

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

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—For A Free Southern Africa—

4 July 1984

INTO THE VALLEY

The Very Rev. Tshenuwani Simon Farisani, dean in the Northern Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa, returns today to South Africa after several weeks of overseas travel, mainly in the USA. Dean Farisani's jurisdiction lies in the Venda district of South Africa considered by Pretoria alone as a 'republic'. This is a particularly portentous homecoming.

The stocky, 36-year-old cleric has long been a man marked by South Africa's security police. They first detained him in March 1977, holding him under torture until June. They again seized the dean in October and kept him incommunicado until January 1978. On 9 November 1981, the security police - this time attached to the newly formed Venda - arrested Dean Farisani, not releasing him until the following June. He underwent torture, most horribly during January 1982. He was made to squat as if sitting in a chair, to lie on the floor while the police kicked him in his private parts. His hair was pulled out in tufts, he was thrown in the air and let fall on the floor. The police applied electric wires to his head, his body, his privates and shot the current into him until he fell forward onto the floor covered with water. The dean remembers crying out 'Please take me, Lord!' His tormentors shouted 'Hallelujah, praise the Lord!'



The dean suffered a series of heart attacks and was taken to hospital. A magistrate saw him but would not listen to his story of torture. Finally, a representative of the British Council of Churches got in to see him and learned of his agony. On 1 June 1982, the priest was released from detention. He and two fellow clergymen instituted a civil suit against Venda authorities, an action settled with compensation.

Dean Farisani on his American tour testified before Congressional committees, relating in detail his torture, and speaking in Washington and other cities. He was explicit about the control Pretoria's security police have over the so-called Venda police. The apartheid regime contends Venda is an independent country, attempting to avoid responsibility and also to garner credibility for its puppet bantustan. Dean Farisani's statements created a firestorm when reported in South Africa. The security police have daily visited Ms Farisani, saying they will be waiting for the dean when he gets home.

You must act to save this brave man - and all others in Pretoria's grip:

Secretary of State George Shultz
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Ambassador Brand Fourie
South African Embassy
3051 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20008

Messages of support to:

Very Rev Tshenuwani Simon Farisani
P O Box 314
Sibasa, Venda, South Africa

THE TORTURE OF A SOUTH AFRICAN PASTOR
25 minute sound film - 16mm, video
produced by Pastor John Evenson
Available: Lutheran World Ministries
360 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

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.

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.

annually

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 SENSE OF THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION on Namibian captives is before the House of Representatives. It needs your support. See over

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.

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.

CRY AMANDLA! June Goodwin. Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 30 Irving Place,
New York, N.Y. 10003 (1-212-254-4100)
\$11.50 paperback. \$22.50 cloth.

How do women come to terms with South Africa's racist and patriarchal society? June Goodwin, former CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR correspondent in South Africa, interviewed women in all walks of life there to record their responses. She presents them in this book in a kind of contrapuntal arrangement.

The major theme - expressed in the book's title, AMANDLA (Power) - is set by Thenjie Mtintso, a journalist, a one-time Black Power advocate, now an African National Congress member in exile. Ms Goodwin chronicles her life, from poverty-stricken youth to political awakening and activism, thence to banning, detention, torture and exile, once again in destitution. The story comes out at intervals, some of it as it occurs during the author's three-year assignment in South Africa and part as the trust between the two women grows and Thenjie elaborates on her past experience and reactions.

The other voices in CRY AMANDLA! are those of conservative white Afrikaner women, of a variety of white 'liberals', and of a number of urban African women. The attitudes and premises of the whites make it clear why so many Africans, like Thenjie, have reluctantly accepted armed struggle as inevitable to bring change in southern Africa. The reactions of the Africans indicate that the struggle will continue inexorably until that change occurs.

Ms Goodwin has woven into her text short, marvelously evocative passages describing the women she meets and the settings of many of her interviews. Sadly, her gifted portrayals only point up the tragic fact that the women who spoke so freely with her do not know and never speak with each other across the black-white line.

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