

**SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY REFUGEE AID FUND**

In Southern Africa, the structures of apartheid are going all out to strengthen white domination both militarily and politically. At the same time, resistance grows stronger and continues the struggle on many levels. Most of our readers understand that these two forces are locked in a violent conflict that takes place regionally across Southern Africa. This violence, having been an historic feature of white conquest and naked colonial rule for centuries is nothing new in some respects. Yet, there are always new developments. We, who produce this newsletter regularly, hope that the news, commentary and analysis that we provide fill a part of the void where coverage of Southern Africa is concerned.

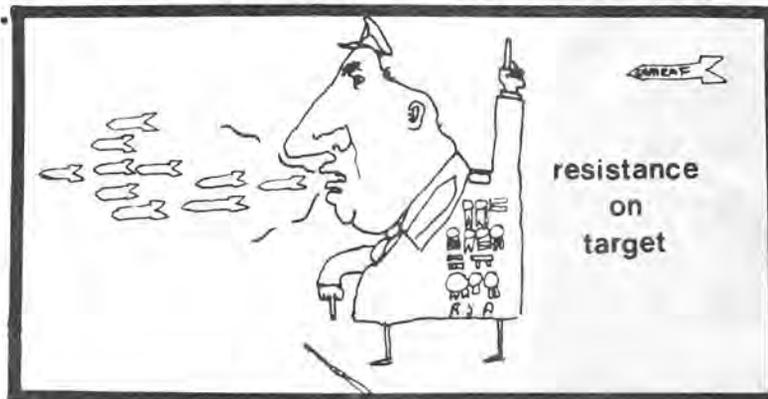
Within South Africa, white supremacy is the social, political and military driving force. This ideology is manifested in continual criminal acts which rival the crimes of Aryan supremacy committed by Nazi Germany and the American/European slave system. For example, the military bills which have been passed by the South African Parliament in '82 and '83 have brought home that military service is expected to be a lifelong obligation for white South Africans as the necessary sacrifice to preserve white rule. White people who raise moral, ethical or political objections are to be denied "conscientious objector status" and locked up for 6 years in civilian prisons.

From where we stand, apartheid takes a lot of gall and power to oppress Black people the way it does and still call on whites to defend white racism with their lives. But, the nature of the beast is such that white people buy into certain illusions and benefits. The sweet taste may be strictly temporary, but the truth is that it's easy to swallow for the vast majority of white South Africans. Whites with guns (some as young as 17) are conditioned to the acceptance and cover up of atrocities waged against Black people.

Some of us do rebel: whites who've seen the South African military from the inside, white kids who have said no, whites with a sense of conscience and responsibility. Both inside and outside of South Africa, we are part of a minority doing what we can to help tear down the structures which have been built to keep Black people enslaved while supposedly defending us. SAMRAF's goal is to strengthen that progressive minority who ultimately understand that Black liberation in South Africa is the key to liberation for ourselves.

Here in the USA, we act to support the Black liberation struggle and the progressive voices of white resistance in South Africa. We are totally committed to contribute something vital to the psycho-social destruction of white racism so that its hideous crimes will someday be dark chapters in the new book which plots the path for liberation and freedom from exploitation.

The same is true for our position toward fighting racism here in the United States. SAMRAF is committed to following the path that connects our efforts to undermine the South African military and white racism with the ongoing struggle in the United States. This newsletter is a small way of doing just that. If you find it helpful, please subscribe and tell your friends about it. The rate is \$10 per year for 6 copies. The struggle continues.



UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT STRIKES  
AT MILITARY TARGET

Striking a significant blow to the South African Defence Force, the underground military wing of the ANC recently destroyed the headquarters of the South African Air Force in downtown Pretoria, capital of white supremacist rule. The bomb, placed in a car, exploded on May 20th during rush hour, killing 18 people and injuring at least 200. According to South African press reports at least 70 military personnel were among the casualties. Secrecy prevents knowing which military personnel were killed, but in such an establishment one can imagine that some high ranking officers were hit.

There were Black casualties in the attack, though smaller in numbers. Almost all of the newspapers published in South Africa echoed the government line that the Black community condemned such ANC sabotage. After all, the "homeland presidents" said so--with all the usual rhetoric about terrorists.

When a number of genuine representatives from the Black community, its political and religious organizations, were interviewed by New York Times reporter Joseph Leyveld the responses were exactly the opposite of condemnation. Headlined "Blacks seem to applaud bombing," the article contained reactions such as "they hit them, it was out of this world...the cops don't expect a black man to strike so hard" from a young Black person, or from a Black social worker who said, "It is unfortunate that innocent civilians were involved, but the motive of the attack was

very clear. The Black fatalities are just part of the larger sacrifices that we as a nation have to face and accept," or from a middle aged Black security guard who said, "It will mean that the boers [the whites] realize that these boys mean business and have the guts to fight."

These people didn't have to respond so forthrightly. Their responses indicate a solid base of support among Black South Africans for armed attacks and sabotage aimed at the heart of apartheid's power structure. Black South Africa is prepared to sacrifice for its freedom, recognizing that every day the apartheid system slaughters and brutalizes their people.

White South Africa is at war with Black people, and the movement does not have to justify its attacks against the sources of oppression. Indeed, it is tragic that a number of Black people were injured or killed, but war is a terrible thing and casualties have to be accounted for when military actions are undertaken. As one Black South African said, "We should just keep quiet about them [the Black victims] and bury our dead." In the context of the overall struggle, the bombing was an extremely appropriate response to the institutionalized violence of apartheid.

This attack was significant on a number of levels. First, it targeted the South African Air Force, a wing of the overall Defence Force and a strategic weapon used by the regime for internal and external warfare. South Africa's ability to rule the skies in the entire region places the frontline states and the freedom fighters in a very vulnerable position, facilitates acts of aggression and provides cover during invasions.

Second, white South Africa in general, tends to view the threat as an external one, with the bulk of the fighting taking place on the borders. This fuels the anti-communist propaganda of the state, their point being that the freedom fighters in Namibia and those who have left South Africa are manipulated by outside forces. Actually, guerrilla warfare has no frontlines. Generals sitting in Pretoria are as likely to die as infantrymen on the border. Those directing military operations, including the entire State Security Council, are most certainly appropriate targets. The attack brings the war back home.

Third, it advances the struggle from tactics which targeted symbols of apartheid to tactics which attack those who defend and support the inhumane system. The ANC office in Zambia issued a statement saying that "the escalation of armed struggle which was imposed on us as a result of the intransigence and violence of the apartheid regime, will make itself felt among an increasing number of those who have chosen to serve in the enemy's forces of repression."

The response of the regime was to be expected. A few days after the bombing, South African Air Force jets raided the city of Maputo in Mocambique, bombing houses and factories in the Matola district of that city. The South Africans claim that this is the headquarters of ANC



activity in Mocambique, but only civilian targets were hit, including a jam factory. Obviously, South African intelligence has it down that workers in a Maputo factory represent a severe threat. In this attack, four people were killed and 114 were wounded.

A few days after the event, another bomb exploded in Bloemfontein, which is quite close to the border of Lesotho. The bomb was placed outside of the government pass office. Although there were no casualties in this attack, South Africa temporarily shut its borders with Lesotho. Interestingly enough, both Lesotho and Matola have been the targets of previous South African commando raids. There is now rumor that an invasion of Lesotho is again imminent.

The strategy of the regime, namely to respond to internal struggle by military attacks across South Africa's borders, raises the crucial necessity of solidarity between the frontline states and the liberation struggle inside South Africa. As the armed struggle escalates in South Africa, we can expect the regime to flex its muscles militarily in an effort to strike more fear and a feeling of helplessness in the frontline states. It is conceivable that South Africa will advance in similar style to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, using the justification that they are denying military bases to the ANC.

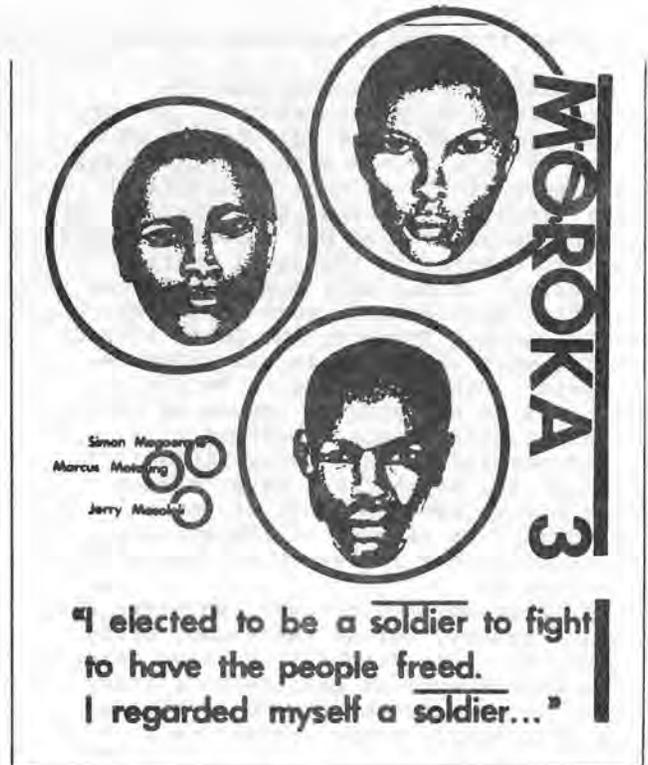
Such a situation again highlights the importance of undermining the South African military in whatever capacity is possible. War resistance takes on greater significance. Certainly political, financial and material support to the armed resistance and the frontline states are extremely crucial. Here in the USA there are institutions ranging from IBM and the IMF to the US government that directly support the military machine of South Africa. These institutions need to be warned that it will cost them dearly to continue their support of white racism in South Africa. Defending apartheid's army will become a costly business and the American people are watching.

SAMRAF fully supports the ongoing military campaign to defeat apartheid. We extend our support to the ANC for its recent actions and to the frontline states for their steadfast solidarity. We look forward to being able to contribute in whatever way possible to the consistent undermining of the South African army that is such a necessary component in the struggle for liberation.

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#### EXECUTION OF THE MOROKA THREE

As this newsletter went to press, the South African regime executed three freedom fighters of the ANC, Jerry Mosololi, Marcus Motaung and Simon Mogerane. Despite pleas and demands from the international community to halt the killings, the regime went ahead. In New York City over 2000 people participated in a picket and vigil



outside the South African mission to the United Nations.

The militancy of these demonstrators gives life to the movement, whose fighters continually face the threat of death. SAMRAF believes that the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe are part of a guerrilla army opposing the SADF and that prisoners in that conflict should be treated humanely under internationally-recognized prisoner of war status. Instead, the apartheid regime routinely utilizes torture, hangings and executions on the battlefield against captured soldiers. We would like to take this opportunity to express solidarity with the ANC and regret that three committed revolutionaries have lost their lives.

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#### DRAFT RESISTER TAKES A POLITICAL STAND

Peter Hathorn, a young white man from Durban South Africa has refused to serve in the South African army for political reasons. He will serve two years in a civilian prison, having been sentenced before the implementation of harsher and more repressive penalties.

His resistance is based on 3 points:  
 \* Participation in the SADF was a profound political action because the country was involved in a civil war.  
 \* Guerrillas could not simply be dismissed as "terrorists" as the armed struggle seems to have the support of a large section of the overall population.  
 \* The Defence Force represents a foreign aggressor with units striking into Angola, Mocambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe.  
 Peter's stand was supported by some outspoken church leaders, including Dr. Allan Boesak of the Western Alliance of Reformed Churches, and members of

Parliament from the Progressive Federal Party.

SAMRAF thoroughly endorses the position taken by Peter Hathorn. He very clearly articulated the role of the SADF and why he as a person with moral values, cannot participate in that institution. His willingness to stand up in the face of staunch opposition and put forward in court a view so opposed to the usual white perspective, is not only commendable but could have much larger, more important ramifications. Exposing the South African army for what it really is, is exposing apartheid. Peter has made it very clear that he is on the side of oppressed people.

His sister, Paula, speaking at a protest meeting in Cape Town, emphasized these points, saying that Peter's case should not be seen as "that of an isolated individual, but as part of the growing resistance to the increased militarism in our society."

Hathorn joins other war resisters such as Etien Essery, Adrian Patterson, Billy Paddock, and Neil Mitchell who have taken public stands against apartheid military service and are presently among over 400 young men serving prison sentences of varying lengths.

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#### HARSHER PENALTIES FOR MILITARY RESISTERS

"There is an escalating threat to South Africa-the onslaught against us is taking on greater dimensions. In such circumstances, South Africa asks for the highest loyalty from all its serviceable sons."

G.D. Terblanche - Nationalist Party member from Bloemfontein

"Military service is a wonderful privilege for South African citizens."

J.H. Van der Merwe - Conservative Party member from Jeppe Johannesburg

"The greatest danger in South Africa today is the psychological war being waged against our young people to discourage them from defending themselves."

J.H.W. Mentz - Nationalist Party member from Vryheid

Debate concerning conscientious objection was recently the center of attention in South Africa's white Parliament. The Defence Amendment Bill was overwhelmingly passed, although some of the more liberal (Progressive Federal Party) members raised objections to some of the provisions. Minor changes were accepted by the dominant Nationalists, while retaining the major points which institute a government-appointed review board to judge each application for conscientious objector status and making the sentences three times more severe for those whose applications are outside the narrow limits of what the bill refers to as "religious objectors."

If you can, put yourself in the position of a young white South African

who's just finished high school. You've probably received call-up papers by now. If you object to all killing or all war on "scriptural grounds" you will be asked if you're willing to serve the SADF in a non-combatant situation, to serve the SADF without wearing military uniform, or to serve the apartheid state apparatus in some other department for 8 years. These latter tasks will be "winning hearts and minds" assignments as teachers or technical assistants in the Black rural areas and townships. This policy, modeled on the pacification campaigns of earlier anti-guerrilla wars, is already used extensively by the SADF.

Suppose you're unwilling to serve any branch of the apartheid government, perhaps believing that national service as it's called in South Africa should be service in the interests of the whole nation, not just the white minority regime. Or suppose that you're opposed to this particular war that the South African military government is waging to retain effective domination of Black South Africans and colonial control of Namibia. In either case a longer prison sentence awaits you. Raised to 6 years, these prison terms will be served in civilian jails rather than military detention barracks.

The military government in Pretoria is trying to limit the definition of conscientious objectors to what are called



universal pacifists and is willing to offer them a more lenient deal. The regime knows that more and more white draft age youth are arguing against military service on religious, moral, ethical and political grounds which are well beyond the scope of universal pacifism based on Biblical quotations.

In the South African context a conscientious objector is a conscript who resists participation of any kind in the apartheid war machine. That is, he calls into question the legitimacy of the apartheid government, recognizes that the SADF defends only white interests, and believes that waging war against the liberation movements and Black people in general means waging an unjust war. We would like to quote Billy Paddock, someone we believe to be a true conscientious objector. He is now serving a prison sentence for his resistance, but the excerpts are from an interview conducted before his court martial.

A pacifist stance is a common form of objection generally accepted by the

authorities in most Western countries. How is your position different?

My attitude to violence is that I abhor violence, but I accept that people come into conflict situations which cause violence. Within South Africa at this point I believe violent revolution is inevitable, and while I personally at this stage cannot take up arms, I nevertheless support the overall goal of freedom that the liberation movements are striving for, and I respect the choice of those who have had to take the agonising choice to take up arms. For myself, because the whole system is unjust and oppressive, I refuse to do national service which is there to protect and uphold the status quo.

So you cannot accept a universal pacifist position and you also cannot in conscience serve in the South African Defence Force?

Correct. I cannot serve in the SADF because then I would be taking sides with the oppressors, and Christ calls us to take the side of the poor and the oppressed. I also believe that because the undeclared war that South Africa has been waging for the past few years against SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa is unjustified, I cannot take up arms against them. As a Christian therefore it is not permissible for me to join the army.

Paddock, a Christian, goes even further, arguing that "I believe it is hypocrisy when Christians in position of privilege condone violence (in all its masks) on behalf of a biased law and order, but invoke moral denunciations against violence that threatens the unjust order."

During his trial Paddock courageously explained that he was not simply a conscientious objector, but that he felt an "obligation to resist apartheid and exploitation in all its forms."

SAMRAF would argue that Paddock presents the definition of a true conscientious objector. His stand is really the only valid basis on which whites of conscience can object to service on behalf of apartheid. The changes of law instituted by the latest Defence Amendment Bill may satisfy the objections of a relative handful of universal pacifists such as Jehovah's Witnesses who under the old penalties went to jail, but may instead be coopted into some other form of service to apartheid.

Almost none of the Parliamentarians supported the stand of Paddock and other young whites. The debate did include statements such as "I think one should stick conscientious objectors up against the wall like in the good old days." Most members from the PFP sought to offer yet a third definition of conscientious objector status that would still permit only universal pacifism, but on grounds extended from the narrow confines of the Bible to other moral or ethical beliefs.

No provision was made for "selective war" pacifists, those who oppose only a particular war as unjust, an argument consistent with the teachings of all mainstream Christian churches. Even the PFP which in limited ways opposes apartheid as the basis of South Africa's government,

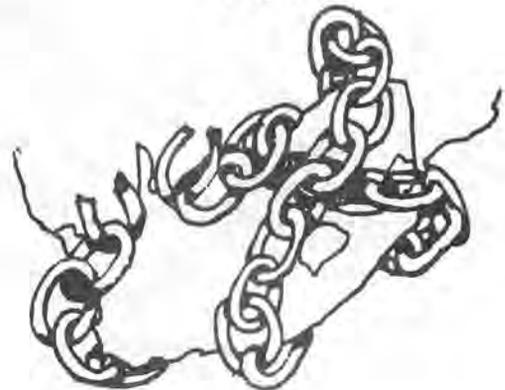
didn't argue for that as a valid objection to military service.

All of this debate and publicity did serve to bring the issue of conscientious objection more out in the open as a point of public discussion. There were attempts to keep the debate from moving to the more fundamental issue of the injustice of conscripting white youth into an all-white army for purposes of fighting for white racism. But more and more people are addressing the fundamental issue and beginning to question their loyalty to the SADF. Outside of Parliament, the movement opposing the provisions of the yearly Defence Amendment Bill was stronger than ever before. Numerous public protest meetings were held, drawing as many as 350 participants from sectors beyond the progressive campus groups.

The military resistance movement in exile has helped to make the issues of military service and conscientious objection rallying points for those whites who oppose apartheid. SAMRAF now believes that these latest moves by the regime set the stage for a new round of struggle within the white community. The militarism and the violence of apartheid as well as the extent to which the military controls the governing of the apartheid system are now more obvious than ever before. Conscientious objection can no longer be argued on the basis of alternative national service, universal pacifism, or individual rights. The only objections which are truly worthy of consideration are those which object to killing Black people and risking death in support of apartheid while recognizing that the attacks carried out by the liberation movements are entirely justified. As Billy Paddock exemplifies, this position can be understood from a Christian point of view. But, from every standpoint of truly moral or ethical consideration, this position must be articulated and defended in the white community.

SAMRAF will continue to pursue that course of action. We look forward to an upsurge in the draft resistance movement inside South Africa and in exile. The harshness of the newly instituted penalties for this resistance will not be enough to halt the upsurge. In fact, this increased repression is a sign of desperation and will probably serve to further erode the apartheid system from within.

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ATLANTIC CITY: THE RACKET BOYS  
PLAY BALL WITH APARTHEID

"Now there's trouble busin in from outta state and the D.A. can't get no relief Gonna be a rumble out on the promenade and the gamblin' commissions hangin' on by the skin of its teeth.

Everything dies baby that's a fact  
But maybe everything that dies someday comes back  
Put your make up on make your hair pretty and meet me tonite in Atlantic City."

Bruce Springsteen -  
"Atlantic City"

A South African firm, Southern Sun Holding Corporation plans to finance the building of a new \$250 million hotel/casino in downtown Atlantic City. If the project goes ahead, Atlantic City will stand even taller as a symbol of financial exploitation and corruption.

Atlantic City means different things to different people. To the owners, it is easy access to incredible wealth, with millions of dollars crossing the tables each week. It is a goldmine and from their perspective it cannot lose. To the rich in America, it is a playground, a place to go for the weekend to blow a bunch of money, and it doesn't matter if it's a win or a loss. For organized crime, it is a center to exploit gambling, prostitution and narcotics. For poorer, working people in America it is the possibility of a dream that will only be reached by a windfall win.

So, the South Africans aren't exactly moving into foreign territory, risking their capital. They're moving into an extremely lucrative business involving people with whom they have a lot in common. If anybody in the world knows how to erect monuments of wealth amidst depression and poverty, it is Southern Sun Holdings. This company, owned by Anglo American Corporation, South Africa's largest corporation with assets estimated at \$60 billion and the world's largest foreign investor in the US, has built numerous hotels and ritzy casinos in Southern Africa, the most notorious of which is Sin City in the Bophuthatswana homeland of South Africa. Sin City has recently been the target of the solidarity movement here, in attempts to boycott US entertainers who are being paid enormous sums of money to perform there.



It doesn't involve that much imagination to see the similarities between Sin City and Atlantic City. Both are set in surroundings of poverty. Sin City is in a homeland, one of the most desolate parts of South Africa, while Atlantic City is surrounded by the ghettos that America offers poor Black people to live in. Atlantic City is Sin City.

The proposed deal is that Southern Sun Holdings would put up \$40 million of the \$250 million project in conjunction with the American Leisure Corporation of Atlantic City. The 1000 room hotel/casino would be run by Southern Sun holdings and they would net 60% of the profits.

Why are the South Africans so keen on putting a down payment on Atlantic City? Because any money made by a South African corporation gets creamed by the apartheid government and is used to boost their racist war effort. Any South African concern that enjoys international recognition is good propaganda for South Africa, and serves to strengthen their ties with international business. The casino is likely to attract more investment, tourism and business to South Africa. It could also be used by the regime as a cover for a number of shady operations in the United States. Finally, it is fitting that South Africa reaches out to do business with a concern that has a historic tie to organized crime. What do you expect from a pig but a grunt?

There is rising opposition to this development. Fortunately, the South Africans cannot just move into town, particularly a city with a large poor Black population, without facing the anger of the people. There is a very active Black-led, community-based movement against the casino, which has already organized rallies in Atlantic City in solidarity with the liberation struggle. A larger rally is being planned on June 19th, entitled "We remember Soweto, keep South Africa out of Atlantic City." We encourage people to attend, and if you cannot do so, we suggest that people follow the struggle in Atlantic City and investigate ways to keep up the fight. The demonstration will be at 2PM, June 19th, in the Uptown School Complex, Vermont and Madison Avenues.

There are other efforts to pressure the bigshots into rejecting this casino deal. Folks are encouraged to write to Walter Reed, Chairman of the Casino Control Commission at 3131 Princeton Pike, Trenton NJ 08625, and to Henry Tyner, Council President, City Hall, Atlantic City, NJ 08401. Tell them to keep apartheid South Africa out of Atlantic City.

This conspiracy is a clear alliance between greed here and legalized racism in South Africa. The ongoing ability of the racists in South Africa to reap profits to maintain the despicable state of affairs in South Africa has to be exposed and fought against. We have a responsibility to disarm this latest one-armed bandit. Melt the gold, feed the people.

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THE STRUGGLE ON THE STREETS OF  
BROOKLYN: APARTHEID IN THE U.S.

The increase of violent racist attacks on Black people by young white thugs has been an important issue of struggle in Brooklyn, particularly in the Gravesend/Bensonhurst neighbourhood. The most publicized and acted-against crime was the attack by some 15 young whites on three Black transit workers, while they were purchasing food at a bagel store after work on the night of June 22, 1982. This attack resulted in the death of Black transit worker Willie Turks. Of the 15 or so youth involved in the brutal attack and murder, only 4 were arrested and criminally charged. The other 11 possible culprits still walk the streets free. The first of these Gravesend youth to be tried was Gino Bova (18 years of age). Although originally charged with murder, a jury comprised of 11 whites and 1 Hispanic saw fit to acquit him of that charge and to convict him only of manslaughter. He was subsequently sentenced to 5 to 15 years in prison.

The concern about this situation gave rise to a long article in the Village Voice entitled "Life and Death on the Color Line." (VV May 24, 1983). Many of our readers may have seen this article. We want to take this opportunity to highlight some of the factual information and quotes found in this piece and at the same time try and analyse why such hatred exists, not only in Brooklyn, but all across America, and what relationship these attitudes and actions have to the struggle against racism in Southern Africa.

SAMRAF has always been headquartered in Brooklyn, The area where we now have our offices, Park Slope, is one indication of how the increased influx of Black and Third World people is affecting certain neighbourhoods. What was a relatively multi-national community ten years ago, is now being steamlined down to a white middle income area. The way that the establishment and whites have forced Black and Third World people out of Park Slope is by "gentrification." Real estate is incredibly expensive, and poor people have no choice but to move to other neighbourhoods. Already, groups like the Park Slope Improvement Committee (PSIC) outwardly express that low income people are a threat to South Brooklyn. Another group, SCAN (Slope Crime Alert Network) collaborates with the police and patrols the streets at night, mainly looking for young Black or Latino kids who in their view might be potential criminals.

Bensonhurst is a slightly different situation. The Gravesend area of Bensonhurst is a relatively well-off white working class neighbourhood. And yet within Gravesend, there is a Black housing project called the Marlboro Houses. When Willie Turks was killed, and his friends were beaten up, there was an immediate call for action. Within a couple of days the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) called a demo at the site of the murder. A few days later, the Black United Front in Brooklyn called a massive organizing meeting,

bringing together a coalition of forces, including some progressive whites. It was at this meeting, that Black residents of the Marlboro housing project testified. The truth and absolute misery of what it is like for Black people in that particular part of the world was horribly revealing.

A Black mother described how one of her daughters had been attacked twice, including one instance where white thugs tried to set her clothes alight. This particular daughter moved out of the neighbourhood. But yet another daughter was so badly beaten a year later, that her ankle was broken and has never healed properly. Her appendix had to be removed. Later she began to suffer from severe headaches and blackouts, which to this day doctors cannot cure.

Other Black residents described the seige mentality of the Marlboro Housing Project. Story after story described how anything such as going to the store or the subway meant traveling through the hostile white territory which surrounds Marlboro. Black people had even been chased along sidewalks by speeding cars. Perhaps the most devastating story is that of William Henry (told in the Voice article). William and his family moved to Bensonhurst in 1976. By 1979, his wife had been shot at with a pellet gun, his children had been barred by older white folk from playing with their children, and he had been attacked by a gang of white teenagers, beaten over the head with a milkcrate, had his nose broken and been knocked unconscious. But the worst was still to come. In December last year, William was walking back from Prospect Park when he was attacked by a white crowd and beaten senseless. One of the white mobsters then produced a gun which was fired and three people were injured. When the cops arrived, William was lying unconscious on the sidewalk holding onto a gun. William Henry was arrested on charges of assault and criminal possession of a weapon. If found guilty by the system, he could face up to twenty years in prison. He had never carried a gun. Quoted in the Voice, William said, "I used to be loud, I liked to joke and kid, but I got a lot more serious. They took all the kidding away."

What has happened to William Henry, Willie Turks and countless other Black people who have not had the opportunity to tell their stories to the public, is not just reserved for Bensonhurst. A couple of years ago in Jamaica, Queens, Paul Daniels and his sons were attacked by a chain wielding mob of white people. One of his sons broke away to call the cops and when the law arrived the Black folk were arrested. The Daniels family was lucky. Through the efforts of a supportive Black criminal defence lawyer, they were acquitted. The point is that these attacks are not just an occurrence in a particular part of Brooklyn. They are realities which exist in any large urban area in the United States where white people for a host of illogical reasons feel threatened by Black and Third World people. New York, like Chicago, Los Angeles and many other cities is a segregated city. Manhattan might have

the facade of being integrated (and no doubt there are some integrated neighbourhoods), but Manhattan is a center for people to come and work. It will always have a multi-national image. Yet, if you drive through the Upper East side, past all the extravagant apartment blocks in the 70's and 80's, as soon as you cross 96th Street, you are in Harlem, and the difference in living conditions is startling. Streets act as boundaries.

These incidents of racially motivated violence are on the upsurge. In fact the Black United Front Police Brutality Investigations Unit has investigated 365 cases of police brutality and/or racial attacks in the last two year period in the New York City area alone. Whenever an incident occurs, whether by organized groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the NYPD, individual racists, or by gangs of white kids, the media is quick to jump on the bandwagon and say that it is the work of "drug-crazed" or "drunk" people or that of a crazy fringe group. For example, Frank Barbaro, a "liberal" City politician, who has the reputation of being a progressive and was supported by some of the Left in his attempt to run for mayor against the racist Koch a few years ago, was quoted as saying, "The residents of Bensonhurst are no more and no less bigoted than people in the rest of the city. The tragedy comes when a couple of hoodlums murder a guy and some time later a drunken teenager throws a bottle and an image is created." While it is true that Bensonhurst is not the only area of racial violence, this argument assumes that racism is isolated to that which is practiced only by young toughs while the bulk of the community abhors racist attacks. Our experiences show differently.

We participated in a coalition in Brooklyn, organized by the Black United Front called the "Willie Turks Coalition Against Murder/Lynching and Racist Violence." This grouping marched in Gravesend on July 18th last year. About 1500 people marched, including people from the Marlboro houses and a significant number of progressive whites. We will never forget that afternoon. Although the white community was out in large numbers, peering from windows and lining the

streets, their reaction was one of stony silence. The police had come out in truckloads, and aside from the cops some neighbourhood residents had formed an ad-hoc marshalling group. Its members lined the route of the march, not to show sympathy for the demonstrators, but rather, as follow through to whatever security the community felt it needed in the face of an anti-racist demonstration. Despite a direct appeal from Reverend Herbert Daughtry of the Black United Front to the residents of the neighbourhood to give some indication of their opposition to the racist murder of Willie Turks, the white people of Gravesend were unwilling to do so. In later interviews many of the residents reaffirmed that the gang was high on drugs and drunk and that they didn't represent what the neighbourhood was really about. But these people were silent on the day of the march, and their attitude was one of antagonism rather than support.

We believe that racist attitudes, which culminate with racist violence, do not just fall out of the sky. Youth who hang out on the corners do not simply dream up things to do and come to the conclusion that the only worthwhile thing to do is to beat up Black people; nor in South Africa do white kids necessarily want to go into the army. Rather, there are material conditions that exist that create the climate for racist ideas to be prevalent and it is these conditions that force white people in Brooklyn and in South Africa to act in a racist manner. These conditions are then bolstered by standard racist myths (whites are superior, more intelligent, civilised, etc., Blacks are lazy and criminals, etc.) and thus the conclusions white people come to are reached.

In Brooklyn, as elsewhere, white people are afforded privileges that Black people are not. These privileges are manifested by the workings of institutions, many of which have a life and death component, i.e. health care, education, housing, job opportunity, etc. Couple these with the fact that Black kids are always viewed as suspect by the police and it is very hard for a Black working class family to feel any real security. The threat of hunger, violence and prison is not just a speck on the horizon. Because there is a privileged sector of society (white people) and an extremely underprivileged sector of society (Black people), the whites tend to see the fight of Black people for more economic gain and social recognition as a threat to their privilege. Insignificant as it may appear, in the case of Willie Turks, his privilege was but the right to buy bagels after work--hardly a threat to white people. However, it was clearly seen by the residents of Gravesend as a challenge to the white supremacy in that particular area. Black people, better than most other people in Brooklyn, understand the need to fight against privilege and inequality and understand the negative ramifications that the ideas around privilege foster.

The social system encourages white workers to defend their privilege and to



view Black people as their enemy, rather than the system itself. This is where groups like the Klan and other neo-fascist white supremacist organizations find ripe territory for their recruiting efforts. They approach white working class neighbourhoods with a false explanation of the cause of the existing socio-economic problems and with a distorted vision as to a resolution. They encourage and perpetuate white racism which is already prevalent in these neighbourhoods. The inability of the Left to counter such a strategy, by approaching the very same people with a progressive anti-racist, sentiment serves to give the right wing open season. Bensonhurst, the area in question, is a prime example. Naturally it is an exploited neighbourhood, the people living there being victims of their own oppression as workers. Yet they internalize this and justify it by playing the role of exploiter and oppressor toward Black people. This does not make them view themselves as oppressed people, i.e. workers, but rather as people wielding some power.

SAMRAF has always argued that the most productive strategy for progressive whites to play in South Africa is to take a clear anti-racist position into the white community and organize around it. It does not mean that one works with whites only, but rather that one views one's constituency as white, given that the entire reactionary ideology and excuses come out of the white community. The defeat of white supremacy in South Africa is going to have to include a winnable argument from within that community. The complete breakdown in social relations between Blacks and whites in South Africa, virtually makes it impossible for whites to hear the call of Black people. Indeed, some will be won over by ensuing war, but the majority will tend to listen to their masters--the South African government. As in Bensonhurst, white people look toward society, the media, the police, etc.--whatever institutions exist which explain and treat Black people in a negative light and oppress them--and they will draw strength and reinforcement from a system which is designed to treat Black people as second class citizens. In doing so white workers serve to but weld their own bonds to exploitation and oppression. So long as whites fail to correctly identify their enemy and their allies, they too can never be free.

As white South Africans and Americans who live and work in Brooklyn, with a focus on South Africa, we cannot turn our backs on this terrible dynamic that exists in our own backyard. The white community here, just as in South Africa, tolerates and practices racism. This is one of the reasons why apartheid exists in South Africa and why racially motivated violence is the order of the day in Bensonhurst. The conspiracy of silence that exists in response to both situations by white people can only be read as a form of endorsement.

We have always argued that white supremacy in America and white supremacy in



South Africa are the key links in the chain which holds these two societies together. The attitudes expressed by white youth in Brooklyn mirror those by young white South African soldiers. Understanding this is part of the route to destroying racism. In both situations, the struggle of Black people has to be supported and whites have to see that they have a responsibility to fight a system which is not in the interests of the future of humanity as a whole.

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#### APARTHEID COP TO RIDE WITH THE DALLAS COWBOYS

Soon to don the uniform of the Dallas Cowboys football team, might be a white South African rugby player and professional cop, whose name is Naas Botha. Botha is a warrant officer in the Murder and Robbery Squad (an appropriate name) of the South African Police (SAP) in Pretoria. He is a placekicker, having played for both Northern Transvaal and the Springboks. He's being given a tryout and if signed by the Cowboys, would become the richest cop in the SAP.

We encourage folks who are active in anti-apartheid work to put this item on their agenda. Already SANROC (The South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee) headed by exiled Black South African activist Dennis Brutus, is proposing to launch a vigorous campaign of protest on this matter. For more information, people should write to SANROC, P.O. Box 59364, Chicago, Illinois 60659. This sort of thing can and should be stopped. The only kicking that should take place in Botha's case is his own butt. South African cops are not welcome here.

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**DON'T PLAY BALL WITH APARTHEID SPORT!**

## NEWS BRIEFS

Let's hear it for Henry Stern, the latest New York City Parks Commissioner who denied a permit for the televising of a world boxing championship from Sin City, South Africa, with commentary by Frank Sinatra. The fight would have become an extravaganza for the giant TV screen in Shea Stadium with masses of fight-fans in attendance. Stern made it clear that he didn't want anything coming out of white South Africa to have that kind of publicity. We hope he's able to keep his job.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile, the Pretoria City Council, surely in the running as the most backward civic institution in the world, recently decided not to have integrated parks. After 10 years of tolerating integration, the Council reverted to a policy of denying Black people any access to 283 of 300 parks. At least now when bombs explode the monuments to white heroes which adorn these parks, there won't be any Black casualties.

\* \* \*

We wish to express our gratitude to all those folks who supported our fundraising dinner, co-sponsored by ourselves and various student organizations at the Rutgers University Campus in Newark, on Sunday, May 8th. The event was a financial success and those who attended were able to hear a presentation by Paul Robeson, Jr., witness the Sulimaan African Dance Company from Newark, and eat lotsa good food. We also wish to thank those people, who, although they did not attend, supported the event by purchasing tickets or making donations. A very special thank to James Credle, an Assistant Dean of Students at Rutgers, for all the high quality work he contributed to the event.

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## **SAMRAF and Our Programme**

SAMRAF is a political organization made up of white South African military resisters, political exiles and American supporters. SAMRAF's goal is to contribute toward the creation of an independent South Africa, free from white supremacy and foreign exploitation. To do this we encourage resistance within the almost all-white South African army, in order to weaken its deadly effect and to help create a pro-liberation sentiment within certain sectors of the white community, particularly draftees. We believe this provides concrete support to the national

liberation movements both in Namibia and South Africa.

Our program to support war resistance includes the following:

- \* Producing and distributing propaganda which encourages resistance to apartheid military service.
- \* Providing services for genuine South African war resisters who flee South Africa and arrive in the states, especially those who are seeking political asylum.
- \* Initiating actions, such as campaigns and demonstrations which will send signals of our call for resistance into South Africa and make our presence known to those who are considering alternatives.
- \* Contributing towards involving women in war resistance work.

The U.S. government and multi-national corporations are a serious enemy to both the peoples of South Africa and Black, Third World and working people here. Racism in the U.S. is one of the major stumbling blocks in building a viable movement which challenges U.S. collaboration with apartheid South Africa and fights for people's liberation here. SAMRAF believes we must be involved in the struggle in the U.S. not only because the U.S. is a threat to liberation in South Africa, but also because we have a responsibility to fight for social change here.

Our program to support this struggle includes the following:

- \* Participating in the Southern Africa solidarity movement, thereby raising political and material support for the national liberation movements.
- \* Participating in other social movements such as the disarmament movement, the anti-war movement, etc., raising the issue of South Africa and the need to combat racism.
- \* Creating an awareness of the need for white Americans to combat white supremacy by participating in anti-racist work here.

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