go out of a nationwide total of some 850 '99 percent' have been severely restricted in movement and forbidden to speak to the press. 'The detainees are simply being released into another prison,' said Ms Audrey Coleman of the Detainees' Aid Centre.

THE GUARDIAN  
Friday March 3 1989



A crowd of 1,500 attended a special church service in Cape Town yesterday in support of the detainees still not released by the South African Government. A large number of police waited outside the church until all the worshippers had left.

WE AMERICANS CAN SUPPORT THOSE BRAVE SOUTH AFRICANS - IN AND OUT OF DETENTION

PHONE, TELEGRAM:	President George Bush The White House Washington, DC 20500	Phone: (202) 456-1414
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CALL ON HIM TO PRESS SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT P.W. BOTHA TO RELEASE ALL DETAINEES AND TO CANCEL THE STATE OF EMERGENCY THERE.

CALL ON YOUR SENATORS AND CONGRESSPEOPLE TO CALL PUBLICLY FOR RELEASE OF DETAINEES

*JOIN IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FAST - AN ACT OF PERSONAL SOLIDARITY*



Hunger strikers Dan Montsitsi (left), with his wife Elizabeth, and Amos Masondo in Soweto after their release from detention.

SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

RE : NATIONAL DETAINEES DAY : SUNDAY MARCH 12TH 1989

THEME - CHURCHES IN SOLIDARITY WITH DETAINEES

In recent weeks, detainees throughout the country have taken the sacrificial action of a hunger strike to draw the attention of the World to their plight. The action is not only an indictment against the evil system that produces detention but also against those of us who have gone on with our lives as if nothing was happening.

Various Ecumenical Services are planned throughout the country in solidarity with all detainees on March 12. These services will be a culmination of various solidarity actions countrywide.

We urge you to give these events as much publicity as possible by all available means.

SUGGESTIONS OF ACTIONS :

1. Focus and organise church services on the plight of detainees
2. Light candles on March 12th.
3. Ring Church bells at 6.30 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. (5 minutes) on March 12th.
4. Remember detainees by name during prayers of intercession.
5. Participate in vigils and fasts for detainees.

March 2 1989 marks the end of the two-week period during which Minister Vlok had promised "substantial releases".

*Mazibuko*

S. Mazibuko (Mrs)  
DC : S.A.C.C.

March 2. 1989

## PROFILE

# Profiles on hunger strikers

TODAY marks the 18th day of the hunger strike started by 20 detainees at the Johannesburg Prison on January 23.

A further 53 detainees have been on hunger strike for 11 days, while the remaining 118 Diepkloof detainees have been without food for four days.

Of the original 20, 19 still remain in prison. The 20th person, Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU) member Gift Mumkulu, was released over the weekend.

The remaining 19 -- in order of time spent in detention -- are:

- Amos Masondo (detained on July 23, 1986). A member of the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) and Cosatu regional executive, 35-year-old Masondo has been in and out of prison a number of times.

Apart from detentions, he has served a five year prison sentence on Robben Island for activities related to the South African Students Movement (SASM) which was banned in 1977.

He was also involved in the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu), and later joined the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South African (Ccausa).

- Jacob Mtshali (detained on September 19, 1986). He is the secretary of the Alexandra Youth Congress (Ayco) and former administrative secretary for the UDF national office.

27-year-old Mtshali was also detained during the first state of emergency.

- John Malebane (detained on October 8, 1986). An Ayco member, this is Malebane's second detention. He was first detained under Section 29 in 1985 and is 24 years old.

- Joseph Makhalemela (detained on November 11, 1986). 26-year-old Makhalemela is a member of Ayco.

- Blessing Mphefa (detained on February 18, 1987). Involved in the Azanian Students Congress (Azaso) and later in the South African National Students' Congress (Sansco) at Turfloop. 30-year-old Mphefa was also detained in 1985. He is listed in terms of the Internal Security Act.

- Marks Modiba (detained on August 6, 1986). He is the general secretary of Ayco, and it is his second detention.

The 24-year-old Modiba initially started his hunger strike in Hillbrow Hospital where he was being treated for depression. However, after he refused to end the strike hospital authorities sent him back to prison.

- Michael Ralegoma (detained on September 1, 1987). Ralegoma (29), is a member of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) and the SCA.

- Zola Mandela (detained on October 20, 1987). Nelson Mandela's cousin, Zola (26) is a Soyco and SCA member from White City. He was also active in the National Education Union of SA (Neusa).

- Mandla Nkomfe (detained on December 4, 1987). An executive member of Soyco. Nkomfe, (26) was also active in SCA structures.

- Dan Montsitsi (detained on December 15,



Hunger striker Dan Montsitsi's family wonders if they will see him alive again. Waiting anxiously for his return are (left to right) his sister, Baby, his mother, his niece Malebo, his son, Senkhane, who was born while he was in detention and his fiancee, Elizabeth.

1987). Montsitsi, (30) has a long history of involvement in progressive organisations. He was president of the Soweto SRC in 1976, and was given a five year sentence for his role in the Soweto uprising.

After his release, Montsitsi played an active role in student and civic organisations, and was a key member of Soyco and the SCA.

- Veli Mnyandu (detained on February 25, 1988). He was on the executive of Soyco's Rockville branch and active in Neusa. The 27-year-old Mnyandu was also a representative of UDF's Soweto area committee. It is his second detention.

- Francis Monareng (detained March 15, 1988). A school student, Monareng was active in the Soweto Students Congress (Sosc) and the Soweto SRC.

- Cecil Mawela (detained March 15, 1988). 16-year-old Mawela was active in Sosc.

- Akila Mapheko (detained March 17, 1988). The 28-year-old Mapheko is president of the

Southern Transvaal Youth Congress (Styco) and Mamelodi Youth Organisation.

- Lawrence Bayana (detained April 15, 1988). Bayana, (20) is general secretary of Sosc.

- Ephraim Nkwe (detained on July 4, 1988). Nkwe is South African Youth Congress (Sayco) education officer and an executive member of Soyco.

- Tebogo Mngomezulu (detained on August 12, 1988). A Sansco member, Mngomezulu lives in Soweto.

- Pule Buthelezi (date of detention unknown). Buthelezi is a Soyco member from Klipspruit.

- Donovan Cloete (detained on October 25, 1988). Cloete (24) is a Riverlea Youth Congress and Styco member. His son was born in January this year and he has yet to see him.

In addition to the Johannesburg Prison 19, two detainees at Witbank Prison have also been on a hunger strike for 18 days.

Sayco general secretary Rapu Molekane

and Sosc member Charles Mangane, both from Soweto, also started fasting on January 23. They have vowed to continue with the strike until they are released.

One of the 53 detainees who have been without food for 11 days, Patrick Mphego, was released last Friday.

Mphego, from Sekhukhuneland, was detained on July 18, 1988. He is an organiser of the Health Workers Association and the Detainees Support Committee.

Among the 52 Johannesburg Prison detainees who have been without food for 11 days are:

- Paul Mashatile (detained on June 19, 1986). The 26-year-old Mashatile is regional secretary of the UDF and Ayco president.
- Norman Ngwendezi (detained on September 9, 1987). A Wits Council of Churches fieldworker, Ngwendezi, (30) is also a Soyco and SCA member.

- Dumisani "Chaklas" Radebe (detained on March 16, 1988). He is a member of Sosc.

- Andy Sefothelo (detained on March 17, 1988). After serving a five-year prison sentence on Robben Island, Sefothelo, 34, from Bloemfontein became Sayco's cultural officer.

- Fawcett Mathebe (detained on July 4, 1988). The son of a chief in Moutse, Mathebe is Sayco's national treasurer. He was previously detained in kwaNdebelo in 1985.

- Victor Rambau (detained on August 8, 1988). Rambau comes from Mamelodi and was active in Sansco at Wits University.

The other Johannesburg Prison detainees who joined the hunger strike this week are:

- Pat Lephunya (detained on October 2, 1987). He is SCA general secretary.

- Tiego Moseneke (detained on March 8, 1988). A former national president of Sanco and Black Students Society at Wits University, Moseneke, (25) was studying law at the time of his detention. He had also been involved in the Release Mandela Committee.

- Ignatius Jacobs (detained on March 17, 1988). An executive member of Sayco, Jacobs, (24) comes from Johannesburg.

- Kgaogelo Lekgoro (detained on March 17, 1988). Lekgoro, 32, is Styco publicity secretary and an executive member of the Saulsville-Atteridgeville Youth Congress.

## Detainee in 29th month in jail

**NORTHERN TRANSVAAL** United Democratic Front (UDF) president Louis Mnguni, who has been in detention since 1986, completed another term in hospital this week, his second in less than two months.

Law and order minister Adriaan Vlok said shortly after Mnguni's arrest, that he was being held because he encouraged students at the University of the North to boycott classes.

"He is also a member of the North-

ern Transvaal Consumer Boycott Committee which was responsible for a consumer boycott in the Far Northern Transvaal. During interrogation it became clear that he would continue with his activities after his release," Vlok said.

Mnguni, who is also chairperson of the Mankweng Civic Association, became politically active in 1971 -- taking part in activities of various student organisations.

Mnguni was among those co-opted

into student organisations to continue the struggle against Bantu education when most student leaders were detained following the 1976/77 uprisings.

He also became a member of the South African Students Organisation (Saso) and the Muslim Youth Movement.

Mnguni, who was a lecturer in philosophy at Turfloop, was elected northern Transvaal UDF president after Peter Nchabeleng's death.

# Funds Bill could paralyse opponents, say lawyers

The Standing for the Truth Committee, formed by South African churches, at a meeting held in Johannesburg on Friday 10 February, discussed the serious crisis that has been precipitated in our country by the government's evil detention-without-trial laws.

Arising out of our meeting, we have decided to address an open call to Mr Adrian Vlok, the Minister of "Law and Order" and to the members of our churches.

Mr Vlok must not talk of the hunger fast "threatening" the State. How can people locked up in jail be a threat to the State? We want to warn Mr Vlok that most South Africans will lay on his doorstep and that of the Government any deaths and injuries that are incurred through the hunger fast.

The issue to be faced is the release of detainees, not conditions in prison. This crisis would never have arisen except for the system of detention without trial and the state of emergency.

We call on Mr Vlok to release detainees as a matter of urgency. We also urge the government to recognise the right of parents to see their children in hospital. Pastors should also be allowed to visit the detainees.

Church members and the community at large, we wish to draw attention to the seriousness of the situation. Between 200 and 300 detainees are on hunger strike, which seems to include abstention from fluids in some cases. At least 10 people are hospitalised and some are seriously ill.

The fact that detainees have been driven to this kind of action is a serious indictment on the church and our community. We have failed to take seriously both in word and action the issue of detentions without trial, which has resulted in people being interned for periods of up to nearly three years.

The Standing for the Truth Committee is reporting church leaders and the church constituency suggesting ways in which the present crisis may be addressed.

Johannesburg

18 February 1989

The Human Rights Commission regards long-term detainees as de facto prisoners of war. We welcome the fact that there has at long last been a response to their plight. However, we dispute the claims of 'official sources' that agreements were reached with the detainees that they would no longer get involved in activities for which they were detained. They have had restrictions imposed on them and it is because of this that they will be unable to resume their active opposition to apartheid, not by consent to the conditions of their release.

The hunger strike continues at prisons around the country, although it has been suspended at Diepkloof Prison. This highlights the fact that the detention crisis is not over - even this week more people have been detained under the State of Emergency. The government must release all detainees unconditionally and without restrictions whatsoever. They are held because of their opposition to apartheid and therefore the Human Rights Commission will continue to call for freedom of expression, association and assembly and to seek for all South Africans the right to life, liberty and the security of person. We will continue to oppose detention without trial until this indefensible practice is abolished.

PROPOSED new legislation on foreign funding could paralyse organisations which rely on overseas money, according to legal experts.

They also believe it could be a new, more streamlined way of doing something the government has been trying to do for many years: preventing certain organisations from using foreign money.

Reacting to recent criticism by the Catholic bishops of the new Bill, lawyers at Durban's Legal Resources Centre said that if passed, it would provide "legal opportunities to harass and even paralyse organisations".

They said the new legislation was so wide that "it would make offences out of inefficiency".

If passed, the Bill would be called the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act. According to the preamble it aims to "regulate the disclosure of the receipt of money from outside the Republic by or for certain organisations and persons; and to provide for matters connected therewith".

At the end of their recent plenary session, the bishops threatened that if the Bill were enacted, they would not comply with its provisions.

They claimed that if the Bill were made law, it could disrupt the work of the church "very severely" and added, "In effect it means that the state could dictate to the church what it could or could not do."

"This makes sheer nonsense of freedom of religion in our country. In conscience we cannot comply if this Bill becomes law."

The bishops called on others to join them in their rejection of the Bill to ensure that it did not become law.

There was the first voice raised against the new Bill. When it was first introduced last year, officials of the Progressive Federal Party said they felt the Bill could be supported by the party, and since then little attention has apparently been given to it by opposition groups.

However, the unusually strong condemnation by the bishops has focused attention on the proposed legislation and LRC lawyers feel the bishops are right to have misgivings.

The bishops base their objection on the history of the Bill — it was designed to replace the Orderly Internal Politics Bill, withdrawn in November. Government representatives made it clear that the earlier Bill was designed to curb foreign funds from coming into the country and the bishops say the replacement Bill has the same (hidden) agenda.

It is understood the earlier Bill was withdrawn only after unprecedented national and international pressure, including from the European Community. The message from the diplomats of the countries likely to have been affected by the Bill was that funding black development schemes and other projects was their alternative to sanctions.

By refusing to allow this money in to the country, the government would be forcing their hand and pushing those countries into more severe sanctions.

The bishops say the intention of the present Bill remains the same — "the severe curtailment of funds to persons and organisations working to bring about change in South Africa and thereby crippling their work".

They acknowledge that the apparent intention is the full disclosure by the recipient of all the particulars with regard to the money including the name and address of the supplier.

This might be acceptable in a "normal" society, the bishops say, but South Africa experience suggests there will be abuse of the wide-ranging powers given officials in the Bill. They note that the minister concerned with the Bill is the minister of Justice rather than the minister of finance.

The revised foreign funding Bill has the same hidden agenda as its controversial predecessor, say legal experts.

CARMEL RICKARD reports

and say this is added confirmation of their fear.

The Bill itself looks innocent enough at a first reading.

It provides for a registrar of "Reporting Organisations and Persons" to administer the legislation. This registrar is given the power to declare "any organisation or person to be a reporting organisation or person". (No criteria are given.)

Once organisations or persons have been "declared" in this way, they have to notify the registrar when they receive any foreign money and it has to be deposited in a separate bank account.

The registrar has to be given details of the amount, the name and address of the supplier, the purpose and conditions attached to the provision of the money. However, the registrar can demand "such further information as may be deemed necessary or expedient" and may order the "reporting person concerned" to appear and be examined on any relevant matter.

The special account has to be audited and copies sent to the registrar.

The funds have to be used for the purpose for which it was provided, except with the express permission of the registrar, who is also empowered to enter any premises without prior notice and seize any document if this is considered necessary.

If the bishops refused to comply, they would be liable to stiff penalties including a fine of R40 000 and/or 10 years imprisonment.

In what could prove a key provision, the registrar is given the power "after a prosecution has been instituted ... against a reporting organisation or person" to "freeze" the funds until the end of the prosecution.

If there is a conviction these funds can be returned to "the foreign source from which the money came" or can be transferred to the registrar to be disposed as the minister decides.

One of the fundamental objections to the Bill is the morality of having to give information about lawful activities.

LRC staffers said there were already provisions preventing illegal acts, and people were charged if they contravened these laws. This Bill went further and made it an offence not to tell the government what an organisation was lawfully spending its money on.

They said that the question of "freezing" funds "after a prosecution has been instituted" could paralyse an organisation.

"Suppose the court remands the matter for further investigation, the organisation could be without access to funds for a minimum of six months. Some commercial cases take years before they are ready for trial and in all this time the money could not be touched."

The lawyers said small organisations like sewing and knitting groups as well as agricultural projects would not be able to afford to pay for the audit which would become compulsory under the Bill.

One section of the Bill provides that money paid by an organisation "the head office of which is outside the Republic" will be deemed to be foreign funding. As far as the bishops are concerned, this raises the question whether money from the Vatican will have to be declared, along with details of what it is spent on.

The bishops' own lawyers said, "The information gathering aspect of the Bill is particularly sinister."

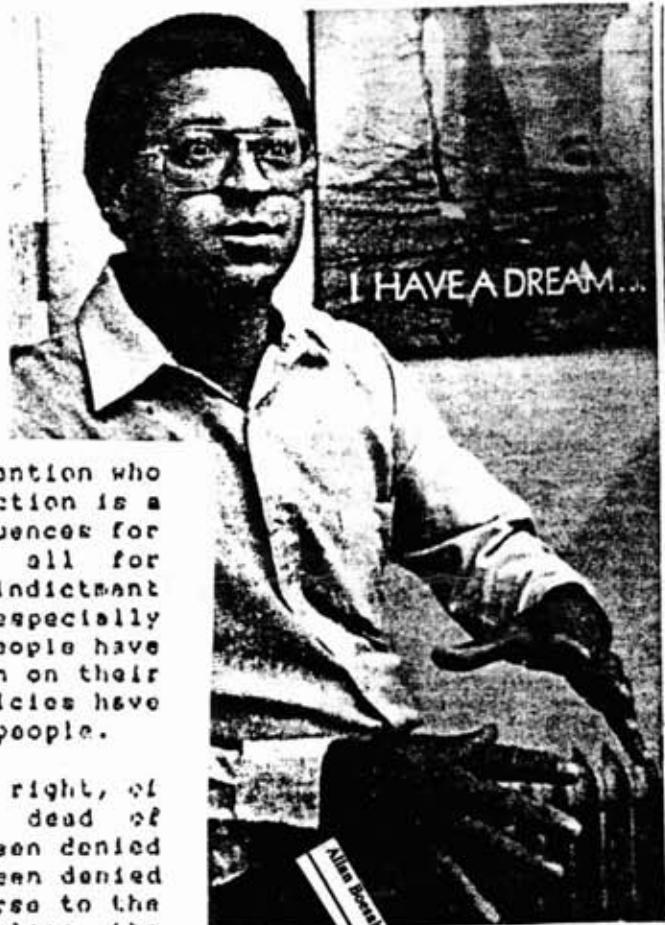
Mr Adriano Vlok  
Minister of Law and Order  
House of Parliament  
CAPE TOWN

Mr Minister

As from this morning, I have joined those in detention who have embarked upon a hunger strike. Their action is a dramatic one, which could have fateful consequences for all of us in this country, but first of all for themselves. It is in itself an extraordinary indictment of your government and its policies, but most especially your system of detention without trial. That people have to go to such extreme lengths to focus attention on their plight speaks volumes for the crisis your policies have caused for them, and in them for millions of our people.

Our brothers and sisters on hunger strike are right, of course. They have been taken away in the dead of night, imprisoned without charge. They have been denied the most basic, human rights. They have been denied visits by lawyers or clergy or family. Recourse to the courts does not exist, their lawyers are powerless, the law itself has been rendered impotent; indeed you have taken the law and set it aside. You have decided that you alone have the right to declare them guilty, of what crimes they do not know nor do we, or you, for that matter. You have given your police the power to hold them incommunicado for months, and in many cases for years now.

You and your government, and the people who vote for you have created a system of systematic exploitation, oppression and degradation, the only yardstick being your own privileges. You have willfully and callously trampled upon the rights and dignity of millions without blinking an eye. You have made laws that make a mockery of the laws of God. When we protested, you have threatened, harassed, teargassed, beaten, imprisoned, detained and killed us. You have promulgated a state of emergency under which you have given yourself and your Security apparatus almost limitless powers. Your grand design of apartheid has failed. The ideological battle for the hearts and minds of our people has failed. Your so-called reforms have been exposed as merely cosmetic, a pathetic attempt to save whatever you can of apartheid for as long as you can. They have failed. The brutality of the system you have created, the violence you must employ to continue the life of your regime, have failed. And for this failure you are blaming us. That is why your government muzzles the press and bans newspapers. That is why your police break up church services. That is why you detain so many, including children, without trial. And detention without trial is just one of the ways in which you have persistently tried to force us into submission, to break our rightful resistance. And all the while you were trying to hide the miserable failure, the dismal human tragedy that apartheid has become. Now this action is once again reminding you and the world of what you have done.



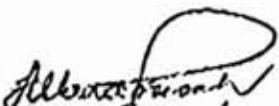
Alan Boonzaier, leading anti-apartheid campaigner, who joined the hunger strike yesterday.

Over the years we have spoken out against this flagrant abuse of the law. Lawyers have denounced it, the churches have petitioned against it. My own church, the N.G.Sendingkerk has been very clear in its witness. Time and time again it has condemned detention without trial as against the demands of God's justice, unbiblical and inhuman. Numerous are the times that the N.G.Sendingkerk, and so many other Christian churches in this land have called upon you to cease this evil practice. Parents have pleaded with you, spouses have petitioned you. You were never unaware of the pain and misery you are causing through detention without trial. Now, the hunger strike forces you to recognize the dire the consequences of the deliberate contempt with which you have treated so many of God's children.

Why am I joining them? Because I too was a victim of arbitrary detention. I know first hand of the pain and uncertainty, of the terror of solitary confinement and the unspeakable indignity and fear it brings. Because my church has spoken so clearly and I hear in the cries of anguish emanating from your prisons now, the very voice of God calling to his church to respond with solidarity, love and witness. Because the Confession of Belhar tells us that we should stand where God stands, namely on the side of those who are voiceless, to whom injustice is being done. Because Christian witness without action means nothing. Christian witness without (painful) obedience misses the joy of true Christian discipleship.

You have heard the detainees: release us or charge us. This is their right. That is the very least you could do. I am joining them in the hope that you will listen. In the hope also that my action will strengthen their plea. I also hope that many others in the Christian community will join me in this. I am aware that you are on record as saying you will not be "blackmailed". What an astonishing admission! Is a call for simple justice blackmail? Is the desire to know what one has done wrong blackmail? But of course there is a deeper question. You are the Minister of Law and Order. Your emergency regulations place the fate of all of us in your hands. You can decide whether people live or die. Are you willing to do that? Fasting until death is not part of my religious or ecclesiastical tradition. Deliberately placing my life in danger is irresponsible, I have been taught. That may be so. But I cannot stand idly by and watch those who are struggling for justice in South Africa starve themselves to death. None of us wish to die. But if this is the road we must take to make you and your government understand the evil of YAHWEH WAY, WE WILL TAKE IT. Not gladly, not with pride, certainly with fear and trembling. But I know now what God wants me to do. I can only hope and pray that you know what God wants you to do. For more than anything Mr Minister, I need to be faithful. It was not easy for me to come to this decision. But I now know what God wants me to do. I can only hope and pray that you know what God wants you to do.

Yours faithfully,

  
REV DR ALLAN A BOESAK

## PRETORIA'S INTENTION NOT TO DEMOBILISE SWATF EFFECTIVELY

(Pretoria's military creation in Namibia - SWATF - is a crucial entity which) (threatens an independent Namibia. Peter Manning, SWAPO information officer) (for Western Europe, writes about this glaring fact.)

A clear necessity now exists for the military commander of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to demand that at least the full complement of the military component of UNTAG should be deployed in Namibia. It is abundantly clear that the Pretoria regime has no intention of effectively demobilising the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) nor of dismantling SWATF's command structure as required by the UN plan.

The South African regime has made it known that it will keep the entire 35,000 strong SWATF on full pay during the implementation of Security Council resolution 435. They intend to go through the motions of a partial demobilisation but plainly see this exercise as an extended (working?) holiday for members of SWATF rather than an effective dismantling of the force. In effect, South Africa has given forward notice that it intends to not fulfill a fundamental aspect of resolution 435.

In 1982, the officer then commanding the SWATF, South African Major General Charles Lloyd, (now in the influential post of Secretary of South Africa's State Security Council) gave the South African version which they manifestly now intend to carry out. This view had earlier been articulated by General Jannie Geldenhuys, who now is Chief of the South African Defence Force. Lloyd argued that 'the demilitarisation of the SWATF is therefore a temporary phase that should last only for the duration of the election campaign...all unit support weapons and ammunition will be handed in at unit headquarters where they will be kept in safe custody by the units concerned, under the surveillance of UNTAG monitors. Personal weapons will not be handed in and UNTAG will not take control of arms and ammunition handed in.' He explains that members of the full time force units would go on leave with pay, returning to their headquarters once a month to draw pay. Lloyd explains the South African perception of SWATF's future role: 'the development of the SWATF is part of the South West Africa independence process. The SWATF should therefore form the basis of the Defence Force of the new state.'

The cutting edge of South Africa's military machine, the 3,000 strong Koevoet unit, has now been incorporated into the 'existing police force', which will remain mobilised and armed during the transition. Koevoet's notoriety arises from its well-documented record of the torture and murder of many Namibians in recent years. The South African regime established Koevoet technically as a police unit to circumvent the requirement in the UN election plan that the forces it controls be either withdrawn from Namibia or demobilised. Koevoet has never had anything other than a military function. Its own commanders have referred to members of Koevoet as 'soldiers' in media interviews and they have spoken boastfully of Koevoet as the 'most ruthless, efficient killing machine' in the region.

UN military commanders cannot ignore such a blatant attempt by South Africa to keep its most important military terror brigade mobilised by dressing its members in police uniforms. The Pretoria regime's intentions are all too clear. It intends to impose on an independent Namibia a military force it has selected and trained and which owes loyalty to the racist regime and not to the new government.

This is an eventuality that the military commander of UNTAG should address immediately. Successive Security Council and General Assembly resolutions have envisaged genuine independence for Namibia and nothing short of that goal. More specifically, resolution 435 of 1978 envisaged the elected constituent assembly deciding on all aspects of the constitution including the defence of the new state. These resolutions certainly do not countenance the United Nations becoming involved in a charade in connivance with the Pretoria regime. UN officials should remember that they are not a law unto themselves and owe an explanation to the international community as to how they intend to deal with this situation so crucial to the successful transfer of Namibia to independence. It would be incumbent on UNTAG to guarantee that the transfer of effective power is made to the newly established government of Namibia. Indications now are that the military commander of UNTAG will need the full complement of 7500 and more to fulfill this task.



## EPISCOPAL CHURCHPEOPLE for a FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA

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3 March 1989

Rep. Anthony C. Beilenson, chairman,  
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence  
Room H-405  
The Capitol  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Beilenson:

United States covert support for the UNITA group in Angola continues even as the American endorsed United Nations plan for implementing independence for Namibia gets underway. The two US efforts are in conflict.

THE INDEPENDENT of London discloses that United States Air Force planes are now being used to transport arms to Kamina airbase in Zaire for ferrying on to UNITA's Jamba headquarters by a CIA airline. Church sources in Namibia report that UNITA personnel - as in the past - cross freely over the border between southeast Angola and northeast Namibia. The South African government, which controls that wide-open frontier, has not abandoned support of UNITA as promised. UNITA members run amok in Namibia, augmenting the degradations of Pretoria's military and police. And, South African occupation officials in Namibia are issuing Namibian identity documents to UNITA people so that they can vote for Pretoria's candidates in the upcoming elections - making a mockery of the free and fair elections contemplated in the United Nations monitored endeavor.

Has the House Intelligence Committee approved, does it continue to approve, United States involvement with UNITA? Have you considered where United States involvement in the ongoing conflict in the Angola-Namibia region will lead?

Very sincerely yours,  
*William Johnston*  
William Johnston  
President

ENCLS: Namibia Communications Centre dispatch 22 February 1989  
Council of Churches of Namibia, 16 January 1989  
THE INDEPENDENT, 18 February 1989  
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, 23 December 1988

THE INDEPENDENT Saturday 18 February 1989

## Airline carrying CIA guns to Unita'

By Alan George

THE CIA has appointed a new airline to ferry weaponry to the US and South African-backed Unita guerrillas fighting the Marxist government in Angola. The CIA's previous airline for this task was forced to close after media revelations.

Tepper Aviation, based in Crestview, Florida, operates a Hercules freighter aircraft which, according to former employees, has flown between the Kamina air base in southern Zaire and Unita-held territory in eastern Angola. Tepper was set up in late 1980, after the demise of the CIA's previous carrier, St Lucia Airways, whose activities, in addition to the Angolan work, included the transport of Colonel Gaddafi and weapons to Iran.

Previously, arms for the Angolan rebels were carried to Kamina from the US Air Force bases of Ramstein in West Germany and Kelly in Texas in a St Lucia Airways Boeing 707. At Kamina, they were transferred to a St Lucia Hercules for on-shipment to Unita. Under the new operation, however, arms have been brought to Kamina in USAF planes.

The whereabouts of the ex-St Lucia Hercules has been a mystery for the past few years. It now emerges that the plane was transferred to Tepper and that it has been re-registered in the US. For about a year, Tepper also operated the St Lucia Airways Boeing 707. Tepper recruited several former St Lucia Airways crewmen, mostly Europeans, offering them high salaries and hinting that arrangements could be made for the issue of green cards, whose holders are entitled to live and work in the US. An unusual aspect of the recruitment procedures was that the men were required to take lie-detector tests. The Europeans, however, have mostly left Tepper, which is today mainly staffed by Americans.

Bud Puddy, who heads Tepper, categorically denies that the Hercules has been in Zaire or Angola.

# U.N. Council Votes Peace Force for Namibia

*New Superpower Unity on Such Issues Seen as Threatening to Third World*

By Ethan Schwartz  
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 16—The Security Council today unanimously adopted a scaled-down peace-keeping plan for Namibia despite strong opposition from nonaligned countries. The move was an indication of how new superpower unity is threatening Third World influence here, diplomats and officials said.

For three months, the nonaligned group fought to block approval of a 6,000-man force sought by China, the Soviets and the United States, seeking instead a more costly 9,000-man team. The peace-keeping operation will cost \$416 million, most of which

will be borne by the permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France and Britain.

To some extent, the battle stemmed from fears that the smaller force may be unable to prevent South African subversion of Namibian elections, to be monitored by the United Nations.

But diplomats said the dragged-out fight also reflected deeper Third World uneasiness over the superpowers' startling, new unity on this and other issues.

This unity has weakened the nonaligned group's most potent diplomatic weapon—its ability to play the superpowers off against one another, a western ambassador said after today's decision.

Theo Ben Gurirab, who as foreign secretary of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) led the fight against the scaled-down force, called the battle "the first time the Big Five have ganged up on an issue," adding that the "nonaligned can no longer take for granted the support of the Soviet Union and China," their traditional allies on the Security Council.

"It surprises us, but we look at the change in the international situation and see the big powers have a way of striking deals," he said in an interview earlier this month. "The smaller peoples have become chips on the chessboard," he added.

Yugoslavia's ambassador, Dragoslav Pejic, called today's decision and the superpower agreement that led to it a "reflection

of a new relationship on the Security Council" that would "affect work on other regional issues."

The nonaligned bloc will continue to wield enormous influence on mostly symbolic matters, a U.S. diplomat said. But he said superpower agreement on a growing list of substantive issues means "the five permanent members of the Security Council have really begun to steer" the United Nations.

Signs of this change at the U.N. date back several years, as a Soviet-U.S. thaw coincided with a growing list of substantive decisions by the world body. For instance, the five permanent council members led the drafting of a Security Council resolution that served as the basis for a cease-fire and peace talks in the Persian Gulf war.

But the superpower-brokered southern Africa accords offer perhaps the bitterest pill for some nonaligned African states to swallow, diplomats said.

The accords require the closing of South African rebel bases in Angola and the with-

drawal of Cuban troops. But they permit continued U.S. aid to rebels fighting Angola's socialist government.

The accords also name the five permanent council members as their guarantor, a precedent that displeases some nonaligned diplomats. The vehement campaign to block the peace-keeping cuts reflected this broader uneasiness with the accords, as they were pushed through by the superpowers, diplomats said.

China's willingness to back the peace-keeping cuts stunned some African diplomats.

"China has always been the country that looked over its shoulder to see what the Third World was doing, so this was a major step for them," Toby Gati, vice president of the United Nations Association, said.

Nevertheless, the days of strong nonaligned influence at the United Nations are hardly over, diplomats said. The bloc still has the bulk of General Assembly votes and seven seats on the Security Council—enough to block any action.

# "DON'T LEAVE YOUR GUNS"

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THE INDEPENDENT Wednesday 11 January 1989

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JANUARY 8, 1989

Namibian conscription goes on  
despite independence promise

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1989

*Angola Says Rebels Still Hold Border  
in Southeast*

THE NAMIBIAN

By JAMES BROOKE

Special to The New York Times

LUANDA, Angola, Jan. 7 — A Namibian opposition leader has asserted that South Africa is creating a rebel Namibian group similar to groups aided in the past by South Africa in Mozambique and in Angola.

Friday December 2 1988 5

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1989

THE WASHINGTON POST

# Bush Assures Savimbi of U.S. Support

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